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A Papuan language of the Solomon Islands
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Pacific Linguistics 540
A grammar of Bilua
A Papuan language of the Solomon Islands

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Acknowledgements

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great surprise, I decided to change the object of my research from my native language Japanese to Bilua, a language of which I had no previous knowledge. I am also grateful to him for providing me with an office in the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology. At the centre I met many outstanding linguists who came from all over the world as visiting scholars or research fellows, and I was especially fortunate to meet Hans-Jürgen Sasse, Randy LaPolla, Gerrit Dimmendaal, Carl Rubino, and Geoffrey Haig.

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## Abbreviations and conventions

| 1 | 1st person               | NONF | non-feminine      |
| 2 | 2nd person               | NONM | non-masculine     |
| 3 | 3rd person               | NOM  | nominal derivational enclitic |
| ABL | ablative postposition | NP   | noun phrase      |
| AdjP | adjectival phrase      | NRFUT | near future     |
| BEN | benefactive postposition | MP   | modifier phrase  |
| COLL | collective marker       | O    | object clitic   |
| COM | comitative postposition | PL   | plural          |
| CompP | complement phrase    | PL.M  | plural marker   |
| CONT | continuity marker       | POSS | possessor-raising marker |
| D.EXT | distal existential marker | PP   | postpositional phrase |
| DU | dual                     | PRES | present tense marker |
| EXC | exclusive                | PRIV | privative postposition |
| EXT | non-specific locational existential marker | PROS | prospective marker |
| F | feminine                 | PROX | proximate        |
| FOC | focus marker             | PURP | purposive subordinator |
| FUT | future tense marker      | RCP  | recent past tense marker |
| HIST | historical tense marker | RECP | reciprocal marker |
| IMP | imperative mood marker   | REDUP | reduplication    |
| IMPL | implicative marker      | REL  | relative clause marker |
| INC | inclusive                | RMP  | remote past tense marker |
| INTRG | interrogative marker    | s.b. | somebody         |
| INDEF | indefinite              | SEQ  | sequential coordinator |
| INTS | intensifying coordinator | SG   | singular         |
| INTJ | interjection             | SIML | similitive       |
| IRR | irrealis marker          | SIT   | situation-change marker |
| INTR | intransitive verb        | s.th. | something       |
| LIG | ligature                 | TEMP | temporal         |
| LOC | locative postposition    | TOP  | topic marker     |
| M | masculine                | TR   | transitive verb  |
| MES | measure pronoun          | VAL  | valency-increasing marker |
| NEG | negation marker          | VOC  | vocative         |
|     |                          | VP   | Verb Phrase      |
Clitics and affixes are marked with preceding or following = and - respectively. Square brackets [ ] used in English translations indicate that this part of the translation does not correspond exactly to the Bilua example(s).

When an example is from a conversation or an elicitation, no text, page, or sentence numbers are given.

When an example from a transcribed text is used, the text, page, and sentence numbers are given in brackets after the English translation. Two of the transcribed texts are presented in Appendix 3. When an example is only a part of a sentence, this is indicated by ‘...’ or ‘,’ in both the Bilua sentence and its English translations. For example,

...qe=pai=k=a ko=a quini ni bita.
IDU.EXC=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG rope and string.bag
‘...we finished [making] the rope and string bag,’ (2-3-15)

However, in Chapter 2, ‘phonology and morphophonology’, ‘...’ and ‘,’ are used only in the English translations.

Ungrammatical examples are marked with an asterisk.
1 Introduction

1.1 The Bilua language and its location

Bilua is the language spoken on Vella La Vella island in the Western Province of the Solomon Islands. According to the census conducted in 1976 (Solomon Islands Statistics Division 1980), there are about 85 vernacular languages indigenous to the Solomon Islands. The majority of these are Austronesian languages, but among them are four Papuan languages (or seven, depending on whether the Reefs–Santa Cruz family is included or not—see §1.2 below). Bilua is one of these four languages, but the languages spoken in the surrounding islands are all Austronesian.

Vella La Vella island is divided into five areas: Bilua, Kurikuri, Java, Dovere, and Joria, according to different dialects spoken in each area. The dialect spoken in the Bilua area is regarded as the standard one by local people, and thus the language is called Bilua. It appears that this is because the Methodist missionaries who arrived and settled in the Bilua area in the early 20th century decided that the language spoken in the Bilua area was the language of the island. The grammar of Bilua presented in this work is based on the language spoken in the Bilua area. Note that there are no exact dialect boundaries, but generally the Bilua area is considered to extend from Supato village to the Eleteve village (see Map 1).\(^1\) Bilua is also spoken in the Saeragi village in the neighbouring Gizo Island. A legend tells that people from the Bilua area of Vella La Vella moved to Saeragi and thus they speak the dialect spoken in the Bilua area. Altogether there are about 8000–9000 speakers of Bilua including children.

The author has not done a study of the different dialects, but differences between Bilua and other dialects have been noticed in terms of vocabulary and verbal inflection. For example, *sopu* ‘hill’ and *soqilo* ‘to run away’, and a future tense marker *vou* in the Bilua dialect correspond to *taba*, *toalizo* and *kou* respectively in the Java dialect. There are no phonological differences among the different dialects.

In the past, the Austronesian language Roviana was used as a lingua franca in the region and so older people in Vella La Vella speak Roviana as well. However, the role of Roviana has been taken over by Solomon Islands Pidgin, the common language in the Solomon Islands. Solomon Islands Pidgin is used at Primary schools as well as at church ceremonies, which are central to the lives of people in Vella La Vella. There is a high rate of intermarriage between Vella La Vella people and people from other islands. Mixed

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\(^1\) On the map of Vella La Vella produced by the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands in 1972, Vella La Vella is divided into seven areas: Bilua, Siromai, Java, Dovere, Irigila, Jorio, and Supato.
couples communicate in Pidgin, Bilua, or one of the other Solomons languages. Pidgin words are mixed into Bilua and sometimes people switch from one language to another in their speech. Thus, the Bilua language is changing because of the influence of Pidgin, and, although the population of Vella La Vella is increasing rapidly, it can be said that Bilua is endangered.

1.2 Previous work and Papuan languages in the Solomon Islands

Previous work on Bilua is very limited. Ray (1928) presented a small word list in Bilua, while Capell (1969) and Todd (1975) each presented some grammatical features in Bilua in a comparative study on four Papuan languages spoken in the Solomon Islands: Bilua, Baniata, Lavukaleve, and Savosavo. None of these works, however, presents a full grammar of Bilua. On the basis of the work above, Greenberg (1971) categorises these four languages together as the Central Solomon (non-Austronesian) languages of Indo-Pacific, while Wurm (1982) categorises them as the Central Solomons family of the East Papuan phylum. In addition to these works, George Milner did some research on Bilua in the early fifties but has not published his results. The New Testament has been translated into Bilua by a group of local people led by Phil Pike from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and the Bilua version of Bible was published in 1992.² There is a small English-to-Bilua school dictionary compiled by Pike but he has not written any linguistic papers on the language.

Capell (1969) presents a comparison among the four Papuan languages—Bilua, Baniata, Lavukaleve and Savosavo—in terms of noun classes and verbal inflection. In his paper he argues that there are two noun classes in Bilua, masculine and non-masculine, which are marked by the particles vo and ko respectively. He says further that this contrast recurs with adjectives and verbs as a morphological contrast; for example, adjectives modifying a noun from the masculine class and the non-masculine class have a suffix -ala and -ama respectively.

The present study finds that this contrast is not demonstrated by the data. A noun such as maba ‘person’ can have both male and female referents and it can occur with both vo and ko. The contrast is therefore not a simple matter of masculine versus non-masculine noun classes in opposition (see §1.4 below).

Capell (1969) describes the noun classification as a characteristic of the four Papuan languages listed above and notes that this is also found in the languages of southern Bougainville, as well as in the ‘Melanesian languages’ of Malaita. He leaves the conclusion on their genetic relationship, however, to a further study of these languages.

Greenberg (1971:816) proposes a genetic relationship among Bilua, Lavukaleve, Savosavo, and Baniata and refers to them as the Central Solomon languages. His study and proposal are based on some resemblance among pronouns and fifty-two other words

² The group was located in the Bilua area, signifying that the dialect spoken in this area is regarded as the standard one.
of these four languages. Furthermore, he studies pronouns and the same fifty-two words, where they are available, in the languages of the Reefs–Santa Cruz family and compares them to the Central Solomon languages. Finding some resemblance between these two groups of languages, he states (1971:816) that the members of the Reefs–Santa Cruz family have the closest relationship to the Central Solomon languages, and groups them all together as the Central Melanesian group of non-Austronesian languages in the Indo-Pacific. It could be true that they are related, but it is hard to accept a proposal based on a list of pronouns and such a small number of words.

Todd (1975) also presents a comparison among the four languages in terms of pronominal forms, noun classifications, and word lists. In her paper, she presents a list of personal pronouns, subject markers, object markers, and verbal auxiliaries, and some determiners in Bilua. On the basis of her study, she concludes that these four languages are related and groups them together as the Solomon Language Family. In particular, she points to a closer relationship between Bilua and Savosavo. She also tentatively includes the Yele languages of Rossel Island in the Solomon language family on the basis of similarity in pronominal forms.

Wurm (1982:231–244) also proposes a language family, the Central Solomons family, consisting of Bilua, Lavukaleve, Savosavo and Baniata, and considers it as a subgroup of the East Papuan phylum. He groups Papuan languages in the area to the east of the New Guinea mainland as the East Papuan phylum. This includes Papuan languages spoken in New Britain, New Ireland, the Solomon Islands, and the Louisiade Archipelago. The East Papuan phylum languages are divided into three subphyllic groups: the Yele–Solomons – New Britain super-stock, the Bougainville super-stock, and the Reefs–Santa Cruz family.

The Yele–Solomons – New Britain super-stock is subdivided into the Yele–Solomons stock and the New Britain stock. These two stocks are grouped together because of ‘comparative closer structural and lexical links with each other than with languages of the other stock-level groups in the phylum’ (Wurm 1982:232). The Bougainville super-stock is subdivided into the East Bougainville stock and the West Bougainville stock.

The Yele–Solomons stock is subdivided into three groups: the Central Solomon Family, the extinct Kazukuru Family, and the Yele language. In the extinct Kazukuru Family are Kazukuru, Guliguli, and Dororo languages, all of which are extinct.

There are three languages in the Reefs–Santa Cruz family: Reefs (Aiwo), Santa Cruz and Nanggu, and accordingly there are seven Papuan languages spoken in the Solomon Islands: four in the Central Solomon family and three in the Reefs–Santa Cruz family.

Whether the three languages in the Reefs–Santa Cruz Family are Papuan or Austronesian languages is the subject of controversy. Lincoln (1978) presents a

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3 Subject markers, object markers, and verbal auxiliaries are referred to as ‘pronominal proclitics’, ‘object clitics’, and ‘pronominal enclitics’ respectively in this work.

4 People of Vella La Vella were well-known head-hunters until missionaries arrived. They paddled as far as Savo island, where Savosavo is spoken, for raids, and sometimes brought back people from other islands including Savo. Bilua and Savosavo may have influenced each other as a result of such contacts.
hypothesis that they are Austronesian languages on the basis that there are similarities between these languages and Proto Oceanic with regard to some grammatical morphemes. On the other hand, Wurm (1978 and 1982) argues that they are Papuan languages heavily influenced by Austronesian languages. He bases this view on their similarity to other languages of the East Papuan phylum in terms of structure and lexicon, as well as on the lack of regular phonological correspondences between these languages and Proto Austronesian and Proto Oceanic.

Tryon and Hackman (1983) regard the languages of the Reefs–Santa Cruz Family as Papuan but they exclude them in their diagram (Figure 1.1 below) of the East Papuan phylum because of their unclear position within the East Papuan phylum. Santa Cruz and Nanggu appear to have a closer link with the languages of the East Bougainville stock, while Reefs (Aiwo) appears to have a closer link with the languages of Yele–Solomons stock.

![Diagram of the East Papuan phylum and related stocks](image)

**Figure 1.1:** Papuan Languages in the Solomon Islands within the East Papuan Phylum (Tryon & Hackman 1983:42)\(^5\) Asterisks here mean that these languages are extinct.

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\(^5\) In their paper, Tryon and Hackman (1983) spell Bilua and Baniata as Mbilua and Mbaniata respectively. In the past, the latter spelling was used more frequently. At present, both spellings are recognised but the former ones are more widely used. The 'mb' of Mbilua and
Although it has been proposed that Bilua, Lavukaleve, Savosavo and Baniata are genetically related, none of these languages is fully described yet, and until a full grammatical description of all of them is produced, their relationship remains in question. Angela Terrill has presented a grammar of Lavukaleve in her PhD thesis, and she and Michael Dunn have been working on a grammatical description of Baniata. Evelyn Todd has been doing research on Savosavo. Their studies and this study on Bilua may shed some light on the question of the genetic relationship between these languages.

1.3 Fieldwork and collection of data

The grammar of Bilua presented in this work is based on an analysis of the data collected during two fieldwork periods in the Bilua area of Vella La Vella and in the Saeragi village of Gizo. The first fieldwork period was from March to August 1997 and the second was from September to November 1998. The data mostly comprise recorded texts of old folktales, custom practices, and stories from childhood told by people, both female and male, between 55 and 90 years of age. Seventy-two texts were collected, from which thirty-two (about 240 minutes) were transcribed and translated into English with the help of speakers of Bilua. Some data were collected from conversations.

People who helped the author with transcription and translation were aged under 35 years, while for the analysis of the language or elicitation the author worked with older people who were over fifty-five years of age.

1.4 Grammatical profile

As noted above, Bilua is a Papuan language surrounded by Austronesian/Oceanic languages. According to Foley (1986:2-3):

The term 'Papuan languages' must not be taken in the same sense as 'Austronesian languages'. While all Austronesian languages are genetically related in one family, in the sense that they all descend from a common ancestral language called Proto-Austronesian spoken some 6,000 years ago...[Papuan languages] do not all trace their origins back to a single ancestral language...when a language is termed 'Papuan', this claims nothing more than that a language is not Austronesian.

Most notably, Bilua is distinguished from Oceanic languages in terms of a masculine–feminine distinction in the third person singular pronominal forms. Local people often cite this difference as a distinctive feature of Bilua.

There are other features of Bilua that are not shared with Oceanic languages (see Lynch, Ross, and Crowley forthcoming). In Bilua, tense and mood are marked by bound forms, clitics on VPs (§8.3), while in Oceanic languages they are marked by free forms.

__Mbanita represents a prenasalised voiced bilabial stop. However, as described in §2.2, in Bilua voiced stops are prenasalised intervocally but not word-initially.__
Bilua is basically an AVO language, but other constituent orders are freely found (§14.6). A variety of constituent orders is found in Oceanic languages but is fairly fixed in each language. In Bilua possessive constructions, the possessor precedes the possessee (§7.3). This order is reversed in Oceanic languages. Bilua relative clauses are marked with a clitic on their VPs (§12.2), while relative clauses in Oceanic languages are preceded by a marker with a subordinating function. Serial verb constructions are widely found in Oceanic languages, but there is no serial verb construction in Bilua.

There are some features that are shared by Bilua and Oceanic languages. In both, a distinction is made between inclusive and exclusive for the first person dual and plural pronominal forms (§5.5.1). Bilua has reduplication of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and numerals (§6.5). Reduplication is also found in Oceanic languages. Aspect markers occur between a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references with the subject, and the verb (§8.5). Bilua is a consistently nominative–accusative language. Oceanic languages are generally nominative–accusative languages.

Other grammatical characteristics of Bilua are as follows. Both clitics and affixes are found. Bilua is both a head- and a dependent-marking language according to Nichols’ (1986) criteria. Core arguments are head-marked on the VP by bound pronouns (see §3.2.1)—a head-marking feature; in NPs, person, number, and gender are generally marked on optional NP constituents (see §7.4)—a dependent-marking feature. A possessive NP can be either head or dependent-marked (see §7.3). There are two types of predicates: verbal and non-verbal, distinguished by their predicates (§3.1). There is the valency-increasing construction, which introduces a new core argument; this increases the valency by one (§9.4 and §9.5). There are frequent occurrences of topic and focus markers (§14.2 and §14.3).

Pronominal forms have three person distinctions (first, second, and third) and three number distinctions (singular, dual, and plural). As noted above, the first person dual and plural have a distinction between exclusive and inclusive, while the third person singular has a distinction between masculine and feminine.

There are no grammatical genders in Bilua, but personal names, some kinship terms, and some nouns have an inherent gender. Common nouns are inherently third person and are not marked for number. Person/number/gender can be marked by optional NP constituents (§7).

There are three kinds of dependent clauses: relative, complement, and adverbial clauses (§12). Some coordinators link words, phrases, and clauses, and others link only independent clauses (§13).

1.5 Approach of the grammar

This work presents a general description of Bilua grammar, primarily from a synchronic viewpoint. Although it is preferable not to include a diachronic analysis in a descriptive grammar, some historical hypotheses are included in the work where I believe it is helpful in understanding the grammar.

The grammatical description commences in the following chapter with an analysis of the phonology and morphophonology.
2 Phonology and morphophonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of phonology and morphophonology: it covers consonant phonemes (§2.2), vowel phonemes (§2.3), phonotactics (§2.4), stress (§2.5), clitics (§2.6), phonological processes (§2.7), reduplication (§2.8), intonation (§2.9), and orthography (§2.10). Customary notation conventions are followed—slashes // indicate phonemic representations, while square brackets [ ] indicate phonetic representations.

2.2 Consonant phonemes

There are sixteen consonants in Bilua as presented in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced fricatives</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n̩</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voiced stops and the affricate have allophones: they are prenasalised intervocally. Prenasalisation does not occur in word-initial position.

/b/d/g/dʒ/ → [mb/nd /ŋdʒ]/ V _ V
[b/d/g/dʒ] / word-initially
The following are some examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prenasalised</th>
<th>Non-prenasalised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(intervocally)</td>
<td>(word-initially)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.1)  \[ma^{\text{m}ba}\] ‘person’  \[bolo\] ‘pig’
(2.2)  \[par^{\text{d}a}ko\] ‘to finish’  \[deri\] ‘pumpkin’
(2.3)  \[sele\,^{\text{g}aza}\] ‘seagull’  \[gusini\] ‘rope’
(2.4)  \[ke^{\text{d}3u}\] ‘to cook’  \[d3arlozo\] ‘to be tired’

The voiceless stops and the voiceless fricative are pronounced as long consonants when they occur in the second syllable before a diphthong. The following are some examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>consonants</th>
<th>long consonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(elsewhere)</td>
<td>(in the second syllable with a diphthong)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.5)  \[siotolu\] ‘eight’  \[attaeko\] ‘to count’
(2.6)  \[le\,kasa\] ‘chief’  \[pekko\] ‘to dance’
(2.7)  \[tagata\] ‘hardship’  \[kappia\,bol\] ‘quickly’
(2.8)  \[siakona\] ‘rope’  \[nasso\,koko\] ‘to attach’

The bilabial voiced fricative \(/\beta/\) has two allophones, \([\beta]\) and \([w]\), in free variation: \(/\beta/\) is sometimes realised as a glide \([w]\), especially in front of a low vowel \(/a/\). For example, \(/\beta\,a\,i\,t\,o/\) ‘to return’ is realised as \([\beta\,a\,i\,t\,o]\) or \([w\,a\,i\,t\,o]\).

In addition to \([\text{d}3]/\), the voiced affricate \(/\text{d}3/\) has another allophone, \([\text{t}f]/\), in free variation. For example, \(/\beta\,a\,r\,e\,m\,u\,d\,3\,a/\) ‘six’ is realised as \([\beta\,a\,r\,e\,m\,u\,d\,3\,a]\) or \([\beta\,a\,r\,e\,m\,u\,t\,f\,a]\).

Some examples of minimal and near-minimal pairs are as follows.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2.9)</td>
<td>/,p/ − /,b/</td>
<td>/,sip/ ‘louse’  /,si,b/ ‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.10)</td>
<td>/,t/ − /,d/</td>
<td>/,ta,t,a,r,a,r,a,o/ ‘pay’  /,ta,d,a,o/ ‘look up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.11)</td>
<td>/,k/ − /,g/</td>
<td>/,ra,k,i/ ‘root’  /,sa,g/ ‘brother/sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.12)</td>
<td>/,s/ − /,z/</td>
<td>/,sa,p,o/ ‘hot water’  /,za,p,o/ ‘beard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.13)</td>
<td>/,\beta/ − /,b/</td>
<td>/,\beta,a,t,u,t,o/ ‘to move’  /,ba,z,u,t,o/ ‘to tell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.14)</td>
<td>/,n/ − /,n/</td>
<td>/,\eta,a,k,a/ ‘banana’  /,\eta,a,n,a/ ‘mother/aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.15)</td>
<td>/,g/ − /,y/</td>
<td>/,ga,m/ ‘nose’  /,\eta,a,se/ ‘hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.16)</td>
<td>/,l/ − /,l/</td>
<td>/,le,k,o,n,a/ ‘leaf’  /,re,k,o/ ‘wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.17)</td>
<td>/,z/ − /,d,3/</td>
<td>/,z,a,r,i,o/ ‘wish’  /,d,3,a,r,i/ ‘copra house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3 Vowel phonemes

There are five vowels, as presented in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are examples of minimal and near-minimal pairs.

(2.18) /a/ – /e/ /kalo/ ‘way’ /kelo/ ‘to see’
(2.19) /a/ – /i/ /dara/ ‘blood’ /diri/ ‘red’
(2.20) /a/ – /o/ /kalo/ ‘way’ /kolo/ ‘ocean’
(2.21) /a/ – /u/ /kako/ ‘strange’ /kuki/ ‘axe’
(2.22) /e/ – /i/ /tete/ ‘ridge’ /itiβi/ ‘trouser’
(2.23) /e/ – /o/ /kelo/ ‘to see’ /kolo/ ‘ocean’
(2.24) /e/ – /u/ /ketuketuto/ ‘to tease’ /kutukutu/ ‘cloud’
(2.25) /i/ – /o/ /ilikiliki ‘armpit’ /ilokilo/ ‘arrival’
(2.26) /i/ – /u/ /ilikiliki ’armpit’ /kulukulu/ ‘neck’
(2.27) /o/ – /u/ /bolo/ ‘pig’ /bulo/ ‘heart’

All combinations of vowels occur: /iel/, /ial/, /iol/, /iul/, /iel/, /eol/, /eul/, /eil/, /ael/, /aol/, /au/, /oi/, /oel/, /ou/, /ul/, /uel/, /ual/, and /uo/. When they belong to the same phonological word, they are diphthongal. The diphthongal nature of these combinations is apparent with reduplicated forms in which the VV sequences reduplicate as one syllable. A reduplicated form has the first two syllables reduplicated. For example, in a reduplicated form /βualalaβula/ ‘hot’, /ua/ is counted as one syllable. If /ua/ were counted as two syllables, a reduplicated form should have /βu-a-βu-a-la/, but this is not the case (see §2.8).

Vowels do not have allophones when they occur individually, but in diphthongs the front and back vowels are realised as lax vowels [i], [ε], [ɔ], and [u] when they are the second element: [iε], [io], [iu], [ei], [eo], [eu], [ai], [ae], [ao], [oi], [oe], [ou], [iu], [ue], and [uo]. This suggests that the first vowel in a diphthong is the nucleus, and the second is non-syllabic.

The only attested cases of syllabic vowel sequences occur with reduplication, in which a syllable break matches a morpheme break. For example, a combination of vowels /au/ in a reduplicated form [‘u-pa-’u-pa-to] ‘to shout many times’, which is a reduplicated form of /upato/ ‘to shout’, is a syllabic vowel sequence. Each of /a/ and /u/ belongs to a
different syllable. This is supported by the second stress on /u/ and the realisation of /u/ as [u] rather than [u]. If /a/ and /u/ formed a diphthong, there would not be a stress on /u/ and also /u/ would be realised as [u] since the second element of the diphthong cannot be stressed as described in §2.5, and /u/ is realised as [u] when it is in the second element of a diphthong as noted above.

2.4 Phonotactics

The syllable structure in Bilua is (C)V for the first syllable and CV for other syllables, C representing any consonant and V here representing a vowel or a diphthong. This means that there are no sequences of Vs in Bilua within a phonological word (see §2.6 for phonological words). An exception to this is an interjection /ee/ ‘yes’.

The minimum number of syllables per phonological word is one, and this can only be CV but not V only. A maximum word length of seven syllables is found in the data. Some examples are:

(2.28) CV  
/le/a/ ‘tomorrow’

(2.29) VCV  
/ipu/ ‘night’

(2.30) CVCV  
/lezu/ ‘head’

(2.31) VCVCV  
/ariku/ ‘four’

(2.32) CVCVCV  
/βidulu/ ‘key’

(2.33) VCVCVCV  
/inainaeko/ ‘to prepare’

(2.34) CVCVCVCV  
/pikimato/ ‘to dig soil’

(2.35) CVCVCVCVVCVCV  
/kolokologanisi/ ‘Kolokoloqanisi (male name)’

All consonants can occur in the word-initial and medial positions but never in the word-final position. All vowels can occur in the word-initial, medial, and word-final positions. There are some restrictions on the occurrences of diphthongs. Only /au/ and /ae/ can occur word-initially. In the word-internal position, all but /ao/ can occur. All diphthongs can occur in the word-final position, but one of them, /oa/, occurs over a morpheme boundary only. For example,

(2.36) [ko=a]  
3SG.F=LIG  
‘that (feminine)’

(2.37) [βo=a]  
3SG.M=LIG  
‘that (masculine)’

In each of these examples, a demonstrative and a ligature form one phonological word: the morpheme boundary occurs between the demonstrative and the ligature, and a combination of vowels o and a over this morpheme boundary is realised as a diphthong.
The following table summarises the occurrences of phonemes in different positions.

Table 2.3: Occurrences of phonemes in different positions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-position</th>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word-initial</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>/au/, /ae/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word-medial</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all but /ao/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word-final</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5 Stress

Stress is applied to the first syllable of a phonological word. Stress is not contrastive in Bilua. For a diphthong, stress is realised as prominence on the first element.

(2.38)  ['toupa] ‘lake’
(2.39)  ['uri] ‘good’
(2.40)  ['siotolu] ‘eight’
(2.41)  ['ruŋge] ‘bad’
(2.42)  ['bairrutu] ‘today/now’

Stress, however, may fall on the second syllable of a phonological word when a phonological word does not coincide with a grammatical word. This is described in the next section.

2.6 Clitics

A Bilua phonological word may consist of one or more clitics and their host. Clitics attach to a word, a ‘host’, forming one phonological word with their host. There are two types of clitics: enclitics, which take the preceding word as the host, and proclitics, which take the word that follows as the host. Most Bilua clitics are enclitics, but there are pronominal proclitics as well. Object clitics can function either as enclitics or proclitics. Clitics in Bilua are:

- pronominal proclitics
- pronominal enclitics
- object clitics
- tense/mood markers, which are enclitics
- nominal derivational enclitics
- ligature, which is an enclitic
relative clause markers, which are enclitics
the purposive subordinator le, which is an enclitic

This section presents a general description of Bilua clitics, particularly with regard to stress. A description of each clitic is given in Chapters 5 and 6.

Unlike words, clitics do not bear inherent stress, and this suggests that they do not form a phonological word of their own — they form one phonological word with their host, the word they are attached to. This is illustrated by example (2.43-a). In this example, two enclitics, a ligature a and a pronominal enclitic ma (3SG.F), are attached to an adjective [uri] forming a modifier phrase. As these enclitics are not independent phonological words, none of them bears stress. They form one phonological word with their host, uri, and the stress falls on the first syllable of this phonological word following the stress pattern in Bilua described in the last section.

(2.43-a) ['uri=a=ma 'pa"de]  
good=LIG=3SG.F house  
'a good house'

If each of the ligature a and the pronominal enclitic ma (3SG.F) formed a phonological word of its own, (2.43-a) would be analysed as:

(2.43-b) ['uri 'a 'ma 'pa"de]  
good LIG 3SG.F house  
'a good house'

but this is not the case.

Like clitics, affixes do not bear inherent stress. Clitics are distinguished from affixes by the following non-phonological criteria. ‘Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot’ (Zwicky & Pullum 1983:504). ‘Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups’ (1983:504). Unlike affixes, ‘clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts’ (1983:503) and they can combine with a phrase (Zwicky 1985:288), while affixes cannot.

Cliticisation does not affect the stress on the host in Bilua. Example (2.43-a) above illustrates that encliticisation does not affect the stress on the host and thus the stress falls on the first syllable of the host, which coincides with the first syllable of the resulted phonological word.

Procliticisation does not affect the stress on the host either, and this results in the stress falling on the second syllable of a phonological word, as illustrated by the following two examples. In each of these examples, a phonological word consists of a host and one or more clitics. In (2.44), a pronominal proclitic is attached to a noun, [ŋaŋa], forming a possessive NP. The pronominal proclitic here marks a possessor. In (2.45), the pronominal proclitic is cliticised on the verb, [ŋouβæ], and they form one phonological word together with two enclitics: the object clitic and the tense marker. The pronominal proclitic here functions as a subject marker. In both examples, the stress still falls on the first syllable of the host, which is the second syllable of the phonological words (see §2.7
for a further description of phonological words formed by cliticisation of a pronominal proclitic on the host).

(2.44)  [a=ŋana]  
1SG=mother  
'my mother'

(2.45)  [o=βουβε=κ=a]  
3SG.M=kill=3SG.F.O=PRES  
'...he killed it,' (24-11-93)⁶

In the two examples above, proclitics form one phonological word with a content word, a noun in (2.44) and a verb in (2.45). A pronominal proclitic may form a phonological word with another kind of content word, a modifier in a VP. In this case too, the stress falls on the first syllable of the host, which is the second syllable of the phonological word. In the following example, a pronominal proclitic o (3SG.M) and a modifier sasa ‘a bit’ form one phonological word and the stress falls on the first syllable of sasa.

(2.46)  [o=sasa    'mamaz=a]  
3SG.M=a bit     rest=PRES  
'...he rested a bit,' (26-20-109)

Thus, a pronominal proclitic may attach to a content word, which bears stress on the first syllable, and when this happens, the stress still falls on the first syllable of the content word, which is the second syllable of the phonological word.

A Bilua proclitic may have a VP particle as its host, forming one phonological word. VP particles in Bilua are aspectual/modal markers, valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker. ‘Particles are “function”, rather than “content”, items’ (Zwicky 1985:291). Bilua VP particles occur between a pronominal proclitic, which functions as a subject marker, and a verb. Aspectual/modal markers and the possessor-raising marker may form one phonological word with a preceding pronominal proclitic. Valency-increasing markers always have an object clitic as a proclitic, forming one phonological word with it. This may additionally have a pronominal proclitic preceding the object clitic. Like clitics, Bilua VP particles do not bear inherent stress. That is, a Bilua phonological word may consist of morphemes that bear no inherent stress. Such a phonological word, however, still bears stress on the first syllable of the phonological word, following the stress pattern in Bilua, as illustrated by the following examples.

⁶ In this example, a present tense marker a in the final position is employed in order to indicate historical present tense. In such a case, the event expressed is one that occurred in the past, and thus it is translated in the past tense (see §8.3 for a description of historical present tense). This applies to a lot of examples presented in this work, and thus many examples with a present tense marker are translated in the past tense. See ‘Abbreviations and conventions’ at the beginning of the work for an explanation of the bracketed numbers following examples.
In the first phonological word of example (2.47), a pronominal proclitic /ko/ (3SG.F) is attached to an aspectual marker, the continuity marker /beta/, forming one phonological word. In (2.48) the first phonological word consists of a pronominal proclitic /ke/ (3PL) and the possessor-raising marker /ta/, while the second phonological word consists of an object clitic /β/ (3SG.M.O) and a valency-increasing marker /ati/. In all instances, there is stress on the first syllable of the phonological word. This is manifested by a clitic in the first two instances and by a clitic–particle combination in the last instance.

(2.47)  
[\text{ko}^{m\text{beta}} \ 'kott=a]  
3SG.F=CONT  climb=PRES  
‘…she is climbing…’ (21-6-35)  

(2.48)  
[\text{ke}=\text{ta} \ 'β=ati \ 'so^n\text{goi}=\text{βa}]  
3PL=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL run.away=PRES  
‘…they ran away with his [boot].’ (16-6-77)  

A VP particle may occur without a proclitic and form a phonological word by itself. This kind of phonological word still bears stress on the first syllable. In example (2.49), an aspectual marker, the prospective marker /pa/, forms a phonological word of its own, and this bears stress.

(2.49)  
[\text{pa} \ 'βatri=β=a]  
PROS look.for=3SG.M.O=IMP.SG  
‘Go and look for him.’  

Thus, a VP particle, when it forms a phonological word by itself, bears stress. Clitics of one type, namely pronominal proclitics, may also form a phonological word by themselves; that is, they can be phonologically independent in certain environments. This kind of phonological word also bears stress on the first syllable. Bilua pronominal proclitics all end with a vowel, and when a pronominal proclitic precedes a content word beginning with a vowel, it always forms a phonological word of its own. This is to avoid a formation of a diphthong or a long vowel. In Bilua, procliticsation, but not encliticsation, disallows a formation of a diphthong. In (2.50), the /e/ of a pronominal proclitic /ke/ (3PL) does not form a diphthong with the word-initial /u/ of /uri/ — /ke/ and /uri/ do not form one phonological word. On the other hand, the word-final /i/ of a modifier /uri/ ‘good’ and a ligature a, which is an enclitic, form a diphthong — /uri/ and a form one phonological word. In (2.51), a pronominal proclitic /o/ and the verb beginning with the same vowel, /o/, do not form a phonological word as Bilua does not have a long vowel. In both examples, the pronominal proclitic forms a phonological word of its own and it bears stress.

(2.50)  
[\text{ke} \ 'uri=a \ 'bori=k=a]  
3PL  good=LIG carry=3SG.F.O=PRES  
‘They carried it well (carefully)...’ (28-6-56)  

(2.51)  
[\text{o} \ 'odie=k=a]  
3SG.M  call=3SG.F.O=PRES  
‘…he called her...’ (2.27-10-63)
When a pronominal proclitic precedes a content word that begins with a consonant, these two morphemes form one phonological word, and the stress falls on the first syllable of the host, the content word.

(2.52)  [ə='buat=ala]
1SG=eat=RCP
‘I ate.’

Thus, pronominal proclitics can be phonologically independent in certain environments. The next section presents a piece of evidence that demonstrates that pronominal proclitics form a phonological word with their host.

2.7 Phonological processes

First and second person singular/plural pronominal proclitics /a/ (1SG), /ŋo/ (2SG), /ŋe/ (1PL.EXC), and /me/ (1PL.INC/2PL) may cause the voicing of a voiceless stop or fricative onset of a concatenated syllable: voiceless stops become voiced stops while the voiceless fricative /s/ becomes an affricate /dʒ/. In §2.2, it was mentioned that voiced stops and the affricate are prenasalised intervocically. The voiced stops and affricate resulting from the above phonological process are prenasalised as well. This illustrates that the pronominal proclitic and the following word form one phonological word, with the result that the voiced stops and affricate occur in the second syllable. In each pair of the following examples, voicing occurs in (a) but it does not in (b), as marked by underlines.

(2.53-a)  [ŋo=ŋha  'βe=el=ou]
2SG.F=PROS 3SG.M.O=see=PRES
‘You will go and see him.’

(2.53-b)  [ko=pa  'kue=βi]
3SG.F=PROS come=RMP
‘She came.’

(2.54-a)  [a=ŋdare=k=ou]
1SG=wait=3SG.F.O=FUT
‘I will wait for her.’

(2.54-b)  [o=ŋtare=k=a]
3SG.M=wait=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘...he is waiting for it...’ (24-6-64)

(2.55-a)  [ŋe=ŋg=at  'ŋani=a]
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL know=PRES
‘...we know it...’ (26-4-25)

(2.55-b)  [ke=k=at  'besie-kjıŋ=ou]
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL exchange-RECP=FUT
‘...they will exchange [food]...’ (21-4-23)
(2.56-a) \[a=^{a}dʒ\text{isu}\]
1SG=sweet.potato
‘my sweet potato’

(2.56-b) \[o=^s\text{isu}\]
3SG.M=sweet.potato
‘his sweet potato’

/a=/ preceding /sisu/
/o=/ preceding /sisu/

It is not the case however that these pronominal proclitics always cause voicing and prenasalisation. When they precede a VP particle, they always cause voicing and prenasalisation. When they precede an object clitic, a modifier, or a verb, they usually do but may not. In both (2.57-a) and (2.57-b) below, /ŋə/ (2SG) precedes an object clitic on the verb, /koβə/ ‘to get’. In (2.57-a), /k/ which follows /ŋə/ is voiced and prenasalised, but in (2.57-b), it is not. Examples (2.57-a) and (2.57-b) are in free variation.

(2.57-a) \[ŋə=^gə=0=a\]
2SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
‘You will get it.’

(2.57-b) \[ŋə=^kə=0=a\]
2SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
‘You will get it.’

A pronominal proclitic forms a phonological word of its own when it precedes a vowel-initial content word, but it forms a phonological word with its host when it precedes a consonant-initial content word (see last section). In both (2.57-a) and (2.57-b), the pronominal proclitic forms one phonological word with the verb which follows, as indicated by the lack of stress on the pronominal proclitic. In (2.57-b) the lack of voicing and prenasalisation of the verb-initial consonant indicates that the phonological bond between the pronominal proclitic and the verb is not strong.\(^7\)

2.8 Reduplication

Reduplication can be applied to nouns, verb roots, adjectives, and numerals, and it can be category changing or non-category changing (see §6.5). A reduplicated form can be formed by repeating the first two syllables of a non-reduplicated form. A reduplicated form consists of two phonological words, and a reduplication boundary is a boundary of

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\(^7\) Examples in this work are presented in phonemic representation, and so when a voiceless stop or a fricative is voiced following the phonological process described here, it is represented in its voiced counterpart. The reader should keep this in mind so that he/she will not need to wonder how a certain morpheme is realised in different forms in examples. To name few examples, readers will find that the situation-change marker ta, the prospective marker pa, and the third person singular object clitic k are sometimes represented as da, ba, and g respectively as a result of the phonological process described in this section.
phonological words. Accordingly, the first syllable of the two reduplicated syllables is stressed (see §2.5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-reduplicated form</th>
<th>Reduplicated form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2.58) grammatical word</td>
<td>grammatical word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[to-ru-ru] ‘egg’</td>
<td>[to-ru-to-ru-ru] ‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phonological word</td>
<td>phonological words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (2.58), an adjective /torotoruru/ ‘round’ is derived from a noun /toruru/ ‘egg’ by reduplication. The stress on [to-ru-to-ru-ru] indicates that this consists of two phonological words [to-ru] and [to-ru-ru]: the stress is applied on the first syllable of each phonological word. These two phonological words form one grammatical word /torotoruru/. Similarly in (2.59) the stress indicates that [to-beta-to-beta] consists of two phonological words which form one grammatical word.

Bilua voiced stops and the affricate are prenasalised intervocally (see §2.2). In example (2.60) below, the word /bule/ ‘peace’ begins with a voiced stop. The reduplicated form of this is /bulebule/ ‘clean’, but the bilabial voiced stop [b] of the third syllable of this word is not prenasalised. This indicates that [b] is the beginning of a new phonological word and /bulebule/ ‘clean’ consists of two phonological words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2.60) grammatical word</th>
<th>grammatical word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[bu-le] ‘peace’</td>
<td>[bu-le-bu-le] ‘clean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phonological word</td>
<td>phonological words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel sequences remain bisyllabic between the boundaries of phonological words in reduplicated forms (see §2.3). Thus, three pieces of evidence—stress pattern, lack of prenasalisation, and bisyllabic vowel sequences—illustrate that reduplicated forms consist of two phonological words.

Some reduplicated forms are lexically reduplicated, and they lack non-reduplicated counterparts. For example:
grammatical words

inherently reduplicated word [ˈku-tu-ˈku-tu] ‘dark cloud’

phonological words

The stress pattern of the example in (2.61) indicates that it consists of two phonological words but it forms one grammatical word. Any Bilua words of which the first two syllables are repeated are reduplicated forms. [ˈɪnaˈɪnaɛko] ‘to prepare’ and [ˈkoɬoˈkoɬoɡanisi] ‘Koloko-loqa-nisi’ from §2.4 are both inherently reduplicated forms: they consist of two phonological words with the first syllable of each phonological word stressed.

With verbs, reduplication applies to verb roots, that is the identical string of segments shared between intransitive and transitive verbs (see §4.4). For example, an intransitive verb niu.mat ‘to break’ and a transitive verb niu.mae ‘to break’ share a root niu.ma and thus the reduplicated form is niu.ma-ni.u.mae ‘broken’. Note that some verbs have a consonant stem-finally, but verbs in Bilua are almost always cliticised with one or more enclitics that have a vowel finally, forming one phonological word ending with a vowel.

When a verb root ends with a consonant, this results in a reduplicated form ending with a consonant. If the reduplicated form is a noun or an adjective, a vowel i is added to it. The addition of i takes place because in Bilua no phonological word can end with a consonant. In (2.62) and (2.63), the identical segments are ti.bur and po.det respectively, and a reduplicated form is an adjective and a noun respectively.

Verbs

(2.62) /ti-bu-r/ ‘to close (INTR)’

(2.63) /po-de-t/ ‘to measure (INTR)’

Reduplicated form

(2.62) /ti-bu-ti-bu-rɪj/ ‘closed’

(2.63) /po-de-po-de-tɪj/ ‘measurement’

Reduplication can also derive a verb from a noun. Verbs derived by reduplication are considered to be fully lexicalised, as their forms are not predictable from reduplicated syllables. For example, the reduplication of /ɪɡe/ ‘knee’ results in /ɪɡɛigɛ/, and the derived verb is identical with this: /ɪɡɛigɛ/ ‘to kneel down’, while the reduplication of /le.no/ ‘tongue’ results in /le.no.le.no/ and it has two derived verbs, one having an extra t, /le.no.le.no.t/ ‘to lick (INTR)’, and the other having an extra e, /le.no.le.noe/ ‘to lick (TR)’.

There are some examples where a non-reduplicated form has just one syllable. In such a case, the reduplicated form is not necessarily predictable from the non-reduplicated form. Here are some examples.

Non-reduplicated form

(2.64) /pi/ ‘to drop (TR)’

Reduplicated form

(2.64) /pi-ka-pi/ ‘to drop many times’
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(2.65) /pait/ ‘to finish (INTR)’ /paito-paito/ ‘last one/end’
/pai/ ‘to finish (TR)’

The reduplicated form of some monosyllabic words can be formed by repeating the whole word.

(2.66) /zio/ ‘to go’ /zio-zio/ ‘coming and going’
(2.67) /tou/ ‘skin’ /tou-tou/ ‘tribe’

In Bilua, numerals over ten are expressed by a phrase consisting of two or more numerals, and this phrase can be reduplicated. A reduplicated form can be formed by repeating the first two syllables of the phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-replicated form</th>
<th>Replicated form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grammatical words</td>
<td>grammatical words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a-ri-ku toni/ ‘forty’</td>
<td>/a-ri-ri-ku toni/ ‘forty each’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four ten</td>
<td>four ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| phonological words | phonological words |

2.9 Intonation

A clause is usually articulated as one intonation. There are different intonation patterns for declarative, imperative, and interrogative clauses in Bilua, as briefly described here.

Declarative clauses generally have a falling intonation.

However, when declarative clauses are coordinated, all but the last one has a rising or level intonation, instead of falling intonation, and they are followed by a slight pause. Thus a sentence consisting of three clauses can show one of following four patterns.

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Or there may be no marking of a clause boundary at all. Two clauses may be articulated as if they are one clause. In such a case, the clause boundary may be delineated by a coordinator. However, there are also cases in which clauses are simply juxtaposed and the clause boundary is not indicated in this way either. In examples given in this work, commas are used to mark a clause boundary indicated by a pause. A vertical line is used to indicate a clause boundary where neither pause nor coordinator indicates a boundary. Examples (2.69), (2.70), and (2.71) are presented using Bilua orthography, not phonemic or phonetic representation (see next section for Bilua orthography).

(2.69) Nioqa ti qo ol=a kiaro kale, qo iruruput=a, 3DU TOP 3DU go=PRES garden in 3DU work=PRES

qo=papat=a, raisi-raisi ko ev=a | sailao 3DU=plant=PRES REDUP-evening 3SG.F become=PRES food

qo=k=o=a | qo=saqor=a, ti qo=kejue. 3DU=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3DU=go.down=PRES and.then 3DU=cook

'The two went to the garden, they worked, they planted, and it became evening, and they got food, they went down, and they cooked.' (24-3-28)

Interrogative clauses typically have a rising intonation, regardless of whether they are polar questions, alternative questions, or content questions.

(2.70) Lai ta ngo=vo mama? where TOP 2SG=3SG.M father

'Where is your father?' (24-7-73)

Imperative clauses have a level intonation.

(2.71) Pa v=e=a ngo=mama. PROS 3SG.M.O=see=IMP.SG 2SG=father

'Go and see your father.' (24-5-45)

In Bilua, in principle, declarative, interrogative, and imperative clauses all have the same structure. Different types of clauses can be distinguished by intonation patterns, as well as by morphological icons such as an interrogative word that replaces the part of the clause which is in question and an imperative mood marker. That is, there is no distinctive clause structure for an interrogative or imperative clause. However, in a content question, an interrogative word or a constituent which contains an interrogative word is often marked by a focus marker and is shifted to the clause-initial position (see §14.3.2), while in an imperative clause the subject is often ellipsed (see §8.3).
2.10 Orthography

In this work, the orthography devised by early missionaries is adopted for simplicity’s sake, and also because it is used by Vella La Vella people. All vowels and consonants are written in their phonemic forms except for the following.

Table 2.4: Phonemes and orthography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Velar voiced stop /g/</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial voiced fricative /β/</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal voiced affricate /dʒ/</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal nasal /ŋ/</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar nasal /ŋ/</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is rather peculiar that the letter ‘q’ instead of ‘g’ is used for /g/ and the letter ‘g’ by itself is not used at all.

For a palatal nasal /ŋ/, an underlined n is also used, and this seems to be a preferred form. In this work, however, ‘ni’ is used as shown in the above table.

The pronunciation of some loan words in Bilua has been standardised and these words are written according to the pronunciation in Bilua, for example titisa ‘teacher’. The pronunciation of some loan words has not been standardised and these are written according to the spelling in their source language. For example, there is no standardised pronunciation for chainsaw and so this is written according to the spelling in English.

This concludes the description of the phonology and morphophonology of Bilua. The next chapter presents an overview of Bilua basic clause structures.
3 Basic clause structures

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents basic clause structures as an introduction to the syntax of Bilua in order to provide and to familiarise the reader with a general overview of the structure of the language.

Clauses in Bilua can be either verbal or non-verbal depending on predicates. A verbal predicate is always a verb phrase (VP), which is headed with a verb as in (3.1). A non-verbal predicate can be a noun phrase (NP), a postpositional phrase (PP), a locational phrase (see §10.3 for a description of locational phrases), or an existential marker but can never be a VP. In (3.2), the predicate is an NP.

(3.1) \[ ...\text{niania} = \text{ka=ma ta} [\text{ko=kejue=k=a}]_{\text{VP}} \text{ ko sailao...} \]
\[ \text{mother} = \text{LIG=3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F food} \]
\[ \text{predicate} \]
\[ '...the mother, she cooked food...' (24-3-23) \]

(3.2) \[ \text{Vo ta [student]}_{\text{NP.}} \]
\[ 3SG.M TOP student \]
\[ \text{predicate} \]
\[ 'He is a student.' \]

Basic structures of verbal clauses and non-verbal clauses are described in §3.2 and §3.3 respectively.

3.2 Basic verbal clause structure

This section presents the Bilua basic verbal clause structure. It also includes a discussion about core arguments in Bilua. As in example (3.1) above, one or more constituents of a clause are often marked with a topic or a focus marker in Bilua. Any constituent marked with a topic or focus marker takes a preverbal position regardless of its function. A description of the basic verbal clause structure in this section is based on clauses that do not contain a marked constituent. First a discussion about core arguments in Bilua is presented in §3.2.1, then, the structure of verbal clauses is presented in §3.2.2. Before proceeding, however, a brief description of the Bilua VP structure is presented, as the discussion given below will be difficult to follow without some knowledge of the VP structure (see Chapter 8 for a full description of Bilua verb phrases).
A Bilua VP minimally contains a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references the subject, a verb, and a tense/mood marker, which is an enclitic on the verb. A transitive verb is obligatorily attached with an object clitic, which cross-references the object, and this usually occurs between the verb and the tense/mood marker.

(3.3) \[a=bai=k=a]_{\text{VP}}\]
1SG=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘I finished it…’ (2-2-12)

A VP may optionally contain an aspectual/modal marker, the possessor-raising marker, a valency-increasing marker attached with an object clitic, and a modifier, all of which occur between the pronominal proclitic and the verb. In the following example, the VP contains a valency-increasing marker ati attached with an object clitic l (1SG.O) and a modifier uri attached with a ligature a (see §5.17 for the ligature). These all occur between the pronominal proclitic ke (3PL) and the verb vail attached with a present tense marker a.

(3.4) \[Ke=l=ati\quad uri=a\quad vail=a]_{\text{VP}}.
3PL=1SG=VAL \quad good=LIG \quad look=PRES
‘They look after me well.’

3.2.1 Core arguments

According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:26), core arguments are participants ‘which are part of the semantic representation of the verb’. Following Dixon (1972), three different grammatical functions of core arguments are distinguished in Bilua: S (intransitive subject), A (transitive subject), and O (transitive object). In Bilua, these grammatical functions are marked on the verb phrase (VP) by bound pronouns: by a pronominal proclitic for S and A functions, and by an object clitic for the O function, which are obligatory constituents of VPs. This illustrates that Bilua is a nominative–accusative language and also a head-marking language in terms of marking of the grammatical functions (Nichols 1986), and following Nichols (1986:107–108), the term ‘cross-reference’ is used in describing the marking of grammatical functions on VPs. Hence, core arguments in Bilua are defined as arguments that are cross-referenced on the VP by bound pronouns. One type of core argument, however, is not cross-referenced on the VP by bound pronouns. This is discussed later in this section.

S/A arguments and the O argument are obligatorily expressed by pronominal proclitics and object clitics in VPs respectively, and they may be further expressed by optional NPs that are co-referential with these bound pronouns (see the next section for the discussion about expressions of core arguments). NPs expressing S/A/O arguments can all take both preverbal and postverbal positions. Their positions depend on whether they express an S/A argument or an O argument, and also the pragmatic function of the argument (see §14.6). The above illustrates that S and A arguments are syntactically distinguished from the O argument. Accordingly, it can be said that Bilua has two grammatical relations, ‘subject’ and ‘object’, which are associated with S and A arguments, and the O argument
respectively. Another grammatical relation in Bilua, ‘second object’ is described later in this section. In the rest of this work, the terms subject and (direct) object are used sometimes in order to refer to grammatical relations, and other times in order to refer to arguments in subject and object grammatical relations.¹⁸

Subjects often have the semantic role of ‘agent’: ‘a participant which the meaning of the verb specifies as doing or causing something, possibly intentionally’ (Andrews 1985:68). In example (3.1) above, the subject has the semantic role of agent. Subjects may also have other semantic roles such as ‘experiencer’ and ‘causer’ as in examples (3.5) and (3.6) below.

(3.5) experiencer
\[ ...g=k=a \quad zari=a \quad rae=ng=o... \]
\[ 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL \quad \text{want=PRES} \quad \text{marry=2SG.O=NOM} \]
\[ \text{‘he wants to marry you...’} \] (59-11-95)

(3.6) causer (non-intentional action)
\[ ...vo=a \quad botolo \quad inio \quad o \quad ere=k=e \ ko \]
\[ 3SG.M=LIG \quad \text{bottle} \quad \text{FOC.NONF} \quad 3SG.M \quad \text{make=3SG.F.O=RMP3SG.F} \]
\[ \text{ipututu...} \]
\[ \text{eclipse} \]
\[ ‘...the bottle caused an eclipse...' \] (47-1-6)

Objects typically have the semantic role of ‘patient’: ‘a participant which the verb characterises as having something happen to it, and as being affected by what happens to it’ (Andrews 1985:68). In example (3.1) above, the object has the semantic role of ‘patient’. Objects may also have other semantic roles such as ‘product’⁹ and ‘recipient’.

(3.7) ‘product’
\[ Nio \quad ke \quad ere=k=a \quad ko \quad bereti. \]
\[ \text{SEQ} \quad 3PL \quad \text{make=3SG.F.O=PRES} \quad 3SG.F \quad \text{bread} \]
\[ ‘They made bread.’ \] (16-1-7)

(3.8) ‘recipient’
\[ ...kubo \quad sailao \quad o=kati=m=a, \]
\[ \text{many} \quad \text{food} \quad 3SG.M=\text{give=3PL.O=PRES} \]
\[ ‘...he gave them much food,’ \] (16-1-7)

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:29) distinguish two kinds of core arguments: direct core arguments, ‘core arguments which are either unmarked, as in English, or marked by case alone, as in Icelandic’, that is S, A, and O arguments; and oblique core arguments, ‘core arguments which are adpositionally marked’. In Bilua, a participant that is part of the

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¹⁸ An argument introduced by the valency-increasing construction is also cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic; that is, it is also coded as an object, but this kind of argument is referred to as an ‘added object’ (see §9.4).

⁹ The term ‘product’ is borrowed from Jauncey (1997:56).
semantic representation of the verb may be postpositionally marked, but this is not treated as a core argument as a non-participant may also be postpositionally marked. According to Andrews (1985:69) participants are those which ‘one would think of as actual participants in the situation implied by the verb’, while non-participants are ‘entities that do not really participate, but instead form part of the setting of the event’. Postpositionally marked participant/non-participants in Bilua are not cross-referenced on the VP.

For example, in a postpositional phrase vo kasi (3SG.M at), the postposition kasi marks that the referent of the governed NP, vo (3SG.M), has the semantic role of location/goal. This referent can be a participant or non-participant, depending on whether the verb is subcategorised for a participant with the semantic role of location/goal or not. That is, the choice here depends on the semantics of the verb. In (3.9), the verb barolo ‘to arrive’ is said to be subcategorised for a participant with a semantic role of location/goal and so ‘him’ is a participant. In (3.10), on the other hand, the verb raneo ‘to sleep overnight’ is not subcategorised for a participant with the semantic role of goal/location, and so ‘him’ is not a participant. In both examples the underlined PP vo kasi (3SG.M at) is optional and ‘him’ is not cross-referenced on the VP by a bound pronoun.

(3.9) Bazu ta ko=baro=a vo____ kasi.
      story TOP 3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.M at
      ‘The story arrived at him.’ (cf. (3.11))

(3.10) A=da rane=la vo____ kasi.
      1SG=SITE sleep.overnight=RCP 3SG.M at
      ‘I slept overnight at his place.’

The above illustrates that ‘him’ as a participant in (3.9) and ‘him’ as a non-participant in (3.10) are not syntactically distinguished: they are both marked by a postposition, and they are both treated as non-core arguments. Thus, a defining feature of non-core arguments is marking by a postposition. A non-participant and a participant also behave in the same way in the valency-increasing construction as illustrated below. Postpositional phrases are all treated as adjuncts together with other peripheral constituents (see next section).

The valency-increasing construction introduces a new core argument, and in this construction, a non-core argument can be realised as a core argument, and therefore it can be cross-referenced on the VP. It is cross-referenced by an object clitic, and thus it is coded as an object. Examples (3.11) and (3.12) are paraphrases of examples (3.9) and (3.10). ‘Him’, which has the semantic role of location/goal in both examples, is cross-

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10 These descriptions are used by Andrews (1985:69) in order to define two classes of semantic roles, ‘participatory roles’ and ‘circumstantial roles’, which are borne by participants and non-participants respectively.

11 Raneo, with the default pronominal proclitic ko (3SG.F) (dummy it), means ‘to become next day’. Ko here perhaps refers to ‘the sun’, thus, ko=raneo literally means ‘the sun sleeps overnight’ = ‘it becomes next day’.
referenced by the underlined object clitic \( v \) (3SG.M) on the VP, and thus it is a core argument.

(3.11) \( \ldots bazu \ ta \ [ko=v=ai \ baro=ke]_{vp} \ldots \) 
       story TOP 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL arrive=HIIST
       ‘...the story reached him...’ (12-3-21)

(3.12) \([A=v=ai \ rane=la]_{vp}\)
       1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL sleep.overnight=RCP
       ‘I slept overnight at his place.’

In (3.11) and (3.12), a non-core argument is ‘promoted’ to a core argument. The speaker may promote a non-core argument to a core argument when he/she wants to highlight the affectedness of one of participants. In (3.11), the non-core argument ‘him’ is promoted to a core argument in order to highlight the affectedness of the promoted argument. This example occurs in a discourse in which the referent’s family had been murdered and this story (news) reached him. Thus, the referent is affected by the event: he got upset upon hearing the news and searched for those who killed his family. If the speaker felt that there was no notion of affectedness of this referent, he/she would choose to express the event by (3.9) instead. Similarly example (3.12) highlights the affectedness of ‘him’. Although arguments introduced by the valency-increasing construction are coded as objects, they have different semantic roles to non-promoted, original objects. These semantic roles are described in §9.4.

There is one type of core argument in Bilua that is not cross-referenced on the VP. This can be an argument of ditransitive verbs only, a subclass of transitive verbs. Bilua verbs can be divided into two groups on morphological grounds: intransitive and transitive verbs. Transitive verbs are those that obligatorily take object clitics, while intransitive verbs can never take object clitics. For example, a pair of intransitive and transitive verbs, \( kejuto \) and \( kejueko \) respectively, shares the meaning ‘to cook (something)’. The stem of each of these verbs is \( kejut \) and \( kejue \) respectively, and \( k \) of \( kejueko \) is the default form of an object clitic, the third person singular feminine form, chosen for a citation form. \( Kejue \) can never occur without an object clitic, which is represented by \( k \) here, while \( kejut \) can never occur with an object clitic. The verb-final \( o \) in each of \( kejuto \) and \( kejueko \) is a nominal derivational enclitic, which is employed in the citation form of verbs.\(^{12}\) Intransitive and transitive verbs are also semantically distinguished. See §4.4.

Ditransitive verbs are morphologically a subclass of transitive verbs: they obligatorily take an object clitic. Ditransitive verbs, however, can have three core arguments: arguments in subject and object relations, plus a third argument. This third argument is not cross-referenced on the VP, and it can be expressed only by an optional NP. This NP cannot be postpositionally marked and therefore it is treated as a core argument. The term ‘second object’ is employed to refer to the grammatical relation associated with the third

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\(^{12}\) Whether a verb is intransitive or transitive is clear from the absence/presence of an object clitic, and so this is not indicated in the gloss (see also §4.4).
argument. Example (3.8) above has a ditransitive verb *katiko* ‘to give’, and in this example, ‘much food’ is a second object and is not cross-referenced on the VP. A second object has either a semantic role of gift as in (3.8), or of concern, as ‘with her study’ in ‘he helped her with (concerning) her study’. A list of ditransitive verbs is presented in §9.2.

An NP which expresses an argument (participant) that has the semantic role of gift may be treated as an adjunct, as this argument is not cross-referenced on the VP. However, this argument can never be marked with a postposition; nor can it ever be promoted to a core argument in the valency-increasing construction. Consequently it is treated as one type of core argument in this work.

### 3.2.2 Structure

The ‘heart’ of a clause in Bilua is the predicate. The predicate of a verbal clause is always a VP, whose head is always a verb, and except for when the verb is *elo* ‘to become’ or *iko* ‘to put/cause’, the VP on its own can form a clause. These two verbs require a complement whose occurrence is imposed by the verbs (see Andrews 1985:89). VPs headed with these verbs are always preceded by a complement phrase. This is discussed later in this section.

As described in §3.2.1, core arguments are obligatorily expressed by bound pronouns in the VP, and clauses may optionally have NP(s) which are co-referential with the bound pronouns in the VP. These optional NPs form the core of the clause together with the VP and the complement phrase. This leads to a question of what bears an argument expression of the verb: bound pronouns in VPs, optional NPs which are co-referential with the bound pronouns, or both? It is beyond the scope of this work to find a solution to this question, but in the brief discussion which follows, it is proposed that in Bilua both bound pronouns and optional NPs can be treated as argument expressions.

As noted above, grammatical functions in Bilua are marked by bound pronouns on VPs but not on NPs. Arguments may also have a particular pragmatic function, and this is not marked on bound pronouns but on optional NPs. When marked with a topic/focus marker, NPs present a topic/focus, while unmarked NPs typically introduce a new participant, or they may have other pragmatic functions (see §14). More importantly, the identity of bound pronouns is not clear by their own right: their identity has to be established first by NPs. Consequently, it can be said that both bound pronouns and NPs are expressions of arguments. However, as an argument always has a specific grammatical function, a bound pronoun is obligatory, whereas an NP is optional as it is not obligatory for an argument to have a particular pragmatic function encoded.13

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13 According to Ezard (1997), in Tawala, an Austronesian language of Papua New Guinea, it is bound pronominal forms that count as an expression of core arguments, and these pronominal forms ‘index’ the person and number of arguments. Optional NPs, on the other hand, occur to mark a pragmatic role (topic and focus) (Ezard 1997:87–89, 92–93). Optional NPs in Bilua also occur to mark a pragmatic role. However unlike Tawala, in Bilua person/number/gender is marked on both NPs and bound pronouns in VPs (see §7.4 for person/number/gender marking on NPs).
Accordingly, the core in Bilua can be divided into inner and outer cores which are obligatory and optional respectively: the inner core contains the VP as well as the complement phrase, while the outer core contains core NPs.

In addition to the predicate and NPs which express core arguments, a clause may have other optional peripheral constituents such as the postpositional phrases mentioned in the last section. Other peripheral constituents are locational/temporal noun phrases, adverbs, adverbial clauses, the negation marker, and general modifiers. All these constituents function as adjuncts.\footnote{Adverbs, general modifiers, and the negation marker all occur outside of the VP in Bilua and thus they are categorised as adjuncts.} Adjuncts occur 'subject to the requirement that the sentence make sense' (Andrews 1985:89),\footnote{Note that Andrews (1985) treats adjuncts and complements together as obliques.} and 'the meaning of an adjunct does not vary as a function of the meaning of the predicate, while the meaning of an argument can vary as a function of the meaning of the predicate' (Comrie 1993).

This description of adjuncts also supports the contention that the third argument of a ditransitive verb, which was described in the last section, is not an adjunct. This is expressed by an NP and the meaning of such an NP, or in other words, the semantic role of such an NP, can be licensed only by the verb but not by the NP itself. For example, in (3.8), the NP *kubo sailao* ‘much food’ is considered to have the semantic role of gift because of the verb *katiko* ‘to give’, which assumes a participant with the semantic role of gift.

Postpositional phrases, locational and temporal NPs/adverbs usually occur in a postverbal position, but they may take a preverbal position to be a focus constituent (see §14.3.2). Non-locational/temporal adverbs and adverbial clauses precede or follow depending on types of adverbs and adverbial clauses. The negation marker and general modifiers always precede and follow the core respectively. Thus the basic verbal clause structure in Bilua is summarised in the following figure.\footnote{The structure given here is similar to the layered structure proposed in Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 1993:5), but since the predicate obligatorily contains bound pronouns which are expressions of core arguments, there is no distinction made here between a nucleus and core (nucleus and arguments) as in RRG. As a matter of fact, predicate in this work and predicate in Van Valin’s sense is different—Van Valin treats only the verb as the predicate, while this work treats the VP as the predicate. This difference is clearly demonstrated by a Lakota example in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:33–34), in which the verb by itself is treated as the predicate. Accordingly, Van Valin and LaPolla treat the verb as the nucleus. They also treat pronominal affixes on the verb as core arguments, while independent NPs which cross-reference with these affixes are non-core.}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periphery</th>
<th>Core</th>
<th>Periphery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Outer core</td>
<td>core NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locational NP</td>
<td>Inner core</td>
<td>CompP + VP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal NP</td>
<td>Outer core</td>
<td>core NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverb</td>
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<td>adverbial clause</td>
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<td>negation marker</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>obligatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjunct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3.1:** Structure of verbal clauses

This is exemplified by the following three examples.

(3.13) *Sai vo=a ziolo ke=papue=v=e jari topi.*

"There, they sat the devil on the copra house." (43-2-18)

(3.14) *...ko=keju=la ko sailao.*

"...food has cooked." (27-16-98)

(3.15) *...dole o=ta ev=a...*

"...he became a snake..." (24-12-98)

In (3.13), the verb is transitive and the subject is expressed by a pronominal proclitic *ke* (3PL) only, while the object is expressed by an object clitic *v* (3SG.M) as well as an NP *vo=a ziolo* ‘the devil’. This NP, the adverb *sai* ‘there’, and the locational NP *jari topi* ‘on the copra house’ are all optional and they can be omitted without resulting ungrammaticality.

In (3.14), the verb is an intransitive one and thus there is only one argument, the subject ‘food’, which is expressed by a pronominal proclitic *ko* (3SG.F) as well as an NP *ko sailao* ‘food’. This NP is optional and can be omitted.

In (3.15), the verb *elo* ‘to become’ is an intransitive verb, but this verb requires a complement. As the verb is intransitive, it has only one core argument, the subject, expressed by a pronominal proclitic *o* (3SG.M). *Dole* ‘snake’ forms an NP on its own and
it is not a part of the VP, as it is possible to separate it from the VP by inserting a focus marker, whereas focus markers cannot occur within a VP. ‘Snake’ is not a core argument, as the VP does not contain a bound pronoun which is co-referential with the NP dole ‘snake’. It cannot be treated as an adjunct either as its presence is obligatory. Thus, it is a complement. When the verb is iko ‘to put/cause’, the complement phrase can also be an adjectival phrase, a postpositional phrase, or any locational phrase. Unlike core NPs or adjunct phrases, complement phrases have a fixed position in clauses—they can occur only in preverbal position.

The negation marker is an optional, non-core constituent of a clause and can thus be treated as an adjunct. The negation marker can occur only in the preverbal slot for adjuncts. If a clause has other adjunct(s) in preverbal position, the negation marker precedes them unless they are a linking adverbal or circumstantial adverb.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(3.16) } & \text{ ...puí kapiavole } ko=kati=v=a \quad ko=a \quad bakisa} \\
& \text{NEG quickly 3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money manner adverb predicate} \\
& \text{‘...she didn’t give the custom money to him quickly (27-10-62)’}^{17}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(3.17) } & \text{ Sole } maba \quad pui \quad ge=raneo=vou...} \\
& \text{that’s.why truly NEG 2DU=be.overnight=FUT linking adverbal circumstantial adverb predicate} \\
& \text{‘So, truly you will not stay [there] overnight...’ (27-21-131)}
\end{align*}
\]

The negation marker can be followed by a focus marker inio or a topic marker ti. The combination of the negation marker with inio indicates that an event has not happened yet but it is expected to happen soon, while the combination of the negation marker with ti indicates that an event has not happened contrary to expectation.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(3.18) } & \text{ Pui inio } o=vou=va...} \\
& \text{NEG FOC.NONF 3SG.M=die=PRES} \\
& \text{‘He has not died yet [but he will die soon]...’ (26-22-117)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(3.19) } & \text{ “Meqora, ngo=mama ta lai nio o=ta} \\
& \text{child 2SG=father TOP where FOC.NONF 3SG.M=SIT} \\
& \text{ol=ala. } \text{ Pui ti } o=baro=a”, \\
& \text{go=RCP NEG TOP 3SG.M=arrive=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES} \\
& \text{‘‘Child, where has your father gone? He hasn’t arrived yet [he should be here by now]”, she said.’ (24-5-40/41)}
\end{align*}
\]

These examples clearly illustrate that the negation marker is not a part of the VP, since in Bilua only a phrase but not a phrase constituent can be marked with a topic/focus marker.

\[\text{17 Custom money is money made of a big seashell. It has a shape of bracelet. It is given from the parents of a male person to the family of his prospective bride.}\]
3.3 Non-verbal clauses

A non-verbal clause typically consists of the subject, expressed by a subject NP marked with a topic marker, and the predicate, expressed by an NP, a PP headed with a similative postposition, a locational phrase (see §10.3 for locational phrases), or an existential marker. In addition to these, it may have an optional peripheral component. This can be a PP, a locational/temporal NP, an adverb, or an adverbial clause, and it may occur clause-initially or -finally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periphery</th>
<th>Core</th>
<th>Periphery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subject</td>
<td>predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locational NPs</td>
<td>+ topic marker</td>
<td>locational phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal NPs</td>
<td></td>
<td>existential marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbial clause</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Obligatory</td>
<td>Optional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.2: Structure of non-verbal clauses

In example (3.20), the predicate is a headless NP (see §7.2.1.3.1).

(3.20) …vairutu [komi=a] ipu ta [qulepo=a=ma…]  
      today PROX.SG=LIG night TOP wonderful=LIG=3SG.F  
      ‘...today, this night is a wonderful one...’ (70-4-29)

Non-verbal clauses can be divided into three types on syntactic and semantic grounds: equational, locational, and existential. Each of these has an NP/PP, a locational phrase, and an existential marker respectively as the predicate. Different types of non-verbal clauses are described in §11.

This chapter presented structures of verbal and non-verbal clauses as well as a definition of core arguments in Bilua. The next chapter presents a description of open word classes.
4 Open classes

4.1 Introduction

In Bilua, nouns and verbs form open classes, and adjectives form a semi-open class. Criteria for open classes are given in §4.2 below. Brief descriptions of each open class are presented in subsequent sections. Closed classes are discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2 Open class criteria

Open classes in Bilua can be distinguished according to morphological and syntactic criteria. Verbs are distinguished from nouns and adjectives in the sense that they can be attached with a tense-mood marker. Only verbs can be the predicate head of a verbal clause. Nouns, but not adjectives, can be the head of an NP or the predicate head of a non-verbal clause. The above is summarised in Table 4.1. The symbol + indicates that the class has the listed function and – indicates that it does not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.1: Open class criteria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attachment of a tense-mood marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate head of a verbal clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate head of a non-verbal clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of an NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives typically function as a modifier in an NP, but in Bilua, nouns, words in closed classes, phrases, and clauses may also function as a modifier in an NP, and as modifiers they are not morphologically distinguished—they all function as modifiers cliticised with a pronominal enclitic or a combination of a pronominal enclitic with a ligature, forming a modifier phrase (see §7.2.1.3.1).

Each of the three open classes is described below: nouns in §4.3, verbs in §4.4, and adjectives in §4.5.
4.3 Nouns

Bilua nouns are not grammatically marked for number and gender, but some kinship terms, personal names, and common nouns have a natural gender. For example, a kinship term *mama* ‘father’ is masculine or a female personal name *Kazuduri* ‘Kazuduri’ is feminine.

Bilua nouns can broadly be divided into two groups: locational nouns and non-locational nouns. Locational nouns are inherently locational and NPs headed with these nouns can function as locative adjuncts without a locative postposition. On the other hand, NPs headed with non-locational nouns cannot function as locative adjuncts without a locative postposition (see §10.3.2 and §10.3.3).

Non-locational nouns are further divided into three subclasses: common nouns, kinship terms, and personal names. They are distinguished on the basis of their ability to occur with optional NP constituents (see §7.2.2) as well as on semantic grounds. Locational nouns include two subclasses: relational nouns and placenames, and one noun *koi* ‘place’. Syntactically, relational nouns and placenames behave in the same way (see §7.2.2.4).

There are two nouns which are syntactically distinguished from all other nouns and thus do not belong to any of the above-mentioned classes. These are *male* ‘match’ (in the sense of ‘being equal’ or a ‘partner’) and emphatic *ngavi* ‘self’. These two nouns obligatorily occur with a pronominal proclitic, forming the direct type of possessive NP (see §7.3.1). An NP headed with either of these two nouns can never function as a locational adjunct, with or without a postposition. The above is summarised in the following figure.

![Diagram of noun subclasses]

**Figure 4.1:** Subclasses of nouns

Nouns can also be divided into inalienably possessed nouns and alienably possessed nouns. The former are kinship terms, common nouns of body parts, two nouns, *male* ‘match’ and emphatic *ngavi* ‘self’, and common nouns which have a special significance in the life and culture of Vella La Vella island people, such as *pade* ‘house’, *peuru* ‘village/home’, *kiaro* ‘garden’, *udu* ‘island’, *baerebaere* ‘friend’ or *toutou* ‘tribe’. All
other nouns are alienably possessed nouns. Inalienably possessed nouns, except for male 'match' and emphatic ngavi 'self', can be the head of both types of possessive NP in Bilua, direct and non-direct types. Alienably possessed nouns can be the head of only the indirect type (see §7.3.2). Male 'match' and emphatic ngavi 'self' can only be the head of the direct type of possessive NP.

Each of five subclasses of nouns, common nouns, kinship terms, personal names, placenames and relational nouns is described in the following.

### 4.3.1 Common nouns

Common nouns form the largest subclass of nouns. Some examples of common nouns are:

- **pade**: 'house'
- **pesio**: 'language'
- **peuru**: 'village/home'
- **kana**: 'war'
- **tola**: 'pain'
- **sopu**: 'hill'

Among common nouns, there is a small group of temporal nouns. NPs headed with a temporal noun can function as a temporal adjunct (see §10.4.2). The above examples are all non-temporal nouns. Temporal nouns are:

- **taku**: 'time'
- **nganiu**: 'day'
- **kaboso**: 'month'
- **sabere**: 'year'
- **koloko**: 'clock (o'clock)'
- **lekiti**: 'early morning'
- **vikale**: 'morning'
- **ngadale**: 'afternoon'
- **raisirasi**: 'evening'
- **ipu**: 'night'

There are a few uncountable nouns, for example, raisi 'rice', mosi 'slippery cabbage', nene 'ngali nut', and nudolo 'noodle'. These nouns can be modified by a numeral, but when they are modified by a numeral, they mean 'bag/bunch/packet of such-and-such a thing' but not just 'such-and-such a thing'. For example, in (4.1) raisi, modified by a numeral, as underlined, means 'bag of rice' not just 'rice'.

(4.1) \[ A=databarae=k=ala \quad omuga \quad raisi. \]
\[ 1SG=buy=3SG.F.O=RCP \quad two \quad rice \]
'I bought two bags of rice.'

In contrast to uncountable nouns, countable nouns show no change of meaning when they are modified by a numeral, as in the underlined NP in the following example.
(4.2) \[ A=\text{databarae}=k=\text{ala} \quad \text{omuga} \quad \text{raro.} \]
1SG=buy=3SG.F.O=RCP \quad \text{two} \quad \text{pot}

'I bought two pots.'

One common noun parani 'warrior' can be used as an adjective as well. It means parani 'brave' as an adjective.

4.3.2 Kinship terms

Some kinship terms in Bilua have inherent gender and others do not. The following is the exhaustive list of kinship terms in Bilua. Those in the left column have inherent gender, and those in the right column do not have inherent gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>niania</th>
<th>'mother'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'aunt (mother's or father's sister)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'wife's sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mama</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'husband's brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'father's brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papa</td>
<td>'mother's brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanala</td>
<td>'husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanama</td>
<td>'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taite</td>
<td>'grandparent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apakora</td>
<td>'brother's child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mabuzu</td>
<td>'grandchild'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meqora</td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'sister's child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'husband's brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'wife's sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mani</td>
<td>'wife's brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'husband's sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ravaza</td>
<td>'in-law other than mani'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaka</td>
<td>'older sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visi</td>
<td>'younger sibling'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two adjectives, reko 'female' and lasive 'male', can also function as kinship terms meaning 'wife' and 'husband' respectively.

One disease word, buabua 'haemorrhoid' can also be used as a kinship term referring to the last-born child.

Meqora is also used as a common noun meaning 'child'. Since Bilua kinship terms cannot occur with a determiner, which marks indefiniteness, when this noun occurs with determiners, it signals that it is used as a common noun. In the following example, meqora is preceded by a determiner kala.

(4.3) \[ \ldots \text{ko}=\text{vijari}=v=a \]
3SG.F=give.birth=3SG.M.O=PRES \quad \text{INDEF.SG.M} \quad \text{child}

\[ \text{lase}v=\text{a}=\text{la}. \]
\[ \text{male}=\text{LIG}=3\text{SG.M} \]
\[ '\ldots \text{she gave a birth to a male child.}' \] (27-2-10)
Kinship terms in Bilua can be used as modifiers in a modifier phrase (see §7.2.1.3.1 for modifier phrases). As modifiers, *kaka* ‘older sibling’ and *visi* ‘younger sibling’ mean ‘older’ and ‘younger’ respectively.

With kinship terms that do not have inherent gender, the gender can be specified by a modifier phrase (MP) which contains an adjective *reko* ‘female’ or *lasive* ‘male’ as a modifier, as illustrated by examples (4.4) and (4.5) below. In these examples, the modifier phrase, *reko=a=ma* (female=LIG=3SG.F) and *lasive=a=la* (male=LIG=3SG.M) respectively, are embedded into an NP headed with *taite* ‘grandparent’ and these specify the gender.

(4.4)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{reko} &= a = \text{ma} \\
\text{female} &= \text{LIG=3SG.F} \\
\text{taite} &\quad \text{grandparent} \\
\text{MP} &\quad \text{‘grandmother’}
\end{align*}
\]

(4.5)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lasive} &= a = \text{la} \\
\text{male} &= \text{LIG=3SG.M} \\
\text{taite} &\quad \text{grandparent} \\
\text{MP} &\quad \text{‘grandfather’}
\end{align*}
\]

The gender can also be specified by the head of a modifier phrase, which always takes the form of a pronominal enclitic. In the following example, the pronominal enclitic *la* (3SG.M) specifies the gender as masculine.

(4.6)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gole} &= a = \text{la} \\
\text{old} &= \text{LIG=3SG.M} \\
\text{taite} &\quad \text{grandparent} \\
\text{MP} &\quad \text{‘old grandfather’}
\end{align*}
\]

Some kinship terms can be used as vocatives on their own. In vocative use, kinship terms have restricted meanings. For example, *niania* as a vocative can only mean either ‘mother’ or ‘aunt (mother’s or father’s sister)’ although it also has a meaning ‘wife’s sister’. Other kinship terms which can be used as vocatives are *mama* ‘father’, *papa* ‘uncle’, *megora* ‘child’, *taite* ‘grandparent’, and *mabuzu* ‘grandchild’.

### 4.3.3 Personal names

Personal names are unique names of people. Some examples are:

- *Maikajara* ‘Maikajara (male)’
- *Kina* ‘Kina (female)’
- *Ila* ‘Ila (male)’
- *Kazuduri* ‘Kazuduri (female)’
4.3.4 Placenames

Placenames are unique names of countries, islands and villages. Some examples are:

- **Solomoni** 'the Solomon Islands'
- **Gizo** 'Gizo Island'
- **Vella La Vella** 'Vella La Vella island'
- **Sabora** 'Sabora village'

4.3.5 Relational nouns

Relational nouns indicate a spatial orientation. The following are Bilua relational nouns.

**Table 4.3: Relational nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keta</td>
<td>‘edge’</td>
<td>sipole</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuleto</td>
<td>‘front’</td>
<td>tona</td>
<td>‘beside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kupele</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
<td>tova</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okate</td>
<td>‘high up’</td>
<td>topi</td>
<td>‘on top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omele</td>
<td>‘below the surface’</td>
<td>vina</td>
<td>‘underneath’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poro</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
<td>zara</td>
<td>‘down below’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rana</td>
<td>‘side’</td>
<td>saka</td>
<td>‘seaside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaila</td>
<td>‘end’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Saka ‘seaside’ is included in the relational noun class, as it refers to the ‘edge’ of an island.

A relational noun occurs as the possessee of an indirect type of possessive NP. In this type of possessive NP, the possessor NP is typically marked with a possessive marker, an encliticised form of a demonstrative. This, however, is often omitted when the possessee is a relational noun. In example (4.7) the underlined NP *veetu tona* is reduced from *veetu=ko tona* (door=3SG.F beside) which literally means ‘the door’s beside’. This suggests that relational nouns are becoming postpositions.

(4.7) ...*megora=ka=la ta o ol=a veetu tona*...
    child=LIG=3SG.M TOP 3SG.M go=PRES entrance beside
    ‘...the son, he went to beside the entrance...’ (27-3-15)

Svorou (1993) studies twenty-six languages in terms of sources of ‘spatial grams’—grammatical forms of language which express primarily spatial relations (1993:31) such as adpositions, affixes, case inflections, and spatial adverbs, and he argues that relational nouns (relational object-part terms, in his terminology), as well as three other kinds of nouns—body parts, environmental landmarks, and abstract spatial notions—may be grammaticalised as adpositions. Furthermore, in the course of this grammaticalisation,
these nouns may go through a stage where they are used in a genitive construction which encodes a part-whole relationship, or where they are used as an adverb. Relational nouns in Bilua are apparently going through the grammaticalisation he describes. As noted above, relational nouns in Bilua are typically used in a possessive NP, and they are becoming like postpositions. Furthermore, two relational nouns *sipole* ‘near’ and *kuleto* ‘front’ can also be used as an adverb meaning ‘soon’ and ‘(at) first’ respectively.

*Tova* ‘behind’ can also function as a modifier in a verb phrase, meaning ‘after’ (see §8.6). This is the only noun in the entire noun class, which can be a modifier in a VP.

### 4.4 Verbs

Verbs can typically be the predicate head of a verbal clause. Verbs in Bilua are broadly divided into two types: intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. In this chapter, verbs are given without the object clitic or a final *o*, which are normally employed in the citation form of verbs.

As noted in §3.2.1, intransitive verbs and transitive verbs are morphologically distinguished by their ability to take an object clitic: intransitive verbs can never have an object clitic, while transitive verbs obligatorily take an object clitic. For example, *nanat* and *nanae*, both of which roughly mean ‘to bite’, are an intransitive and transitive verb respectively. *Nanae* but not *nanat* takes an object clitic, as indicated by underlines.

(4.8) \(\text{Ko} = \text{nanat} = \text{ala.}\)
\(3\text{SG.F=bite=RCP}\)
‘It did biting.’

(4.9) \(\text{Ko} = \text{nanae=v=ala.}\)
\(3\text{SG.F=bite=3SG.M.O=RCP}\)
‘It bit him.’

This morphological difference between intransitive and transitive verbs is a reflection of the semantic difference between them. Both *nanato* an *nanaeko* roughly mean ‘to bite’, but the intransitive *nanato* expresses that one does biting, and so with this verb the identity of the patient or affectedness of the patient is not salient. It is because of this that *nanato* never takes an object clitic. Accordingly, the intransitive *nanato* can never occur with a patient expression—it never occurs with an O NP (see §9.3, however, for occurrences of an object with an intransitive verb). On the other hand, the transitive verb *nanaeko* expresses that one bites someone, and so with this verb the identity or the affectedness of the patient is salient.

In the above examples, intransitive and transitive verbs have an identical string of segments, *nana*. *Nanat* and *nanae* then can be segmented as *nana-t* and *nana-e*, and -t and -e might be regarded as intransitive and transitive markers respectively. As a matter of fact, most verbs in Bilua have both intransitive and transitive forms, sharing an identical string of segments. However, it is not always the case that an intransitive verb and a transitive verb consist of an identical string of segments, plus -t and -e respectively. For example, an intransitive verb *roquan* ‘to care/love’ and a transitive verb *roque* ‘to
care/love' share an identical string of segments roqu, and each of them additionally has -an and -e respectively. On the other hand, an intransitive verb pazot 'to hit' and a transitive verb pazo 'to hit' share an identical string of segments, pazo, but only the intransitive one additionally has -t. It is not predictable which forms intransitive and transitive counterparts manifest.

Each of verbs 'to bite', 'to care/love', and 'to hit' has another intransitive form, nanail 'to bite oneself', roquil 'to care about/love oneself', and pazoil 'to hit oneself' respectively. The il of these verbs can be considered to be a reflexive suffix, but it cannot be claimed that all verbs which have the segment il have a reflexive meaning. For example, a verb soqoil 'to run away' never has a reflexive interpretation. Nor is it the case that all verbs that have a reflexive meaning contain -il. Some verbs contain -zi, for example, lainizi 'to feel (touch) oneself'.

It appears that historically intransitive, both reflexive and non-reflexive, and transitive verbs developed from the same roots, which are described as identical strings of segments above, with each root choosing a particular intransitive, reflexive, and/or transitive suffix, but combinations of a root with an intransitive/reflexive/transitive suffix have subsequently been fully lexicalised. Thus, 'roots' have only historical significance. It is beyond the scope of this work to present a historical analysis of verbal morphology, and all verbs are treated as unanalysed stems. However, the term 'root' is employed to refer to the identical string of segments shared by intransitive and transitive verbs in the description of reduplication and derivational morphology in §2.8 and §6.5. Appendix 1 presents different intransitive, transitive, and reflexive suffixes employed by different roots, in order to demonstrate that the choice of intransitive, transitive, and reflexive suffixes is not predictable from the form or the meaning of the root.

Verbs are cited with an enclitic o, which is glossed as NOM for a nominal derivational enclitic, attached, and citation forms of transitive verb also have an object clitic, which is realised in the default form k (3SG.F.O), for example, nanato 'to bite' and nanaeko 'to bite'. This is how Bilua people cite verbs. An object clitic usually follows the verb, and thus the citation form of a transitive verb usually ends with ko, a combination of k (3SG.F.O) with o (NOM). Since transitive verbs and intransitive verbs are distinguished by the presence/absence of an object clitic in their citation forms, whether they end with ko or not, the distinction between them is not indicated in the gloss. Thus, both an intransitive verb nanato and a transitive verb nanaeko are glossed as 'to bite' and whether each of them is intransitive or transitive is not indicated. There are some exceptions to the above, however. With four verbs, el 'to see', ov 'to get', u 'to eat', and i 'to say', the object clitic precedes the verb, and an enclitic o is directly attached to the verb. Thus, their citation forms are keto 'to see', kovo 'to get', kuo 'to eat', and kio 'to say' respectively.

There is a small subclass of transitive verbs, which are referred to as ditransitive verbs. A description of these is given in §3.2 and §9.2.

Bilua verbs can be classified into five classes in terms of the lexical semantics of verbs. This is presented in §8.4 in which VPs are described, as the lexical semantics of verbs interact with other VP constituents such as aspectual/modal markers. Verbs can also be distinguished by their valency. See §9.2.
4.5 Adjectives

Bilua adjectives do not directly modify the head; they form modifier phrases with pronominal enclitics, and these function as NP modifiers (see §7.2.1.3.1). For example, in an NP *silo=a=la megora* (small=LIG=3SG.M child) ‘small boy’, *silo=a=la* is a modifier phrase and this modifies the head, *megora*. Adjectives can, however, function as modifiers without forming modifier phrases in an NP headed with the noun *koi* ‘place’, for example *ileile=a koi* (beautiful=LIG place) ‘beautiful place’ (see §7.2.2.4). The adjective *kiada* ‘all’ forms an adjectival phrase with a pronominal proclitic and this means ‘by oneself’, for example *o=kiada* (3SG.M=all) ‘by himself’. A few adjectives can function as a modifier in a VP as well (see §8.6).

There are about 100 adjectives in Bilua, and they can be divided into different semantic groups as shown in Table 4.4 (following Dixon 1977:24 and 1991:78–85).

Adjectives *reko* ‘female’ and *lasive* ‘male’ can also function as kinship terms meaning ‘wife’ and ‘husband’. Furthermore, *reko* ‘female’, but not *lasive* ‘male’, can also be used as a common noun. As a common noun, *reko* means ‘woman’.

In Bilua, names of tribes are categorised as adjectives as well. Like other adjectives, they form a modifier phrase with a pronominal enclitic, for example, *Sabe=a=la maba* (Sabe=LIG=3SG.M person) ‘Sabe man’. However, they can modify the noun *toutou* ‘tribe’ without forming a modifier phrase, for example *Sabe toutou* (Sabe tribe) ‘Sabe tribe’.

A few adjectives can function as de-adjectival nouns and these can be the head of an NP. As de-adjectival nouns, they do not take an enclitic. Adjectives *rosi* ‘long’, *tapata* ‘hard’, and *tuvevo* ‘true’ mean ‘length’, ‘hardship’, and ‘truth’ respectively as de-adjectival nouns and they are categorised as common nouns. An abstract noun can also be derived from some adjectives, by a nominal derivational enclitic (see §6.3.2).

This concludes the description of open classes. The next chapter presents a description of closed classes.

---

18 This *a* here is a ligature. See §5.17 for a description of the ligature.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>silo ‘small’</th>
<th>matu ‘big’</th>
<th>rosi ‘long’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>puju ‘short’</td>
<td>posu ‘fat’</td>
<td>adakiri ‘thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>riro ‘narrow’</td>
<td>sipi ‘slim’</td>
<td>mota ‘thick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>repaso ‘wide’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Property</td>
<td>zokele ‘firm’</td>
<td>duki ‘heavy’</td>
<td>vairu ‘clean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>olu ‘soft’</td>
<td>launade ‘smooth’</td>
<td>aukozo ‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vualavula ‘hot’</td>
<td>sarosasoro ‘cold’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>sibi ‘black’</td>
<td>tapo ‘white’</td>
<td>diri ‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>luquumu ‘blue’</td>
<td>vago ‘yellow’</td>
<td>paqauva ‘green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Propensity</td>
<td>baisi ‘kind’</td>
<td>lekuleku ‘weak’</td>
<td>sarube ‘crazy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meomeo ‘naughty’</td>
<td>muino ‘selfish’</td>
<td>lupalupa ‘lazy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ririzo ‘capable’</td>
<td>ngalopozi ‘cowardly’</td>
<td>ukaka ‘careless’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>udo ‘stupid’</td>
<td>parani ‘brave’</td>
<td>utu ‘idle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>vairu ‘new/young’</td>
<td>qole ‘old’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>uri ‘good’</td>
<td>ruqe ‘bad’</td>
<td>kako ‘strange’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qulepo ‘important’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed</td>
<td>olu ‘slow’</td>
<td>tauka ‘quick’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similarity</td>
<td>edolo ‘different’</td>
<td>ija ‘same’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification and Others</td>
<td>tuvevo ‘true’</td>
<td>sarusaru ‘wrong’</td>
<td>tapata ‘hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>musu ‘ripened’</td>
<td>bule ‘calm/peaceful’</td>
<td>batiro ‘rich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>olu ‘easy/soft’</td>
<td>kaqa ‘dirty’</td>
<td>ivo ‘sharp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaitu ‘future’</td>
<td>sidopu ‘right/straight’</td>
<td>olomoiza ‘quiet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raura ‘expensive’</td>
<td>lasive ‘male’</td>
<td>reko ‘female’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kiada ‘all’</td>
<td>ileile ‘beautiful’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 Closed classes

5.1 Introduction

This section presents closed word and morpheme classes. For some classes, only a list of words/morpheme is given, and a full description is given in subsequent chapters.

5.2 Adverbs

There is a small closed class of adverbs in Bilua. They can be divided into two types according to their functions: predicate modifiers and linking adverbials. Predicate modifiers modify predicates. Linking adverbials indicate a semantic link between clauses. In this sense, they are similar to coordinators but they are distinguished from coordinators as they do not link clauses syntactically.

Some words in Bilua occur in a VP functioning as a modifier. One of them, maba ‘truly’, belongs to the adverb class, and all others belong to the adjective, the noun, or the general modifier class.

Predicate modifiers are divided into four types on semantic grounds: manner adverbs, locational adverbs, temporal adverbs, and circumstantial adverbs. Temporal and locational adverbs present a temporal and locational setting respectively. Manner adverbs give information about the way the situation presented by the verb happens. Circumstantial adverbs are a group of adverbs that are neither temporal nor locational and give surrounding information about the situation presented by the predicate. Table 5.1 presents a list of predicate modifiers.
Table 5.1: Predicate modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner adverbs</th>
<th>kadaule ‘instantly’</th>
<th>kapiavole ‘quickly’</th>
<th>koaziole ‘straight’</th>
<th>matuvole ‘loudly’</th>
<th>ngadavole ‘day by day’</th>
<th>oluavole ‘slowly’</th>
<th>pujiaavole ‘making it short’</th>
<th>taukaavole ‘quickly’</th>
<th>tutumaziavole ‘straightaway’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locational adverbs</td>
<td>deictic adverbs</td>
<td>koi ‘here’</td>
<td>sai ‘there’</td>
<td>indefinite locational adverb</td>
<td>uki ‘somewhere there’</td>
<td>distance adverb</td>
<td>vanga ‘far’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal adverbs</td>
<td>lera ‘tomorrow’</td>
<td>ravi ‘yesterday’</td>
<td>vairitu ‘today/now’</td>
<td>erisanga ‘at present’</td>
<td>ogotimala ‘the day before yesterday’</td>
<td>oqotinga ‘the day after tomorrow’</td>
<td>lula ‘already’</td>
<td>mainio ‘later’</td>
<td>kuleto ‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumstantial adverbs</td>
<td>muli ‘altogether’</td>
<td>saita ‘first (this is done first)’</td>
<td>maba ‘truly’</td>
<td>esa ‘maybe’</td>
<td>mata/mati ‘again’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The indefinite locational adverb, *uki* ‘somewhere there’ is distinguished from an indefinite non-specific NP *ka koi* (INDEF place) ‘somewhere’ in the sense that the speaker knows where this somewhere is. That is, it is indefinite specific. It is often used when the speaker cannot name a location straightaway.

(5.1) \[ \ldots \text{qe=zio=you} \quad \text{uki} \quad \text{siqo ale} \ldots \]
1DU.INC=go=FUT somewhere bush in
‘...we will go there (somewhere), to the bush...’ (15-2-12)
It seems that manner adverbs have originated historically in postpositional phrases. They all end with le, which appears to have originated in the cliticised form of a locative postposition kale ‘in’. For example, matuvole ‘loudly’ can be segmented into three morphemes: the adjective matu ‘big’, the nominal derivational enclitic vo, and the postposition le.

\[(5.2) \quad \text{matu}=\text{vo}=\text{le} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{big} & =\text{NOM}=\text{in} \\
& \text{‘loudly’}
\end{align*}
\]

There are five linking adverbials in Bilua. They have originated in a combination of two words; an adverb or a noun with a focus marker, or a postpositional phrase that again consists of two words, but they all have been lexicalised. Table 5.2 presents a list of linking adverbials with a description of their original parts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linking adverbials</th>
<th>Original parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sia inio ‘therefore’/‘then’</td>
<td>sai inio (there FOC.NONF): two words(^{19})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so inio ‘accordingly’</td>
<td>so inio (that FOC.NONF): two words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setainio ‘afterwards’</td>
<td>saya inio (first FOC.NONF): two words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sainkazo ‘following that’</td>
<td>sai kazo (there ABL): PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sole ‘that’s why’</td>
<td>so=le (that=IN): PP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All predicate modifiers and linking adverbials function as adjuncts. They are described with other kinds of adjuncts in Chapter 10.

5.3 General modifiers

General modifiers modify different types of words. Some of them may also modify a verbal predicate. When a general modifier modifies a verbal predicate rather than just a verb, it has a scope over the entire verbal predicate (see §10.10 for illustration with an example). Table 5.3 presents a list of general modifiers and the elements they can modify.

---

\(^{19}\) In a linking adverbial sainio, a focus marker inio is realised as nio since there is no long vowel in Bilua.
### Table 5.3: General modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verbal 'Predicate'</th>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Deictic 'Adverb'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approximative <em>tiniavo</em> 'about'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>numerals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similative <em>jari</em> 'like'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restrictive <em>pala</em> 'only'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td><em>silo</em> 'small'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive <em>buti</em> 'finished'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sasa</em> 'a bit/mock'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensifier <em>matu</em> 'very'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>kubo</em> 'many'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General modifiers, which can modify verbs, namely, *sasa* 'a little' and *matu* 'very', always precede the element they modify while others always follow it. *Matu* is also an adjective meaning 'big'. Unlike adjectives (see §4.5 and §7.2.1.3.1), general modifiers function as NP modifiers without forming modifier phrases with pronominal enclitics. The general modifier *matu* 'very' can only modify temporal nouns or one relational noun, *sipole* 'near'; for example, *matu raisiraisi* (very evening) 'late evening' and *matu sipole* 'very close'.

The completive *buti* 'finished' can modify a temporal noun and this indicates that the time the temporal noun indicates has been reached. For example, *raisiraisi buti* (evening finished) means that it has already become evening. It can also modify a deictic adverb and this indicates a completion of movement to the place referred to. To illustrate, *koi buti* '(here finished)' is used as a request to the addressee to (finish to) move to the speaker; that is, it means 'move here'.

The approximative *tiniavo* is realised as *tiania* when it follows the pronoun *so* 'that'. This combination means 'that’s about it'.

Other general modifiers are referred to throughout the book.

### 5.4 Negation marker

The negation marker *pui* is in a class of its own. The negation marker may occur with an enclitic accompanied by a preceding ligature *a* (see §5.17). This results in a sequence of a diphthong and a vowel, *pui*= *a*, followed by an enclitic, but this does not conform with the phonotactics of Bilua—it results in a sequence of Vs. Therefore, to avoid such a sequence, the negation marker is realised as *puli* in this environment. As noted in §3.2.2, the negation marker *pui* functions as an adjunct: it negates a clause. The negation marker
can also form a modifier phrase with a pronominal enclitic and this functions as an NP modifier, meaning 'no' (see §7.2.1.3.1). Finally, the negation marker forms a complex coordinator with a conjunction melai 'but' (see §13.2.4).

5.5 Pronouns

Pronouns in Bilua can be inflectional or non-inflectional. The former inflect for person, number, and gender, and the latter do not.

5.5.1 Inflectional pronouns

Inflectional pronouns are marked for a three-way person distinction (first, second, and third) and a three-way number distinction (singular, dual, and plural). Non-singular first person has an inclusive versus exclusive distinction. Third person singular has a masculine versus feminine distinction. Note that Bilua lacks grammatical gender in nouns, but a gender can be assigned to an NP by an optional NP constituent (see §7.4).

Inflectional pronouns can be free forms or bound forms. Free inflectional pronouns are demonstratives, independent pronouns, and indefinite pronouns. Demonstratives have deictic and definite marking functions. Bilua demonstratives have a two-way distinction between proximate (near-speaker) and distal (non-near speaker), and accordingly there are two sets of demonstratives, viz. proximate and distal demonstratives. Bilua has only first and second person independent pronouns, and like demonstratives they are all inherently definite. Bilua lacks third person independent pronouns, but their function is filled by demonstratives, which are used as third person independent pronouns. In contrast to demonstratives and independent pronouns, indefinite pronouns mark indefiniteness (see §7.2.1.1 for definiteness and indefiniteness). Bound inflectional pronouns are pronominal proclitics, object clitics, and pronominal enclitics.\(^{20}\)

All free inflectional pronouns, demonstratives, independent pronouns, and indefinite pronouns, can be the head of NPs. They can also be optional constituents of NPs filling the slot for determiners.

Pronominal proclitics can be constituents of a VP or an NP and they attach to the left edge of a VP or an NP. That is, they attach to a phrase and thus they are clitics. Pronominal proclitics function as subject markers in VPs, cross-referencing subjects, while they function as possessor markers in NPs. As noted in §4.5, pronominal proclitics can also form an adjectival phrase, PRON=kiada ‘by oneself’. Pronominal proclitics here mark the person, gender, and number of NPs they modify.

Object clitics are constituents of VPs and they function as object markers, cross-referencing objects. Object clitics are proclitics on valency-increasing markers—they

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\(^{20}\) Although terms 'clitic', 'enclitic', and 'proclitic' do not refer to a word class, these terms are employed here to distinguish different sets of bound pronouns.
occur in front of valency-increasing markers, attached to valency-increasing markers. With all but four verbs, object clitics are enclitics—they occur after verbs, attached to the verb. With four verbs, /k=el=ɔ/ (3SG.F.O=see=NOM) ‘to see’, /k=ɔβ=ɔ/ (3SG.F.O=get=NOM) ‘to get’, /k=ɔu=ɔ/ (3SG.F.O=eat=NOM) ‘to eat’, and /k=ɔi=ɔ/ (3SG.F.O=say=NOM) ‘to say’, they are proclitics—they occur in front of verbs, attached to verbs. Thus, there are three different positions in VPs where object clitics occur, but they have the same realisations regardless of the position they take. This suggests that they are clitics not affixes. If they were treated as affixes, it would have to be proposed that there are three different sets of object affixes, one which attaches to valency-increasing markers, one which prefixes to verbs, and one which suffixes to verbs, yet they always have the same realisations. This is a rather odd thing to say. Furthermore, they can be attached to all valency-increasing markers and transitive verbs, and there is no arbitrary gap in the set of valency-increasing marker–object clitic combination or in the set of verb–object clitic combination.

Pronominal enclitics can be optional constituents of NPs or the head of modifier phrases (MPs) that are optional NP constituents. Like pronominal proclitics, they attach to a phrase—they attach to the right edge of an NP or an MP and thus they are clitics. In either case, pronominal enclitics mark the person, gender, and number of NPs.

Descriptions of NPs and MPs, and of VPs are presented in §7.2 and §8.2 respectively. The functions of inflectional pronouns are summarised in the following table.

Table 5.4: Functions of inflectional pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>demonstratives</td>
<td>head of NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independent pronouns</td>
<td>determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite pronouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronominal proclitics</td>
<td>subject marker in VPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>possessor marker in NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>person/number/gender marker in NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object clitics</td>
<td>object marker in VPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronominal enclitics</td>
<td>head of MPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>person/number/gender marker in NPs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All pronouns except for indefinite pronouns are listed in Table 5.5 below in order to demonstrate resemblances in forms across different sets of pronouns. Note that a distal–proximate distinction applies only to demonstratives and not to independent pronouns.
Table 5.5: Forms of definite pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent pronouns and demonstratives</th>
<th>Proclitics</th>
<th>Object clitics</th>
<th>Enclitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>distal</td>
<td>proximate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>anga</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ngo</td>
<td>ngo</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.M</td>
<td>vo</td>
<td>nei</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.F</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>komi</td>
<td>ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU.EXC</td>
<td>eqe</td>
<td>qe</td>
<td>qel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU.INC</td>
<td>aniqe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>qe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>nioqa</td>
<td>nioqi</td>
<td>qo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXC</td>
<td>aninge</td>
<td>nge</td>
<td>ngel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INC</td>
<td>anime</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>mel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for independent pronouns, the distinction between first person dual (both inclusive and exclusive) and second person dual, and the distinction between first person plural inclusive and second person plural is neutralised.

First and second person forms share the same consonant or the same consonant–vowel combination across different sets of pronouns. For example, second person singular forms all have the consonant ng, while first person plural exclusive forms all have the consonant–vowel combination nge.

The third person plural pronounal enclitic has a different realisation depending on the host. When the host is an indefinite marker ka it is realised as ke (see below); when the host is an interrogative marker la, it is realised as ve (see §5.6), otherwise it is realised as mu.

The second person singular pronominal enclitic is realised as langa when its host is an adjective. Otherwise, it is realised as nga.

When demonstratives and independent pronouns fill the slot for determiners, all but the first person singular independent pronoun anga and the third person dual distal demonstrative nioqa are attached with the ligature a,\(^{21}\) which links demonstratives and independent pronouns to the following morpheme (see §5.17 for ligatures). The combination of the singular masculine proximate demonstrative nei and the ligature a is realised as ne in order to avoid a sequence of three vowels.

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\(^{21}\) The ligature is normally realised as ka when it attaches to a morpheme ending with the vowel a, but anga and nioqa do not take this.
Indefinite pronouns are inherently third person and marked for number and gender: \textit{kala} (INDEF.SG.M), \textit{kama} (INDEF.SG.F), \textit{kainiqa} (INDEF.DU) and \textit{kake} (INDEF.PL). These can be segmented into the indefinite marker \textit{ka} and a third person pronominal enclitic but they are all lexicalised as indefinite pronouns. Their original parts are: \textit{ka=la} (INDEF=3SG.M), \textit{ka=ma} (INDEF=3SG.F), \textit{ka=inioqa} (INDEF=3DU), and \textit{ka=ke} (INDEF=3PL). The third person plural pronominal enclitic is realised as \textit{ke} and not as the usual \textit{mu} when the host is the indefinite marker. The third person pronominal enclitic \textit{nioqa} is realised as \textit{inioqa} in the lexicalised form (see also §5.6). As mentioned above, indefinite pronouns can fill the slot for determiners. In this position, indefinite pronouns may not be marked for number and gender; that is, the indefinite marker \textit{ka} may function as a determiner by itself (see §7.2.1.1.2).

Indefinite pronouns can be preceded by \textit{mata} ‘more’, which is in the same form as an adverb \textit{mata} ‘again’. A combination of \textit{mata} and an indefinite pronoun means ‘other’. This is treated as one lexeme, as \textit{mata} cannot occur without an indefinite pronoun. In the following example \textit{mata} is followed by an indefinite pronoun \textit{kake} as underlined. This means ‘others’.

\begin{verbatim}(5.3) ...	extit{kake} ta lasive=a=mu ni \underline{mata} \underline{kake} ta INDEF.PL TOP male=L1G=3PL and other INDEF.PL TOP
parani poso.
warrior PL.M
‘...some were men, and some others were warriors.’ (21-9-54)
\end{verbatim}

5.5.2 Non-inflectional pronouns

Non-inflectional pronouns are so ‘that’, \textit{eri} ‘something like this’, and measure pronouns meaning ‘one’.

5.5.2.1 So ‘that’ and \textit{eri} ‘something like this’

Two non-inflectional pronouns, so ‘that’ and \textit{eri} ‘something like this’, have a clause as their antecedent and can be both anaphoric and cataphoric.

In (5.4), so ‘that’ is anaphoric, while in (5.5) \textit{eri} ‘something like this’ is cataphoric. (In the following examples, pronouns \textit{so} and \textit{eri} are single-underlined and their antecedent is double-underlined.)

\begin{verbatim}(5.4) \underline{Sole} \underline{\textit{o=beta}} \underline{kail=a} \underline{so} \underline{ti} \underline{so} \underline{ti} \underline{so} \\
so 3SG.M=CONT go.up=PRES that INT that INT that
\underline{ti} \underline{vanga} \underline{azo} \underline{inio} \underline{o=ta} \underline{v=a} \underline{ti}
and.then far.away ABL FOC.NONF 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL
\end{verbatim}
\[ k=e=a \quad o=momo. \]
\[ 3SG.F.O=see=PRES \quad 3SG.M=back \]
'So, he kept going up, going up, going up, and going up, and from far away, he saw his back.' (24-5-60-61)

\[(5.5)\]
...vo ta eri k=i=o=la.
3SG.M TOP s.th.like.this 3SG.FO=say=3SG.M=PRES

'Meagersaidi komi ta ko niuniu'.
family PROX.SG.F TOP 3SG.F fish
'...he said something like this. "Family, here is fish."' (24-3-24-25)

Eri 'something like this' commonly refers to the content of speech or event, as in (5.5), or it can be used to refer to an object within the sight of both speaker and addressee. Eri can also be employed accompanied with a gesture to show how one does something, as in (5.6).

\[(5.6)\]
...eri o i=k=a ta vuala-vuala
s.th.like.this 3SG.M put=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then REDUP-hot
ko=a suakao.
3SG.F=LIG basket
'...he did something like this to it, and [he found that] the basket was hot.' (59-3-21) (more literally '...he put it in something like this, and [he found that] the basket was hot. ')

5.5.2.2 Measure pronouns

Four measure pronouns, pado (MESone/MESpiece), kena (MESone/MESpiece), leaza (MESpiece), and kobu (MESpart) can never occur on their own, unlike other pronouns. They always occur with a numeral or a determiner. Pado can also be modified by PRON=kiada 'by oneself'. All four can be translated as 'one', and each measure pronoun substitutes specific things. Kena refers to a whole sweet potato, taro, or yam. It can also refer to a piece of banana or fish. Pado can refer to a whole banana or fish rather than a piece of banana or fish. Modified by PRON=kiada 'by herself', pado refers to a person. Pado can also refer to a piece of a long object, such as a stick. Leaza can refer to a crescent-shaped piece cut from something with an egg/ball shape, such as a betelnut or a cutnut. Kobu can refer to a part of an area. The above is summarised in the following table.
Table 5.6: Measure pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure pronouns</th>
<th>Whole</th>
<th>Part/piece</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kena</em></td>
<td>sweet potato/taro/yam</td>
<td>piece of banana/fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>leaza</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>crescent-shaped piece of betelnut/cutnut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kobu</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>part of an area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pado</em></td>
<td>house/dog/banana/fish/betelnut/person</td>
<td>piece of a long object</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following example, NPs headed with a measure pronoun are underlined.

(5.7) NP headed with *pado*

```
...ko=p a  kobue=k=a  ko  kevu  inio
  3SG.F=PROS cut=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F bamboo FOC.NONF
ka  pado  ta  Korokoroqanisi
INDEF MEA piece TOP REDUP-Korokoroqanisi
ko=kati=v=a, ka  pado  ta  ko=ngavi.
3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES INDEF MEA piece TOP 3SG.F=EMPH
‘...she went and cut a bamboo in half, and one, she gave it to Korokoroqanisi, one, [she gave it to] herself.’ (39-6-41)
```

*pado* can also be an optional constituent of an NP (see §7.2.1.4).

5.6 Interrogatives

Each interrogative in Bilua belongs to a certain word class. One of the interrogatives, *noni* ‘how/what’, corresponds with the pronoun *so* ‘that’ (see §5.5.2.1). Bilua interrogatives and their classes are provided in Table 5.7 below.

Table 5.7: Interrogatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative</th>
<th>Word Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>lai</em> ‘where’</td>
<td>deictic adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>latau</em> ‘how many/how much’</td>
<td>quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>noni</em> ‘how/what’</td>
<td>pronoun <em>so</em> ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>loma</em> ‘what’</td>
<td>nouns (non-human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lala</em> (who.SG.M) ‘who’</td>
<td>nouns (human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lama</em> (who.SG.F) ‘who’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lainioqa</em> (who.DU) ‘who’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lave</em> (who.PL) ‘who’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘When’ is expressed by a PP noni keru (what TEMP) in Bilua, which is in contrast with a PP so keru (that TEMP) ‘that time’.

Interrogatives meaning ‘who’ can be segmented into the interrogative marker la and a third person pronominal enclitic: la=la (INTRG=3SG.M), la=ma (INTRG=3SG.F), la=miniqa (INTRG=3DU), and la=ve (INTRG=3PL), but they are all lexicalised as interrogatives. With the interrogative marker la as its host, the third person pronominal enclitic is realised as ve, not as the usual mu.

It appears that lai ‘where’ and latau ‘how many/how much’ also contain la, the interrogative marker. Lai is considered to consist of la and i. I is shared with deictic adverbs, koi ‘here’ and sai ‘there’. Latau could be segmented into la and tau, but there is no morpheme tau found in any other words in present-day Bilua.

Each interrogative behaves in the same way as other words in the word class it belongs to, or in the case of noni ‘how/what’, in the same way as the pronoun so ‘that’. A phrase containing an interrogative is often marked with a focus marker (see §14.3.2).

5.7 Postpositions

A postposition is the head of a postpositional phrase. Postpositions in Bilua are:

- locative kasi and kale
- comitative sate
- vicinity vasi
- benefactive kaqe
- ablative azo
- privative pide
- temporal keru
- similative jari

There is also a complex postposition of reason kale avo ‘because of’. PPs headed with all but the similative postposition can function as adjuncts. PPs as adjuncts are described in Chapter 10. PPs headed with the similative postposition can only be the core: a complement of the verb iko ‘to cause’ or a non-verbal predicate. Complements and non-verbal predicates are obligatory constituents of clauses and are described in §8.7 and §11 respectively.

5.8 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are a separate class in Bilua. This class includes numerals and kubo ‘many’. A quantifier can be an NP modifier or the head of an NP. The numerals up to ten are:

- omadeu (madeu) ‘one’
- omuqa (muqa) ‘two’
- zouke (ke) ‘three’
- arikua (ariku) ‘four’
- sike (ke) ‘five’
- varimuja (muja) ‘six’
- sikeura (keura) ‘seven’
- siotolu (tolu) ‘eight’
- siakava (kava) ‘nine’
- toni (ni) ‘ten’
The forms in brackets are old forms which are not used any more. Only some old people remember these forms. According to local people, these are forms which devils or spirits used to use and that is why local people do not use them any more.

The numerals for hundred and thousand are *paizana* and *vuro* respectively. Numbers over ten are expressed by a phrase which consists of numerals from one to ten listed above, *paizana* ‘hundred’, and *vuro* ‘thousand’, except for *karabete* ‘twenty’.

(5.8) \( \text{toni omadeu} \)
\( \text{ten one} \)
\( \text{‘eleven’} \)

(5.9) \( \text{zouke toni} \)
\( \text{three ten} \)
\( \text{‘thirty’} \)

(5.10) \( \text{zouke toni omuqa} \)
\( \text{three ten two} \)
\( \text{‘thirty-two’} \)

(5.11) \( \text{omadeu paizana siakava} \)
\( \text{one hundred nine} \)
\( \text{‘one hundred and nine’} \)

(5.12) \( \text{omadeu vuro siakava paizana ariku} \)
\( \text{one thousand nine hundred four} \)
\( \text{‘one thousand, nine hundred and four’} \)

5.9 Collective and plural markers

Collective markers have two forms: the plural form *madu* (COLL.PL) and the dual form *kidi* (COLL.DU), and they mark collectiveness. The plural form has another realisation, *mu*, but this occurs only in the indirect type of a possessive NP headed with the noun *maba* ‘person’ (see §7.3.2). There is only one plural marker, *poso* (PL.M). Collective and plural markers are all optional constituents of NPs (see §7.2.1.5).

5.10 Existential markers

Existential markers indicate the existence of an entity. Existential markers are divided into two types—non-specific location existential markers, which indicate the existence of an entity in a non-specific location (glossed as EXT followed by number/gender), and distal existential markers, which indicate the existence of an entity at some distance (glossed as D.EXT followed by number/gender).

Both types of existential markers have four realisations with different number/gender marking. Existential markers can only be the predicate of a non-verbal clause and the number/gender of existential markers agrees with the number/gender of the subject. In the
following example, the existential marker is realised in the singular feminine form *ikoana* agreeing with the subject *matu=ma kea*.

(5.13) ...*matu=ma kea ta ikoana...*

| big=3SG.F | cave | TOP | EXT.SG.F |
| subject   | predicate |

‘...there was a big cave...’ (26-14-81)

The following is the list of both types of existential markers.

**Table 5.8: Existential markers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number/gender</th>
<th>Non-specific</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular masculine</td>
<td><em>inevoana</em></td>
<td><em>une</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular feminine</td>
<td><em>ikoana</em></td>
<td><em>uko</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td><em>inioqiana</em></td>
<td><em>unioqa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td><em>inisiana</em></td>
<td><em>uni</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appears that historically, existential markers originated in several segments. Non-specific locational existential markers can be segmented into four parts: *i*, two demonstratives, distal and proximate, and *ana*. It appears that *i* and *ana* form an existential marking discontinuous morpheme *i...ana*.

**i-** Proximate demonstrative - Distal demonstrative -*ana*.

Thus each of non-specific locational existential marker is analysed as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>existential markers</th>
<th>original parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular masculine:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>inevoana</em></td>
<td><em>i-ne-vo-ana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXT.SG.M</td>
<td>EXT-PROX.SG.M-3SG.M-EXT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular feminine:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ikoana</em></td>
<td><em>i-ko-ana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXT.SG.F</td>
<td>EXT-PROX.SG.F-EXT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>inioqiana</em></td>
<td><em>i-nioqi-ana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXT.DU</td>
<td>EXT-PROX.DU-EXT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>inisiana</em></td>
<td><em>i-ni-si-ana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXT.PL</td>
<td>EXT-PROX.PL-3PL-EXT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the singular masculine form, the singular masculine proximate demonstrative *nei* is realised as *ne*. The singular feminine proximate and distal demonstratives are both *ko*, and so the singular feminine form has only one of them, which is glossed as PROX.SG.F here. The dual proximate demonstrative is *nioqi* while the distal one is *nioqa*. Only the proximate one appears in the dual form. It appears that this is because of their similar forms. The vowel of the plural distal demonstrative *se* is realised as *si*, showing an assimilation to the preceding vowel.
Distal existential markers can be segmented into what appears to be a distal existential morpheme \(u\)- and a demonstrative: the proximate one\(^{22}\) for singular masculine and plural, and the distal one for singular feminine and dual. Again, the singular masculine proximate demonstrative loses the final \(i\). Thus, each of distal existential markers can be analysed as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular masculine:</th>
<th>existential marker</th>
<th>original parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(u-ne)</td>
<td>(\rightarrow)</td>
<td>(u-ne) ((u-nei))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.EXT.SG.M</td>
<td>D.EXT-PROX.SG.M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular feminine:</th>
<th>existential marker</th>
<th>original parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(uko)</td>
<td>(\rightarrow)</td>
<td>(u-ko)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.EXT.SG.F</td>
<td>D.EXT-3SG.F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dual:</th>
<th>existential marker</th>
<th>original parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(unioqa)</td>
<td>(\rightarrow)</td>
<td>(u-nioqa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.EXT.DU</td>
<td>D.EXT-3.DU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>plural:</th>
<th>existential marker</th>
<th>original parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(uni)</td>
<td>(\rightarrow)</td>
<td>(u-ni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.EXT.PL</td>
<td>D.EXT-PROX.PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combinations of a distal existential marker \(une\) or \(uko\) with a noun \(quli\) ‘thing’, that is \(une\) \(quli\) and \(uko\) \(quli\), form an idiom meaning ‘that something’. They are used when the speaker cannot give the name of an entity straightaway in order to fill the gap in his speech.\(^{23}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(5.14)} & \quad \text{Uko} & \text{quli} & \text{komi} & \text{seqara=} & \text{ko} & \text{votu} \\
& \text{D.EXT.SG.F} & \text{thing} & \text{PROX.SG.F} & \text{betelnut=} & \text{3SG.F} & \text{trunk} \\
& \text{ke=} & \text{k=ai} & \text{ere=} & \text{k=a} & \text{ko} & \text{mola.} \\
& \text{3PL=} & \text{3SG.F.O=} & \text{VAL} \quad \text{make=} & \text{3SG.F.O=} & \text{PRES} & \text{3SG.F} \quad \text{canoer} \\
& \text{‘That something, this, with a trunk of a betelnut tree, they made a canoe.’} \quad (34-1-14)
\end{align*}
\]

In the above example, the speaker refers to the trunk of a betelnut tree first by \(uko\) \(quli\) ‘that something’ and then by a deictic pronoun, and finally gives its name.

---

\(^{22}\) There is a semantic contradiction here. Distal existential markers indicate an existence of entity in some distance but two of them, singular masculine and plural ones, contain a proximate demonstrative.

\(^{23}\) This is similar to the use of the indefinite locational adverb \(uki\) ‘somewhere there’. It may be postulated that \(u\) of \(uki\) and \(u\) of \(uko\) \((\text{EXT.SG.F})\) and \(une\) \((\text{EXT.SG.M})\) originate in the same morpheme. There is no morpheme \(ki\), however, found in present-day Bilua. It appears that \(une\) \(quli\) \((\text{EXT.SG.M} \text{thing})\) and \(uko\) \(quli\) \((\text{EXT.SG.F} \text{thing})\) originated in a non-verbal clause. Although the basic order of subject and predicate of non-verbal clauses is subject first and then predicate, this order can be reversed. \(Uneluko\) and \(quli\) can be regarded as the predicate and the subject of a non-verbal clause respectively, and this literally means ‘there exists a thing’. Note that the subject of a non-verbal clause is usually marked by a topic marker but when the subject follows predicate, this does not appear.
5.11 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are divided into two types: coordinators and subordinators. Coordinators link constituents of same status. Linked elements can be nouns, phrases, non-verbal predicates, or clauses. Subordinators mark a dependent clause and link it to an independent clause.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.9: Conjunctions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coordinators</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conjunctive coordinator <em>ni</em> ‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disjunctive coordinator <em>ma</em> ‘or’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adversative coordinator <em>melai</em> ‘but’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sequential coordinator <em>ini</em> ‘sequentially/and then’, which is glossed as SEQ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causal coordinators <em>ti</em> and <em>ta</em> ‘and then/consequently’, which are glossed as ‘and then’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intensifying coordinator <em>ti</em>, which is glossed as INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subordinators</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>puliako</em> ‘before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maqa</em> ‘while’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>palate</em> ‘while’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>le</em> ‘in order to’, which is glossed as PURP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tea</em> ‘if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative clause markers, <em>ni</em>, <em>ko</em>, <em>ma</em>, and <em>vo</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The adversative coordinator *melai* ‘but’ also forms a complex coordinator, ‘not...but’, with the negation marker *pui* ‘not’. Causal coordinators *ti* and *ta* have developed from topic markers *ti* and *ta* (see §13.2.6).

The purposive subordinator *le* and relative clause markers are enclitics and attach to the right edge of a VP. Dependent clauses can also be marked with a locative postposition *kale* and a temporal postposition *keru*.

Coordinators and subordinators are described in Chapters 13 and 12 respectively.

5.12 Irrealis marker *tu*

The irrealis marker *tu* always occurs between two clauses. The clause that precedes is always an independent clause, while the clause that follows can be either an independent or a dependent clause. The irrealis marker *tu* denotes that the clause that follows presents an unrealised situation. For a description of the irrealis marker *tu*, see §12.3.2, §12.3.3, and §13.3.
5.13 VP particles

There are three kinds of VP particles: aspectual/modal markers, valency-increasing markers, and a possessor-raising marker, as listed in Table 5.10. These particles are all optional constituents of VPs and never occur without obligatory constituents of VPs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.10: VP particles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspectual/modal markers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valency-increasing markers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessor-raising marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The function of valency-increasing markers is to increase the valency by one. They always occur with an object clitic which cross-references one of the arguments. The possessor-raising marker *ta* always co-occurs with a valency-increasing marker. Valency-increasing and possessor-raising markers are described in §9.4 and §9.5 respectively. Aspectual/modal markers are described in §8.5.

5.14 Tense/mood markers

Tense/mood markers in Bilua are enclitics, which are attached to VPs: they are attached to the right edge of a VP. They can attach to a material already containing a clitic—they attach to a transitive verb–object clitic combination. These two factors illustrate that tense/mood markers in Bilua are clitics. In Bilua, there is a five-way tense distinction of present, near future, future, recent past, and remote past, each marked by a different tense marker. In addition to these, there is a historical tense marker. The tense distinctions of Bilua are discussed in §8.3. There is only one set of mood markers; these are imperative mood markers. Imperative mood markers agree with the addressee in number: singular, dual, and plural. The following two tables present the list of tense and imperative mood markers.
Table 5.11: Tense markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense markers</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present tense</td>
<td>a/va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near future tense</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future tense</td>
<td>ou/vou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recent past tense</td>
<td>ala/la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote past tense</td>
<td>e/vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical tense</td>
<td>ake/ke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.12: Imperative mood markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular imperative markers</td>
<td>a/e/vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual imperative markers</td>
<td>oko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural imperative markers</td>
<td>omo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Different realisations of tense/mood markers are dealt with in Appendix 2.

5.15 Topic and focus markers

There are three topic markers *ta*, *ti*, and *melai*, and two focus markers *inio* and *ikio*. A constituent marked with a topic marker presents a topic while a constituent marked with a focus marker presents a focus. Topic and focus markers play an important role in pragmatics in Bilua. These are described in §14.2 and §14.3.

5.16 Interjections and tags

The following table presents interjections and tags with their use and/or meaning.

Table 5.13: Interjections and tags

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjections</th>
<th>ee</th>
<th>‘yes’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>to show surprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kio</td>
<td>‘Is that so?’ ‘Really?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ako</td>
<td>‘well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>koe</td>
<td>to get an attention or to show surprise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Tag | ze   | for confirmation, ‘Is that OK?’ |

A disjunctive coordinator *ma* ‘or’ can be used as a tag in a polar question.
(5.15) \textit{Ngo=a} \textit{verep=a} \textit{ma}.  \\
2SG=SIT be.sick=PRES or  \\
‘Are you sick?’

5.17 Ligature

The ligature is an enclitic which takes various kinds of words as its host. The ligature has three realisations—\textit{a}, \textit{ka}, and \textit{za}. The ligature is realised as \textit{za} when it follows a diphthong \textit{oi} or \textit{ai}. Following the vowel \textit{a}, it is realised as \textit{ka}. Elsewhere it is realised as \textit{a}.

The ligature links the host to certain types of morphemes that follow it. The host and the linked morpheme are always constituents of the same phrase. For example, in (5.16), the host of the ligature is an adjective which functions as a modifier in a VP, and this and the word which is linked by the ligature, the verb, are both constituents of a VP. In (5.17), an adjective \textit{ileile} ‘beautiful’ and the third person singular pronominal enclitic \textit{ma} (3SG.F) form a modifier phrase. Two morphemes are linked by the ligature, underlined.

(5.16) \textit{A=da} \textit{uri=a} \textit{maquin=a}.  \\
1SG=SIT good=LIG full=PRES  \\
‘I am nicely full.’

(5.17) \textit{ile-ile=a=ma}  \\
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.F  \\
‘beautiful one’

Morphemes which the ligature links are presented in Table 5.14 below.

There are some exceptions to this. Adjectives \textit{kiada} ‘all’, \textit{matu} ‘big’, \textit{ukaka} ‘careless’, \textit{utu} ‘idle’, and \textit{aza} ‘various’, one numeral \textit{omuqa} ‘two’, and relational nouns \textit{tova} ‘behind’ and \textit{rana} ‘side’, and a placename \textit{Veala} never take the ligature. A PP headed with the comitative postposition \textit{sate} does not take a ligature either.
Table 5.14: Morphemes which the ligature links

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphemes preceding the ligature</th>
<th>Morphemes following the ligature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Any constituent which functions as an NP modifier:</td>
<td>• pronominal enclitics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• adjectives and AdjPs</td>
<td>• the noun koi ‘place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• deictic adverbs and an adverb lula ‘already’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• placenames</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• kinship terms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• relational nouns and NPs headed with relational nouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• numerals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• the negation marker pui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• interrogatives lai ‘where’ and noni ‘how’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• pronouns so ‘that’, eri ‘something like this’, and pado ‘one’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• PPs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• future verbal clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• demonstrative</td>
<td>Any NP constituent:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• independent pronouns</td>
<td>• quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• NP modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• head of NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• adjectives</td>
<td>• verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• the quantifier kubo ‘many’</td>
<td>• the noun koi ‘place’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.18 Vocatives

There are two kinds of vocative affix in Bilua. A suffix -o can be attached to a personal name or a kinship term; for example, Kina-o (Kina-VOC) ‘Kina’ and niania-o (mother-VOC). All personal names and a few kinship terms can also be used as vocatives without a vocative suffix (see §4.3.2).

There is one set of vocative suffixes which can be attached to second person demonstratives. The choice of the form depends on the number/gender of the addressee: -ila (SG.M), -iza (SG.F), -va (DU and PL). Thus,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngo-ila} & \quad \text{ngo-iza} & \quad \text{qe-va} & \quad \text{me-va} \\
2\text{SG-VOC.SG.M} & \quad 2\text{SG-VOC.SG.F} & \quad 2\text{DU-VOC.DU} & \quad 2\text{PL-VOC.DU} \\
\text{‘you (male)’} & \quad \text{‘you (female)’} & \quad \text{‘you two’} & \quad \text{‘you many’}
\end{align*}
\]

This concludes the description of closed classes. The next chapter deals with derivational morphology in Bilua.
6 Derivational morphology

6.1 Introduction

There are four morphological processes which derive a word in Bilua: suffixation, encliticisation, compounding, and reduplication. In this chapter, each of these is dealt with in turn.

In this chapter, verbs are given in their stem forms without final o or an obligatory object clitic on transitive verbs.

6.2 Suffixation

Suffixation can derive verbs from verbs, nouns, and adjectives. There is only one suffix, -kini, which attaches to verbs, while there are several sets of suffixes which attach to nouns and adjectives.

6.2.1 Suffix on verbs, -kini

The suffix -kini has both derivational and valency-decreasing functions. It derives a reciprocal, intransitive verb which has a valency of one from a transitive verb which has a valency of two (see §9.2 for the valency of verbs). With this derivational process, most often both A and O arguments of the transitive verb become the S argument of the derived intransitive verb. Accordingly, the subject is always non-singular. For example, the verb in (6.1) is a transitive verb torae ‘to meet’, and the verb in (6.2) is an intransitive reciprocal verb derived from this by suffixation of -kini, torae-kini (meet-RECP) ‘to meet each other’. The A and O arguments in (6.1) have both become the S argument in (6.2).

(6.1) \[ O=torae=k=ala. \]
\[ 3SG.M=meet=3SG.F.O=\text{RCP} \]
\[ '\text{He met her.}' \]

(6.2) \[ Qo=torae-kini=ala. \]
\[ 3DU=meet-\text{RECP}=\text{RCP} \]
\[ '\text{They (he and she) met each other.}' \]

There is one exception to this in the data. A derived reciprocal verb pazo-kini (hit-RECP) from the verb pazoko ‘to hit’ means ‘to fight’ and the subject of this verb can be
singular, as in (6.3). Although the subject is singular in this example, the verb *pazokinio* ‘to fight’ implies that the action of hitting is exchanged between two parties—the subject hit someone else as well as being hit himself by this someone else. Thus, the verb still entails a reciprocal meaning.

(6.3)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sito</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>kala</th>
<th>maba</th>
<th>vo</th>
<th>ta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sito</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>INDEF.SG.M</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>3SG.M</td>
<td>TOP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(o=pazo-kini=e\) \(\text{matu kub}=a\) \(\text{koi}\).

3SG.M=hit-RECP=RMP very many=LIG place

’Sito is a man, he fought at lots of places.’ (12-1-2)

Only transitive verbs whose A and O arguments are both human take the suffix *-kini*. Some other verbs derived by suffixation of *-kini* are:

(6.4)  
\(\text{bazue} \text{ ‘to tell’} \rightarrow \text{bazue-kini} \text{ ‘to tell each other’ or ‘to exchange conversation’}\)

(6.5)  
\(\text{vouvae} \text{ ‘to kill} \rightarrow \text{vouvae-kini} \text{ ‘to kill each other’}\)

(6.6)  
\(\text{roque} \text{ ‘to care/love’} \rightarrow \text{roque-kini} \text{ ‘to care/love each other’}\)

(6.7)  
\(\text{besie} \text{ ‘to replace’} \rightarrow \text{besie-kini} \text{ ‘to replace each other’}\)

A ditransitive verb *katiko* ‘to give’ can also take the suffix *-kini*. With a Bilua verb *katiko* ‘to give’, the O argument is the recipient not the theme and thus it is human. With this verb, the suffix *-kini* is realised as *-ekini*

(6.8)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Se</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>ke=kati-ekini=a</th>
<th>ko</th>
<th>puaro.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>3PL=give-RECP=PRES</td>
<td>3SG.F</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They exchange a present.’

### 6.2.2 Suffixes on nouns and adjectives

There are four sets of suffixes which attach to adjectives and nouns. One of the sets also attaches to loan words from English, as described below. Each set has two suffixes which derive an intransitive verb, and another suffix which derives a transitive verb. They are: *-k*, *-zi*, and *-ki*, *-mat*, *-miul*, and *-mu*, *-put*, *-puil*, and *-pue*, and *-t∅*, *-il*, and *-e*.

A source noun or adjective may take any of three suffixes, or just one or two of three suffixes. It is not fully predictable which one of these sets is applied to each noun/adjective. Thus, it can be said that derived verbs are all lexicalised.\(^{24}\)

The first two of each set derives an intransitive verb, and derived intransitive verbs by the suffixation of the second suffixes in each set; that is, *-zi*, *-miul*, *-puil*, and *-il* have a semireflexive meaning ‘do something oneself’ or a reflexive meaning ‘to do something

---

\(^{24}\) Because of this, in the rest of this work, segmentation of these morphemes is not shown.
(to) oneself. For example, an intransitive verb *uri-zi* derived from an adjective *uri* 'good' has a semireflexive meaning, 'to become better by oneself'. Another intransitive verb, *uri-* *k*, derived from the same adjective also means 'to become better' but does not have a semireflexive meaning.

The suffixes -*k*, -*zi*, and -*ki* are applied to an adjective denoting value, *uri* 'good', and -*k* and -*ki* but not -*zi* are applied to an adjective denoting size, *silo* 'small'. Both -*k* and -*zi* derive an intransitive verb, thus adding the meaning 'to become'. -*ki* derives a transitive verb adding the meaning 'to make'.

```
silo 'small'  ↓  uri 'good'
   ↓
silo-*k* 'to become small'  ↓  uri-*k* 'to become better'
  ↓
silo-*ki* 'to make s.th. small'  ↓  uri-*zi* 'to become better by oneself'
  ↓  uri-*ki* 'to make s.th. better'
```

Here, the subject of the derived intransitive verb corresponds to the object of the derived transitive verb. For example, the subject 'he' in 'he became better' becomes the object in 'she made him better'. In both sentences, the one who became better is 'he'.

-*k* but not -*ki* or -*zi* can also be applied to a few temporal nouns:

```
raisi 'evening'  →  raisi-*k* 'to become evening'
   ↓
ipu 'night'  →  ipu-*k* 'to become night'
```

-*mat*, -*muil*, and -*mu* attach to nouns of one or two syllables. Both -*mat* and -*muil* derive an intransitive verb, while -*mu* derives a transitive verb. Derived verbs express an activity involving the source noun. For example, a derived verb *raro-mat* from a noun *raro* 'pot' means 'to cook in a pot', and a derived verb *lezu-mat* from *lezu* 'head' means 'to study', an activity which involves the use of a head (brain). Here, the *S* argument of the intransitive verb corresponds to the *A* argument of the transitive verb.

```
raro 'pot'  ↓  lezu 'head'
  ↓
raro-*mat* 'to cook s.th. in a pot (INTR)'  ↓  lezu-*mat* 'to study s.th. (INTR)'
  ↓
raro-*mu* 'to cook s.th. in a pot (TR)'  ↓  lezu-*muil* 'to study by oneself'
  ↓  lezu-*mu* 'to study s.th. (TR)'
```

-*put*, -*puil*, and -*pue* attach to nouns of three syllables or more. They are parallel with the last set: derived verbs express an activity involving the source noun, and the subject of the derived intransitive verb and the subject of the derived transitive verb correspond with each other. It is not understood why nouns of three syllables or more take -*put*, -*puil*, and -*pue* rather than -*mat*, -*muil*, and -*mu*.

---

25 In §4.4, it was noted that a verb containing a segment -*il* or -*zi* may have a reflexive meaning. The fact that derived verbs with suffixes -*zi* and -*il* can also have a reflexive meaning suggests that these are reflexive suffixes. Accordingly, -*muil* and -*puil* may be segmented into -*mu* and -*il*, and -*pu* and -*il* respectively. As indicated in §4.4, it is beyond the scope of this work to present a full discussion about verbal morphology.
Derivational morphology

iruru ‘work’
  ↓
iruru-put ‘to work’
iruru-puil ‘to work by oneself’
irurupu-e ‘to fix’
quini ‘rope’
  ↓
quini-put ‘to make a rope’
quini-pue ‘to make a rope’

There is also an example where -put, -puil, and -pue attach to an adjective. They can attach to the adjective tuvevo ‘true’. Here, both tuvevo-put and tuvevo-pue mean ‘to believe (something)’. The intransitive one, tuvevo-put, is usually nominalised by a nominal derivational enclitic (see §6.3.1): tuvevo-put=ō meaning ‘belief’.26

tuvevo ‘true’
  ↓
tuvevo-put ‘to believe s.b./s.th. (INTR)’
tuvivo-puil ‘to believe oneself’
tuvevo-pue ‘to believe s.b./s.th. (TR)’

-t/Ø, -il, and -e attach to some nouns/adjectives. Both -t/Ø and -il derive an intransitive verb, while -e derives a transitive verb. There appears to be no semantic regularity here.

tola ‘pain’
  ↓
tola-t ‘to feel main’
tola-il ‘to make oneself feel pain’
tola-e ‘to make someone feel pain’
vozi ‘to paddle’
vozi ‘to paddle’
vozi ‘to paddle’
ija ‘equal’
  ↓
ija-t ‘to do pressing’
ija-il ‘to press oneself’
ija-e ‘to press (TR)’

Here, the subject of the intransitive verb corresponds sometimes with object and at other times with the subject of the transitive verb. For example, the subject in ‘I feel pain’ corresponds with the object in ‘he made me feel pain’, while the subject in ‘I paddle’ corresponds with the subject in ‘I paddled a canoe’.

-put and -pue can also be attached to English verbs. For example,

develop
  ↓
developu-put ‘to develop (INTR)’
developu-pue ‘to develop (TR)’
create
  ↓
create-put ‘to create (INTR)’
create-pue ‘to create (TR)’

---

26 Note that the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs is drawn on morphological grounds, viz. whether a verb has the ability to take an object clitic (see §4.4), but semantically here both intransitive and transitive verbs anticipate the existence of an object.
6.3 Nominal derivational enclitics

Nominal derivational enclitics o and vo derive an abstract noun. The derived noun belongs to the common noun class. O and vo are in complementary distribution; o attaches to verbs, while vo attaches to adjectives and the numeral omadeu ‘one’.

6.3.1 Deriving a noun from a verb

A nominal derivational enclitic o derives an abstract noun from a verb or a verb accompanied by an object clitic and/or a modifier. O directly attaches to an intransitive verb or attaches to an object clitic on a transitive verb. Thus, o can attach to a material already containing a clitic and this indicates that o is a clitic not an affix.

(6.9) an intransitive verb

\[ vouvat = o \]
\[ kill = NOM \]
\[ ‘killing’ \]

(6.10) a transitive verb with an object clitic

\[ vouvae = k = o \]
\[ kill = 3SG.F.O = NOM \]
\[ ‘killing of her’ \]

(6.11) an intransitive verb with a modifier

\[ [uri = a \quad maquin] = o \]
\[ good = LIG \quad be.full = NOM \]
\[ ‘being nicely full’ \]

Example (6.11) cannot be analysed as:

\[ uri = a \quad [maquin = o] \]

since, if this were the case, uri would be treated as an NP modifier. However, Bilua adjectives cannot function as NP modifiers by themselves—they form modifier phrases with pronominal enclitics and these function as NP modifiers (see §7.2.1.3.1). Thus, in (6.11), o is attached to a modifier–verb combination, not just to a verb. This is more evidence for o being a clitic, not an affix.

As the derived word is a noun, this can be the head of an NP. In the following example saev=o is a derived noun. It is the head of an NP modified by an MP uri=a=ma.

(6.12) \[ uri = a = ma \quad saev = o \]
\[ good = LIG = 3SG.F \quad survive = NOM \]
\[ ‘good life’ \]

When o attaches to a modifier–verb combination, the derived word does not occur with a modifier as it already contains a modifier. Neither does it occur with any other optional NP constituents, which mark either definiteness or number. This is because the derived noun refers to a state, that is semantically it still behaves like a verb. In (6.11), the derived
noun refers to a state of being full. Because of this, it does not receive a definiteness marking or a number marking: it does not occur with optional NP constituents.

A Bilua nominalised verb can have argument(s) of its own, and an object clitic on a nominalised transitive verb cross-references the object. In (6.10), the object is third person singular feminine and so the object clitic is in the third person singular feminine form. If the object is third person singular masculine, it would have an object clitic v (3SG.M). To illustrate, vouvae=v=o (kill=3SG.M.O=NOM) means ‘killing of him’.

When o is attached to a verb ending with u it is realised as zero. For example, the combination of the verb teku ‘to lie’ o is realised as teku. In such a case the gloss is given as verbNOM; for example, lieNOM.

Some more examples of nominalised verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>roquan=o</td>
<td>caring/love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zari=o</td>
<td>wish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nianii=o</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pazo-kini=o</td>
<td>fight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the last example, o is attached to a derived stem, derived by a derivational suffix -kini (see 6.2.1)

### 6.3.2 Deriving a noun from an adjective or the numeral omadeu ‘one’

A nominal derivational enclitic vo derives a noun from an adjective or the numeral omadeu ‘one’. Vo is realised as avo when it follows a high vowel i or u. It is realised as vo elsewhere.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vo</th>
<th>Avo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vo</td>
<td>avo, u - vo elsewhere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no evidence that proves that vo is a clitic rather than an affix, but it is treated as a clitic in this work because o, another nominal derivational morpheme described in §6.3.1, is a clitic.

In the texts, there are six adjectives recorded which take a nominal derivational enclitic: olaqu ‘suffering’, edolo ‘different’, aza ‘various’, ija ‘equal, uri ‘good’, and kiada ‘all’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(6.13) olaqu ‘suffering’ (adjective)</td>
<td>olaqu=avo ‘suffering’ (noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.14) edolo different’</td>
<td>edolo=vo ‘difference’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.15) aza ‘various’</td>
<td>aza=vo ‘variety’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.16) ija ‘equal’</td>
<td>ija=vo ‘equality’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.17) uri ‘good’</td>
<td>uri=avo ‘goodness (Okay)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.18) kiada ‘all’</td>
<td>kiada=vo ‘everything’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the following example, a nominal derivational enclitic is attached to an adjective olaqu ‘suffering’. Olaquavo ‘suffering’ occurs in an object NP and is preceded by a demonstrative, ko (3SG.F). This suggests that the derived noun is a common noun (see §7.4).

(6.19) Enge ta nge=rove=a tu k=ov=o ko
1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=can=PRES IRR 3SG.F.O=get=NOM 3SG.F

olaqu=vo...

suffering=NOM

‘We can be subjected to suffering...’ (64-3-18)

There are a few examples of vo cliticised to other adjectives in elicitation, and the derived noun can be a complement of the verb iko ‘to cause’. These are described in §8.7.3.

The derived abstract noun omadeu=vo from the numeral omadeu ‘one’ means ‘sameness’. In the following example, omadeu=vo is preceded by a demonstrative which is cliticised with a ligature a. This illustrates that the demonstrative and omadeu=vo form an NP whose head is omadeu=vo (see §5.5.1 and §5.17 for demonstratives and the ligature respectively). Thus the derived word is clearly a noun.

(6.20) O=vait=a keru mati ko=a omadeu=vo.
3SG.M=return=PRES TEMP again 3SG.F=LIG one=NOM

‘When he returns, again, the same thing (it’s the same).’ (24-4-30)

### 6.4 Compounding

Compounds in Bilua are all nouns. Sixteen lexicalised compounds were found in the data. Most of them consist of two nouns. Often, the two nouns are in a ‘modifier-modified’ relationship.

(6.21) vaka-maba (boat-person) ‘white people’
(6.22) vaka-peuru (boat-village) ‘western country’
(6.23) ore-mari (tree/stick-taro) ‘cassava’
(6.24) raro-pade (pot-house) ‘kitchen’
(6.25) niru-turu (coconut-shell) ‘coconut shell’
(6.26) kiti-saresare (leg-plain) ‘sole of foot’
(6.27) ngase-saresare (hand-plain) ‘palm’
(6.28) ali=lo-nganiu (be.born=NOM-day) ‘birthday’
(6.29) sinaqu-rusu (unmarried.woman-youth) ‘girl’

Two compounds consist of an adjective and a noun.
(6.30)  lasive-rusu (male-youth) ‘boy’

(6.31)  reko-rusu (female-youth) ‘girl’

Sinaqu-rusu and reko-rusu both mean ‘girl’, the former consisting of two nouns and the latter consisting of an adjective and a noun.

In the following five compounds, the two nouns do not show a modifying–modified relationship.

(6.32)  susu-pait=o (breast-finish=NOM) ‘last-born child’

(6.33)  maba-sisu (person-seed/sweet potato) ‘yam’

(6.34)  meqora-saidi (child-family) ‘family (with children)’

(6.35)  ranga-usahaan (ember-fire) ‘ember’

(6.36)  sakare-ju (coconut.shell.filled.with.water-water) ‘coconut shell filled with water’

The nouns ranga and sakare themselves mean ‘ember’ and ‘coconut shell filled with water’ respectively, and compounds containing these words ranga-usahaan (ember-fire) and sakare-ju still mean ‘ember’ and ‘coconut shell filled with water’ respectively.

There are four criteria which support the contention that these are compounds and can be considered to be one word. First, stress is applied only to the first syllable of the whole word, and the first syllable of the second part does not have stress. Second, compounds belong to common nouns, and like other common nouns they may form an NP with a distal demonstrative in postverbal position (see §7.4). Third, they can take a determiner. Fourth, no other constituents can intervene between their parts.

The above examples are established, lexicalised compounds, but a new compound can be freely formed for naming. For example, in telling a folktale, my informant referred to (named) a specific village as matu-peuru (big-village) ‘Big Village’.

In the rest of this work, lexicalised compounds are written as one word, for example raropade ‘kitchen’, not raro-pade (pot-house). Non-lexicalised compounds, on the other hand, are written in their parts, for example matu-peuru (big-village) ‘Big Village’ not matupeuru.

6.5 Reduplication

Reduplication can be applied to nouns, verbs, adjectives, and numerals. A reduplicated form has the first two syllables repeated (CVCV reduplication). The formation of a reduplicated form is described in §2.8. Reduplication can be category changing (§6.5.1) or non-category changing (§6.5.2).
6.5.1 Category-changing reduplication

Reduplication of some nouns and verb roots can change the word class. When applied to a noun, it can derive an adjective (§6.5.1.1) or a verb (§6.5.1.2). From a verb, it can derive an adjective (§6.5.1.3) or a noun (§6.5.1.4).

6.5.1.1 Deriving adjectives from nouns

Reduplication of a noun can derive an adjective of physical description as in (6.37), (6.38), and (6.39) or other kind of adjectives as in (6.40).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(6.37) potu 'wound'</td>
<td>potupotu ‘having a wound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.38) sisu ‘sweet potato’</td>
<td>sisusisu ‘curly (like stems of sweet potatoes)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.39) toruru ‘egg’</td>
<td>torutoruru ‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.40) puaru ‘gift’</td>
<td>puaropuaru ‘generous’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5.1.2 Deriving verbs from nouns

Reduplication of a noun can derive a verb which describes an action involving the entity denoted by the noun. As noted in §6.2.8, derived verbs are fully lexicalised and the form of a derived verb, except for the repeated initial two syllables, is not predictable from the source word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(6.41) iqe ‘knee’</td>
<td>iqeige ‘to kneel down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.42) lenio ‘tongue’</td>
<td>lenioleniote ‘to lick (INTR)’, leniolenio ‘to lick (TR)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.43) pari ‘dust/sand’</td>
<td>pariparitu ‘to play with sand (INTR)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.44) revo ‘seaweed’</td>
<td>revorevot ‘to pick up seaweed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5.1.3 Deriving adjectives from verbs

Reduplication of a verb can derive an adjective which describes the resulting state brought out by the situation described by the verb. As described in §2.8, reduplication of verbs applies to roots, the identical segments shared by intransitive and transitive verbs. For example, an intransitive verb tibur ‘to close’ and a transitive verb tiburi ‘to close’ share the segments tibur, and reduplication applies to the first two syllables of this, tibu.
Verbs

(6.45) tibir ‘to close (INTR)’
tiburi ‘to close (TR)’

(6.46) zoleil ‘to be happy’
zole ‘to make happy’

(6.47) niumat ‘to break (INTR)’
niumaniamae ‘to break (TR)’

(6.48) sukati ‘to become full (INTR)’
sukati ‘to fill (TR)’

(6.49) pisailo ‘to break (INTR)’
pisae ‘to break (TR)’

(6.50) potas ‘to split (INTR)’
potasi ‘to split (TR)’

Adjectives

tibutiburi ‘closed’
zolezo ‘happy/pleasant’
niumaniuma ‘broken’
sukasukati ‘full’
pisapisa ‘cracked’
potapotasi ‘split’

Reduplicated forms in (6.49) and (6.50) can also function as a noun meaning ‘crack’ and ‘split’ respectively.

6.5.1.4 Deriving nouns from verbs

Reduplication of a verb can derive a noun which denotes: the instrument of the situation described by the verb (instrumental nominalization) (Comrie & Thompson 1985:353); the result of the situation described by the verb (resultative nominalization); or the object of the verb (object nominalisation). Examples (6.51) to (6.53) are examples of instrumental nominalisation. Examples (6.54) and (6.55) are examples of resultative nominalisation, and examples (6.56) to (6.58) are examples of object nominalisation. There are a few others which do not belong to any of these nominalisation types as in examples (6.59) and (6.60).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(6.51) buisit ‘to chase away flies (INTR)’</td>
<td>buisibusi ‘something with which to chase away flies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buisie ‘to chase away flies (TR)’</td>
<td>(for example a towel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.52) volo ‘to take copra out of shell (INTR)’</td>
<td>volovolo ‘a device to take copra out of a shell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voloe ‘to take copra out of shell (TR)’</td>
<td>papupapu ‘chair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.53) papu ‘to sit’</td>
<td>pokedepotedi ‘measurement’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papue ‘to sit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.54) podet ‘to measure (INTR)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>podeti ‘to measure (TR)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 Comrie and Thompson (1985:355) refers to this kind of nominalisation as ‘objective nominalization’.
(6.55) pitasat ‘to divide into groups (INTR)’ pitapitasi ‘division’
pitasi ‘to divide into groups (TR)’

(6.56) pauzut ‘to adopt (INTR)’ pauzupauzu ‘adopted child’
pauzue ‘to adopt (TR)’

(6.57) zaiti ‘to put stones on the top of
zaitizaiti ‘stones which are put
on oven’ the top of a stone oven’

(6.58) bazut ‘to tell (INTR)’ bazubazu ‘stories’
bazue ‘to tell (TR)’

(6.59) purat ‘to come out’
purapura ‘hole’
purae ‘to take out’

(6.60) pait ‘to finish (INTR)’
paitopaito ‘last one/end’
pai ‘to finish (TR)’

6.5.2 Non-category changing reduplication

Reduplication can be non-category changing. Some verbs, a few adjectives, a few nouns, and numerals can have a non-category changing reduplicated form. With verbs, nouns, and adjectives most commonly a reduplicated form indicates multiplicity—it indicates repetitive events for verbs and plurality for nouns and adjectives.

Examples of non-category changing duplication with verbs

(6.61) nanat ‘to bite (INTR)’ nannananat ‘to bite many times (INTR)’
(6.62) nanae ‘to bite (TR)’ nannanae ‘to bite many times (TR)’
(6.63) vatut ‘to move (INTR)’ vatuvatut ‘to move many times (INTR)’
(6.64) vatuti ‘to move (TR)’ vatuvatuti ‘to move many times (TR)’

Examples of non-category changing reduplication with nouns

(6.65) qole ‘elder’ qoleqole ‘elders’
(6.66) reko ‘woman’ rekoreko ‘women’

Examples of non-category changing reduplication with adjectives

(6.67) aza ‘various’ azaaza ‘very much in variety’
(6.68) edo ‘different’ edoedo ‘many different (ones)’

Non-category changing reduplication applies to only two nouns listed above. Qoleqole ‘elders’ occurs with a plural marker poso in an NP, although plurality is indicated by reduplication itself; for example qoleqole poso (elders PL.M). Plurality can also be indicated by a plural marker only, as in qole poso (elder PL.M) ‘elders’. The regular plural form of reko ‘woman’ is a reduplicated form rekoreko ‘women’, and reko cannot occur with a plural marker poso, thus reko poso (woman PL.M) is ungrammatical.
The verb *padoil* ‘to gather’ is an exception. The reduplicated form of this verb, *padopadoi* does not mean ‘to gather many times’. The verb *padoi* ‘to gather’ itself indicates that the subject is plural, and its reduplicated form denotes that the plural subject has an exhaustive interpretation as in the following example.

(6.69) ...*kiada=mu ta ke=pado-padoi=va*...
all=3PL TOP 3PL=REDUP-gather=PRES
‘...everyone [without exception, without leaving anyone], they gathered...’
(10.9-80)

A reduplicated form may have a superlative meaning. This applies to the reduplicated form of some words to which a notion of order applies. For example, the reduplicated form of *visi* ‘younger’, *visivisi* means ‘youngest’.

There is one case in which the meaning of the reduplicated form is not predictable from the non-reduplicated one. Here the reduplicated form *sarosaroro* of the adjective *saroro* ‘fresh’/‘water’ means ‘cold’.

*Siisisu*, the reduplicated form of the noun *sisu* ‘seed’ means ‘flower’. This can be attached with -*na*, and *sisusisu-na* means ‘fruit’. The origin of -*na* is not known.

As presented in §6.5.1.4, from a verb root *bazu* ‘to tell’, a noun *bazubazu* ‘story’ is derived. This can be attached with -*lao*, and *bazubazu-lao* means ‘folktale’. Again, the origin of -*lao* is not known.

A reduplicated form of a numeral acquires a meaning ‘each’.
Examples of non-category changing reduplication with numerals

(6.70) *omuqa* ‘two’  
        *omuomoqa* ‘two each’

(6.71) *siakava* ‘nine’  
        *siakasiakava* ‘nine each’

(6.72) *omadeu-paizana-siakava* ‘109’  
        *omaomadeu-paizana-siakava* ‘109 each’

The following example illustrates how a reduplicated form of a numeral occurs in a sentence.

(6.73) *A=qati=m=ala*  
       1SG=give=3PL.O=RCP REDUP-two mango
       ‘I gave them two mangoes each.’

In addition to nouns, adjectives, verbs, and numerals, one pronoun, *eri* ‘something like this’ can have a reduplicated form.

(6.74) *eri* ‘something like this’  
       *erieri* ‘something like these’

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28 *Sisu* also means ‘sweet potato’. With this meaning, reduplication becomes category changing as shown in §6.5.1.1
6.6 Summary

In the sections above four types of derivational processes in Bilua were described. Suffixation can derive verbs from nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Encliticisation derives nouns from verbs, adjectives, the numeral *omadeu* ‘one’, and PPs headed with *kale*. Words derived from compounding can only be nouns and they often originate in two nouns. Reduplication can be applied to nouns, adjectives, verbs, and numerals and can be non-category changing. It can also be category changing: from a noun, it can derive an adjective or a verb, while from a verb, it can derive an adjective or a noun. The above is summarised in the following table.

Table 6.1: Derivational processes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Source words</th>
<th>Derived words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suffixation</td>
<td>nouns, adjectives, verbs, English verbs</td>
<td>verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encliticisation</td>
<td>verbs, adjectives, <em>omadeu</em> 'one'</td>
<td>nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>compounding</td>
<td>often two nouns</td>
<td>nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplication</td>
<td>verbs, nouns, adjectives</td>
<td>verbs, nouns, adjectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nouns, adjectives, verbs</td>
<td>nouns, adjectives, verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adjectives, numerals</td>
<td>adjectives, numerals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This concludes the description of derivational morphology in Bilua. The next chapter presents a description of structures of NPs and their constituents.
7 Noun phrases

7.1 Introduction

A Bilua noun phrase (NP) can be an argument of a verbal predicate as in example (7.1), a subject of a non-verbal clause as in (7.2), a predicate of a non-verbal clause as in (7.3), a complement of a postposition as in (7.4), or an adjunct as in (7.5).

(7.1) \[ o=kia=v=a \quad vo=a \quad buti. \]
3SG.M=put.on=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M=LIG boot
‘...he put on the boot.’ (16-6-86)

(7.2) \[ Vo=ko \quad ngi \quad ta \quad David \quad Volosi. \]
3SG.M=3SG.F name TOP David Volosi
‘His name was David Volosi.’ (23-4-45)

(7.3) \[ Kurou \quad ni \quad kobaka \quad ta \quad uri=a=ma \quad baere-baere \]
pigeon and snail TOP good=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-friend
\[ \textit{kidi}. \]
COLL.DU
‘Pigeon and Snail were good friends.’ (15-1-2)

(7.4) \[ ...ke=k=ati \quad kue=va \quad komi=a \quad udu \quad ale. \]
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL come=PRES PROX.SG.F=LIG island in
‘...they came to this island with it.’ (12-11-103)

(7.5) \[ Kiada=ma \quad taku \quad Barakoma=ko \quad vail=o \quad ale \quad inio \]
all=3SG.F time Barakoma=3SG.F look=NOM in FOC.NONF
\[ se \quad ta \quad ke=ev=a. \]
3PL TOP 3PL=stay=PRES
‘All the time, in the care of Barakoma, they lived.’ (10-10-83)

Example (7.2) is distinguished from others in the sense that it presents a possessor–possessee relationship. Such an NP is referred to as a ‘possessive NP’, while an NP which does not present a possessor–possessee relationship is referred to as a ‘basic NP’. Possessive and basic NPs are not only semantically but also syntactically distinguished. In (7.2), \( vo \) (3SG.M) is a possessor NP and this is marked with a possessive marker \( ko \) (3SG.F).

There is a three-way person distinction in Bilua for human referents: first, second, and third, and a three-way number distinction: singular, dual, and plural. Furthermore, third
person singular has a gender distinction between masculine and feminine. Non-singular
first person also has a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. The above is
summarised in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number/Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual.inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual.exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural.inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural.exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>singular.masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular.feminine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.1: Person/number/gender distinction

Inflectional pronouns inflect according to these distinctions, but the distinctions may
be partially neutralised when pronouns have certain functions (see §7.2.1.3.1 and §7.3.2).

Having a masculine–feminine distinction does not mean that Bilua nouns have
grammatical genders. Except for nouns that have a natural gender, Bilua nouns are neutral
with respect to gender, but a gender can be assigned to an NP by optional constituents,
which inflect for genders (see §7.4).

Non-human referents do not have a gender distinction and they are always third
person. They can only have a number distinction between singulative\(^{29}\) and unspecified
number. Singulative and unspecified number non-human referents are expressed by third
person singular masculine and third person singular feminine pronouns respectively. For
example, demonstratives vo (3SG.M) and ko (3SG.F) may refer to a single pig and pig(s)
respectively.

An NP in Bilua is usually marked for person/number/gender according to the above
distinctions. In this chapter, first a description of basic NPs is given in §7.2. This is
followed by a description of possessive NPs (§7.3). Then, §7.4 discusses the system of
person/number/gender marking on NPs in Bilua.

7.2 Basic NPs

The minimum constituent of a basic NP is the head. The NP head can be a noun, a free
pronoun, or a quantifier. The head noun can be any noun except for two nouns, male
‘match’ and ngavi ‘self’, which can only be heads of possessive NPs (see §7.3). An NP
may have optional constituent(s). The following is the structure of basic NPs with
optional constituents. The constituents are listed in the order in which they occur in NPs.

---

\(^{29}\) The term ‘singulative’ is employed in order to distinguish non-human singular from human
singular, which has a person/gender distinction as well as a number distinction.
Co-occurrence of heads with optional constituents depends on the kinds of heads. This is described in §7.2.2.

Bilua modifiers take the form of a modifier phrase, a general modifier, or an adjectival phrase, PRON=kiada ‘by oneself’ (see §7.2.1.1.3). The head of an NP can be ellipsed when it contains a modifier phrase or the adjectival phrase PRON=kiada ‘by oneself’.

In Bilua, a postverbal NP cannot consist only of a noun when the head is a non-locational noun. It usually has one or more of the optional constituents listed above, but when it does not, it obligatorily takes a distal demonstrative preceding the head. That is, an NP may consist of a distal demonstrative and the head, but the demonstrative here is not treated as one of optional NP constituents listed above. Bilua demonstratives can fill the slot for determiners, but in such a case, they are attached with a ligature (see §7.2.1.1.1). The distal demonstrative here on the other hand is not attached with a ligature and this suggests that the demonstrative is not filling the slot for determiners. It also lacks a deictic function. It appears that a postverbal NP has to be marked for person/number/gender in Bilua, and the demonstrative occurs just for this purpose. This is discussed in §7.4.

In this section, first each of optional NP constituents is described in §7.2.1. Following this, NPs with different kinds of heads are presented in §7.2.2. NPs under discussion are single-underlined while optional constituents under discussion are double-underlined.

7.2.1 Optional NP constituents

7.2.1.1 Determiners

Determiners occur in the NP-initial position. Determiners mark whether a particular referent is identifiable or not in the given discourse. A referent can be considered to be definite when the speaker can assume that the hearer knows and can identify the particular referent the speaker is talking about (Chafe 1976:39). A referent is identifiable when it has already been introduced.

---

30 * here indicates recursive.
A Bilua determiner takes the form of a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, the indefinite marker *ka* (INDEF), or an indefinite pronoun (see §5.5.1 for the list of demonstratives, independent pronouns, and indefinite pronouns). Demonstratives and independent pronouns mark definiteness, while the indefinite marker and indefinite pronouns mark indefiniteness. There are some exceptions to this, as described in the following subsections: demonstratives and independent pronouns in §7.2.1.1.1 and indefinite marker and pronouns in §7.2.1.1.2. Determiners are optional constituents of NPs, and NPs without a determiner can be definite or indefinite. This is discussed in §7.2.1.1.3.

### 7.2.1.1.1 Demonstratives and independent pronouns

Demonstratives mark definiteness as well as having a deictic function. There are two kinds of demonstratives in Bilua; these are proximate and distal demonstratives, as illustrated by examples (7.6) and (7.7) respectively. Demonstratives are criticised with a ligature when they fill the slot for a determiner.

(7.6) \(...\textcolor{red}{\text{kom}=a} \ Vella \textcolor{red}{\text{La Vella}} \ udu \ ale \textcolor{green}{ta} \ sikeura\)

PROX.SG.F=LIG Vella La Vella island in TOP seven

\(\textcolor{red}{\text{vuro}} \ maba \ ta \ ikoana...\)

thousand person TOP EXT.SG.F

'...in this Vella La Vella island, there are seven thousand people...’ (64-2-14)

(7.7) \(...\textcolor{green}{\text{le}=a} \ \textcolor{blue}{\text{ino}} \ \textcolor{red}{\text{mata}} \ \textcolor{red}{\text{vo}=a} \ \textcolor{green}{\text{ore}} \ \textcolor{blue}{\text{a}=ba}\)

tomorrow FOC.NONF again 3SG.M=LIG tree 1SG=PROS

\(\text{\textcolor{green}{\text{koi}}=\text{v}=\text{ou...}}\)

climb=3SG.M.O=FUT

'...tomorrow, again, I will climb that (one) tree...' (2-9-55)

Distal demonstratives may be used without reference to distance. In that case, they just function as definite markers. In the discourse where example (7.8) below appears, the mother and the child are established participants.

(7.8) \(...\textcolor{red}{\text{ko}=a} \ \textcolor{green}{\text{ko}=a} \ \textcolor{red}{\text{corai}=va}\)

3SG.F=SIT REDUP-be.angry=PRES 3SG.F=LIG mother 3SG.M=LIG

\(\textcolor{green}{\text{megora}} \ \textcolor{red}{\text{melai}} \ \textcolor{blue}{\text{pui}} \ \textcolor{red}{\text{o}=zolei}=\text{va}.\)

child too NEG 3SG.M=be.happy=PRES

'...she became angry, the mother, and the child too, he was not happy.’ (24-8-84)

In an NP which presents a topic of a text, a demonstrative can be cataphoric. Such an NP often has a measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) ‘one’ as an optional constituent as well.

(7.9) \(\text{Komi}=a \ \textcolor{green}{\text{pado}} \ \textcolor{red}{\text{bazu-bazu}} \ \textcolor{blue}{\text{Voululu}}\)

PROX.SG.F=LIG MESone REDUP-story Voululu

\(\text{tou-tou} \ \textcolor{green}{\text{kale}=a=ma} \ \textcolor{red}{\text{vairatu}} \ \textcolor{blue}{\text{anga}} \ \text{ta}\)

REDUP-tribe in=LIG=3SG.F now 1SG TOP
Noun phrases

\( a = q = ai \quad bazu-bazut = ou \quad ko = ko \quad k = i = o \)
\( 1SG = 3SG.F.O = VAL \quad REDUP-tell = FUT \quad 3SG.F = 3SG.F \quad 3SG.F.O = say = NOM \)

\( ni \quad kal = o \quad ta \quad eri \quad nio. \)
and happen = NOM TOP s.th.like.this FOC.NONF
‘This story from Voululu tribe, now I am going to tell, the way it is told is something like this.’ (67-1-1)
(more literally ‘This story from Voululu tribe, now I am going to tell, its saying and way is something like this.’)

First/second person independent pronouns can also fill the slot for a determiner, but their function here is to specify the person/number of the NP rather than marking definiteness. In the following example, the ligature on the independent pronoun indicates that the pronoun enge (1PL.EXC) does not form an NP of its own but it forms an NP with saidi ‘family’; a ligature occurs only between morphemes which belong to the same phrase (see §5.17).

(7.10) \( \text{enge=a saidi} \)
\( 1PL.EXC=LIG \) family
‘we, family’

### 7.2.1.1.2 Indefinite marker and pronouns

Indefinite marker and pronouns indicate that the hearer is not expected to be able to identify the referent, and generally they also mark specificity. An exception to this is described later in this section. In (7.11) and (7.12), when the speaker utters the words ‘war canoe’ and ‘island’, he has a specific war canoe and island in his mind. In (7.13) the indefinite pronoun kake (INDEF.PL) refers to an indefinite quantity of specific people (people in the village).

(7.11) \( \ldots se \quad ta \quad ke \quad ere = v = e \quad kala \quad niabaraka. \)
\( 3PL \quad TOP \quad 3PL \quad make = 3SG.M.O = RMP \quad INDEF.SG.M \quad war.canoe \)
\( Ne = a \quad niabaraka \quad ta \quad a = daite \quad Bobe = Vo. \)
\( PROXSG.M = LIG \quad war.canoe \quad TOP \quad 1SG = \text{grand.parent} \quad Bobe = 3SG.M \)
‘...they made a war canoe. This war canoe was my grandfather Bobe’s.’
(25-1-6-7)

(7.12) \( \ldots ke = ke = ve \quad ka \quad pado \quad udu \quad ale. \)
\( 3PL = \text{go} = RMP \quad INDEF \quad MESone \quad island \quad in \)
\( Ko = a \quad udu = ko \quad ngi \quad ta \quad Vawa. \)
\( 3SG.F = LIG \quad island = 3SG.F \quad name \quad TOP \quad Vawa \)
‘...they went to an island. The name of the island was Vawa.’ (12-2-8-9)

(7.13) \( \ldots kake \quad maba \quad madu \quad ta \quad puli = a = ma \quad ko = a \)
\( \text{INDEF.PL} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{COLL.PL} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{NEG} = \text{LIG} = 3SG.F \quad 3SG.F = \text{LIG} \)
peuru ale.

village in

'...some people are missing in the village.' (26-2-13)

The distribution of the indefinite marker *ka* and indefinite pronouns is as follows. *Ka* occurs when the NP does not contain a modifier phrase, while indefinite pronouns occur when it contains one. Both modifier phrases and indefinite pronouns are marked for person, number, and gender, and they show agreement with each other. Compare (7.12) above and (7.14) below. Example (7.14) contains a modifier phrase *silo=a=la* (small=LIG=3SG.M) and so the NP contains an indefinite pronoun, *kala* (INDEF.SG.M). In (7.12), there is no modifier phrase and so the NP contains the indefinite marker *ka* (INDEF).

(7.14) ...se ta ke=ke=ve kala silo=a=la udu ale.
3PL TOP 3PL=go=RMP INDEF.SG.M small=LIG=3SG.M island in

Ne=a udu=ko ngi ta Inia.
PROX.SG.M=LIG island=3SG.F name TOP Inia

'...they went to one small island. The name of this island was Inia.' (12-2-17-18)

The indefinite marker *ka* occurs with only certain non-human nouns: *udu* 'island', *ipu* 'night', *sabere* 'year', *taku* 'time', *rana* 'side', and *quli* 'thing', whose referents are all non-human. *Ka* itself does not say anything about the number but it can be used in combination with a measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) ‘one’ or a plural marker *poso* to specify singularity or plurality as in (7.12) above and (7.15) below.

(7.15) ...esa ka poso sabere ta matu=ma vari=o
maybe INDEF PL.M year TOP big=3SG.F increase=NOM

ko=ta el=ou kami=a Sabora.
3SG.F=SIT become=FUT PROX.SG.F=LIG Sabora

'maybe, for years [to come, the population of] this village Sabora will show a big increase.' (23-7-72)

*Ip u* 'night' with the indefinite marker *ka* is a fixed expression meaning 'a night for someone', that is a night event organised for someone as in the following example. To express 'one night', a numeral is used: *omadeu ipu* (one night).

(7.16) ...se ta ke ere=k=ou ka pado ipu.
3PL TOP 3PL make=3SG.F.O=FUT INDEF MESOne night

'...they will make a night [for the chief who died].' (23-3-38)

The indefinite marker *ka* may also occur in an NP which has a female referent as in (7.17) but it never occurs in an NP which has a male referent. Thus, example (7.18) is ungrammatical. In an indefinite NP which has a male referent, indefiniteness can be marked only by an indefinite pronoun as in (7.19).

(7.17) ...se ta ke=kari=v=ake ka pado reko.
3PL TOP 3PL=give=3SG.M.O=HIST INDEF MESOne wife

'...they gave him a wife...' (26-25-132)
(7.18) *Ke=kati=k=ake
3PL=give=3SG.F.O=HIST INDEF MESOne boy
"They gave her a boy."

(7.19) Ke=kati=k=ake
3PL=give=3SG.F.O=HIST INDEF.SG.M boy
"They gave her a boy."

It is not understood why an indefinite marker ka can only occur in an NP with a female referent. Moreover, there is a further constraint on this; such an NP may be employed only when the NP is an object of a verb whose object is normally restricted to a non-human referent. In (7.17), a gift, the object of the verb katiko ‘to give’, is normally restricted to a non-human referent. Otherwise, an indefinite NP contains an indefinite pronoun as a determiner. Kelo ‘to see’ in the following example does not have a selectional restriction for the type of the object: it can be human or non-human. Therefore, the object NP contains an indefinite pronoun, kama (INDEF.SG.F), not an indefinite marker ka (INDEF).

(7.20) A=q=ea=la
1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES INDEF.SG.F girl
"I saw a girl."

Combinations of an indefinite marker/pronoun with a few nouns are used like some English indefinite pronouns, and with these nouns, the NP can only be non-specific: kala quli (INDEF.SG.M thing)/kama quli (INDEF.SG.F thing) ‘something’ and kala maba (INDEF.SG.M person)/kama maba (INDEF.SG.F person), ‘somebody’, and kama taku (INDEF.SG.M time)/ka taku (INDEF time) ‘sometimes/some time’.

(7.21) ...kama quli ikio nei o=ta vuat=ala...
INDEF.SG.F thing FOC.F PROX.SG.M 3SG.M=STOP eat=RCP
"...he ate something..." (43-4-43)

(7.22) ...ngo=q=e=a kama sinaqurusu ma kama
2SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES INDEF.SG.F girl or INDEF.SG.F maba.
person
"...did you see a girl or somebody?" (59-4-35)

(7.23) Ka koi ke=baro=a.
INDEF place 3PL=arrive=PRES
"They arrived somewhere." (16-3-41)

(7.24) Kama taku inio qe=tau=ve=l=ou...
INDEF.SG.F time FOC.NONF 2DU=help=1SG.O=FUT
"Sometime, you will help me..." (27-20-123)

A measure pronoun, in combination with a determiner, means ‘one of many’ (see also §7.2.1.4). This meaning entails definiteness and thus when an indefinite marker/pronoun co-occurs with a measure pronoun, it is considered not to mark indefiniteness anymore. In
the following example, each underlined NP refers to one of five parts of Vella La Vella island, and thus it is identifiable and definite.

(7.25) **Vella La Vella** _udu_ _ta_ _sike_ _kobu_.
Vella La Vella island TOP five MESpart

*Kala_ _kobu_ _ta_ _Bilua, kala_ _kobu*
INDEF.SG.M MESpart TOP Bilua INDEF.SG.M MESpart

_ta_ _Joria, kala_ _kobu_ _ta_ _Dovere,*
TOP Joria INDEF.SG.M MESpart TOP Dovere

*kala_ _kobu_ _ta_ _Silomai ni kala*
INDEF.SG.M MESpart TOP Silomai and INDEF.SG.M

*kobu_ _ta_ _Kuri-kuri.*
MESpart TOP REDUP-Kuri

‘Vella La Vella island has five areas. One (of them) is Bilua, one (of them) is Joria, one (of them) is Dovere, one (of them) is Silomai, and one (of them) is Kurikuri.’ (9-1-3-4)

A proximate demonstrative and an indefinite pronoun can co-occur when the identity of a referent is not accessible but when its kind or its description is accessible. In the discourse in which (7.26) occurs, the hearer knows that the speaker has killed something, but the hearer does not know what it is exactly.

(7.26) ..._me=ba_ _v=el=ou_ _ne=a_ _kala*
2PL=PROS 3SG.M.O=see=FUT PROX.SG.M=LIG INDEF.SG.M

*a=youvae=v=ala=ni,*
thing 1SG 1SG=kill=3SG.M.O=RCP=REL.NONF

‘...you are going to see this thing which I killed,’ (26-22-117)

There is no example in the data where a distal demonstrative occurs with an indefinite pronoun. Such an example was not found in elicitation either.

**7.2.1.1.3 NPs without a determiner**

Bilua nominals can be divided into two broad groups: ones which are inherently definite and ones which are not inherently definite. The former are all except common nouns, viz. pronouns, kinship terms, personal names, and locational nouns. Since they are inherently definite, they cannot co-occur with an indefinite marker/pronoun (see last section for exceptions, measure pronouns) and definiteness does not need to be marked by a demonstrative or an independent pronoun. An NP headed with a personal name, a kinship term, or a locational noun optionally contains a demonstrative. An NP headed with a quantifier is always definite as well, and this optionally contains a demonstrative or an independent pronoun but not an indefinite marker/pronoun.

Nominals which are not inherently definite are common nouns. Bilua common nouns are not marked for specificity either. In an NP headed with a common noun, definiteness
and specificity can be marked by a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, or an indefinite marker/pronoun, but this marking is optional. When an NP is headed with a common noun and when this does not contain any determiner, it can be definite, indefinite specific, or indefinite non-specific. In (7.27), the underlined NP is definite and identifiable, as this is a body part of a current participant. In (7.28), the underlined NP is indefinite specific. The speaker starts his story about ‘two men’ with this sentence. In (7.29), the underlined NP refers to a category ‘food’, and thus it is indefinite non-specific.

(7.27) \[ \ldots \text{omuga} \quad \text{kiti} \quad \text{ta} \quad o=solo\_e=k=e \quad \text{toupa}=le. \]
\[ \text{two leg} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{SG.M}=\text{dangle}=3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{RMP} \quad \text{lake}=\text{in} \]
\[ \ldots \text{[his] two legs, he dangled them into the lake.} \quad (24-6-63) \]

(7.28) \[ \text{Omadeu} \quad \text{taku} \quad \text{nio} \quad \text{omuga} \quad \text{maba} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{go}=ta \]
\[ \text{one time} \quad \text{FOC.NONF} \quad \text{two person} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{DU}=\text{SIT} \]
\[ koiv=a \quad \text{mujor}=o=le. \]
\[ \text{go.up}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{bonito.fishing}=\text{NOM}=\text{PURP} \]
\[ \text{‘Once upon a time, two men, they went up to do bonito fishing.’} \quad (47-1-1) \]

(7.29) \[ \ldots \text{raisi-raisi} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{e}=\text{va} \quad | \quad \text{sailao} \]
\[ \text{REDUP-evening} \quad 3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{become}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{food} \]
\[ qo=k=o=a \quad | \quad qo=saqor=a, \]
\[ 3\text{DU}=3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{get}=\text{PRES} \quad 3\text{DU}=\text{go.down}=\text{PRES} \]
\[ \ldots \text{it became evening, the two got food, and they went down,} \quad (24-3-28) \]

### 7.2.1.2 Quantifiers

A quantifier can be a numeral or kubo ‘many’.

(7.30) \[ \ldots \text{kubo} \quad \text{maba} \quad \text{madu} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{ke}=\text{ta} \quad \text{mumai}=\text{va} \ldots \]
\[ \text{many person} \quad \text{COLL.PL} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{SIT} \quad \text{get.lost}=\text{PRES} \]
\[ \ldots \text{many people, they have got lost...} \quad (26-8-46) \]

(7.31) \[ \text{Nio} \quad \text{zouke} \quad \text{sinaqurusu} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{ke}=\text{ta} \quad \text{mutai}=\text{va}. \]
\[ \text{SEQ} \quad \text{three girl} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{SIT} \quad \text{hide}=\text{PRES} \]
\[ \text{‘And three girls, they hid.’} \quad (39-13-84) \]

A quantifier kubo itself does not trigger plural agreement even though it refers to a plural number. It triggers default agreement, signalled by third person singular feminine. In (7.32) below, the object clitic on the verb, which agrees with the NP kubo reko (many wives), is in the third person singular feminine form. In (7.30) above, it is a collective marker madu and not a quantifier kubo ‘many’ that triggers plural agreement.

(7.32) \[ \text{Enge}=\text{ko} \quad \text{kal}=\text{o} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{leka}\_\text{sa} \quad \text{ta} \quad o=\text{rove}=\text{a} \]
\[ \text{1PL.EXC}=3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{happen}=\text{NOM} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{chief} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{SG.M}=\text{can}=\text{PRES} \]
7.2.1.3 Modifiers

A modifier can be a modifier phrase, a general modifier, or an adjectival phrase PRON=\textit{kiada} ‘by oneself’. It can also be an adjective, but only when the head is a locational noun \textit{koi} ‘place’ (see §7.2.2.4).

7.2.1.3.1 Modifier Phrase

In Bilua, constituents which function as modifiers, except for general modifiers and the adjectival phrase PRON=\textit{kiada} ‘by oneself’, cannot function as modifiers on their own. They form a modifier phrase (MP) with a pronominal enclitic. The enclitic is directly attached to the constituent that has a modifying function or is linked to it by a ligature depending on the modifying constituent (see §5.17). Thus, the structure of MPs is as follows (X represents the constituent which has a modifying function):

\[
\text{X(=LIG)=PRON}
\]

The head of an MP is the pronominal enclitic, which refers to the head of the NP. In the following example, the MP \textit{silo=a=ma} (small=LIG=3SG.F) consists of the adjective \textit{silo} ‘small’ and the head \textit{ma} (3SG.F), which refers to the head of the NP, ‘person’.

\begin{equation}
\text{silo=a=ma} \quad \text{maba} \\
\text{small=LIG=3SG.F} \quad \text{person} \\
\text{‘a small woman’}
\end{equation}

The pronominal enclitic as the head of an MP takes one of third person singular forms: \textit{la} (3SG.M) and \textit{ma} (3SG.F). Bilua NP can be headless when it contains an MP, and in a headless NP, the head of an MP can be any third person pronominal enclitic. This is discussed later in this section. The pronominal enclitic here marks the person, number, gender of the NP; \textit{la} (3SG.M) marks third person singular masculine while \textit{ma} (3SG.F) marks non-third person singular masculine. Thus, here the person/number/gender distinction of pronominal enclitics is partially neutralised. The distribution of \textit{la} and \textit{ma} is summarised in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal enclitic</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{la} (3SG.M)</td>
<td>third person singular masculine</td>
<td>singulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{ma} (3SG.F)</td>
<td>non-third person singular masculine</td>
<td>unspecified number</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For example, in (7.34), the NP is marked as third person singular masculine by the pronominal enclitic la (3SG.M). In both (7.33) above and (7.35) below, the NP is marked as non-third person singular masculine by the pronominal enclitic ma (3SG.F). Example (7.33) does not contain any constituent that marks dual or plural, and thus it is singular and it is also feminine, as ma is indeed the third person singular feminine form of pronominal enclitic. In (7.35), optional NP constituents, namely the independent pronoun enge (1PL.EXC) and the phrase-final pronominal enclitic ngela (1PL.EXC), mark first person plural exclusive, and thus the NP is first person plural exclusive. Plurality is also marked by the plural marker.

(7.34) \[ \text{silō} = a = \text{la} \quad \text{maba} \]
\[ \text{silō} = \text{LIG} = 3\text{SG.M} \quad \text{person} \]
\[ \text{‘a small man’} \]

(7.35) \[ \text{enge} = a \quad \text{Solōmoni} = a = \text{ma} \quad \text{maba} \quad \text{poso} = \text{ngela} \]
\[ 1\text{PL.EXC} = \text{LIG} \quad \text{Solomon} = \text{LIG} = 3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{PL.M} = 1\text{PL.EXC} \]
\[ \text{‘we, Solomon people’} \]

There are various constituents which function as modifying constituents. They can be words, phrases, and clauses, and include the following:

- adjectives and adjectival phrases
- kinship term
- placename
- deictic adverbs and an adverb lula ‘already’
- interrogatives lai ‘where’ and noni ‘how’
- pronouns so ‘that’, eri ‘something like this’, and pado ‘one’
- a relational noun or an NP headed with a relational noun numerals
- the negation marker pui
- postpositional phrases
- future clauses.

Only some of kinship terms can have a modifying function, and with this function, they have a different meaning (see §4.3.2). For example, kaka means ‘older sibling’ as the head of an NP, but it means ‘older’ as a modifying constituent.

(7.36) \[ \text{ko} = a \quad \text{kaka} = \text{ka} = \text{ma} \quad \text{megora} \]
\[ 3\text{SG.F} = \text{LIG} \quad \text{older} = \text{LIG} = 3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{child} \]
\[ \text{‘the older daughter’} \]

Placenames, deictic adverbs, and an interrogative lai ‘where’ as modifying constituents mean ‘(something/somebody) from such and such place’ as in (7.35) above and in (7.37) below. An example with lai ‘where’ is given later below in (7.49).
(7.37) koi=za=ma gole poso
   here=LIG=3SG.F elder   PL.M
   'elders from here' (10-10-87)

Lula 'already' means 'past', as a modifying constituent.

(7.38) lula=ma taku
   already=3SG.F time
   'past time (in the past)' (23-1-1)

As modifying constituents, pronouns so 'that', eri 'something like this', and pado 'one' mean 'that kind of', '(things) like these', and 'whole' respectively. The interrogative noni 'how', which behaves in the same way as the pronoun so 'that', means 'what kind of' as a modifying constituent.

(7.39) So=a=ma bazu-bazu ta ikoana.
   that=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-story TOP EXT.SG.F
   'There are those stories (those kinds of stories).' (10-8-67)

(7.40) kiada=ma eri-eri=a=ma bianga-bianga
   all=3SG.F REDUP-s.th.like.this=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-insect
   'all insects like these'

(7.41) pado=a=ma nganiu
   MESone=LIG=3SG.F day
   'the whole day'

(7.42) noni=a=ma saev=o
   how=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM
   'what kind of life' (64-3-22)

In the data, there are two relational nouns which function as modifying constituents, kuleto 'front' and tova 'behind'. As modifying constituents, they mean 'first' and 'last' respectively. The relational noun rana 'side' is found as the head of a possessive NP which functions as a modifying constituent. In the following example, a possessive NP, lasive=ko rana, functions as a modifying constituent, forming an MP with a pronominal enclitic. In this example in which the NP is headless, the pronominal enclitic is realised as mu (3PL) (see below).

(7.43) lasive=ko rana=mu
   husband=3SG.F side=3PL
   'those who are from the husband side' (21-5-25)

As modifying constituents in MPs, numerals except for omadeu 'one' become ordinals. 'First' is expressed by an MP consisting of a relational noun kuleto 'front' and a pronominal enclitic linked by the ligature a.

(7.44) omuga=ma taku
   two=3SG.F time
   'the second time' (16-7-91)
(7.45)  \textit{kuleto=la} \quad \textit{kobaka}  \\
first=LIG=3SG.M \quad \text{snail}  \\
‘the first snail’ (16-7-91)  \\

The negation marker as a modifying constituent means ‘no’.

(7.46)  \textit{...puli=a=ma} \quad \textit{bolo}  \quad a=dorae=k=a...  \\
NEG=LIG=3SG.F \quad \text{pig} \quad 1SG=meet=3SG.F.O=PRES  \\
‘I encountered no pig...’ (43-3-30)

The following are examples of postpositional phrases and future clauses as modifying constituents. When a future clause functions as a modifying constituent, the distinction between future and near future is neutralised, and it can only take the future tense marker \textit{(v)ou}, which is realised as \textit{(v)o}, attached with the ligature \textit{a}. Thus, in (7.48), the future tense marker \textit{you} is realised as \textit{vo}. Example (7.48) is a headless NP.

(7.47)  \textit{komi=a} \quad \textit{peuru} \quad \textit{kale=a=ma} \quad \textit{maba} \quad \textit{madu}  \\
PROX.SG.F=LIG \quad \text{village} \quad \text{in=LIG=3SG.F} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{COLL.PL}  \\
‘people in this village’ (26-1-4)

(7.48)  \textit{Inio} \quad \textit{ke=zio=vou} \quad \textit{ko=a} \quad \textit{rekorusu=ko} \quad \textit{peuru}  \\
SEQ \quad 3PL=go=FUT \quad 3SG.F=LIG \quad \text{girl=3SG.F} \quad \text{village}  \\
\text{ale.} \quad \textit{Sai} \quad \textit{ke=zio=vo=a=mu} \quad \textit{ta} \quad \textit{kake} \quad \textit{ta}  \\
in \quad \text{there} \quad 3PL=go=FUT=LIG=3PL \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{INDEF.PL} \quad \text{TOP}  \\
\text{reko-reko...}  \\
REDUP-woman  \\
‘And, they will go to the girl’s village. As for people who will go there, some are women...’ (21-9-53-54)

As noted above, a Bilua NP can be headless; the head of an NP can be ellipsed when it contains an MP. This often happens when the head is the noun \textit{maba} ‘person’. In fact, the ellipsed head is usually regarded as the noun \textit{maba} ‘person’, unless the discourse indicates that it is something else. When the head of an NP is ellipsed, the head of the MP can be any third person pronominal enclitic, and each of third person pronominal enclitics marks the following person, number, and gender.
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• first person singular</td>
<td>unspecified number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• second person singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• third person singular feminine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nioga (3DU)</td>
<td>dual of any person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu (3PL)</td>
<td>plural of any person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A person distinction can be marked by an additional first/second person pronominal enclitic, which takes the phrase-final position (see §7.2.1.6), and if an NP does not contain this, it is third person by default. In (7.48), the head of the MP is the third person plural pronominal enclitic *mu* (3PL) and the NP does not contain a first/second person pronominal enclitic, and consequently the NP is considered to be third person plural. In example (7.49) the head of an NP is *mu* (3PL) but this is attached with the second person plural pronominal enclitic and so it is second person plural.

(7.49) 
```
...lai=za=mu=mela               inio     me.
    where=LIG=3PL=2PL      FOC.NONF 2PL
    '...you are people from where?' (9-3-16)
```

The following are two more examples of headless NPs. None of these examples contains a first/second person pronominal enclitic, and thus they are both third person.

(7.50) 
```
"Koe  visi=a=mu       ta,  pui   kapiavole
INTJ   younger=LIG=3PL TOP   NEG   quickly

ke=rorot=a=ni..."
3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF
"Younger ones, they are not ones who quickly marry..." (27-18-113)
```

(7.51) 
```
...nioqi=a       omuqa  maba  ta  Kutakabai   tou-tou
PROX.DU=LIG   two   person TOP   Kutakabai   REDUP-tribe

kale=a=nioqa.
in=LIG=3DU
 'the two people were people from the Kutakai tribe.' (47-1-3)
```

As illustrated by (7.49), a Bilua NP that has a first or second person referent contains a first/second person pronominal enclitic in the phrase-final position. In present Bilua, the head pronominal enclitic of the MP is freely ellipsed when the head of a first/second person NP is ellipsed. In the data, it is often ellipsed as in example (7.52); the pronominal
enclitic *mu* (3PL) is ellipsed, but there are examples in which it is not ellipsed as in example (7.49) above.

(7.52)  
\[
\text{Enge} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{pui} \quad \text{koi=za=ngela}.
\]
1PL.EXC TOP NEG here=LIG=1PL.EXC

'We are not people from here,' (25-1-2)

Furthermore, the head of an MP can be ellipsed when all of the following four conditions are fulfilled—[1] the head of the NP is ellipsed, [2] the referent of the NP is non-human, [3] the NP is a non-verbal predicate, and [4] the modifying constituent is an adjective.

(7.53)  
\[
\text{Komi=a} \quad \text{siele} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{silo}.
\]
PROX.SG.F=LIG dog TOP small

'This dog is a small one.'

It might be considered that *siло* 'small' in this example directly functions as a non-verbal predicate. That is, an adjective can be a non-verbal predicate. However, *siло* 'small' is instead treated as a headless MP for two reasons. First, the lack of a pronominal enclitic is possible only when the referent of the NP is non-human. It is rather odd to say that an adjective can be a non-verbal predicate only when the referent is non-human. Second, *siло* 'small' can also occur with a pronominal enclitic, forming an MP, and indeed in the data, an adjective usually occurs with a pronominal enclitic and there are only a few examples in which the head of an MP, a pronominal enclitic, is ellipsed.

An MP that consists of a kinship term and a pronominal enclitic linked by a ligature can be treated as one lexeme functioning as a personal name (see §7.4), and this can be the head of an NP. In (7.54), the MP *mama=ka=la* (father=LIG=3SG.M) is treated as a personal name; the referent is named as 'father'. This is the head of an NP which contains a determiner realised as *vo* (3SG.M) attached with a ligature.

(7.54)  
\[
\text{...vo=a} \quad \text{mama=ka=la} \quad \text{vo} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{so}
\]
3SG.M=LIG father=LIG=3SG.M 3SG.M TOP that

\[
k=\text{io}=\text{vou}.
\]
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=FUT

'...the father (one), he will say so.' (21-2-8)

An MP commonly takes pre-head position, but the data contains a few examples in which an MP headed with a common noun or a kinship term takes a post-head position.

(7.55)  
\[
\text{Ko=vijari=v=a} \quad \text{kala} \quad \text{megora} \quad \text{lasive=a=la}.
\]
3SG.F=deliver=3SG.M.O=PRES INDEF.SG.M child male=LIG=3SG.M

'She gave a birth to a male child,' (27-2-10)

It might be postulated that *kala megora lasiveala* is a juxtaposition of two appositional NPs, *kala megora* and *lasiveala*. However, *kala megora lasiveala* forms one intonation unit and it is best to treat it as forming a single NP. *Lasiveala* here can be moved to a pre-head position without resulting ungrammaticality or change of meaning. It is not understood what may trigger an MP to take a post-head position.
7.2.1.3.2 General modifiers

There are four general modifiers which can function as NP modifiers: *sasa* ‘mock / a bit’, the restrictive *pala* ‘only’, the approximative *tiniavo* ‘about’, or completive *buti* ‘finished’. The first one can occur only in pre-head position, while the latter three can occur only in post-head position.

(7.56) ... *sasa* _mola ke ere=k=a...
mock canoe 3PL make=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘...they made a mock canoe...’ (34-1-14)

(7.57) ... *kaboka* _pala ikio sai.
snail only FOC.F there
‘...only snails were there.’ (38-1-6)

(7.58) ... *enge* _tiniavo komi=a bolo...
1PL.INC about PROX.SG.F=LIG pig
‘...this pig is about [the size] of us...’ (67-4-44)

(7.59) *raisi-raisi* _buti_
REDUP-evening finished
‘already evening (evening finished)’ (67-2-16)


(7.60) *siotolu* _koloko tiniavo_
eight clock about
‘about eight o’clock’ (43-4-37)

7.2.1.3.3 PRON=kiada ‘by oneself’

PRON=kiada ‘by oneself’, which consists of a proclitic and an adjective kiada ‘all’[^31] usually follows the head as in the following example, but when it modifies a locational noun koi ‘place’ or a measure pronoun pado (MESone) ‘one’, it precedes the head (see §7.2.2.4 and §7.2.2.5.3).

(7.61) “*Noni* sole _onio me ta bita ko=kiada_
how that’s why FOC.NONF 2PL TOP string.bag 3SG.F=all

me=q=ati vait=a...”
2PL=3SG.F.O=VAL return=PRES
“...Why did you return with a string bag alone...” (22-3-13)

---

[^31]: Thus, kiada is glossed as ‘all’ in the examples. It is preceded by a proclitic which encodes person, number and gender.
An NP modified by PRON=\textit{kiada} can be headless. In the following example, the first underlined NP is headless, while in the second one the head \textit{kaka} ‘elder sibling’ is retained.

(7.62) \ldots \underline{ko=kiada} \quad \underline{ino} \quad \underline{ko=vaita} \quad \underline{kaka=ka=ma} \quad \underline{ko=kiada} \\
3SG.F=all \quad FOC.NONF \quad 3SG.F=return \quad older=LIG=3SG.F \quad 3SG.F=all \\
\underline{ino} \quad \underline{ko=vaita}. \quad \underline{FOC.NONF} \quad \underline{3SG.F=return=PRES} \\
‘...the older sister returned by herself, she returned by herself.’ (27-23-145)

7.2.1.4 Measure pronoun \textit{pado} ‘one’

A measure pronoun \textit{pado} (MESOne) can be an optional constituent of an NP. This is usually accompanied with a determiner, and the measure pronoun means ‘one of many’.

(7.63) \underline{Vouvat=o} \quad ta \quad \underline{kama} \quad \underline{pado} \quad \underline{matu} \quad \underline{ruqe=a=ma} \quad \underline{quili}. \\
kill=NOM \quad TOP \quad INDEF.SG.F \quad MESOne \quad very \quad bad=LIG=3SG.F \quad thing \\
‘Killing is one very bad thing/ one of many very bad things.’ (12-8-83)

(7.64) \underline{Komi=a} \quad \underline{pado} \quad \underline{rorot=o=ko} \quad \underline{keve} \quad \underline{ta} \quad \underline{matu} \\
PROX.SG.F=LIG \quad MESOne \quad marry=NOM=3SG.F \quad way \quad TOP \quad very \\
\underline{ruqe=a=ma}. \quad \underline{bad=LIG=3SG.F} \\
‘This way of marriage is a very bad one (among three ways of marriage).’ \\
(21-6-33)

7.2.1.5 Collective markers and the plural marker

Collective markers \textit{madu} (COLL.PL) and \textit{kidi} (COLL.DU) mark collectiveness. The former is the plural form and the latter is the dual form.

(7.65) \ldots \underline{maba \quad madu} \quad ta \quad \underline{ke=mamaz=a} \quad \underline{koi} \quad \underline{ko=a} \\
person \quad COLL.PL \quad TOP \quad 3PL.=rest=PRES \quad here \quad 3SG.F=LIG \\
\underline{zae \quad ale}. \quad \underline{area \quad in} \\
‘...people, they rest here, in that area.’ (26-12-68)

(7.66) \ldots \underline{komi=ko} \quad \underline{mama \ ni \ niania \ kidi} \\
PROX.SG.F=3SG.F \quad father \quad and \quad mother \quad COLL.DU \\
\underline{qe=ba} \quad \underline{opie=k=ou}... \\
1DU.EXC=PROS \quad visit=3DU.O=FUT \\
‘...we are going to visit her father and mother...’ (27-17-108)

In (7.66), the head of the NP is coordinated nouns \textit{mama ni niania} ‘father and mother’, and thus the number is two. Because of this, the collective marker has the dual form \textit{kidi}. 
A collective marker also functions to mark that the NP has a human referent. That is, an NP which contains a collective marker always has a human referent, regardless of whether the head is inherently human or non-human. In (7.67), the head of the NP is non-human: *kana* (war), but the NP itself is human: ‘those warriors’. In (7.68), the head of each of two underlined NPs is a numeral, which is inherently neither human nor non-human, but the NPs are human.

(7.67) $Ni=a$ $kana$ $madu$ $ta$ $ke=ta$ $baro=a.$
$3SG.M=LIG$ $war$ $COLL.PL$ $TOP$ $3PL=SIT$ $arrive=PRES$
‘Those warriors arrived.’ (25-2-19)

(7.68) $Siakava$ $madu$ $ke=soroe=m=a.$ $Omuga$ $kidi$ $ta$
nine $COLL.PL$ $3PL=send=3PL.O=PRES$ two $COLL.DU$ $TOP$
$go=bori=k=a$ $ko=a$ $podala$ $ore…$
$3DU=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES$ $3SG.F=LIG$ $podala$ tree
‘They sent (a collection of) nine people. (A pair of ) two people carried the
$podala$ tree…’ (22-5-21-22)

An NP which contains the plural marker *poso* can be either human or non-human. The plural marker is optional when the NP has other constituents which mark/imply plurality. This is illustrated by (7.69-a) and (7.69-b).

(7.69-a) $Ni$ $erisang$ $ta$ $matu$ $kubo$ $maba$ $poso$ $ta$ $inisiana$
and today $TOP$ very many person $PL.M$ $TOP$ $EXT.PL$

Sabora.

Sabora
‘And today, many people live in Sabora.’ (10-15-127)

(7.69-b) $…matu$ $kubo$ $maba$ $ta$ $ko$ $el=ou$ $komi=a$
very many person $TOP$ $3SG.F$ stay=FUT $PROX.SG.F=LIG$

peuru $ale$.
village in
‘…many people will stay in this village.’ (64-2-15)

(7.70) $Ni$ $ke=vouvate=a$ $aza-aza=ma$ $zae$ $poso$ $kale$.
and $3PL=kill=RMP$ $REDUP$-various=$3SG.F$ area $PL.M$ in
‘And they killed at various places.’ (10-2-21)

In (7.69-b) the pronominal proclitic which cross-references with the underlined NP is in the third person singular feminine form, as the quantifier *kubo* ‘many’ cannot trigger plural agreement (see §7.2.1.2).

7.2.1.6 Pronominal enclitics

An NP which has a first or second person referent obligatorily takes a first/second pronominal enclitic in phrase-final position. The function of this pronominal enclitic is to
mark first or second person. In (7.35) repeated below, the head of an NP is maba ‘person’. The first person is marked by the final pronominal enclitic ngela (1PL.EXC) as well as the initial independent pronoun enge (1PL.EXC).

\[(7.35^\prime) \quad \text{enge} = a \quad \text{Solomon} = a = \text{ma} \quad \text{maba} \quad \text{poso} = \text{ngela} \]

1PL.EXC=LIG Solomon=LIG=3SG.F person PL.M=1PL.EXC

‘we, Solomon people’

Without the final pronominal enclitic and the independent pronoun, that is as Solomoniana maba poso, this would be interpreted as third person plural meaning ‘Solomon people’. This is because a common noun is third person by default (see §7.4).

The following is another example. In this example, there is a slight pause between anga (1SG) and ore=lala (tree=1SG), and this suggests that each of anga and ore=lala forms an NP. That is, one NP is filled with two NPs in apposition. The first NP is realised as an independent pronoun and the second as a common noun marked with a pronominal enclitic marking the first person. These two NPs have the same referent and the first person is already marked by the pronoun in the first NP, but the second NP still requires a pronominal enclitic because of an obligatory marking of first or second person.

\[(7.71) \quad \text{[anga]} \quad \text{[ore=lala]} \]

1SG tree=1SG

‘I, [who am] a tree’ (67-1-7)

Note that in example (7.35) above, enge=a (1PL.EXC=LIG) does not form an NP of its own. It forms an NP with the rest, as clearly indicated by the ligature a, which occurs in order to link constituents in the same phrase (see §5.17 for the ligature).

### 7.2.2 Heads of NPs

#### 7.2.2.1 Common nouns

An NP headed with a common noun can have any kind of optional NP constituents. As mentioned in §4.5 and §6.3.1, de-adjectival nouns and nominalised verbs belong to the common noun class. In examples (7.73) and (7.74), the head is a nominalised verb and de-adjectival noun respectively. In this section, the head of an NP in issue is double-underlined and the NP itself is single-underlined.

\[(7.72) \quad \ldots \text{kake} \quad \text{maba} \quad \text{poso} \quad \text{inio} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{ol} = a, \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{ol} = a, \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{ol} = a, \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{ol} = a, \]

INDEF.PL person PL.M FOC.NONF 3PL go=PRES

‘...some people went.’ (25-7-50)

\[(7.73) \quad \ldots \text{enge} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{nge} = q = a i \quad \text{zari} = a \quad \text{tu} \]

1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES IRR

\(k = ov = o \quad \text{kama} \quad \text{uri} = a = \text{ma} \quad \text{saev} = o \ldots \)

3SG.F.O=get=NOM INDEF.SG.F good=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM

‘...we want to get a good life...’ (64-1-6)
(7.74) \[ \text{...nge=q=e=ala} \quad \text{komi=a tapata...} \]
\[ \text{1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=see=RCP} \quad \text{PROX.SG.F=LIG} \quad \text{hardship} \]
\[ \text{‘...we saw this hardship...’ (26-9-49)} \]

7.2.2.2 Kinship terms

An NP headed with a kinship term can have any optional NP constituents, except for indefinite markers. This is because kinship terms are inherently definite.

(7.75) \[ \text{reko=a=ma} \quad \text{kaka} \]
\[ \text{female=LIG=3SG.F} \quad \text{older.sibling} \]
\[ \text{‘older sister’} \]

(7.76) \[ \text{ege=a} \quad \text{mama} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{niania} \quad \text{kidi=qela} \]
\[ \text{1DU.EXC=LIG} \quad \text{father and mother} \quad \text{COLL.DU=1DU.EXC} \]
\[ \text{‘we the father and mother’ (21-2-14)} \]

7.2.2.3 Personal names

An NP headed with a personal name may have a demonstrative and/or a modifier, and it is always definite.

![Demonstrative] (Modifier) Personal name

(7.77) \[ \text{...ka} \quad \text{pado} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{Koro-koroganisi} \]
\[ \text{INDEF} \quad \text{MESpiece} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{REDUP-Korokoroqanisi} \]
\[ \text{ko=kati=v=a...} \]
\[ \text{3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES} \]
\[ \text{‘...one, she gave it to Koro-koroganisi...’ (39-6-41)} \]

(7.78) \[ \text{piza=ka=la} \quad \text{Volosi} \]
\[ \text{strong=LIG=3SG.M} \quad \text{Volosi} \]
\[ \text{‘strong Volosi’} \]

7.2.2.4 Locational nouns

An NP headed with a locational noun, a placename, a relational noun, or the noun \text{koi}
\text{‘place’}, may have a demonstrative and/or a modifier.

![Demonstrative] (Modifier) Locational Noun
(7.79) \( ...enge=ko \quad udu, \quad komi=a \quad Bilua. \)
1PL.EXC=3SG.F island PROX.SG.F=LIG Bilua
‘...our islands, this Bilua (island).’ (10-3-32)

(7.80) \( ile-ile=a=ma \quad Bilua \quad Vella \quad La \quad Vella \)
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.F Vella La Vella
‘beautiful Vella La Vella’

(7.81) \( ...okate \quad nio \quad o=baro=a... \)
up.high FOC.NONF 3SG.M=arrive=PRES
‘...he arrived up high...’ (43-2-16)

(7.82) \( ...ko=ta \quad v=a \quad pusae=k=a \quad ko=a \quad poro... \)
3SG.F=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL wash=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG inside
‘...she washed the inside of his [mouth]...’ (39-5-36)
more literally, ‘she washed the inside of him...’

An NP headed with koi ‘place’ cannot have a person/number/gender specification. Because of this, koi ‘place’ cannot be modified by a modifier phrase, as this contains a pronominal enclitic, which is marked for person/number/gender. It can, instead, directly be modified by an adjective.

(7.83) \( ileile=a \quad koi \quad Bilua \quad Vella \quad La \quad Vella \quad beautiful=LIG \quad place \quad ‘beautiful place’ \)

However, koi ‘place’ can be modified by PRON=kiada (PRON=all), although this is marked for person/number/gender. PRON=kiada normally means ‘by oneself’, but a combination of PRON=kiada with koi ‘place’ means ‘all parts of one’s body’. A pronominal clitic preceding kiada here marks the person/number/gender of ‘one’s’. For example,

(7.84) \( ...o=saqae=v=a \quad o=kiada \quad koi... \)
3SG.M=brush=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M=all place
‘...he brushed all parts of his body...’ (39-9-54)

The noun koi ‘place’ can also co-occur with quantifiers kubo ‘many’ and omadeu ‘one’. When kubo ‘many’ modifies the noun koi ‘place’, it takes a ligature: kubo=a koi (many=LIG place) ‘many places’. Omadeu koi (one place) means ‘one (same) place’.
7.2.2.5 Free pronouns

7.2.2.5.1 Inflectional pronouns

Inflectional free pronouns: independent pronouns, demonstratives and indefinite pronouns, can be the head of NPs. They all typically form NPs on their own, but they may optionally have a post-head general modifier, tiniavo ‘about’ or pala ‘only’.

(7.85) Independent pronoun

Anga ta koi...
1SG TOP here
‘I am here...’ (2-5-28)

(7.86) Distal demonstrative

Se ta pui ke=ve=ae vo
3PL TOP NEG 3PL=3SG.M.O=see=PRES 3SG.M
‘They did not see him.’ (12-4-32)

(7.87) Proximate demonstrative

“Meqorasa idy komi ta ko niuniu...”
family PROX.SG.F TOP 3SG.F fish
“Family, here is fish...” (24-3-25)

(7.88) Indefinite pronoun

...kiada=ma maba ko=vuat=a, pui kake pala.
all=3SG.F person 3SG.F.eat=PRES NEG INDEF.PL only
‘...everyone ate, not only some.’ (28-7-73)

7.2.2.5.2 So ‘that’, and eri ‘something like this’

So ‘that’ or eri ‘something like this’ typically forms an NP on its own but it may optionally have a general modifier tiniavo ‘about’.

(7.89) Pronoun so ‘that’

...vo ta so k=i=o=vou.
3SG.M TOP that 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=FUT
‘...he will say that.’ (21-2-8)

(7.90) Pronoun eri ‘something like this’

...eri tiniavo ke=ta vou=va,
s.th.like.this about 3PL=SIT die=PRES
‘...something like approximately this [many people] died.’ (26-5-30)

7.2.2.5.3 Measure pronouns

One group of pronouns, measure pronouns, cannot form an NP on their own. They always have to be accompanied by a determiner or a numeral. Measure pronouns are all translated as ‘one’.
Noun phrases

7.2.2.6 Quantifiers

An NP headed with a quantifier can only have an optional demonstrative or independent pronoun.

(7.93) \[ Se=a \quad megora \quad poso \quad ta \quad omuga \quad ta \]
\[ 3PL=LIG \quad child \quad PL.M \quad TOP \quad two \quad TOP \]
\[ reko, \; zouke \; ta \; lasive. \]
\[ \text{female three TOP male} \]
‘As for those children, two are female, and three are male.’ (23-3-31)

(7.94) \[ ...se=a \quad zouke \quad ta \quad ke=ta \quad nga=va... \]
\[ 3PL=LIG \quad three \quad TOP \quad 3PL=SIT \quad be.frightened=PRES \]
‘...those three, they were frightened...’ (48-4-30)

One might consider treating these NPs as headless NPs in which quantifiers function as modifiers, but this cannot be true. This contention is supported by the following evidence. Bilua have two focus markers, \textit{ikio} (FOC.F) and \textit{inio} (FOC.NONF), which can mark an NP, and these two forms are distributed according to the person, number, and gender of the NP—\textit{ikio} (FOC.F) for third person singular feminine NPs and \textit{inio} (FOC.NONF) for non-third person singular feminine NPs (see §14.3.2 for focus markers). Now, consider example (7.95).

(7.95) \[ ...vo \quad ta \quad omuga \quad ikio \quad vo=ko \quad megora \]
\[ 3SG.M \quad TOP \quad two \quad FOC.F \quad 3SG.M=3SG.F \quad child \]
sole.
that’s why
‘...because he has two children.’ (27-4-20)
(more literally ‘...as for him, his children were two, that’s why.’)

In this example, the NP marked with a focus marker is third person dual but a focus marker is realised as ikio (FOC.F), which contradicts the above distribution. It is postulated that the above distribution does not apply to an NP headed with a quantifier, and such an NP can only be marked by ikio (FOC.F). Indeed, this is the case—no NP headed with a quantifier can be marked by inio (FOC NONF) and this illustrates that the NPs analysed in this section are not headless NPs but NPs headed with quantifiers.

One might, on the other hand, consider that the NPs presented in this section are all headless NPs, and headless NPs can only be marked by ikio (FOC.F), not by inio (FOC NONF). This however again proves not to be true, as illustrated by example (7.96). In this example, the underlined predicate NP is a headless NP but it is marked with the focus marker inio (FOC NONF) not ikio (FOC.F). The predicate NP here consists of a modifier phrase matu siloala ‘very big’ and this is accompanied with a pronominal enclitic nga (2SG) agreeing with the subject NP in person, number, and gender. Thus, this NP is encoded as second person singular, and is marked with inio (FOC NONF) following the distribution of focus markers outlined above. Thus, one cannot say that all headless NPs are marked by ikio (FOC.F), and again this proves that the NPs analysed in this section are not headless NPs but NPs headed with quantifiers.

(7.96) ...ngo ta matu silo=ala=nga inio...
2SG TOP very small=3SG.M=2SG FOC NONF
‘...you are a very small one...’ (59-4-29)

7.3 Possessive NPs

Possessive NPs present a possessor–possessee relationship. Formally there are two possessive NPs in Bilua, which are distinguished on syntactic grounds: direct type, of which the possessor is directly marked on the possesee noun; and indirect type, of which the possessor is not directly marked on the possesee noun.

The two types of possessive NPs are distinguished on semantic grounds as well; they express different semantic relationships between the possessor and the possessee. With the direct type, the relationship is always inalienable, and accordingly the possessee noun in the direct type of possessive NP can only be an inalienable noun (see §4.3). On the other hand, with the indirect type, the relationship may be either inalienable or alienable. The possessee noun in the indirect type of possessive NP can be any noun except for ngavi ‘self’ and male ‘match’, regardless of whether the possessor and the possessee are in an inalienable or alienable relationship. Ngavi ‘self’ and male ‘match’ can only be possessee nouns in the direct type of possessive NP (see example (7.101) and (7.102) below).

In both types of possessive NP, the possessee noun is the head of a possessive NP, as clearly shown by cross-referencing on the VP. Examples (7.97) and (7.98) are direct and
indirect types of possessive NPs respectively. In both (7.97) and (7.98), the possessive NP is the subject, and the double-underlined pronominal proclitic on the VP, the subject marker, agrees in person, number, and gender, with the possessee *mama* ‘father’. In this section, possessive NPs are single-underlined.

(7.97)  ...ke=mama  ta  g=ta  vouv=a.
3PL=father  TOP  3SG.M=SIT  die=PRES
‘...their father died.’ (59-1-1)

(7.98)  ...nioga=vo  mama  ta  pui  g=baro=a.
3DU=3SG.M  father  TOP  NEG  3SG.M=arrive=PRES
‘...their father did not arrive.’ (24-4-36)

7.3.1 Direct type

Minimum constituents of the direct type of possessive NP are a pronominal proclitic and the head noun, referring to the possessor and the possessee respectively. The pronominal proclitics are attached to the head noun. That is, the possessor here is directly marked on the possessee noun. In addition to these, this type of possessive NP may also have a collective marker or the plural marker but no other constituents of basic NPs. This means that the pronominal proclitic is cliticised to the head first and to this, a collective or a plural marker may be added. Thus, the structure of direct possessive NPs is schematised as:

[[Pronominal Proclitic<sub>possessor</sub> Noun<sub>possession</sub>] (COLL/PL)]<sub>possessive NP</sub>

Some examples are:

(7.99)  ...o=baue=m=a  o=baerebaere  poso.
3SG.M=tell=3PL.O=PRES  3SG.M=friend  PL.M
‘...he told his friends.’ (15-2-15)

(7.100)  ...o=baue=k=a  o=kaka  kidi.
3SG.M=tell=3DU.O=PRES  3SG.M=elder sibling  COLL.DU
‘...he told his two brothers.’ (59-3-22)

---

32 Pronominal proclitics that refer to possessor always attach to a noun and this might suggest that they are prefixes rather than proclitics. However, remember that these morphemes also occur in VPs, cross-referencing subjects. In such a case, they may be attached to an object clitic, an aspectual/modal marker, the possessor-raising marker, a modifier, or a verb. That is, they can be attached to various kinds of words and this indicates that they are clitics.

33 If a possessive NP is to have a modifier, the possessive NP has to be an indirect type of possessive NP.
When the head is *male* ‘match’ or *ngavi* ‘self’, the NP cannot have a plural or collective marker.

(7.101) ...*ko=*ngavi  nio  *ko=*ta  ol=a.
3SG.F=EMPH  FOC.NONF  3SG.F=SIT  go=PRES
‘...she herself went.’ (27-22-141)

(7.102) ...*anga*  inio  *ko=*male...
1SG  FOC.NONF  3SG.F=match
‘...it’s me who is her ‘[good] match...’ (67-2-18)

PRON=*male* ‘one’s match’ can only be the predicate of a non-verbal clause (see §12.3.3 for more examples).

### 7.3.2 Indirect type

The indirect type of possessive NP has several functions in addition to presenting a possessor–possessee relationship. This section presents the structure of the indirect type of possessive NP first, and then its functions are described.

The indirect type of possessive NP contains an embedded NP, a possessor NP. The possessor NP has a basic NP structure but this never contains a measure pronoun *pdo* (MESOne) or a general modifier. The possessor NP is attached with a possessive marker, which is an encliticised form of a third person singular distal demonstrative, *vo* (3SG.M) or *ko* (3SG.F). These pronouns mark the person/number/gender of NPs in the same way as pronominal enclitics in modifier phrases do: *vo* (3SG.M) marks third person singular masculine while *ko* (3SG.F) marks non-third person singular masculine.

**Table 7.4:** Distribution of distal demonstratives as possessive markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Vo</em> (3SG.M)</td>
<td>third person singular masculine</td>
<td>singulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ko</em> (3SG.F)</td>
<td>non-third person singular masculine</td>
<td>unspecified number</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possessor NP attached with a possessive marker usually precedes the possessee noun, and the minimum constituent of a possessive NP is the possessor NP attached with a possessive marker and the possessee noun. Thus, the minimum structure of the simple possessive NP is:

```
Possessor NP=Marker    Possessee N
```

Examples (7.103), (7.104), and (7.105) are examples of an indirect type of possessive NP. In (7.103), the distal demonstrative, which functions as a possessive marker, is realised as *vo* for a third person singular masculine referent, while in both (7.104) and (7.105) it is realised as *ko* for a non-third person singular masculine referent. Example
(7.105) contains a plural marker so the NP is plural and means ‘that man’s children’, while example (7.104) lacks a plural marker and so the NP is singular and means ‘that man’s daughter’, as ko is indeed the third person singular feminine form of distal demonstrative. In this section, the head of a possessive NP is double-underlined, and the possessor NP is marked with square brackets.

(7.103) \[ vo=a \quad maba \quad vo \quad megora \]
3SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F child
‘that man’s son’

(7.104) \[ vo=a \quad maba \quad ko \quad megora \]
3SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F child
‘that man’s daughter’

(7.105) \[ vo=a \quad maba \quad ko \quad megora \quad poso \]
3SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F child PL.M
‘that man’s children’

The indirect type of possessive NP can have any optional constituents of basic NPs: a determiner, a quantifier, a modifier phrase, a collective marker, a plural marker, a pronominal enclitic, but not a general modifier or an adjectival phrase PRON=kiada ‘by oneself’, and the head can only be a noun. The head of the possessor NP is often a demonstrative or an independent pronoun but it can also be a non-locational noun. Examples with different kinds of heads are presented later below.

The position of the possessor NP within the possessive NP depends on the head of the possessor NP. When it is not a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, or a nominalised verb, it takes the NP-initial position, and this can never be followed by a determiner, as no determiner in Bilua can occur in a position other than the NP-initial position, and other NP constituents follow this, taking the position they do in basic NPs.

| Possessor NP= Marker (QANT) (MOD) Possessee N (COLL/PL) (PRON) |

In (7.106), the head of the possessor NP is a personal name, Ilai.

(7.106) \[ Ilai=ko \quad matu=ma \quad pade \]
Ilai=3SG.F big=3SG.F house
‘Ilai’s big house’

Example (7.107) is not grammatical as the head of the possessor NP is followed by a determiner.

(7.107) \[ *\quad maba \quad vo=a \quad ko \quad pade \]
\[ \quad person \quad 3SG.M=LIG \quad 3SG.F \quad house \]
‘that person’s house’
When the head of the possessor NP is a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, or a nominalised verb, the possessor attached with a possessive marker immediately precedes the head, and other pre-head NP constituents precede this.

\[(DEM) (QANT) (MOD) \text{ Possessor NP=Marker Possessee N (COLL/PL) (=PRON)}\]

In both examples below, the possessor NP is a demonstrative. Constituents preceding this cannot be regarded as parts of the possessor NP—they are constituents of the possessive NP in which the possessor NP is embedded. This is because an NP headed with a demonstrative can have neither determiner nor modifier phrase as described in §7.2.2.5.1.

\[(7.108) \quad ko=a \quad reko=a=ma \quad [se]=ko \quad ravaza\]
3SG.F=LIG female=LIG=3SGF 3PL=3SG.F in-law
‘their mother in-law’ (16-7-100)

\[(7.109) \quad kake \quad [vo]=ko \quad vaki-vakina\]
INDEF.PL 3SG.M=3SG.F REDUP-troop
‘his troops’

In (7.110), the possessor NP is a nominalised verb \textit{pazokinio} ‘fight’. Similar to (7.108) and (7.109) constituents preceding \textit{komia matuma} are not constituents of the possessor NP, but constituents of the possessive NP. The nominalised verb here presents the purpose that the possessive NP head is used for, and in such a case it cannot co-occur with optional NP constituents.

\[(7.110) \quad komi=a \quad matu=ma \quad [pazo-ki\textit{n}i=\alpha]=ko \quad vaka\]
PROX.SG.F=LIG big=3SG.F hit-RECP=NOM=3SG.F ship
‘this big warship (this big ship for war)’

A determiner in a possessive NP is optional. A possessive NP is typically definite regardless of whether it contains a determiner or not. However, a possessive NP can be indefinite when it does not contain a determiner. The interpretation depends on the discourse. The discourse in which example (7.111) below occurs indicates that this is indefinite.

\[(7.111) \quad matu=ma \quad [pazo-ki\textit{n}i=\alpha=ko] \quad vaka\]
big=3SG.F hit-RECP=NOM=3SG.F ship
‘a big warship (a big ship for war)’ (12-4-37)

The possessor NP can be a direct type of possessive NP headed with \textit{ngavi} ‘self’. PRON=\textit{ngavi} here means ‘one’s own’. This behaves in the same way as a possessor NP headed with non-demonstrative, non-independent pronoun, or non-nominalised verb. Thus, the possessor NP takes the NP-initial position like example (7.106) above.
(7.112) \( ke=ngavi \)=ko \_ leksa \_ mada \\
3PL=EMPHEF=3SG.F chief COLL.PL \\
‘their own chiefs’ (12-11-106)

The plural collective marker is realised as an enclitic \( mu \) in an indirect type of a possessive NP headed with the noun \( maba \) ‘person’, as in example (7.113) below. In other cases, it is always realised as \( mada \) (COLL.PL) as in (7.112) above. In (7.113), the possessor NP is headed with a common noun and so the demonstrative preceding it is a constituent of the possessor NP.

(7.113) \( ko=a \_ sinaqurusu \)=ko \_ maba=mu \\
3SG.F=LIG girl=3SG.F person=COLL.PL \\
‘the girl’s people’ (21-10-60)

The head of an indirect type of possessive NP can be ellipsed. Ellipsis may occur when the head is identifiable from the discourse. In (7.114), \( anga=ko \) (1SG=3SG.F) is a headless possessive NP, and the head of the possessive NP is expressed in the preceding NP, \( koa rekoama taite \) ‘the grandmother’. It is not the case that in (7.114) \( anga=ko \) is a postposed possessive modifier NP and \( koa rekoama taite \) and \( angako \) form a possessive NP. \( Angako koa rekoama taite \) would be ungrammatical because of the position of the determiner, \( koa \).

(7.114) \( ...ke=k=ati \_ kail=a, \_ ko=a \_ reko=a=ma \)
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL go.up=PRES 3SG.F=LIG female=LIG=3SG.F \\
\( taite \_ [anga]=ko \_ \\
\) g.parent 1SG=3SG.F \\
‘...they took her up, the grandmother, [who is] mine...’ (25-7-56)

In (7.115), \( ko=ngavi=ko \) (3SG.F =EMPH=3SG.F) is a headless possessive NP. The sentence preceding this tells that she threw out her son’s food, and (7.115) tells what she did with her own food.

(7.115) \( [Ko=ngavi]=ko \_ ta \_ ko=tukie=k=a \_ tuto \_ kale. \)
3SG.F=self=3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=keep=3SG.F.O=PRES coconut.container in \\
‘As for her own [food], she kept it in a coconut container.’ (27-3-17)

The following are some examples with different kinds of heads. The heads of both possessor NPs and possessive NPs are double-underlined.

(7.116) \( enge\)=ko \_ vesi=nga \\
1PL.EXC=3SG.F younger.sibling=2SG \\
‘you who are our younger sister’ (59-8-64)

(7.117) \( anga\)=vo \_ Pare \\
1SG=3SG.M Pare \\
‘my Pare’
An indirect type of possessive NP has one of five different functions: it indicates a possessor–possessee relationship as in (7.121), it indicates a whole–part relationship as in (7.122), it functions as a temporal adjunct as in (7.123), it forms a nominalised complement as in (7.124), or its possessor NP presents a purpose as in (7.125).

(7.121) Possessor–possessee relationship

\[
\text{[sel=ko zaloni]}
\]
3PL=3SG.F ornament
‘their ornaments’ (67-50)

(7.122) Whole–part relationship

\[
\ldots [vo]=ko zavu-zavu melai ko=ta kajorio=ke...
\]
3SG.M=3SG.F REDUP-beard too 3SG.F=SIT come.off=HIST
‘...his beard too came off...’ (26-17-96)

(7.123) Temporal adjunct

\[
\text{[Omuqa sabere]=ko tova inio ko ta}
\]
two year=3SG.F behind FOC.NONF 3SG.F TOP
ko=rove=a tu kil=o koi Vella La Vella.
3SG.F=can=PRES IRR come=NOM here Vella La Vella
‘After two years, it could come to this Vella La Vella island.’ (10-7-59)

(7.124) Nominalised complement

\[
A=q=e=a [vo]=ko vouvat=o...
\]
1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F kill=NOM
‘I see his murder...’ (12-13-113)

(7.125) Purpose

\[
\ldots ko=baro=a [sailao]=ko taku...
\]
3SG.F=arrive=PRES food=3SG.F time
‘...the time for food (eating) arrived...’ (27-3-16)

The first two are conventional functions of possessive NPs and do not need any explanation here. Possessive NPs as temporal adjuncts and as nominalised complement
clauses are described in §10.4.2 and §12.3.4 respectively. Here, only the last one, the ‘purpose’ function is described.

The possessor NP may refer to a purpose, what the possessor noun is (used) for. In such a case, both head of the possessor NP and possessee noun can only be common nouns. Often the head of the possessor NP is a nominalised verb as in (7.110) repeated below, while the possessee noun is a noun *taku* ‘time’ as in (7.125) above and (7.126) below. A nominalised verb as the head of the possessor NP always presents a purpose.

(7.110) *komi=a* *matu=ma* *[pazo-kini=o]=ko* *yaka*
PROX.SG=F=LIG big=3SG.F hit-RECP=NOM=3SG.F ship
‘this big warship (this big ship for war)’

(7.126) ...*ko=baro=a* *[bolo=ko padoe=k=o]=ko* *taku*...
3SG.F=arrive=PRES pig=3SG.F gather=3SG.F.O=NOM=3SG.F time
‘...the time for gathering pigs arrived...’ (67-3-38)

In example (7.126), *bolo=ko padoe=k=o* ‘gathering pigs’ itself is a possessive NP; *bolo* is a possessor NP, which forms a possessive NP with a nominalised verb *padoeko*, and this possessive NP, *bolo=ko padoe=k=o*, itself functions as a possessor NP and thus is attached with *ko*. The head of the entire NP is *taku* ‘time’.

### 7.4 Person, number, and gender marking

In the last two sections, two types of NPs in Bilua, basic and possessive NPs, are described. Bilua NPs are usually marked for person/number/gender. Exceptions to this are categorical and generic NPs. For example, in (7.127) the underlined NP refers to a category of ‘food’ and this is not marked for person/number/gender. When such an NP is cross-referenced on the verb, it is realised in the default form, the third person singular feminine form. Thus, in (7.127) the object clitic which cross-references the NP *sailao* ‘food’ is realised as *k* (3SG.F.O).

(7.127) ...*niani=ka=ma* *ta* *sailao* *ko* *ere=k=a*...
mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP food 3SG.F make=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘...the mother, she did food-making...’ (27-3-15)

An NP which refers to a category thus can consist of the head on its own. It may, however, contain a modifier phrase, and this refers to a subcategory. In the following example, *uriama pade* ‘good house’ is a subcategory of a category *pade* ‘house’.

(7.128) ...*nge=q=a* *zari=a* *k=ov=o*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES 3SG.F.O=get=NOM

*uri=a=ma* *pade*...
good=LIG=3SG.F house
‘...we want to get good houses...’ (64-3-23)

In Bilua, common nouns, kinship terms, locational nouns, personal names, quantifiers, non-inflectional pronouns, and quantifiers have default interpretation as third person, and
first/second person can be marked by a first/second person pronominal enclitic in the NP-final position. Personal names and a few kinship terms are marked for gender as well. Some kinship terms can be used as vocatives. This is then interpreted as second person.

In an NP whose head is not marked for gender, gender can be specified by an optional NP constituent; a demonstrative, which fills the slot for a determiner, a pronominal enclitic in a modifier phrase, and/or a demonstrative which functions as a possessor marker in a possessor NP. These are all pronouns which inflect for gender.

(7.129) \( vo=a \quad silo=a=la \quad meqora \)

3SG.M=LIG small=LIG=3SG.M child
‘the small boy’

(7.130) \( ko=ko \quad meqora \)

3SG.F=3SG.F child
‘her daughter’

The above applies only when the NP is third person singular: Bilua has a gender distinction only for third person singular, as shown in Table 7.1.

The direct type of possessive NP can have neither determiner nor modifier phrase, and consequently, the direct type of possessive NP cannot be marked for gender.

(7.131) \( a=meqora \)

1SG=child
‘my child (male or female)’ (43-5-56)

In such a case, gender can be found only from the discourse. However, in a direct type of possessive NP headed with \( ngavi \) ‘self’, \( PRON=ngavi \) ‘oneself’, the pronominal proclitic specifies the gender.

(7.132) \( o=ngavi \)

3SG.M=self
‘himself’ (27-24-153)

Number can be specified by a quantifier and/or a collective/plural marker.

(7.133) \( matu \quad kubo \quad maba \quad madu \)

very many person COLL.PL
‘(a group of) a large number of people’ (12-1-5)

An NP can also be interrogative ‘who’. The interrogative ‘who’ has default interpretation as third person, but similar to NPs headed with a common noun or a kinship term, it can take a first/second person pronominal enclitic for a first/second person marking.

(7.134) \( "Ngo=daite \quad ta \quad lala?" \)

2SG=g.parent TOP whoSG.M
‘Who is your grandfather?’” (39-9-56)
(7.135) "LaLa=nga inio ngo?"  
whoSG.M=2SG FOC.NONF 2SG  
"Who are you?" (39-9-55)

In Bilua, generally first/second person NPs cannot have a gender specification. When the head of an NP is the interrogative ‘who’, however, a first/second person NP can have a gender specification, as the interrogative word ‘who’ itself has a gender specification. In (7.135), the interrogative word ‘who’ is in the singular masculine form and this is marked with a second person singular pronoun enclitic. Thus, the referent is second person singular masculine. If the interrogative is in the singular feminine form, the referent is second person singular feminine.

It is illustrated above that person, number, and gender of NPs can be marked by optional NP constituent(s) and NPs often contain optional NP constituent(s). A postverbal NP headed with a non-localational noun in Bilua can never consist of the head on its own. That is, there is a slot to be filled. Non-localational nouns are, as set out in §4.3, common nouns, kinship terms, and personal names. The slot is generally filled by one of the optional NP constituents, but if not, it is filled by a distal demonstrative by default. The demonstrative here cannot be treated as a determiner, as it is not attached with a ligature. For example,

(7.136) Ni ke=v=e=ake vo Sito.  
and 3PL=3SG.M.O=RMP=HIST 3SG.M Sito  
‘And they saw Sito.’ (12-7-63)

Thus, the lack of the ligature indicates that vo (3SG.M) does not function as a determiner. It might be postulated that each of vo and Sito forms an NP of its own and vo and Sito are two appositive NPs. However, such a demonstrative and the head always form one intonation unit and so it is best to treat them as forming a single NP, and vo occurs just to fill the slot. Furthermore, such an NP can be a categorical/generic NP as illustrated by examples (7.139) and (7.140) later in this section, and this illustrates that the demonstrative here does not function as a determiner: it does not have a definiteness-marking function or a deictic function.

As illustrated above, NPs are usually marked for person, number, and gender by optional constituents, while demonstratives, which may precede the head, are marked for person, number, and gender as well. This raises the contention that it is obligatory for a postverbal NP to be marked for person, number, and gender by a non-head constituent. This contention is supported by the fact that even personal names, which are always third person singular and which also have an inherent gender marking, cannot form an NP on their own in postverbal position, and the distal demonstrative, which is neither the head nor a determiner, occurs for an obligatory person, number, and gender marking.

The distal demonstrative which precedes the head can only be the third person singular one. This is because when a referent is not third person singular, an NP would have an optional constituent. The demonstrative is realised as vo (3SG.M) or ko (3SG.F) depending on the gender for a human referent and depending on the number for a non-human referent.
Table 7.5: Distribution of third person singular distal demonstratives as a person/number/gender marker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstratives</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vo</td>
<td>third person singular masculine</td>
<td>singulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>third person singular feminine</td>
<td>unspecified number</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following is an example with a kinship term.

(7.137) \[ ...k=i=o=la \quad vo \quad megora. \]
\[ 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES \quad 3SG.M \quad child \]
‘...said the son.’ (27-17-109)

As noted in §7.2.1.3.1, a combination of a kinship term and a pronominal enclitic is used like a personal name and this is treated as one lexeme. The following example clearly illustrates this. In this example, a kinship term criticised with a pronominal enclitic is preceded by a demonstrative without a ligature.

(7.138) \[ ...ko=baro=a \quad ko \quad niania=ka=ma... \]
\[ 3SG.F=arrive=PRES \quad 3SG.F \quad mother=LIG=3SG.F \]
‘...the mother arrived...’ (27-8-47)

As noted above, a categorical/generic NP is not generally marked for a person/number/gender. This kind of NP still however has to contain a demonstrative in postverbal position. Similarly to (7.127), the underlined NP in (7.139) refers to a category of ‘food’, but it contains a demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F). Example (7.140) expresses to what category the thing she saw belongs; the object NP *vo siloiro* ‘firefly’ refers to a category. Since she saw only one firefly, this is coded as singulative, as indicated by the singulative form of object clitics in the VP, *v* (3SG.M), and so the demonstrative is realised in the singulative form as well agreeing with this.

(7.139) \[ ...ke=ngavi \quad nio \quad ke \quad ere=k=a \quad ko \quad sailao. \]
\[ 3PL=selF \quad FOC.NONF \quad 3PL \quad make=3SG.F.O=PRES \quad 3SG.F \quad food \]
‘...they made food themselves...’ (59-1-5)

(7.140) \[ ...ko=v=e=a \quad kala \quad bianga-bianga \]
\[ 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES \quad INDEF.SG.M \quad REDUP-insect \]
\[ silo=a=la \quad ipu \quad ale, \quad uza \quad ta \quad ngase \quad topi \quad ko=a \]
small=LIG=3SG.M \quad night \quad in \quad fire \quad TOP \quad hand \quad on \quad 3SG.F=LIG \]
\[ reko, \quad inio \quad ko=v=e=a \quad vo \quad siloiro... \]
women \quad SEQ \quad 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES \quad 3SG.M \quad fire.fly \]
‘...she saw one small animal in the darkness, with a fire on her hand, the woman, she saw one firefly.’ (39-4-30-31)
(more literally ‘...she saw one small animal in the night, a fire was on her hand, the woman , and she saw one firefly...')
It appears that the obligatory person/number/gender marking in (7.139) and (7.140) is because of the object clitic in the preceding VP. That is, the object clitic, which itself is marked for person/number/gender, requires the NP which follows and which is coreferential with this object clitic to show agreement. For example, in (7.139) the object clitic $k$ (3SG.F) requires that the NP be third person singular feminine, and so the NP contains the demonstrative $ko$ (3SG.F). Similarly, in (7.140), the object clitic $v$ (3SG.M) requires the NP to be third person singular masculine and so the NP contains the demonstrative $vo$ (3SG.M). When the NP precedes the VP as in (7.127), however, there is no such a requirement, and the object clitic in the VP takes the default form, the third person singular feminine form.

Unlike non-locational nouns, locational nouns do not require such a demonstrative.

(7.141)  $Qo=baro=i$  $\textit{Roviana...}$
          $3DU=\text{arrive}=\text{RMP}$  $\textit{Roviana}$
          ‘The two arrived at $\textit{Roviana}$’ (10-6-53)

This concludes the description of NPs in Bilua. The next chapter deals with verb phrases and complement phrases.
8 Verb phrases
and complement phrases

8.1 Introduction

As noted in §3.2.2, the 'heart' of a Bilua verbal clause is the predicate, which is a verb phrase (VP). A Bilua verb phrase, except for when it is headed with one of two verbs, elo 'to become' and iko 'to put/cause', can form a clause on its own. A VP headed with one of these two verbs always requires a complement. A complement is expressed by a complement phrase, which can be a noun phrase, a postpositional phrase, an adjectival phrase, or any locational phrase (see §10.3 for locational phrases). In this chapter, first a description of VPs is presented and then a description of complement phrases is presented.

8.2 Verb phrases

8.2.1 Introduction

The defining feature of the VP in Bilua is that the head can only be a verb and it usually contains a pronominal proclitic, which functions as a subject marker, and a tense/mood marker. In the following example, the underline marks the VP.

(8.1) ...a=koit=a...
3SG.M=climb=PRES
'...he climbed...' (2-4-19)

8.2.2 Constituents of VPs

Generally, a Bilua VP minimally contains a pronominal proclitic, the head (a verb with or without an accompanying object clitic, see §8.2.3), and a tense/mood marker. A VP may also have optional constituents. Except for when the head (verb) is kio 'to say' or tu...keu 'to be long', the three minimum constituents occur in the order of pronominal proclitic, head, and tense/mood marker, and optional VP constituents occur between the pronominal proclitic and the head. Constituents of VPs are (in order of their occurrence):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal proclitic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Aspectual/Modal marker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Possessor-raising marker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Object clitic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Valency-increasing marker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Modifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head = verb (with or without an accompanying object clitic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense/mood marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first five of these constituents—pronominal proclitic, aspectual/modal marker, possessor-raising marker, object clitic, and valency-increasing marker—form a preverbal complex, which has a template structure. A template structure consists of a sequence of morpheme slots (Simpson & Withgott 1986). Each of these slots can be filled with a certain type of morpheme. It is not necessary to fill all slots, but an occurrence of one morpheme in one slot may require a co-occurrence of another morpheme in another slot, or block an occurrence of another morpheme.

In the Bilua preverbal complex, the slot for aspectual/modal markers may be filled by two aspectual/modal markers (see §8.5.6). When the slot for valency-increasing markers is filled, the slot for object clitics has to be filled as well, while when the slot for the possessor-raising marker is filled, the slot for valency-increasing markers must be filled. Furthermore, in certain circumstances, an occurrence of a valency-increasing marker *a* requires the co-occurrence of the possessor-raising marker (see §9.4.4). On the other hand, the situation-change marker *ta* prohibits an occurrence of the possessor-raising marker and valency-increasing markers. Thus, the situation-change marker never co-occurs with the possessor-raising marker or a valency-increasing marker.

The head, a verb with or without an accompanying object clitic, and a tense/mood marker also form a template structure. Here, there are three slots: one for verbs, one for object clitics, and one for tense/mood markers. When the slot for verbs is filled, this requires the slot for tense/mood markers to be filled. Furthermore, when the slot for verbs is filled by a transitive verb, this requires the slot for object clitics to be filled. In texts, however, there are a few examples in which an object clitic and a tense/mood marker are ellipsed together, but there is no example in which only one of them is ellipsed.

A VP whose head is *kio* ‘to say’ or *tu...keu* ‘to be long’ has a different structure. With the verb *kio* ‘to say’, the pronominal proclitic is realised as an enclitic\(^\text{34}\)—it always follows

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\(^{34}\) It is rather odd to say that a proclitic is realised as an enclitic, and it might be better to replace the term ‘pronominal proclitic’ with the term ‘pronominal clitic’. However, there are two other sets of pronominal clitics in Bilua, which are referred to as pronominal enclitics and object clitics, and the term ‘pronominal proclitic’ is employed in this work in order to make a distinction from these two sets of clitics.
its host, the verb. Furthermore, this verb takes an object clitic as a proclitic.\(^{35}\) The verb kio ‘to say’ cannot co-occur withaspectual/modal markers or the possessor-raising marker. Furthermore, with this verb, the pronominal proclitic and the valency-increasing marker do not form a preverbal complex either. This is because the pronominal proclitic does not take the usual VP-initial position, but follows the verb. The following is an example of a VP with the verb kio ‘to say’. (In the following examples, VPs are underlined.)

\[(8.2) \quad \text{...se ta} \quad \text{eri} \quad \text{v=ati} \quad \text{k=i=ke=la.} \]
\[3\text{PL TOP s.th.like this} \quad 3\text{SG.M.O}=\text{VAL} \quad 3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{say}=3\text{PL}=\text{PRES} \]

‘...they, they said to him something like this.’ (25-7-50)

With tu...keu ‘be long’, the preverbal complex occurs between tu and keu.

\[(8.3) \quad \text{Tu} \quad a=da \quad \text{keu=vou} \quad \text{Gizo.} \]
\[\text{be.long} \quad 1\text{SG}=\text{SIT} \quad \text{be.long}=\text{FUT} \quad \text{Gizo} \]

‘I will be in Gizo for a long time.’

\[(8.4) \quad \text{...puliako} \quad \text{tukeu} \quad \text{nio} \quad \text{ke=mama} \quad \text{ta} \quad o=ta \]
\[\text{before} \quad \text{be.longNOM} \quad \text{FOC.NONF} \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{father} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{SG.M}=\text{SIT} \]
\[\text{vou}=\text{va.} \quad \text{die}=\text{PRES} \]

‘...before long, their father died.’ (59-1-1)

In example (8.4), the verb tu...keu, which is realised as tukeu, occurs in a non-finite temporal clause that is marked with a subordinator puliako. A VP which follows a subordinator puliako ‘before’ always consists of a verb and the nominal derivational enclitic o only (see §12.4.1). In example (8.4) the combination of the verb tu...keu with the nominal derivational enclitic o is realised as tukeu—the combination of the verb final u with the enclitic o is realised as u (see Appendix 2). This illustrates that tu and keu form one lexeme.

In the following, all VP constituents except valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker are described. Valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker are described in the next chapter on valency and transitivity. The present chapter also includes a classification of verbs in terms of lexical semantics, as semantic of verbs may contribute to interpretation ofaspectual/modal markers as described in §8.5.

\[^{35}\text{The basic position of an S/A NP and an O NP for all verbs except kio ‘to say’ is preverbal and postverbal position respectively. This order corresponds to the order of the pronominal proclitic that cross-references the S/A argument, the verb, and the object clitic in the VP. With the verb kio ‘to say’, the basic position of A and O NPs are postverbal and preverbal respectively. This order again corresponds to the order of the object marker, the verb, and the pronominal in the VP. There are three other verbs that take an object marker as a proclitic, but with these verbs, the subject marker precedes the head. It is not understood why kio ‘to say’ is different from other verbs with this regard.}\]
8.2.3 VP head

Only a verb can be the head of a VP. Bilua verbs can be divided into two types depending on the obligatory presence/absence of an object clitic (see §4.4). Transitive verbs are obligatorily cliticised with an object clitic while intransitive verbs can never be cliticised with an object clitic. Since the object clitic is obligatory for transitive verbs, this can be regarded as a part of the head. In the following examples, underlines mark the VP head.

(8.5) Intransitive verb
   \[O=ta \quad \underline{lezumat}=a.\]
   \[3SG.M=SIT \quad \text{study}=\text{PRES}\]
   'He is studying.'

(8.6) Transitive verb
   \[O=\underline{tatabarae}=k=ala.\]
   \[3SG.M=\text{buy}=3SG.F.O=\text{RCP}\]
   'He bought it.'

The type of verbs indicates the number of core arguments cross-referenced on the VP. Intransitive and transitive verbs have one and two core arguments respectively cross-referenced on the verb, as illustrated by the above examples. However, when the VP has a valency-increasing marker, these numbers are increased by one, as a valency-increasing marker obligatorily occurs with an object clitic (see next chapter).

8.2.4 Pronominal proclitics and object clitics

There are two kinds of pronouns which can be constituents of a VP: pronominal proclitics and object clitics. Lists of pronominal proclitics and object clitics are repeated below from §5.5.1.

Table 8.1: Pronominal proclitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>[ngo]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[qe]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>[ko]</td>
<td>[qo]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8.2: Object clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
<td>qel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pronominal proclitics take the VP-initial position and they function as subject markers. Object clitics obligatorily occur with transitive verbs and valency-increasing markers, and they function as object markers. In (8.7), the object clitic on the verb \(k\) (3SG.F.O) expresses the direct object, ‘food’, while the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker \(v\) (3SG.M.O) expresses the added object, ‘him’ (see §9.4 for added objects).

(8.7) \(Ke=v=a\)  \(ina-inae=k=e\)  
3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL  REDUP-get.ready=3SG.F.O=RMP  ‘They got food ready for him...’ (26-22-121)

8.3 Tense/mood markers

The last slot of a VP is filled with a tense or mood marker, which is an enclitic. The second final slot in the VP is always filled with the head. Thus, tense/mood markers are always cliticised to the head: an intransitive verb or a transitive verb with its object clitic. In a non-finite clause, the slot for a tense/mood marker is filled with the nominal derivational enclitic, which marks non-finiteness (see §12.3.3) instead of a tense/mood marker.

There is a five-way tense distinction in Bilua, each tense indicated by a different tense marker: recent past, remote past, future, near future, and present. The list of five types of tense markers is presented at the end of this section.

Tense locates a situation with regard to a reference time. Normally, the reference time coincides with the speech time, and speakers locate a situation with regard to the speech time. This tense system, where the speech time is the reference time, is called absolute tense. The reference time, however, can be some other time than the speech time, and this is called relative tense. In Bilua, when a situation occurs prior to the reference time, that is when the tense is absolute or relative past, the VP contains a recent or remote past tense marker. Recent past extends to around two days prior to the reference time. When a situation occurs after the reference time, that is when the tense is absolute or relative future, the VP contains a future or near future tense marker. In general, when the tense is future, this is indicated by the future tense marker, but the speaker may use the near future tense marker instead when he/she feels that event is going to happen in the near future, in the next two days or so, or when he/she feels that the situation is definitely going to happen. The speaker may also employ the near future tense marker when he/she is
making a request to the hearer. When a situation occurs at the reference time, when the tense is absolute or relative present, the VP has a present tense marker.

Relative present tense is in fact regarded as historical present tense where the past time is looked upon as present. In the historical present tense, situations that happened in the past are described as if they are happening at the speech time. Historical present tense can be employed once the time of the story is established in the past. This is done by the historical tense marker. For example, in (8.8), first the historical tense marker ke (HIST) establishes the time as past. After this, the present tense marker a (PRES) is employed in order to indicate the historical present tense. In the last clause, the VP has the near future tense marker o (NRFUT), as the event described in this clause occurs posterior to the reference time.

(8.8) \[ \text{Omadeu taka sike tamania ke=beta e=ke.} \]
\[ \text{one time five brother&sister 3PL=CONT stay=HIST} \]
\[ Ke=beta e=ke inio omadeu ta reko=a=ma} \]
\[ 3PL=CONT stay=HIST and.then one TOP female=LIG=3SG.F \]
\[ se=ko visi ta reko=a=ma. \]
\[ 3PL=3SG.F younger.sibling TOP female=LIG=3SG.F SEQ INDEF.SG.F \]
\[ taka ko=baro=a nio ni=a sike tamania \]
\[ time 3SG.F=arrive=PRES SEQ PROX.PL=LIG five brother&sister \]
\[ ta "me=ba mujor=a" k=i=ke=la. \]
\[ TOP 1PL.INC=PROS fish.bonito=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3PL=PRES \]
\[ ‘Once upon a time, there were five brothers and sisters living. They were living, and one was a female one, their younger one was a female one. And then, [one day], these five brothers and sister, they said, “we will go and fish bonitos.”’ \]

(48-1-1-3)

The historical tense marker may also occur within a text. The speaker may use the historical tense marker from time to time in order to reassure the hearer that the time is set in the past. Occasionally, the remote past tense marker occurs in a text in which the historical present tense is employed. In the following example in which the historical tense is employed, the first, second, and third clauses have the present tense, the historical tense, and the remote tense markers respectively.

(8.9) \[ Ni ko=ko tova se ta ke=v=ati ol=g \]
\[ and 3SG.F=3SG.F behind 3PL TOP 3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL go=PRES \]
\[ Fiji. Ni Fiji se ta ke=va=v=ake vo. \]
\[ Fiji and Fiji 3PL TOP 3PL=leave=3SG.M.O=HIST 3SG.M \]
\[ Ni vo ta o=vou=v sai Fiji. \]
\[ and 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=die=RMP there Fiji \]
\[ ‘And, after that, they took him to Fiji. And they left him. And he died there in Fiji.’ (12-8-78-80) \]
The historical tense marker can be employed only when the tense is relative present tense. It cannot be employed when the tense is relative future or relative past. Example (8.10) occurs in the discourse when someone who belongs to United Church arrived at Guadalcanal, this person found that Anglican Church had already arrived there. That is, the reference time here is in the past, the time he arrived at Guadalcanal, and the event of Anglican Church’s arrival occurred in the past relative to this reference time. Thus the tense here is relative past, and accordingly the remote tense marker is employed. This cannot be replaced by the historical tense marker or the present tense marker.

(8.10) Anglican ta lula ko=ta baro=i Guadalcanal.
Anglican TOP already 3SG.F=SIT arrive=RMP Guadalcanal
‘Anglican church had already arrived at Guadalcanal.’ (10-6-49)

There is only one type of mood marker in Bilua—the imperative mood marker. The lack of an imperative mood marker results in a declarative or interrogative mood. When a VP has an imperative mood marker, the pronominal proclitic understood as the second person can be ellipsed.

(8.11) Melai kue=mo, tu pa k)e=mo saita.
but come=IMP.PL IRR PROS 3SG.F.O=see=IMP.PL first
‘But come, come and see it first.’ (26-24-127)

Imperative mood markers agree with the addressee in number. In the above example, the number of addressees is plural and thus the imperative mood marker is in the plural form.

The following two tables repeated from §5.14 present a list of all tense and imperative mood markers. The distribution of different realisations of these morphemes is described in Appendix 2.

Table 5.11: Tense markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense markers</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present tense</td>
<td>a/va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near future tense</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future tense</td>
<td>ou/vou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recent past tense</td>
<td>ala/la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote past tense</td>
<td>e/vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical tense</td>
<td>ake/ke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.12: Imperative mood markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular imperative markers</td>
<td>a/e/vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual imperative markers</td>
<td>oko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural imperative markers</td>
<td>omo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.4 Classification of verbs in terms of lexical semantics

Aspectual/modal markers may express different meanings interacting with the lexical semantics of verbs. Thus it is necessary to examine the lexical semantics of verbs before a description of aspectual/modal markers is presented.

Verbs can be classified in terms of lexical semantics, that is in terms of the kinds of situations they represent. The classification of verbs presented here is a modification of Sasse’s classification of ‘states of affairs’ (Sasse 1990). In this work, the term ‘situation’ is used instead of state of affairs.

Every situation, in principle, has a beginning point and an end point, and between these two points lies the duration over which the situation is true. This is schematised as follows. The duration between the beginning point and the end point is referred to as the ‘in-situation’.

![Figure 8.1: Internal structure of situation](image)

The beginning point, the in-situation, and the end point are not equally conceivable for all situations. For example, a situation may be conceived as having only the in-situation without the beginning and the end points. Accordingly, situations can be classified in terms of which of these two points and in-situation they involve.

Verbs in Bilua can be divided into five classes in terms of the kinds of situations they represent: ‘stative’, ‘durative’, ‘gradually terminative’, ‘totally terminative’, and ‘terminative-inchoative’.

Stative verbs represent situations which involve only the in-situation. With stative verbs such as elo ‘to stay’, there is no inherent beginning or end point.

Situations represented by durative verbs involve the beginning and end points as well as the in-situation. Most activity verbs, such as iruruputo ‘to work’ and rereo ‘to run’ are durative verbs.

Situations represented by gradually terminative verbs also involve the beginning and end points as well as the in-situation. However, with this class of verbs, the beginning point and the end point do not have equal status; the end point is more salient than the beginning point. Unless the end point is reached, one cannot say the situation occurred. For example, with a verb zio ‘to go’, unless one reaches the destination, one cannot say one went (to such and such a place). On the other hand, with a durative verb iruruputo ‘to work’, one can say one worked as soon as one started working.\(^{36}\)

---

\(^{36}\) Durative verbs and gradually terminative verbs correspond to telic and atelic by Comrie (1976:44–48).
Situations represented by totally terminative verbs involve the beginning point and the end point which overlap with each other, and they do not involve an in-situation. The situations are instantaneous ones. For example, pazoto ‘to hit’ represents an instantaneous situation.

Terminative-inchoative verbs are a combination of totally terminative verbs and stative verbs. They represent one situation in which the beginning point and the end point overlap with each other and the following situation which was brought out by this situation and which involves only the in-situation.\(^{37}\) For example, a verb lojo ‘to stand (up)’ represents the situation of standing up as well as the following situation, a state of standing.

Situations represented by each of these classes of verbs are schematised as follows.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Stative} \\
\text{Durative} \\
\text{Gradually terminative} \\
\text{Totally terminative} \\
\text{Terminative-inchoative}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[---] \\
[---] \\
[] \\
[]---
\end{array}
\]

**Figure 8.2:** Situations represented by different classes of verbs

The following are some examples of verbs in each class.

---

\(^{37}\) This is parallel to the inchoative-stative state of affairs in Sasse’s (1990) classification of states of affairs, which has the beginning point and the following in-situation (in-situation is situation in his term), but no end point.

\[
\text{inchoative-stative}[---]
\]

Sasse treats the beginning point as an entering phase, and the beginning point and the following in-situation form as one situation. In the classification presented in this work, however, the entering phase and the in-situation are treated as two separate situations, and two situations are encoded on one verb.
Table 8.3: Examples of verbs in different verb classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stative verbs</td>
<td>elo ‘to stay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zario ‘to want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nianio ‘to know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maqino ‘to be full (to be not hungry)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dudeo ‘to be sleepy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative verbs</td>
<td>iiruruputo ‘to work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rereo ‘to run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>siusiuto ‘to swim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vuato ‘to eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lezumato ‘to study’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abuabuto ‘to fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradually terminative verbs</td>
<td>zio ‘to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>saqoro ‘to go down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kailo ‘to go up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>keju ‘to cook (ITR)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vaito ‘to return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally terminative verbs</td>
<td>pazoto ‘to hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tupario ‘to kick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pialo ‘to drop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminative-inchoative verbs</td>
<td>teku ‘to lie down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>papu ‘to sit down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lojo ‘to stand up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>barolo ‘to arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vou ‘to die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kilo ‘to come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>elo ‘to become’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.5 Aspectual/modal markers

8.5.1 Introduction

There are four kinds of aspectual/modal markers in Bilua:

- the ‘situation-change’ marker *ta*
- the continuity marker which is realised as *be* or *beta*
- the implicative marker *be*
- the prospective marker *pa*
The term ‘aspectual/modal marker’ is used in a broad sense here. Among aspectual/modal markers in Bilua, all but the prospective marker pa have both aspectual and modal implications, but only one of them, the continuity marker, can be said to be a purely aspectual marker. ‘Aspect is a grammaticalised mechanism for describing certain [situations] in terms of stativity...and terminativity’ (Sasse 1990:37). Stativity is indicated by the imperfective aspect, which selects the in-situation, while terminativity is indicated by the perfective aspect, which selects the boundary, the end point of the situation. The prospective marker pa does not make any reference to stativity/terminativity of the situation.

The continuity marker in Bilua always selects the in-situation, and thus it can be said that it is an imperfective aspect marker. The situation-change marker ta selects the in-situation and the beginning of the situation when the tense is absolute present and future tense respectively, but it selects neither in-situation nor beginning/end points in past and future tenses. The implicative marker also selects neither in-situation nor beginning/end points, but it implies that the end point was reached.

In Bilua, terminativity is usually indicated by the lack of an aspectual/modal marker. A VP may not have any aspectual/modal marker and this presents a situation as a whole. Example (8.14) below without an aspectual/modal marker presents a situation as a whole. On the other hand, examples (8.12) and (8.13) with the situation-change marker and the continuity marker respectively present the situation without reference to the beginning nor the end point. The difference between (8.12) and (8.13) is that (8.13) has a ‘continuity’ reading. The verb iruruputo ‘to work’ in the following examples is a durative verb. VPs are underlined in this section.

(8.12) \[ O=ta \underline{iruruputo=a} \]
3SG.M=SIT work=PRES
‘He is working.’

(8.13) \[ O=beta \underline{iruruputo=a} \]
3SG.M=CONT work=PRES
‘He’s been working (and will continue to work).’

(8.14) \[ O=iruruputo=ala \]
3SG.M=work=RCP
‘He worked.’

In this section, a description of VPs without aspectual/modal markers is first presented in §8.5.2. This is followed by a description of each aspectual/modal marker: the situation-change marker ta in §8.5.3, the continuity marker belbeta in §8.5.4, the implicative marker be in §8.5.5, and the prospective marker pa in §8.5.6. Section §8.5.7 then presents a summary in which a diachronic analysis of the situation-change marker ta, the continuity marker belbeta, and the implicative marker be is presented. It proposes a hypothesis that a continuity marker beta in fact consists of two morphemes: the continuity marker be and the situation-change marker ta. It also proposes that the continuity marker developed from the implicative marker. Occurrences of aspectual/modal markers are very restricted in dependent clauses. See Chapter 12.
8.5.2 VP without aspectual/modal markers

As noted above, the lack of aspectual/modal markers results in presenting a situation as a whole. This is regardless of the tense or the class of verbs. However, when a tense is absolute present, the VP cannot lack an aspectual/modal marker. This is because the present tense refers to the speech time, which is a point rather than a period of time. It is impossible to present a situation as a whole when there is no period during which this can occur. A situation represented by a totally terminative verb is an instantaneous one, and so one expects that it is possible to present it without an aspectual/modal marker as the situation is realised. Contrary to the expectation however, this is expressed by a VP with the situation-change marker ta, as illustrated by (8.21) in the next section.

In Error! Reference source not found. above and (8.15) and (8.16) below, the underlined VP presents a situation as a whole: an event of eating from the beginning point to the end point in Error! Reference source not found., an event of going from one place down to another in (8.15), and an instant event of falling in (8.16).

(8.15) Historical present tense/Gradually terminative verb

...o=sagor=a inio o=lokie=k=a ko=a
3SG.M=go.down=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG
qusini.

rope
‘...he went down and he coiled the rope.’ (2-9-52)

(8.16) Future tense/Totally terminative verb

Ko=pial=ou.
3SG.F=fall=FUT

‘It will fall.’

With terminative-inchoative verbs, which involve two situations—a totally terminative situation and a stative situation—the lack of aspectual/modal markers presents both situations. In (8.17), o=teku=a ‘he lay down’ expresses the event of his taking a lying position as well as the resultative state of his lying. The resultative state does not have an inherent end point. Therefore, in (8.17) the state of his lying is continuing while he is watching the mother’s path. With stative verbs, a VP without an aspectual/modal marker presents a state going over an unspecified period as in (8.18).

(8.17) Historical tense/Terminative-inchoative verb

...veutu tona inio o=teku=a sainainio,
entrance beside FOC.NONF 3SG.M=lie=PRES afterwards
o=k=ati vail=a niania=ko keve koi vasi.
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL look=PRES mother=3SG.F way here around
‘...he lay beside the entrance, and he watched the mother’s paths nearby.’
(27-7-43)

(8.18) Historical tense/Stative verb
8.5.3 Situation-change marker *ta*

The situation-change marker *ta*, generally speaking, introduces a new situation or a change of situation.

(8.20)  ...

| ke=lilit=a  | ta  | maba  | ta  | lula  | ko=m=ai  |
| 3PL=look.back=PRES | and.then | person | TOP | already | 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL |

| kasake=a. | Inio  | se  | ta  | ke=ta  | soqoi=va |
| attack=PRES | SEQ | 3PL | TOP | 3PL=SIT | run.away=PRES |

| se=a | zouke | saidi. |
| 3PL=LIG | three | family |

‘...they looked back, and the [head-hunters] had already attacked them. And the family of three, they ran away.’ (25-3-22~23)

In this example, the situation-change marker *ta* selects the beginning point of a situation and introduces a new situation of their running away. The situation-change marker *ta* occurs with intransitive verbs but not with transitive verbs. This is discussed later in this section.

The situation-change marker *ta* expresses different meanings depending on the tense. With the future tense, the situation-change marker indicates a prospect that a situation-change will happen, and this is further divided depending on the person of the subject—an intention for first person as in (8.21), a request for second person as in (8.22), and a supposition for third person as in (8.23).

(8.21) Intention (first person)

| koi | ngo | kasi | a=da | raneo=vou |
| here | 2SG | at | 1SG=SIT | sleep.overnight=FUT |

‘...here, at your place, I am going (intend) to sleep overnight.’ (59-11-90)

(8.22) Request (second person)
“Ngo=baizie=k=a sole ngo=da sagol=o”
\[2SG=\text{finish}=3SG.F.O=\text{PRES} \quad \text{that’s why} \quad 2SG=SIT \quad \text{go down}=\text{NRFUR}\]

\[nio \quad k=i=a=la. \quad “Ee” \quad k=i=o=la.\]

FOC.NONF \enspace 3SG.F.O=\text{say}=1SG=\text{PRES} \enspace \text{yes} \enspace 3SG.F.O=\text{say}=3SG.M=\text{PRES}

“\text{You finished so you come down (I request you to come down)},” I said. “\text{Yes},” said he.’ (2-8-50-51)

(8.23) Supposition (third person)

\[...koe \quad ako \quad so \quad ta \quad o=ta \quad you=vou \quad inio\]

INTJ INTJ that TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=FUT FOC.NONF

\[anga=v0 \quad meqora.\]

child=3SG.M \quad 1SG=3SG.M

‘...Oh, [if it went on like this] he, my child, will die.’ (27-5-27)

(more literally, ‘Oh, if so, he will die, my child.’)

In example (8.23) a pronoun so ‘that’ refers to the situation in which the son does not eat.

Without the situation-change marker, the underlined VPs in (8.21), (8.22), and (8.23) would simply present a situation in the future: they would mean ‘I will stay overnight’, ‘you will go down’, and ‘he will die’ respectively without any prospective reading.

In §8.5.6 below, a description of the prospective marker pa is presented. Pa indicates a prospect, and in addition to this, it indicates a movement. In (8.21) above, an adverb koi ‘here’ implies that the situation is going to be realised without any change of location; that is, without the subject’s movement. Because of this lack of movement, pa, an indicator of a movement, cannot replace ta (da) in (8.21); only ta (da) can occur in this example.

With the past tense, the situation-change marker indicates that a situation in the past has some relevance to the current situation. In other words, because of this situation in the past, the situation changed and the current situation exists. This is similar to the function of the English present perfect as in the following example.

(8.24) “\text{Ki meqora nei ta kama quli ikio}”

INTJ child PROX.SG.M TOP INDEF.SG.F thing FOC.F

\[nei \quad o=ta \quad vuat=ala...”\]

PROX.SG.M \quad 3SG.M=SIT eat=RCP

“\text{Child, he has eaten something...}” (43-4-43)

The above example occurs in the discourse in which the mother (speaker) and the child see a devil coming down, and she suspects that her husband has eaten something and this caused the devil’s coming.

Another example is:

(8.15) \[...me \quad ta \quad me=ba \quad kati=l=ou \quad ko \quad vozi-vozi\]

\[2PL \quad TOP \quad 2PL=\text{PROS} \quad \text{give}=1SG.F.O=\text{FUT} \quad 3SG.F \quad \text{REDUP-propeller}\]

\[vaka=ko, \quad ko=ta \quad pia=vi \quad sole.\]

ship=3SG.F \quad 3SG.F=SIT fall=RMP that’s why
‘...[I request that] you will give me a propeller for a ship, because it has fallen [and so there is no propeller].’ (10-11-93)

In the above example, *ta* indicates a resultative state as well as present relevance: there is no propeller and this has relevance to the current situation in that the speaker needs a propeller.

Without the situation-change marker, the underlined VPs in **Error! Reference source not found.** and (8.15) simply present a situation in the past as a whole and would mean ‘he ate’ and ‘it fell’ respectively.

In future and past tenses, *ta* indicates the same meaning regardless of the semantic class of the verb. On the other hand, in absolute present and historical present tenses, lexical semantics of verbs contribute to the meaning expressed by *ta*. In other words, it expresses different meanings depending upon how it interacts with the lexical semantics of each verb.

In the absolute present tense, *ta* indicates the in-situation, but not the beginning or the end point, and this interacts with the lexical semantics of verbs expressing different meanings. With stative verbs, *ta* expresses a present state. Example (8.16) with a stative verb expresses a state of being full at the time of speech.

(8.16) Stative verb

\[
A=da \quad maquin=a. \quad ^{38}
\]

1SG=SI T  be.full=PRES

‘I am full.’

With durative verbs, it indicates the situation is ongoing. Example (8.17) expresses that an event of his working is on-going at the time of speech.

(8.17) Durative verb

\[
O=ta \quad iruruput=a.
\]

3SG.M=SI T  work=PRES

‘He is working.’

With gradually terminative verbs, *ta* indicates the phase towards the end point. Example (8.18) expresses that the subject, ‘I’, is in the process of getting to Hilda.

(8.18) Gradually terminative verb

\[
A=da \quad ol=a \quad \text{Hilda kasi.}
\]

1SG=SI T  go=PRES Hilda at

‘I am going to (on the way to) Hilda’s place.’

---

38 The beginning point can be selected by the verb *elo* ‘to become’. In the following example the verb *maqino* ‘to be full’, combined with a modifier *uri* ‘good’, is nominalised and this is a complement of the verb *elo* ‘to become’ (see §8.7.2)

\[
...maba \quad uri=a \quad maqin=\sigma \quad o=ta \quad ev=a...
\]

true ly  good=LIG  be.full=NOM 3SG.M=SI T  become=PRES

‘...truly, he became nicely full...’ (43-3-27)
Example (8.19) is another example with the verb zio ‘to go’. Notice that here the speaker assumes that the subject ‘he’ has not reached her yet and he is still on the way.

\[
\begin{align*}
& O=ta \quad ol=a \quad Nerida \quad kasi. \\
& 3SG.M=SIT \quad go=PRES \quad Nerida \quad at
\end{align*}
\]

‘He has gone to Nerida (and probably has not reached her yet).’

If the speaker assumes that he has already reached her, he might say:

\[
\begin{align*}
& O=ta \quad ol=ala \quad Nerida \quad kasi. \\
& 3SG.M=SIT \quad go=RCP \quad Nerida \quad at
\end{align*}
\]

‘He has gone to Nerida (and so he is not here).’

Totally terminative verbs do not involve the in-situation and so ta cannot select the in-situation. Ta however can still occur with totally terminative verbs. It selects the point just after the end point, and this means that the situation just happened. Example (8.21) expresses that the event of hitting just happened.

\[
\begin{align*}
& O=ta \quad pazot=a. \\
& 3SG.M=SIT \quad hit=PRES
\end{align*}
\]

‘He (just) hit.’

With terminative-inchoative verbs, ta selects the in-situation which follows the end point. In fact, it selects the point just after the end point. Thus, ta indicates a resultative state as well as indicating that the event which brought about this state just happened. Example (8.22) expresses that he just stood up, and as a result he is standing.

\[
\begin{align*}
& O=ta \quad lojo=a. \\
& 3SG.M=SIT \quad stand.up=PRES
\end{align*}
\]

‘He has just stood up (and is standing).’

The meanings of ta with different classes of verbs in the absolute tense are summarised in the following table.

**Table 8.4: Meanings of ta with different classes of verbs in the absolute present tense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes of verbs</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durative</td>
<td>on-going situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gradually terminative</td>
<td>phase towards the end point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totally terminative</td>
<td>recent past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terminative-inchoative</td>
<td>resultative state (and recent past)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39 In the data, the verb zio ‘to go’ in the past tense most often occurs with the situation-change marker ta. There may be a grammatical or a pragmatic reason for this, which is not known.
With one gradually terminative verb *vaito* 'to return', *ta* picks up the in-situation, as it does with other gradually terminative verbs, but it also has an exceptional use—it may also indicate that the end point has just been reached.

(8.23) \[ A=da \quad vaita=a. \]
\[ 1SG=SIT \quad return=PRES \]
'I am returning (I am on the way to go home).'
'I just returned (and I am here).'

The interpretation of (8.23) depends on the context. When one utters it, walking home, it has the first interpretation 'I am returning', but when one utters it on arrival at home, it has the second interpretation 'I just returned'.

With the historical present tense, the situation-change marker *ta* selects the beginning of a situation; that is, it indicates an arrival of a new situation or a change of situation. Note that the situation-change marker does not mention anything about the end point being reached or not. This does not mean the end point was never reached. Whether the end point was reached or not becomes clear from the discourse. In (8.24) with a durative verb and in (8.25) with a gradually terminative verb, the end of the situation is indicated by the verb *paiko* 'to finish' and is implied by the verb *barolo* 'to arrive' respectively in the following clause.

(8.24) Durative verb
\[ O=baro=a \quad sai \quad ti \quad nioqa \quad ta \quad go=ta \]
\[ 3SG.M=arrive=PRES \quad there \quad and.then \quad 3DU \quad TOP \quad 3DU=SIT \]
\[ koazat=a... \quad qo=pai=k=a \]
take=PRES \quad 3DU=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES \quad REDUP-collect.food=NOM
\[ saila-sailaat=o \]
\[ ti \quad ke=ta \quad saqor=a. \]
and.then \quad 3PL=SIT \quad go.down=PRES
'He arrived there and the two, they got food...the two finished getting food and they went down.' (27-12-73-74)

(8.25) Gradually terminative verb
\[ Saikazo \quad go=ta \quad ol=a. \quad inio \quad ko=a \]
following.that \quad 3DU=SIT \quad go=PRES \quad SEQ \quad 3SG.F=LIG
\[ kata \quad kasi \quad o=baro=a. \]
branch at \quad 3SG.M=arrive=PRES
'Following that, they left, and they arrived at the branch.' (15-4-33)

With stative verbs, which do not have an inherent beginning point, *ta* presents a state that is true at some point, that is at a reference time. Example (8.26) expresses the state of being hungry at some point in the past.

(8.26) Stative verb
\[ O=ta \quad luap=ake. \]
\[ 3SG.M=SIT \quad be.hungry=HIST \]
'He was hungry.' (47-2-9)
With totally terminative verbs and terminative-inchoative verbs with which the beginning point and the end point overlap, *ta* indicates both the beginning and end points as well as indicating that the situation has a relevance to another situation.

(8.27) Totally terminative verb

\[ Ivere \ a le \ o=ta \ podak=a. \ Sai \ nio \]

\[ sea \ in \ 3SG.M=SIT \ come.out=PREs \ there \ FOC.NONF \]

\[ ke=niae=v=a... \]

3PL=feed=3SG.M.O=PREs

‘He had come out into the sea. It was there, they fed him...’ (34-3-29–30)

(8.28) Terminative-inchoative verb

\[ Ke=mama \ ta \ o=ta \ vou=vq \ inio \ se=ko \]

3PL=father TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=PREs FOC.NONF 3PL=3SG.F

\[ niania \ ni \ se=a \ zouke \ meqora \ inio \ sai \]

mother and 3PL=LIG three child FOC.NONF there

\[ ke=beta \ ev=a. \]

3PL=CONT stay=PREs

‘Their father had died, and it was their mother and those three children who kept living there.’ (59-1-2)

Example (8.27) expresses that the event of his coming out into the sea has relevance to the situation of their feeding him there at the sea. Example (8.28) expresses that the event of the father’s dying has relevance to the situation of only the mother and the children living there.

The following table summarises the meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the historical present tense.

**Table 8.5:** Meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the historical present tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes of verbs</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>static</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durative</td>
<td>beginning of situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gradually terminative</td>
<td>beginning of situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totally terminative</td>
<td>relevance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terminative-inchoative</td>
<td>relevance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following two tables summarise meanings expressed by the situation-change marker *ta* in different tenses and with different classes of verbs.
Table 8.6: Meanings of ta in past and future tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past tense</th>
<th>Future tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>current relevance</td>
<td>prospect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>intention</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.7: Meanings of ta in absolute present and historical present tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes of verbs</th>
<th>Absolute present tense (ta is obligatory)</th>
<th>Historical present tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>state</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durative</td>
<td>on-going situation</td>
<td>beginning of situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gradually terminative</td>
<td>phase towards the end point</td>
<td>beginning of situation relevance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totally terminative</td>
<td>recent past</td>
<td>relevance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terminative-inchoative</td>
<td>resultative state (and recent past)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.7 above shows that ta functions like an imperfective aspect marker in absolute present and historical present tenses: in the absolute tense, it selects the in-situation, while in the historical present tense, it picks up the beginning of the situation but does not make any reference to the end point. Because of this, ta indicates different meanings according to how it interacts with the lexical semantics of verbs. When ta occurs in the future tense, it functions as just a modal marker, and it does not make any reference to stativity or terminativity. When it occurs in the past tense, it implies a completion of the situation since the current situation is dependent on the completion of another situation. However, it is not the function of ta to indicate terminativity since it does not select the end point.

Thus, ta may function like an imperfective aspect marker. Perhaps because of this characteristic, ta can only occur with intransitive verbs—according to Hopper and Thompson (1980), there is a correlation between imperfective aspect and low transitivity.

The situation-change marker ta does not occur in a clause that presents a habitual/generic situation or a condition, or in negated clauses.

(8.29) ...niania=ka=ma ko ol=a kiaro kasi, vo ta
mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F go=PRES garden at 3SG.M TOP

\( o=lulue=k=a \hspace{1cm} o=baro=a \hspace{1cm} \text{kiaro kale inio} \)
3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=arrive=PRES garden in SEQ

\( vo \hspace{1cm} ta \hspace{1cm} o=marong=a \hspace{1cm} juli=ko \hspace{1cm} \text{raki ale.} \)
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=sleep=PRES banana.tree=3SG.F root on
‘...the mother went to the garden, as for him, he followed her, he arrived at the garden, and then he slept on the root of a banana tree.’ (27-2-13)
(8.30) Ko=lupao=va, ti ko=noqoe=k=ou ko ore ma
3SG.F=dislike=PRES and.then 3SG.F=hold=3SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F tree or
trunk or maybe INDEF.SG.F REDUP-stump
'tIf she dislikes it, she will hold a tree, a trunk, or maybe a stump.‘ (21-1-57)

(8.31) ...pui o=wait=a.
NEG 3SG.M=return=PRES
'...he didn’t return.’ (16-2-26)

Example (8.29) describes habitual situations: it describes what the mother and the son
do every day. In example (8.30), the underlined clause presents the condition under which
the situation described by the next clause occurs. Example (8.31) is a negated clause.

A conditional clause presents a background situation against which another situation
occurs. Because of this, the situation described by a conditional clause needs to be
presented as a whole, since unless the end point of this background situation is reached,
another situation does not occur. Therefore, a conditional clause cannot have a morpheme
that may function as an imperfective aspect marker. Ta functions as an imperfective
aspect marker in the absolute present or historical present tense, and thus if a conditional
clause is in the absolute present or historical tense, ta cannot occur. In (8.30), the tense is
the historical tense. Ta does not occur when a conditional clause is in the future or past
tense either. As described above, ta indicates a prospective situation and relevance in
future and past tenses respectively, but one would not be concerned whether there is a
prospect that a background situation happens or not, or whether a background situation
has a relevance to the current situation. Thus, ta never occurs in a conditional clause.

A negated clause expresses that a situation-change does not happen and thus, the
situation-change marker does not occur in a negative clause. In presenting a
habitual/generic situation, the situation is presented as a whole and this can be expressed
without any aspectual/modal markers (see §8.5.2).40

8.5.4 Continuity marker be/beta

The continuity marker be/beta indicates continuity of a situation at a reference time as
schematised below.

\[
\text{be/beta} \\
\downarrow \\
[\text{situation}]
\]

---

40 A clause that presents a habitual situation may have a prospective marker pa, which would
indicate a movement or a continuity marker beta with its sequential use.
(8.32) \(Ke=\beta eta \ irurupat=ala.\)
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3PL=\text{CONT} & \text{work=RCP} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘They were working.’

As described in §8.5.2, a VP without an aspectual/modal marker presents a situation as a whole. Example (8.32) without \(\beta eta\) would mean ‘they worked’.

Two forms \(be\) and \(\beta eta\) are in complementary distribution. \(Be\) occurs with transitive verbs and \(\beta eta\) occurs with intransitive verbs. An analysis of this distribution of \(be\) and \(\beta eta\) is presented in §8.5.7 below. The above is an example with an intransitive verb. An example with a transitive verb is:

(8.33) \(...sainio \ ke=be \ vijari=v=a \ ko=a \ votu \ ale.\)
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3PL=\text{CONT} & \text{keep=3SG.M.O=PRES} \\
\end{array}
\]
therefore ‘...therefore, they continued to keep him in the container.’ (34-2-19)

As mentioned in the last section, there is a correlation between imperfective aspect and low transitivity. There is also a correlation between perfective aspect and high transitivity. Although the continuity marker can co-occur with transitive verbs, this rarely happens, since the continuity marker is an imperfective aspect marker.

There are two uses of the continuity marker: a ‘continuous’ use and a ‘sequential’ use, both having the semantic core ‘continuity’. The choice depends on the tense and lexical semantics of verbs as well as discourse. In the following, first, two uses of the continuity marker are described, and then its relationships with tense and lexical semantics of verbs are presented.

The continuity marker with the continuous use indicates the continuity of a situation, as illustrated by (8.32) and (8.33) above. Another example is:

(8.34) \(...niuniu \ o=\beta eta \ koazat=a...\)
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3SG.M=\text{CONT} & \text{get=PRES} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘...he has been getting fish...’ (24-7-78)

In §8.5.3, it was shown that the situation-change marker \(ta\) in the absolute present tense selects the in-situation. When the continuity marker has the continuous use, it also selects the in-situation. The difference between them is the ‘continuity’ reading of the continuity marker.

(8.35-a) \(A=\beta eta \ ev=a \ koi.\)
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
1SG=\text{SIT} & \text{stay=PRES} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘I’ve been living here (and will continue to live here).’

(8.35-b) \(A=ta \ ev=a \ koi.\)
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
1SG=\text{SIT} & \text{stay=PRES} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘I live here.

(8.36-a) \(O=\beta eta \ vuat=a.\)
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3SG.M=\text{CONT} & \text{eat=PRES} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘He’s been eating (and will continue to eat).’
(8.36-b) \( O=\text{ta} \quad \text{vuat}=a. \)
3SG.M=SIT eat=PRES
'He is eating.'

The continuous use can be interpreted as conveying a sense of continuative. Continuative 'specifies that the agent of the action is deliberately keeping the action going. Continuative is the meaning of “keep on doing” or “continue doing”’ (Bybee 1994:127).

(8.37) \( O=\text{kail}=a \quad ti \quad o=\text{kail}=a \quad ti \)
3SG.M=go.up=PRES INT 3SG.M=go.up=PRES INT
\( o=\text{kail}=a \quad ti \quad o=\text{kail}=a \quad ti \quad \text{raura} \)
3SG.M=go.up=PRES INT 3SG.M=go.up=PRES and.then high
\( o \quad \text{ol}=a. \quad \text{Melai pui} \quad o=\text{v}=e=a. \quad \text{Sole} \)
3SG.M go=PRES but NEG 3SG.M=3SG.M.O=see=PRES that’s why
\( o=\text{beta} \quad \text{ol}=a. \)
3SG.M=CONT go=PRES
‘He went up and went up and went up and went up and went high up. But he didn’t see him. So he kept going.’ (24-5-58-60)

In (8.37), he (the son), is going up, and this event would have stopped if he had seen him (his father), but since the son didn’t see him, the son kept going up. Thus, with the continuative use there could be a point where the situation is temporarily stopped and again the same situation continues.

The sequential use of the continuity marker occurs only in coordinated clauses. The sequential use indicates that one situation follows another. For example,

(8.38) \( Ke=\text{pa} \quad k=\text{o}=a \quad ke=\text{maja} \quad ti \)
3PL=PROS 3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3PL=axe and.then
\( ke=\text{be} \quad \text{vouvae}=\text{v}=a... \)
3PL=CONT kill=3SG.M.O=PRES
‘They went and took their axes and then went on to kill him...’ (59-14-125)

In this example, the situation of getting an axe is followed by another situation, their killing him. The second situation is continuous to another situation. Two situations form one superordinate situation. This is schematised as:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{be/beta} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{[situation 1]} \\
\text{[situation 2]} \\
\text{superordinate situation}
\end{array}
\]

As illustrated above, \text{be/beta} marks the beginning point of situation 2 but this also indicates the continuity of the superordinate situation. Thus, with the sequential use as
well, the continuity marker indicates the continuity of a situation. The clause that contains a continuity marker with the sequential use is usually connected to the preceding clause by a causal coordinator *ti* (see §13.2.6) as in (8.38).

When the first situation is one without an inherent end point, the two situations may overlap. In the following example, both *teku* ‘to lie down’ and *imado* ‘to shut eyes’ are terminative-inchoative verbs, and the situation of his lying overlaps with the situation of his closing his eyes.

(8.39)  
\[ ... o=teku=a ti o=beta imad=a \]  
\[ 3SG.M=lie.down=PRES \text{ and then } 3SG.M=CONT close.eyes=PRES \]  
*ino.*  
FOC.NONF  
‘...he lay down and he closed his eyes.’ (27-8-45)

The above example is schematised as:

\[ be/beta \]  
\[ \downarrow \]  
\[ [] \]  
\[ \]  
\[ [] \]  
\[ \]  
\[ [] \]  
\[ \]  
\[ superordinate situation \]

Two uses of the continuity marker are distributed to different tenses and semantic classes of verbs. In the future tense, both absolute and relative, the continuity marker has the sequential use only. This, however, does not occur with stative verbs since this use of the continuity marker selects the beginning point of a situation, whereas stative verbs do not have a beginning point. The following is an example with a durative verb.

(8.40)  
\[ "Anga ta a=lupao=va" k=i=ko=vou ti \]  
\[ 1SG TOP 1SG=dislike=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=FUT \text{ and then} \]  
\[ ko=beta zial=ou \]  
\[ 3SG.F=CONT cry=FUT FOC.NONF \]  
‘She will say “I dislike (you),” and she will go on to cry.’ (21-7-39-40)

In the absolute present tense, the continuity marker has the continuous use only. This, however, does not occur with totally terminative verbs since the continuity marker selects the in-situation, but this class of verbs does not involve an in-situation. Interestingly, this also does not occur with gradually terminative verbs even though they involve the in-situation. Instead, the in-situation can be indicated by the situation-change marker *ta*.

(8.41) Gradually terminative verb

\[ A=da ol=a \]  
\[ Maravari. 1SG=SIT go=PRES Maravari \]  
‘I am going to *Maravari* (I am on the way to *Maravari*).’
(8.42) *A=beta ol=a Maravari.
1SG=CONT go=PRES Maravari
‘I am going to Maravari (I am on the way to Maravari).’

In contrast to this, in the past and historical present tenses, the continuity marker has
the continuous use with gradually terminative verbs. In the example below, the tense is
the historical tense.

(8.43) Lai nio se ta ke=beta kail=ake.
where FOC.NONF 3PL TOP 3PL=CONT go.up=HIST
‘Where are they going up to?’ (26-23-122)

In absolute and relative past, and historical present tenses, the continuity marker may
have both uses. However, since the sequential use indicates the beginning of a situation,
this does not occur with stative verbs, which do not have a beginning point. In the
following example with a stative verb, the continuity marker beta can only be considered
to have the continuous use.

(8.44) Omadeu taku kake zouke saidi ke=beta ev=a.
one time INDEF.PL three family 3PL=CONT stay=PRES
‘Once upon a time, there was a family of three living.’ (43-1-1)

Moreover, with totally terminative verbs, the continuity marker has only the sequential
use because these verbs do not involve the in-situation.

(8.45) ...ne=a seqara ta o=musuk=a ti
PROX.SG.M=LIG betelnut TOP 3SG.M=ripen=PRES and.then

o=beta pi=a...
3SG.M=CONT fall=PRES
‘...this betelnut ripened and fell...’ (59-1-10)

With other classes of verbs, the continuity marker has both uses, continuous and
sequential. The following are examples with gradually terminative verbs.

(8.46) ‘...k=e=a komi, ko=beta sagor=a
3SG.F.O=see=IMP.SG PROX.SG.F 3SG.F=CONT go.down=PRES
ziolo ikio ko."
devil FOC.F 3SG.F
‘...look at her, she is coming down,\textsuperscript{41} she is a devil.’’ (43-4-43)

(8.47) ...sailao ko=k=o=a ti go=beta
food 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=get=PRES TOP 3DU=CONT

\textsuperscript{41} To be precise, the verb saqolo ‘to go down’ indicates a downward movement. This is usually
interpreted as ‘to go down’ but in this example, the subject is moving towards the speaker and
thus it is interpreted as ‘to come down’.
Example (8.46) is uttered when the speaker finds that something, a devil, is coming down, and so the continuity marker has the continuous use. In (8.47), the event of getting food is followed by going down and thus it has the sequential use.

The choice between two uses of the continuity marker here depends on the discourse. The continuous use of the continuity marker can also be predicted from a subordinator keru 'when'. When beta occurs with this, it has the continuous use only.

(8.48) \[ O=beta \hspace{1cm} pukao=va \hspace{1cm} keru \hspace{1cm} inio \hspace{1cm} lekasa \hspace{1cm} ta \]
\[ 3SG.M=CONT \hspace{1cm} dance=PRES \hspace{1cm} TEMP \hspace{1cm} FOC.NONF \hspace{1cm} chief \hspace{1cm} TOP \]
\[ eri \hspace{1cm} k=i=o=la. \]
s.th.like.this \hspace{1cm} 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

'Thing he was dancing, the chief said something like this.' (26:19:106)

The following table summarises the relationship between different tenses, verb classes, and the two uses of the continuity marker. N/A indicates that use of the continuity marker here is not possible as described above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes of verbs</th>
<th>Absolute future Relative future</th>
<th>Absolute present</th>
<th>Absolute past Relative past Historical present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durative</td>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>continuous sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gradually terminative</td>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>continuous sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totally terminative</td>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terminative-inchoative</td>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>continuous sequential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The continuity marker be/beta does not occur in negative clauses. This is because when the situation is not realised, one cannot talk about its continuity.

8.5.5 Implicative marker be

The implicative marker be indicates an expectation that there is a successive situation to follow. It has an implication 'what happens next/what situation this will bring out'.
In the discourse where the above example appears, she, the mother, did not know that these people who arrived were going to come, and she wonders what happens next or why they came, and this leads her to utter the question ‘What does he want?’ (she is talking to her daughter whose husband is the leader of this group of people).

Note that the situation expressed by a VP containing the implicative marker is a completed one. Completion of this situation brings out the feeling that something happens next. The function of the implicative marker, however, is a modal one and not an aspectual one, since it does not select boundaries.

Since stative verbs do not have an end point, the implicative marker does not occur with them. In the data, the implicative marker occurs only in the absolute present tense or the historical present tense. The above is an example in the historical present tense. An example in the absolute present tense is:

(8.50) \( O=be\bar{\text{baro}=a}. \)
\( 3\text{SG.M}=\text{IMPL} \) arrive=PRES
‘He’s arrived (what did he come for?).’

The implicative marker occurs with both intransitive and transitive verbs. An example with a transitive verb is:

(8.51) \( Nio\, ke=kuimae=v=a \)
\( \text{and.then} \) 3PL=ask=3SG.M.O=PRES
\( \text{“Lai ta juke ngo=be} \)
where TOP light 2SG=IMPL
\( k=e=a”\)?
\( 3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{see}=\text{PRES} \)
‘And then they asked him “Where did you see the light?”’ (16-4-51)

The above example occurs in the discourse where they, some children, were left in the bush by their father and they didn’t know how to get home or which way to go. One of them climbed a tree and saw a light. In asking this question, they were expecting that some situation, probably a good situation, would rise.

The implicative marker be does not occur in negative clauses. This is because if a situation does not eventuate, there would not be an expected situation to follow.
8.5.6 Prospective marker pa

The prospective marker pa, generally speaking, indicates a movement towards the realisation of a prospect, a prospective situation. It may also imply a purpose. Pa is a modal marker and so there is no correlation between pa and verb classes.

\[ (8.52) \quad \text{"A=ba\, vae=m\, a", \, k=i=o=la.} \]
\[ 1SG=PROS\, leave=3PL.O=PRES \, 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES \]
\[ \text{"I went and left [children]," he said.} \quad (16-2-24) \]

In example (8.52), the prospective marker pa indicates that the subject went somewhere for the realisation of a prospective situation, viz. 'to leave them'; the subject planned to abandon the children and so he took them somewhere and left them. Without pa, the sentence simply means 'I left them' and it does not imply that the speaker planned to leave them or he went somewhere in order to do that.

The use and meaning of the prospective marker pa differs depending on tenses and affirmation. In the historical present and past tenses, the prospective marker pa indicates movement towards a realisation of a prospective situation. The above is an example in the historical present tense. Below is an example in the past tense.

\[ (8.53) \quad \text{...ke=pa\, vou\, vae=m\, e\, ne=a} \]
\[ 3PL=PROS\, kill=3PL.O=RMP\, PROX.SG.M=LIG \]
\[ \text{vakamaba=ko \, meqorasa} \text{ldi.} \]
\[ \text{white.person=3SG.F \, family} \]
\[ \text{...they went and killed the family of this white man.} \quad (12-3-19) \]

With the future tense, the prospective marker pa has a different interpretation depending on the person of the subject: intention for first person, request for second person, and supposition for third person. With all persons, pa also indicates a movement.

(8.54) Intention (first person)
\[ ...me=ba^{42} \quad vairi=k=o. \]
\[ 1PL.INC=PROS\, look.for=3SG.F.O=NRFUT \]
\[ \text{...we are going and looking for her.} \quad (48-3-24) \]

(8.55) Request (second person)
\[ Ngo=ba \quad nokae=k=ou \quad ko \quad bolo. \]
\[ 2SG=PROS\, call=3SG.F.O=FUT \quad 3SG.F \, pig \]
\[ \text{You go and call out for pigs.} \quad (67-3-40) \]

(8.56) Supposition (third person)
\[ ...o=kil=ou \quad ti \quad o=pa \quad bori=ng=ou \quad inio. \]
\[ 3SG.M=come=FUT \quad and.then \quad 3SG.M=PROS\, carry=2SG.O=FUT \quad FOC.F \]
\[ \text{...he will come, and he will come and carry you.} \quad (48-1-6) \]

---

42 The bilabial stop /p/ of pa is realised as [b] when it follows certain pronominal proclitics, as in this example (see §2.7).
As in (8.56), the movement can be one towards the point where the speaker is, and this is interpreted as 'to come'. The movement can be one from this point to somewhere else as in other examples, and this is interpreted as 'to go'.

The prospective marker pa does not occur in the absolute present tense where the situation is still ongoing. To express that the subject is on the move to achieve something, the verb zio 'to go' and a purposive dependent clause marked with le are used.43

(8.57) A=da ol=a Sabora k=el=o=le
1SG=SIT go=PRES Sabora 3SG.F.O=see=NOM=PURP

ko Hilda.
3SG.F Hilda
'I am going to Sabora in order to see Hilda.'

In positive clauses, pa is not obligatory. The lack of pa simply results in the lack of movement towards a realisation of a prospective situation.

In negative clauses, the prospective marker does not indicate a movement. This is because there is no movement to be considered when the situation itself is not expected to happen. In the future tense, the interpretation of pa differs depending on the person of the subject: negative intention for first person, negative request for second person, and negative supposition for third person.

(8.58) Negative intention (first person)
...
pui a=ba lulue=ng=ou saka.
NEG 1SG=PROS follow=2SG.O=FUT seaside
'...I am not going to follow you to the seaside.' (39-6-40)

(8.59) Negative request (second person)
...
pui ge=pa raneo=vou...
NEG 2DU=PROS sleep.overnight=FUT
'...you are not going to sleep overnight...' (27-10-109)

(8.60) Negative supposition (third person)
...
pui ko=pa k=a zario=vou.
NEG 3SG.F=PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL want=FUT
'...she will not like it.' (27-4-22)

Pa is not obligatory in negative future clauses. VPs without the prospective marker simply express that situations will not be realised. Or, they imply the speaker's strong feeling that this situation should not be realised. Consequently, this can be interpreted as a strong negative request to the second person as in (8.61).

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43 The prospective marker can be regarded as a purposive marker in affirmative clauses in the future or past tense. It could be said that it indicates a movement for the purpose of realisation of the situation. However, as shown below, in negative clauses, when pa makes a contribution to the meaning of the clause, it indicates a non-prospect rather than a purpose. Therefore, pa is categorised as the prospective marker rather than the purposive marker.
(8.61) *Pui ge=raneo=vou sai.*
NEG 2DU=sleep.overnight=FUT there
‘You must not sleep overnight there.’ (27-18-110)

(8.62) ...
1PL.EXC TOP NEG 1PL.EXC give.birth=3SG.F.O=FUT very many
meqora...
child
‘...we will not give birth to many children...’ (64-2-15)

(8.63) ...
1PL.EXC TOP NEG 1PL.EXC give.birth=3SG.F.O=FUT very many
meqora...
child
‘...we will not give birth to many children...’ (64-2-15)

In the past tense, the prospective marker is obligatory when a clause is a negative one. The prospective marker here does not make any contribution to the meaning of the clause. There seems to be no explanation for why the prospective marker is obligatory in a negative past clause.

(8.64) *Pui o=pa vait=e vo Sito.*
NEG 3SG.M=PROS return=RMP 3SG.M Sito
‘Sito didn’t return.’ (12-8-81)

(8.65) *Pui a=ba ol=ala.*
NEG 1SG=PROS go=RCP
‘I didn’t go.’

In absolute present and historical present tenses, the prospective marker never occurs when a clause is a negative one.

(8.66) ...
NEG 3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES garden at
‘...he didn’t follow her to the garden.’ (27-9-55)

There is a restriction on the co-occurrence of the prospective marker with verbs which indicate a situation involving motion. Verbs *zio* ‘to go’, *kilo* ‘to come’, and *sagoro* ‘to go down’ are such verbs. The prospective marker cannot occur with these verbs when the tense is past or historical present and when the clause is an affirmative one. This restriction is due to the fact that verbs themselves indicate movement. In the future tense, the prospective marker may occur with these verbs only when the subject is the third person.

(8.67) *Ko=pa kil=ou.*
3SG.F=PROS come=FUT
‘She will come (I think she will come).’
This expresses the speaker’s supposition. In §8.5.3, it was shown that the speaker’s intention can be expressed by using the situation-change marker *ta*. With verbs of motion, the speaker’s intention can be expressed by using this situation-change marker *ta* as in (8.68). The speaker’s request to the second person with verbs of motion can be expressed by only a simple VP without an aspectual/modal marker as in (8.69).

(8.68) \[ ...o=bazue=k=a \quad vo=k-o \quad nia-nia \quad o=bazue, \]
\[ 3SG.M=tell=3SG.F.O=PRES \quad 3SG.M=3SG.F \quad mother \quad 3SG.M=tell \]
\[ "Ege \quad ta \quad ge=ta \quad zio=vou \quad k-o \quad komi=k-o \]
\[ 1DU.EXC \quad TOP \quad 1DU.EXC=SIT \quad go=FUT \quad PROX.SG.F=3SG.F \]
\[ nia-nia=k-o \quad mabasisu \quad ge=pa \quad tauve=k=o \]
\[ mother=3SG.F \quad yam \quad 1DU.EXC=PROS \quad help=3SG.F.O=NRFUT \]
\[ papat=o... \]
\[ plant=NOM \]
‘...he told his mother, he told her, “We, we will go, we will go and help to plant her mother’s yams, so, we will go to the big village...’” (27-20-127)

(8.69) \[ ...kama \quad taku \quad ge=kil=ou \quad nio \quad qe=tauve=l=ou \]
\[ INDEF.SG.F \quad time \quad 2DU=come=FUT \quad SEQ \quad 2DU=help=1SG.O=FUT \]
\[ papat=o \quad k-o \quad mabasisu”. \]
\[ plant=NOM \quad 3SG.F \quad yam \]
‘...sometime, you will come and help me to do yam-planting”’. (27-19-120)

The restriction presented above does not, however, apply when the clause is a negative one because in negative clauses *pa* does not indicate a movement.

(8.70) \[ Pui \quad a=ba \quad zio=vou. \]
\[ NEG \quad 1SG=PROS \quad go=FUT \]
‘I am not going.’

Aspectual/modal markers do not co-occur except for the situation-change marker *ta* and the prospective marker *pa*, which can occur together. They can co-occur when the subject is first person and the tense is future. Both aspectual/modal markers here indicate a prospect, and their co-occurrence indicates a strong intention but no movement.

(8.71) \[ ...a=ba \quad ta \quad kurol=o. \]
\[ 1SG=PROS \quad SIT \quad fish.with.bamboo=NRFUT \]
‘...I am going to fish with a bamboo rod,’ (38-1-2)

(8.72) \[ ...me=ba \quad ta \quad talio=vou. \]
\[ 1PL=PROS \quad SIT \quad walk=FUT \]
‘...we are going for a walk.’ (22-6-27)

(For the realisation of *pa* as *ba* see §2.7.)

It was described above that verbs that inherently indicate movement do not co-occur with *pa*. When *pa* is combined with *ta*, however, this restriction does not apply, as this combination does not indicate movement. This is illustrated by example (8.72) in which
the verb *talio* ‘to walk’, which indicates movement, occurs with a combination of *pa* with 
*ta*.

*Pa* and *ta* can also co-occur when the tense is past. Here, *ta* indicates a current 
relevance. Example (8.73) occurs in a story in which a man’s eating (of a devil) brought 
about the situation of the devil’s coming down.

(8.73) \[ ...a=pa \quad ta \quad vuat=ala. \]
\[ 3SG.M=PROS \quad SIT \quad eat=RCP \]
‘...he went and ate.’ (43-4-43)

With the verb *roveo* ‘can’, when the tense is future, *pa* indicates the speaker’s prospect 
no matter whether it occurs in a negative or positive clause, and no matter what the person 
of the subject is.

(8.74) \[ ...enge \quad ta \quad pui \quad nge=ba \quad roveo=vou \]
\[ 1PL.EXC \quad TOP \quad NEG \quad 1PL.EXC=PROS \quad can=FUT \]
\[ bori=k=o. \]
\[ carry=3SG.F.O= NOM \]
‘...we will not be able to carry it.’ (67-3-32)

(8.75) \[ A=ba \quad roveo=vou \quad zio. \]
\[ 1SG=PROS \quad can=FUT \quad go=NOM \]
‘I will be able to go.’

(8.76) \[ ...puli=a=la \quad o=pa \quad roveo=vou \quad sai \quad zio \]
\[ NEG=LIG=3SG.M \quad 3SG.M=PROS \quad can=FUT \quad there \quad go=NOM \]
\[ k=ov=o=le. \]
\[ 3SG.F.O=get=NOM=PURP \]
‘Nobody will be able to go there to get it.’ (22-10-38)

Functions of the prospective marker *pa* are summarised in the following two tables.

**Table 8.9:** Functions of *pa* in positive clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>first person</th>
<th>second person</th>
<th>third person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>movement towards a realisation of prospective situation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>intention</td>
<td>request</td>
<td>supposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>movement towards a realisation of prospective situation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolute present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8.10: Functions of pa in negative clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>first person</th>
<th>second person</th>
<th>third person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>negative intention</td>
<td>negative request</td>
<td>negative supposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>no function but pa is obligatory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolute present</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical present</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.5.7 Summary and diachronic analysis of aspectual/modal markers

In the sections above, a description of aspectual/modal markers has been presented. Aspectual/modal markers are optional constituents of VPs, but the prospective marker pa is obligatory in the negative past tense. Pa here however does not have any aspectual/modal implication. It simply expresses that a situation did not occur. The prospective marker pa is the only aspectual/modal marker which can occur in negative clauses, negative future or negative past. Aspectual/modal markers generally do not co-occur but the prospective marker pa and the situation-change marker ta can co-occur in particular circumstances.

One of the aspectual markers, the situation-change marker ta, occurs only with intransitive verbs. There are two forms of the continuity marker be and beta. They are in complementary distribution: be occurs with transitive verbs and beta with intransitive verbs. These suggest that beta can be segmented into two morphemes: the continuity marker be and the situation-change marker ta. Now, another aspectual/modal marker, the implicative marker, also has the form be, and this always occurs in this form no matter whether the verb is a transitive or intransitive one. Thus, the form be may occur with an intransitive verb, but there are two pieces of evidence which illustrate that be, when it occurs with an intransitive verb, can only be treated as an implicative marker but not a continuative marker. First, in all examples where be occurs with an intransitive verb, it is not pragmatically possible to interpret it as a continuative marker. Second, beta can never be replaced with be.

There appears to be a diachronic relationship among three aspectual markers—the continuity marker, the situation-change marker, and the implicative marker. The rest of this section presents a hypothesis about this relationship—the continuity marker be (beta) developed from the implicative marker be.

First, the sequential use of the continuity marker probably developed from the implicative marker. This is plausible because with both implicative and sequential, two situations occur one after another (with the implicative marker the second situation is only implied but is not overtly expressed; see §8.5.5). In the course of this development, ta, the situation-change marker, was added when the verb was an intransitive one. This would be plausible because the sequential use of the continuity marker introduces a new situation;
that is, it indicates a change of situation, while the situation-change marker introduces a change of situation.\footnote{This does not mean that $beta$ covers all meanings expressed by $ta$.}

As mentioned in §8.5.4, the sequential use indicates continuity of a superordinate situation consisting of two situations. This meaning 'continuity' was applied to a single situation, and thus the continuous use of the continuity marker evolved.

Thus, the two morphemes $be$ and $ta$ became one morpheme $beta$ in the course of the above development, and because of the origin of $ta$ as the situation-change marker, $beta$ only occurs with intransitive verbs.

The implicative marker is not realised as $beta$ even with intransitive verbs, and this leads to a contention that the implicative marker and the continuous marker became independent of each other: they are different morphemes. That is, $be$ and $beta$ are lexicalised as continuity markers and are distinguished from the implicative marker $be$. The above hypothesis is summarised in the following figure.

![Figure 8.3: Development of continuity marker bel/beta from implicative marker be](image)

### 8.6 Modifiers

There are a small number of words that can function as modifiers in VPs. Each of these words also belongs to a different word class, adjective, adverb, general modifier, or noun class:
uri ‘good’, ruqe ‘bad’, ukaka ‘careless’, and utu ‘idle’ (adjectives);  
maba ‘truly’ (an adverb);  
matu ‘very’ and sasa ‘a bit’ (general modifiers);  
tova ‘behind’ (a relational noun).

Some examples follow. Modifiers are underlined.

(8.77) *Uri ‘good’*
\[
...ko \underline{uri=a}^{45} v=e=a. \\
3SG.F good=LIG 3SG.M.O=see=PRES \\
‘...she saw him well,’ (39-5-34)
\]

(8.78) *Maba ‘truly’*
\[
...o=be \underline{maba} vouvae=v=a \underline{inicio}. \\
3SG.M=CONT truly kill=3SG.M.O=PRES FOC.NONF \\
‘...he truly killed him.’ (43-5-53)
\]

(8.79) *Matu ‘very’*
\[
...o=ta \underline{matu} kora-korai=va. \\
3SG.M=SIT very REDUP-be.angry=PRES \\
‘...he became very angry.’ (15-5-40)
\]

(8.80) *Tova ‘behind’*
\[
...pui \neg a=ba \underline{tova} kail=ou. \\
NEG 1SG=PROS behind go.up=FUT \\
‘...I am not going to go up behind [you].’ (26-9-54)
\]

Adjectives, as modifiers in VPs, are semantically regarded as manner adverbs. There are some manner adverbs which appear to have originated as adjectives, but these occur outside of VPs and function as adjuncts (see §5.2 and §10.6).

### 8.7 Complement phrases

#### 8.7.1 Introduction

Two verbs in Bilua, elo ‘to become’ and iko ‘to put/cause’, require a complement. A complement phrase (CompP) always precedes the VP.

(8.81) \[
...[vo=a \underline{maba}] ta [dole] inio [o=beta] \\
3SG.M=LIG person TOP snake FOC.NONF 3SG.M=CONT \\
Subject NP CompP VP
\]

\[
ev=a]. \\
become=PRES \\
‘...the man, he became a snake...’ (24-11-97)
\]

---

*45 An adjective preceding a verb takes a ligature (see §5.17).*
A complement phrase cannot be marked with a topic marker, but it can be marked with a focus marker.\(^{46}\) This indicates that the complement is not a part of the VP.

A complement phrase cannot trigger cross-referencing on the VP as this is not a core argument (see §3.2.1 for core arguments). This is illustrated by (8.81)—‘snake’ is not cross-referenced on the VP.

Like any other VPs, VPs headed with elo ‘to become’ and iko ‘to put/cause’ can have aspectual/modal markers, the possessor-raising marker, and valency-increasing markers, but they cannot have a modifier. The VP in (8.81) has an aspectual/modal marker, the continuity marker beta with the sequential use. The following example has a valency-increasing marker ai.

(8.83)  
Kasa  
ko=m=ai  
i=k=a.

sight  
3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL  
cause=3SG.F.O=PRES

‘[The devil] showed it to them.’ (12-6-59)

(more literally ‘[The devil] caused it to become a sight.’)

Complement phrases of verbs elo ‘to become’ and iko ‘to put/cause’ are described in §8.7.2 and §8.7.3 respectively.

### 8.7.2 With elo ‘to become’

The verb elo ‘become’ expresses a change of state.\(^{47}\) The complement phrase with this verb can only be an NP, and this expresses the thing the subject becomes. Example (8.84) expresses a change of state from being a blood stain into being a shark—the subject became a shark.

---

\(^{46}\) There are two realisation of focus markers, inio (FOC.NONF) and ikio (FOC.F) and it is inio (FOC.NONF) that is the default form of focus markers, and thus in this example when the NP dole ‘snake’ has a generic reading, the focus marker is realised in its default form inio (FOC.NONF). See §14.3.2 for focus markers.

\(^{47}\) The verb elo ‘to become’ also forms a complex predicate with an adjective of emotion. The adjective immediately precedes the VP. In the following example, a combination of elo ‘to become’ and aqasiele ‘surprising’ means ‘to become surprised’

\[\text{Aqasiele} \quad a=da \quad ev=a.\]

\[\text{surprising} \quad 1SG=SIT \quad \text{become}=\text{PRES}\]

\[‘\text{I became surprised.}’\]

\[Aqasiele ‘surprising’ is not a complement as it cannot be marked with a focus marker. The verb elo also has a homonym ‘to stay’ and this does not require a complement.\]
A complement NP can be a headless NP when it contains a modifier phrase. In such a case, the head of the modifier phrase, a pronominal enclitic, is always realised in the second person singular form, nga (2SG). It is not understood why this form is chosen. According to informants, however, this can be replaced with one whose person/number/gender agrees with the subject NP. For example, in (8.85), nga (2SG) can be replaced with ma (3SG.F) which agrees with the person/number/gender of the subject NP, ko=a muni (3SG.F=LIG blood.stain) ‘the blood stain’.

VPs with elo ‘to become’ as their head cannot include a modifier. However, such a modifier can occur in a complement phrase instead. In (8.86) below, the complement is an NP with a nominalised verb as its head, and this has a modifier uri (good).

A complement NP may consist of a nominalised verb with a pronoun eri (s.th.like.this) preceding it. This kind of complement NP and the VP form an idiom meaning ‘as soon as someone does something’. In the following example, eri is glossed as ‘as soon as’.

A clause which contains this idiom cannot be regarded as a dependent clause although its meaning suggests that it can. This is because a dependent clause cannot have a constituent marked with a focus marker, and also because there is a restriction on
occurrences of aspectual/modal markers in dependent clauses (see Chapter 12). In (8.87), the complement phrase is marked with a focus marker and the VP has an aspectual marker beta, the continuity marker.

In (8.87), o=vesa ‘his basket’ is not an argument of the verb elo ‘to become’, but the argument of the nominalised verb rauveko ‘to put hand in something’, which is the head of a complement NP.

There are a few examples where the complement is onomatopoeic. Po in (8.88) is a sound created when someone hits water.

(8.88) \[O=joupar=a\] \[ti\] \[ivere\] \[kolo\] \[tiania\]
3SG.M=jump.off= PRES and.then sea ocean middle

\[[po]\]
\[o\] \[ev=a]\],
po 3SG.M become=PRES
Complement NP VP
‘He jumped off, and he hit the sea, ocean, marking the sound po!’ (27-17-95)

Note that a complement NP cannot be one that refers to a profession, for example titisa ‘teacher’. In fact, there is no way to express ‘someone becomes [profession]’ in Bilua.48

8.7.3 With iko ‘to put/cause’

A transitive verb iko has two meanings ‘to put’ and ‘to cause (cause someone/something to become)’. Regardless of its meanings, it requires a complement.

When iko has the meaning ‘to put’, it requires a locational phrase as its complement, and this presents a goal (see §10.3 for locational phrases). A PP bita kale ‘in a string bag’ in (8.89) and an NP headed with a relational noun votonioama vele topi ‘on the front edge of the canoe’ in (8.90) are both complements. They are not adjuncts, since without these, the clauses become ungrammatical.

(8.89) \[Ti\] \[ko\] \[ina-inae=k=a\] \[ko\] \[mau\],
and.then 3SG.F REDUP-get.ready=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F taro

\[[bita=le]\]
\[ko\] \[i=k=a]\],
string.bag=in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES
Complement PP VP
‘And then she got taros ready, she put them in a string bag,’ (27-13-081)

48 There is a verb lekasapuo, which originates in a noun lekasa ‘chief’. This verb can be glossed as ‘to become a chief’ but rather means ‘to be proclaimed as a chief’. Few speakers accept dokitapuo ‘to become a doctor’, which originates in dokita ‘doctor’, but most find it strange since this would mean ‘to be proclaimed as a doctor’.
(8.90) \[ ko=vo \quad mama=ko \quad lezu \quad ta \quad [votonio=a=ma \]
3SG.F=3SG.M father=3SG.F head TOP front.of.canoe=LIG=3SG.F
Complement NP

\[ vele \quad [ke \quad i=k=a]... \]
edge.of.canoe on 3PL put=3SG.F.O=PRES

‘...as for the head of her father, they put it on the front edge of the canoe...’
(25-4-32)

When \( iko \) has the meaning ‘to cause (cause someone/something to become)’, it takes an NP, an AdjP, or a PP headed with the similitative \( jari \) as its complement. \( iko \) ‘to cause’ and its complement form a syntactic causative structure, and this is the only syntactic causative structure in Bilua.

(8.91) \[ [kasa] \quad [ko=m=ai \quad i=k=a]... \]
sight 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
Complement NP VP

‘...they showed it to them...’ (12-6-59)
(more literally ‘...they caused it to become a sight to them...’)

(8.92) \[ [Ngo] \quad ta \quad [kako] \quad inio \quad [ngo=da \quad l=a \]
2SG TOP strange FOC.NONF 2SG=POSS 1SG.O=VAL
Subject NP Complement AdjP VP

\[ i=v=ala].^{49} \]
cause=3SG.M.O=RCP

‘You caused [my brother] to become strange.’ (39-4-28)

(8.93) \[ [mola \quad jari] \quad [ke \quad i=k=a]... \]
canoe SIM 3PL put=3SG.F.O=PRES
Complement PP VP

‘...they made a canoe-like thing...’ (34-1-14)
(more literally ‘...they made it to become canoe-like...’)

In all the examples above, the subject is a causer for the object to change its state: in (8.91) to be seen, in (8.92) to become strange, and in (8.93) ‘to become a canoe-like thing’. In (8.91), the VP has a valency-increasing marker, which promotes an allative argument to a core argument. This is the goal of the object \( kasa \) ‘sight’. Example (8.92) illustrates that a complement can take a focus marker.

Notice that \( iko \) ‘to cause (to cause someone/something to become)’ is semantically a transitive counterpart of \( elo \) ‘to become’, both sharing the meaning ‘to become’. The

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49 The clause here is in the possessor-raising construction (see §9.5), and the referent of the object clitic \( l \) (1SG) ‘I’ has possessor relation to the referent of the object clitic \( v \) (3SG.M), ‘him’, who is in fact the brother of the referent of ‘I’. Thus it is translated as ‘my brother’.
subject of elo ‘to become’ corresponds with the object of iko ‘to cause’. Similar to the 
verb elo ‘to become’, with the verb iko ‘to put/cause’, a complement NP cannot be one 
which presents a profession.\footnote{50}

The head of a complement NP of the verb iko ‘to put/cause’ cannot normally be a 
concrete common noun. In (8.91) above, it is an abstract noun. In (8.94) and (8.95) 
below, the head of a complement NP is an abstract noun derived from an adjective k\textipa{\textit{iada}} ‘all’ and a pronoun \textipa{\textit{eri}} ‘something like this’ respectively.

\begin{verbatim}
(8.94) ...[k\textipa{\textit{iada}}=vo] [o \text{\textit{all}}=NOM 3SG.M \text{cause}=3SG.F.O=PRES \text{ko}=a] 3SG.F=LIG 
Complement NP VP  
\text{seqara}=ko \text{\textit{ore}}]...
betelnut=3SG.F tree
‘...he did everything to the betelnut tree...’ (5-14-120)
(more literally, ‘he caused the betelnut tree to become everything...’)
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(8.95) [\textipa{\textit{Eri}}] \text{\textit{nio}} [ke \text{\textit{all}}=NOM 3SG.M \text{cause}=3SG.F.O=PRES \text{\textit{ke}}=a] 3SG.F=LIG 
Complement NP VP  
\text{\textit{ko}} \text{\textit{mola}}].
3SG.F canoe
Object NP
‘They cause a canoe to become something like this (They cause a canoe to go 
through a process like this, in making a canoe).’
\end{verbatim}

Example (8.94) occurs in a text where his wife climbed a betelnut tree and as soon as 
she touched the leaf of the betelnut tree she became a betelnut, and he did everything to 
the betelnut tree so that she would become a human being again. Example (8.95) was 
uttered when the author saw a half-made canoe. The speaker was showing the author 
what state a log undergoes before a canoe is made out of it.

Like the verb elo ‘to become’, there are a few examples where the complement is an 
onomatopoetic expression. Viu in (8.96) is the sound a fishing rod makes when it is 
thrown. Po ‘in (8.97) is the sound the house makes when it is hit.

\begin{verbatim}
(8.96) ...\textit{viu} [o \text{\textit{viu}} 3SG.M \text{cause}=3SG.F.O=PRES \text{\textit{viu}}=a...
\text{\textit{viu}} 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES 
‘...he threw the fishing rod making the sound \textit{viu}...’ (28-5-38)
(more literally ‘...he caused the fishing rod to make the sound \textit{viu}...’
\end{verbatim}

\footnote{50 It might be the case that iko has only one meaning, with ‘to put’ paraphrased as ‘to cause to be 
in location X’. However, as the subject of elo ‘to become’ cannot correspond with the object of 
iko as ‘to put’, two different meanings are recognised.}
(8.97) \( Po \ ko=\nu=ati \ i=k=a \ ko=a \ pade, \)  
\( po! \ 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL \ cause=3SG.F.O=PRES \ 3SG.F=LIG \)  
house  
‘She hit the house [where he was lying inside], making the sound \( po,\)’ (43-5-53)  
(more literally ‘She caused the house with him to make the sound \( po,\)’)

The following is an idiom with \( pato \) ‘nail’. A combination of \( pato \) ‘nail’ with \( iko \) ‘to cause’ means ‘to snatch’.

(8.98) \( Pato \ o \ i=k=a. \)  
nail  \( 3SG.M \ cause=3SG.F.O=PRES \)  
‘He snatched it.’

As noted above, an AdjP can become a complement. For some adjectives both the adjectives themselves and abstract nouns derived from these adjectives can be heads of complement phrases.

(8.99) \( Puju \ o \ i=k=a. \)  
short  \( 3SG.M \ cause=3SG.F.O=PRES \)  
‘He caused it (a rope) to become short. (He made it short).’

(8.100) \( Puju=avo \ o \ i=k=a. \)  
short=NOM  \( 3SG.M \ cause=3SG.F.O=PRES \)  
‘He made it (a speech) short (he made a short speech).’

(8.101) \( Olu \ o \ i=k=a. \)  
cheap  \( 3SG.M \ cause=3SG.F.O=PRES \)  
‘He caused it (a canoe) to become cheap. (He made it cheap).’

(8.102) \( Olu=avo \ o \ i=k=a. \)  
easy=NOM  \( 3SG.M \ cause=3SG.F.O=PRES \)  
‘He made it (exam) easy.’

These examples show that when the head of a complement phrase is an adjective, the object is a concrete noun. On the other hand, when it is an abstract noun derived from an adjective, the object is also an abstract noun.

This chapter presented a description of verb phrases and complement phrases. Two kinds of VP constituents, valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker, were not described here. Their descriptions are included in the next chapter, which deals with valency and transitivity in Bilua.
9 Valency and transitivity

9.1 Introduction

A Bilua verb may have a valency of one, two, or three, and the valency of each verb is lexically determined. The valency of a verb, however, may be changed morphologically or syntactically. It may be decreased by a valency-decreasing suffix on the verb, or it may be increased by the valency-increasing construction. The valency-decreasing suffix -kini is described in §6.2.1. In this chapter, valency of verbs is described in §9.2. Then §9.3 discusses occurrences of objects with intransitive verbs in Bilua. This section includes a discussion of transitivity. Following this, §9.4 presents a description of the valency-increasing construction. Then, §9.5 presents a description of the possessor-raising construction, which also involves valency increase. Section 9.6 presents a summary.

9.2 Valency of verbs

Bilua verbs can be divided morphologically into two types: intransitive verbs, which can never be bound by an object clitic, and transitive verbs, which are obligatorily bound by an object clitic. They are also semantically distinguished (see §4.4 and §9.3 below). Transitive verbs have two core arguments, while intransitive verbs have one core argument. These are the number of valencies each of these types of verbs have. That is, valency here refers to the number of core arguments a verb may have.

Bilua core arguments are defined as those which are cross-referenced on the VP by bound pronouns (see §3.2.1). With an intransitive verb, only one core argument, subject, is cross-referenced on the VP, while with a transitive verb, two core arguments, subject and object, are cross-referenced on the VP. Subject and object are cross-referenced by a pronominal proclitic and an object clitic respectively. This is illustrated by examples (9.1) and (9.2) below respectively. The VP in (9.1) contains an intransitive verb and only one argument is cross-referenced on the VP, while the VP in (9.2) contains a transitive verb and two core arguments are cross-referenced on the VP.

(9.1)  \[O=1a\quad gi=ala]_{VP}
3SG.M=SIT  cry=RCP
'He cried.'

(9.2)  \[Ko=paz=\nu=ala]_{VP}
3SG.F=hit=3SG.M.O=RCP
'She hit him.'
There is a small group of ditransitive verbs in Bilua. Morphologically, this is a subclass of transitive verbs—they are obligatorily bound by an object clitic. Each ditransitive verb has three core arguments of subject, direct object, and second object, and thus they have a valency of three. However, only two of these three core arguments are cross-referenced on the VP—second object is not cross-referenced on the VP and it can only be expressed by an optional NP. Thus, the definition of core arguments given above does not apply to second object. Still, however, the third argument, second object, is treated as a core argument (see §3.2). In example (9.3), the second object is expressed by an NP, ko lebu ‘mangos’, and this is not cross-referenced on the VP.

(9.3)  
\[ \begin{array}{llll}
\text{Anga} & \text{ino} & [a=qati=v=ala]_{VP} & \text{ko lebu} & a=meqora. \\
1SG & \text{FOC.NONF} & 1SG=give=3SG.M.O=RCP & 3SG.F & \text{mango} & 1SG=child & \text{subject} & \text{second object} & \text{direct object} \\
\end{array} \]

'I gave mangos to my son.'

Bilua ditransitive verbs are katiko ‘to give’, tabariko ‘to pay’, niaeko ‘to feed’, and tauveko ‘to help’. With verbs katiko ‘to give’, tabariko ‘to pay’, and niaeko ‘to feed’, the second object has the semantic role of gift, as illustrated by (9.3). With the verb tauveko ‘to help’ the second object has the semantic role of concern.\(^{51}\) In the following example, papat=o=ko mabasisu (plant=NOM=3SG.F yam), which is in a possessive NP structure, forms one lexeme meaning ‘yam tubers’. It literally means ‘yam for planting’. This is the second object and has the semantic role of concern.

(9.4)  
\[ \begin{array}{llll}
...[qe=pa & \text{tauve}=l=ou]_{VP} & \text{papat}=o=ko & \text{mabasisu}... \\
2DU=PROS & \text{help}=1SG.O=FUT & \text{plant}=NOM=3SG.F & \text{yam} \\
\end{array} \]

‘...you will come and help me with yam tubers...’ (27-19-120)

In Bilua there are two environments where a transitive verb does not occur. First, a transitive verb does not co-occur with the situation-change marker ta (§8.5.3). Second, a transitive verb does not occur in the VP of a temporal clause marked with keru when this VP includes the continuity marker (§12.4.1). In these two environments, an intransitive verb may replace a transitive verb, and this can occur with an NP that expresses an object, as illustrated by examples (9.5) and (9.6). In both of these examples, the VP head is an intransitive verb, koito ‘to climb’ in (9.5) and kozato ‘to get’ in (9.6), and this is accompanied by an object NP.

(9.5)  
\[ \begin{array}{llll}
...[rupe]_{0 \text{NP}} & \text{ikio} & o=ta & \text{koito}=ala. \\
\text{cutnut} & \text{FOC.F} & 3SG.M=SIT & \text{climb}=RCP & \text{cutnut} \\
o=koi=k=a. \\
3SG.M=\text{climb}=3SG.F.O=PRES \\
\end{array} \]

‘...a cutnut tree, he climbed. He climbed a cutnut tree.’ (39-8.49-50)

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\(^{51}\) As stated by Andrews, ‘[n]o presently known system of semantic role comprehensively applied in a convincing manner’ (Andrews 1985:70), and so the author introduced her own term, such as the semantic role of concern, in this work.
In (9.5), the speaker first tells what tree he climbed, and thus the sentence contains an object NP rupe ‘cutnut’. Then, the situation-change marker ta is employed in order to indicate a change of situation. Because of this, the verb cannot be a transitive one and so an intransitive one, koito ‘to climb’, is employed, resulting in a co-occurrence of an object NP and an intransitive verb. The second clause in (9.5) presents the same information as in the first clause. Since the change of the situation has already been indicated by the first clause, in the second clause the situation-change marker is not employed. Consequently, the verb can now be a transitive one, koiko ‘to climb’.

In (9.6), the first clause is a temporal clause marked with keru and it contains the continuity marker beta. Consequently, the verb in this clause can only be an intransitive verb and this is accompanied by an object NP komia bube ‘this pollen’.

Examples (9.5) and (9.6) are different from a combination of an intransitive verb with an object described in the next section. In (9.5) and (9.6), clearly the object NP is not combined with the verb, as it is separated from the verb by a focus marker in (9.5) and it is a full NP in (9.6).

9.3 Intransitive verbs with objects

In Bilua, an intransitive verb may occur with an object. For example,

(9.7) ...ko ta ko=nabul=a ko risu...
    3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=bake=PRES 3SG.F coconut.crab
    ‘...as for her, she coconut crab-baked...’ (48-1-8)

The combination of the verb with the object is treated as one unit here, expressing a unitary concept ‘coconut crab-bake’, and this functions as an intransitive predicate.

In the discourse in which example (9.7) occurs, what is the issue is whether she performs an activity of coconut crab-baking or not, as her brothers have told her not to do this. Her brothers were afraid that if she bakes, the smell of baking might attract a giant. Thus, what is salient in example (9.7) is the activity of baking, of which the object ‘coconut crab’ is simply an incidental part.

Since an object which occurs with an intransitive verb is an incidental part, this is non-referential, non-individuated, and so the object is expressed by a generic NP. Such an NP usually consists of the head on its own as in example (9.8) below. In example (9.7) the object NP, which is a generic NP, contains a distal demonstrative ko (3SG.F) because of
its position—a postverbal NP cannot be the head on its own in Bilua (see §7.4). The lack of the ligature on the demonstrative here indicates that \textit{ko} is not a determiner.

The object normally occurs in postverbal position, but it can also be pre-posed, as in example (9.8) below. The object and the intransitive verb still however form a unit. Example (9.8) occurs in the discourse where the father had not come back from fishing, and so the mother asked her son to go and look for him. The son found him fishing and came home by himself. When the son came home, he told the mother that he saw the father and the mother asked what the father was undertaking. Then, the son utters example (9.8). The son describes the activity the father was engaged in, that is, fish-getting (fishing). When the son utters (9.8), however, his mind is occupied with fish, as the discourse following this indicates: the son tells the mother that the fish which the father gets are caught by the wound on his father’s leg, not with a fishing rod, and these are the fish the father gives to the son and the mother. It is because of this that the object is stated first, that is, it is pre-posed.

(9.8) \[ ...niunu o=beta koazat=a, \]
\[ \text{fish} \quad 3SG.M=CONT \quad \text{get}=\text{PRES} \]
\[ \text{object} \]
\[ ‘...he has been fish-getting (fishing),’ (24-7-78) \]

A similar phenomenon where an intransitive verb occurs with an object has been recorded in a number of languages including some languages in Oceania, and often this is treated as an example of object incorporation (Sugita 1973, Lichtenberk 1982, Mithun 1984, Dixon 1988, and Hill 1992, among others).

The term ‘incorporation’ is generally used to refer to a particular type of compounding in which a V and N combine to form a new V—as patients, location, or instrument [...] . The activity or quality designated by the NV compound is viewed as a recognisable, unitary concept. (Mithun 1984:848)

This description of object incorporation accords with the combining of intransitive verbs with objects in Bilua. Mithun (1984:850) further says ‘since incorporated objects are non-referential, and thus non-individuated, [constructions which involve an incorporated object] generally describe activities or events whose patients are neither specific nor countable—e.g. habitual, ongoing, or projected activities’. This is also the case in Bilua. An object combined to an intransitive verb is non-referential, as illustrated by examples (9.7) and (9.8). A combination of an intransitive verb with an object may express an on-going situation as in (9.8), or a habitual activity as in (9.9). In this example, an intransitive verb \textit{papato} ‘to plant’ is accompanied by object NPs.

(9.9) \[ Niani=ka=ma ta ko iruruput=a ko=papato=a \]
\[ \text{mother}=\text{LIG}=3SG.F \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3SG.F \quad \text{work}=\text{PRES} \quad 3SG.F=\text{plant}=\text{PRES} \]
\[ ko \quad \text{susu} . \quad ko=papato=a \quad ko \quad \text{mau} ... \]
\[ 3SG.F \quad \text{sweet} . \text{potato} \quad 3SG.F=\text{plant}=\text{PRES} \quad 3SG.F \quad \text{taro} \]
\[ \text{object} \quad \text{object} \]
\[ ‘The mother used to work, she used to do sweet potato planting, she used to do \]
\[ \text{taro planting} ...’ (27-3-14) \]
According to Mithun, it is an N that is combined with a V. This may go against examples in Bilua, as in Bilua this can be an NP. This is always true when the object occurs postverbally as explained above with example (9.7). In preverbal position, however, it can be expressed by a noun on its own, and there is no criterion to determine whether this is treated as just a noun or an NP. Whichever the case, however, it is not only in Bilua that an NP can be combined with a verb. Dixon (1988:226–229) demonstrates that an incorporated object in Boumaa Fijian can be expressed by either a noun or an NP.

There is however one problem in treating combinations of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua as object incorporation—the object can occur either preverbally or postverbally in Bilua, whereas object incorporation is a type of compound, and in compounds, the order of combined words is fixed.\(^{52}\) In conclusion, a combination of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua can be semantically treated as a case of object incorporation, but syntactically it is questionable. The treatment of combinations of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua requires further research.\(^{53}\)

It was demonstrated above that an intransitive verb may occur with an object. A transitive verb can naturally occur with an object, and this highlights the affectedness of the object. The intransitive verb nabulo ‘to bake’ seen above has a transitive counterpart, nabuliko ‘to bake’, and nabulo and nabuliko are in an S=A relationship since the S argument of nabulo and the A argument of nabuliko coincide. In example (9.10) where the transitive verb nabuliko ‘to bake’ occurs, the affectedness of the object is salient since food needs to be baked before it can be served to people.

\[
(9.10) \quad \ldots uri=avo \quad tu \quad o=m=a \quad nabuli=k=o \\
\quad \text{good=NOM} \quad \text{IRR} \quad 3\text{SG.F}=3\text{PL.O}=\text{VAL} \quad \text{bake}=3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{NRFUT} \\
\quad ko \quad sailao... \\
\quad 3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{food} \\
\quad \ldots \text{it will be good that he will bake food for them...} \quad (67-3-28)
\]

On the other hand, as demonstrated above, when an object occurs with an intransitive verb, the affectedness of the object is out of scope. This is also the case when there is no object combined with an intransitive verb. In example (9.11) below, what is salient is the

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\(^{52}\) Sugita (1973) refers to intransitive verbs which occur with an object as ‘semi-transitive verbs’, verbs which are morphologically intransitive but which can be followed by an object. This term can be applied to intransitive verbs which can occur with an object in Bilua. However, since the occurrence of an object with an intransitive verb could be explained in terms of object incorporation/compound, it is not necessary to adopt this term in describing intransitive verbs with objects in Bilua.

\(^{53}\) In her description of valency and transitivity in Saliba, an Oceanic language spoken in Papua New Guinea, Margett (1999) explains occurrences of intransitive verbs with an object in terms of a difference between transitivity at word level and at clause level. This may be applied to the case of Bilua. An intransitive verb itself has a valency of one but a clause (a VP) which has an intransitive verb may have a valency of two.
activity of baking. The sentence implies that there is an object, the thing she baked, but the affectedness of the object is out of scope. Thus, when the affectedness of the object is within the scope of the speaker’s interest, the VP has a transitive verb, while when it is not within the scope, it has an intransitive verb, as in the following example, nabulo ‘to bake’ is an intransitive counterpart of nabuliko ‘to bake’.

(9.11) \( \text{Ko=ta} \quad \text{nabul=a}. \)
\( 3\text{SG.F=SIT} \quad \text{bake=PRES} \)
‘She baked.’

Furthermore, when the verb is an intransitive verb, the identity of the object is not important. Consequently, in a question asked in order to identify an object, an intransitive verb cannot be used. Only a transitive verb can be used as in example (9.12), while example (9.13) is ungrammatical.\(^{54}\) On the other hand, in a question asked to identify an agent, the object is not important and so an intransitive verb is used. Example (9.14) is a question to identify an agent.

(9.12) “\( \text{Koe } \text{loma } \text{quili } \text{ikio } \text{ngo=nabuli=k=a?} \)”
\( \text{INTJ} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{FOC.NONF} \quad 2\text{SG}=\text{bake}=3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{PRES} \)
\( k=i=o=la... \)
\( 3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{say}=3\text{SG.M}=\text{PRES} \)
‘“Oh, what are you baking?” said he...’ (48-1-11)

(9.13) *\( \text{Loma } \text{quili } \text{ikio } \text{ngo=nabul=a?} \)
\( \text{what} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{FOC.F} \quad 2\text{SG}=\text{bake}=\text{PRES} \)
‘What are you baking?’

(9.14) \( \text{Lama } \quad \text{ikio } \quad \text{ko } \quad \text{ko=pazot=ala=ma?} \)
\( \text{who.3SG.F} \quad \text{FOC.F} \quad 3\text{SG.F} \quad 3\text{SG.F}=\text{hit}=\text{RCP}=\text{REL.F} \)
‘Who hit?’

In example (9.14), if an intransitive verb pazoto ‘to hit’ is replaced with a transitive verb pazoko ‘to hit’, it would mean ‘who did she hit?’ because the object, the one who is affected, becomes salient.

Until now, the term transitivity has been used to refer to the number of core arguments a verb has. Hopper and Thompson (1980) describe transitivity as a scalar phenomenon. According to their scale, intransitive verbs with accompanying objects in Bilua are less transitive than transitive verbs. This is not only because of the transitivity of verbs themselves, but also because of the status of non-individuated object, and also the types of on-going situations and habitual activities they express. When a situation is presented as

\(^{54}\) An interjection koe or the verb kio ‘to say’ in (9.12) do not have anything to do with the contrast between grammatical example (9.12) and ungrammatical example (9.13). An elicited version without these two words can be presented in (9.12) instead so that the two examples would differ only in verbs. However, the author prefers to present an example from the data rather than the elicitation, and that is why an elicited version is not given in (9.12).
an on-going one, it does not make any reference to the end point. Hopper and Thompson (1980:252) categorise a sentence that presents such a situation as an atelic one. A habitual activity is not a specific event and thus it can be treated as an irrealis event. Non-individuated objects, atelic situations, and irrealis are all indications of low transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980). These are all features of intransitive verbs with objects in Bilua and thus they are lower in transitivity.

9.4 Valency-increasing construction

As described in §9.2, Bilua intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs have a valency of one, two, and three respectively. These numbers can be increased by the valency-increasing construction. This section presents a description of the valency-increasing construction in Bilua.

The valency-increasing construction consists of a valency-increasing marker, $a$, $ai$, or $ati$, and an object clitic attached to it. This construction introduces a new core argument, which is coded as an object: it is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker or by the object clitic attached to the verb.

The verb $baro$ ‘to arrive’ is an intransitive verb and this usually has only one core argument, the subject, which has the semantic role of experiencer as in the following example.

(9.15) \[ Qo=baro=a. \]
\[ 3DU=arrive=PRES \]
‘The two arrived.’ (15-3-30)

In example (9.16-a) below, which contains the same verb, however, the valency of the verb is increased by the valency-increasing construction; the VP contains a valency-increasing marker $ai$ bound by an object clitic $m$ (3PL). Consequently, there are two core arguments: the original argument, the subject ‘the head hunters’, and the introduced argument, the object ‘the father and his daughters’. The introduced argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic $m$ (3PL). This object clitic is attached to the valency-increasing marker, unlike the object clitic that cross-references with the original object of a transitive verb, which attaches to the verb.

(9.16-a) \[ ...so \ keru \ inio \ ke=m=ai \ baro=a, \]
\[ \text{that} \ TEMP \ FOC.NONF \ 3PL=3PL.O=VAL \ arrive=PRES \]
\[ ke=nogoe=m=a. \]
\[ 3PL=hold=3PL.O=PRES \]
‘...that time, [head-hunters] reached [the father and his daughters], and held them.’ (25-3-25)

The introduced argument here has the semantic role of goal, which is indicated by the valency-increasing marker $ai$. Semantic roles indicated by each of three valency-increasing markers, $a$, $ai$, and $ati$, are described in §9.4.1 to §9.4.4.
Valency increase in Bilua can be divided into two types: argument promotion and argument addition. They are similar in the sense that they both introduce a new core argument, but they are different from each other. Argument promotion promotes an argument: it promotes a non-core argument to a core argument, while argument addition simply adds an argument which otherwise cannot be included. Both operations, however, are performed by one and the same valency-increasing construction. Indeed, the term valency-increasing construction covers the two different uses of the term 'applicative', which are described as argument promotion and argument addition above: for some linguists, applicative is an operation that promotes a non-core argument (oblique argument) to a core argument, while for others it is an operation that adds an argument. Argument promotion and argument addition are also pragmatically distinguished. This is described later in this section.

Example (9.16-a) above is an example of argument promotion. Without the valency-increasing construction, (9.16-a) would be like (9.16-b), in which 'the father and his daughters' is not a core argument but an adjunct expressed by a postpositional phrase, and therefore it is not cross-referenced on the VP by any bound pronoun.\footnote{As discussed in §3.2.1, although the verb \textit{barolo} 'to arrive' is subcategorised for a participant with the semantic role of goal, this is not treated as a core argument but as a non-core argument.}

(9.16-b) \textit{Ke=baro=a se kasi.}  
\textit{3PL=arrive=PRES 3PL at}  
'[The head-hunters] arrived at [the father and his daughters].'

The following is an example of argument addition.

(9.17-a) \textit{...ke=k=ai bazu-bazue-kini=a komi,}  
\textit{3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES PROX.SG.F}  
'...they were telling this to each other,' (26-3-20)

(9.17-b) \textit{Ke=bazu-bazue-kini=a.}  
\textit{3PL=REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES}  
'They were telling each other.'

Example (9.17-a) contains the valency-increasing marker \textit{ai}, which introduces an argument with the semantic role of 'topic of speech', \textit{komi} (PROX.SG.F) 'this'. This argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic, \textit{k} (3SG.F), attached to the valency-increasing marker. This argument can by no means be included in a clause like (9.17-b) without the valency-increasing construction; there is no way to express it in a clause without the valency-increasing construction.

Argument promotion and argument addition are illustrated by the following.

argument promotion

\begin{align*}
\text{non-core argument} & \rightarrow \text{core argument}
\end{align*}
argument addition

\( \emptyset \to \text{core argument} \)

In both (9.16-a) and (9.17-a), the verb is an intransitive one, and the introduced argument is cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker, and thus the introduced argument is an object. The other argument, the original core argument, is a subject. This is the same without the valency-increasing construction; in both (9.16-b) and (9.17-b), the original core argument is the subject.

When the verb is a transitive verb as well, the argument introduced by the valency-increasing marker is cross-referenced by an object clitic. This object clitic which cross-references with the introduced argument is sometimes attached to the valency-increasing marker and other times attached to the verb. In (9.18-a), the introduced argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic, \( v \) (3SG.M), attached to the valency-increasing marker.

(9.18-a) "Kama quli puli=a=ma" \( k=i=o=la \)
INDEF.SG.F thing NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

\( \text{mati } o=v=\text{ai} \)
again 3SG.M=3SG.M.O=VAL make.s.th.appear.to=3SG.F.O=PRES

'He said "something is missing", and again, he2 presented it to him3.' (39-11-67)
(more literally 'He said "something is missing", and again, he2 made it appear to him3'.)

(9.18-b) \( O=podaki=k=\text{a} \)
3SG.M=make.s.th.appear to=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M at

'He presented it to him.'
(more literally 'He made it appear to him'.)

Here, there are two objects, one which is an original core argument and the other which is introduced by the valency increase, and both objects are cross-referenced on the VP by object clitics. Thus, the two objects are not syntactically distinguished in the valency-increasing construction. However, since the introduced argument cannot be an argument without the valency-increasing construction, the original object is treated as 'normal', that is, 'direct object', and the introduced object is treated as 'added object'.\(^{56}\)

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\(^{56}\) Examples given above may suggest that two objects, an original object and introduced object, are syntactically distinguished: the former is the object of the verb, while the latter is the object of the verbal complex in the valency-increasing construction, and accordingly they are cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the verb and an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker respectively. This is however not always the case. As described below, what motivates for an argument being cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker is affectedness, not the fact of being the introduced argument. This contention is supported by example (9.27-a) below in which the affected argument is the original object and is cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. In this example, the introduced argument, which is not the affected argument, is cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the verb.
The object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker cross-references the argument affected by the event described (see below), and this can be the original object or the introduced object, and the object clitic attached to the verb cross-references whichever is left between the original object and the introduced object.57

The promoted or added argument can be either definite or indefinite. When it is definite, it does not need to be expressed by an NP. In (9.19) below, the promoted argument is definite, and so it is not expressed by an NP in the second clause.

(9.19) Ni ke=noqoe=v=a vo Sito. Maravari
and 3PL=capture=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M Sito Maravari
ke=v=ati saqor=a.
3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL go.down=PRES
‘And then, they captured Sito. They took him down to Maravari.’ (12-8-72–73)

When the argument is indefinite, it has to be expressed by an NP. In (9.20), the added argument ‘a story’ is indefinite and so it is expressed by an NP kala bazubazulao.

(9.20) Vairutu ta anga ta a=v=ai bazu-bazut=o now TOP 1SG TOP 1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL REDUP-tell=NRFUT
kala bazu-bazulao.
INDEF.SG.M REDUP-story
‘Now, I am going to tell a story.’ (24-1-1)

Argument addition does not have any pragmatic effect. Its function is solely to add an argument which cannot be expressed otherwise. Argument promotion, on the other hand, carries a pragmatic effect—the valency-increasing construction focuses upon the affectedness of the introduced argument. Argument promotion however may also be employed without this pragmatic function, as described later in this section.

The affected argument is most often the introduced argument and the affected argument is always cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. Example (9.16-a) above highlights the affectedness of the introduced argument, ‘the father and his daughters’, whom the head hunters reached and captured, as expressed by the clause which follows: ‘[they] held them’. Example (9.16-a) has an intransitive verb, while example (9.18-a) has a transitive verb. In (9.18-a), the valency-increasing construction is employed in order to highlight that the affectedness of the introduced argument ‘him’; he was presented with what he wanted and thus benefited from the described event.

In contrast to the valency-increasing construction which highlights the affectedness of the introduced argument, transitive verbs without the valency-increasing construction highlight the affectedness of (direct) object (see §9.3 above). Compare (9.21-a) to

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57 This is similar to Mandarin examples discussed in Andrews (1985), with ‘the Patient in whose fate one is more interested occupying the ba-marked preverbal position, the less interesting “accessory” Patient the post verbal position’ (1985:121). Andrews then tentatively suggests that Mandarin may be a language with two ‘direct object’ relations.
(9.21-b). Example (9.21-a) with the valency-increasing construction highlights the affectedness of the introduced argument, ‘their son’. This example occurs in a discourse in which the son finds a girl he wants to marry, and so his parents make plans to ask the parents of this girl on his behalf. The son is thus the affected argument. In (9.21-b) without the valency-increasing construction, the affected argument is ‘the parents of the girl’.

(9.21-a) \( \text{Nio \quad \text{qo}=\text{vato-vatol}=\text{ou} \quad \text{tu} \quad \text{qo}=\text{v}=\text{a}} \)
SEQU 3DU=REDUP-plan=FUT IRR 3DU=3SG.M.O=VAL
\( \text{pase}=k=\text{o} \quad \text{nioqa}=\text{vo} \quad \text{megora}... \)
ask=3DU.O=NRFUT 3DU=3SG.M child
‘And then, they will plan to ask [the parents of the girl] on behalf of their son...’
(21-1-4)

(9.21-b) \( \text{Qo}=\text{vato-vatol}=\text{ou} \quad \text{tu} \quad \text{qo}=\text{pase}=k=\text{o} \quad \text{.nioqa}=\text{vo} \)
3DU=REUP-plan=FUT IRR 3DU=ask=3DU.O=NRFUT 3DU=3SG.M
\( \text{megora} \quad \text{kage} \).
child BEN
‘They will plan to ask [the parents of the girl] for him.’

The object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker normally has a human referent, as the affected argument is expected to be a human referent. This can also be a non-human referent, but in such a case it is implied that there is a human referent associated with this non-human referent, and indeed the affected argument is this human referent. In example (9.22) the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker \( k \) (3SG.F) is co-referential with \( \text{koa kolu} \) ‘the smoke’, and thus it is non-human, but ‘smoke’ implies that there is someone who is making this smoke, and the affected argument is this person, not the smoke.

(9.22) \( \ldots \text{ko}=\text{a} \quad \text{kolu} \quad \text{o}=\text{lulue}=k=\text{a} \quad \text{ti} \)
3SG.F=LIG smoke 3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then
\( \text{o}=k=\text{ai} \quad \text{saqor}=\text{a} \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{o}=k=\text{ai} \)
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL go.down=PRES and.then 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL
\( \text{baro}=\text{a} \).
arrive=PRES
‘...he followed the smoke, and he went down to the smoke, and he arrived where the smoke (the girl) is.’ (59-10-91)

An argument can be affected favourably or adversely depending on the event or discourse. In (9.18-a) and (9.21-a) above, an argument is affected favourably. In example (9.23) below, an argument is affected adversely.

(9.23) \( \ldots \text{ko}=\text{be} \quad \text{v}=\text{ai} \quad \text{sipe-sipeit}=\text{a}... \)
3SG.F=CONT 3SG.M.O=VAL REDUP-pass.faeces=PRES
‘...he passed faeces on him...’ (43-5-53)
As discussed above, the valency-increasing construction generally introduces a new core argument, and when the valency-increasing construction promotes a non-argument to a core argument, it usually does this in order to highlight the affectedness of an argument. However, the valency-increasing construction may also be employed so that a non-human referent can be expressed by a pronoun. In such a case, the valency-increasing construction does not carry a function of highlighting affectedness.

In Bilua, when a referent is an active, definite one, it can be expressed by a pronoun. An active human referent can be expressed by a free or bound pronoun. In example (9.24), the pronominal enclitic ə (3SG.M) and the demonstrative ko (3SG.F), which is marked with a comitative postposition sate, have definite referents.

(9.24) ...sainio ə=beta ev=a ko sate.
therefore 3SG.M=CONT stay=PRES 3SG.F COM
‘...therefore he stayed with her there.’ (59-11-94)

There are examples in the data in which a non-human referent is expressed by a free pronoun, but not a free pronoun marked with a postposition. A postpositional phrase functions as an adjunct, and thus a non-human referent cannot be expressed by a free pronoun as an adjunct. Such a referent however can be promoted to a core argument by valency increase, and then it can be expressed by a bound pronoun. In the discourse where example (9.25) occurs, ‘the magic stick’, is an active referent. This has a semantic role of accompaniment in the second clause and is expressed by a bound pronoun, an object clitic k (3SG.F.O), attached to the valency-increasing marker. This cannot be expressed by a free pronoun marked with a postposition as it is non-human. If a postpositional phrase is employed to express this, ‘the magic stick’ has to be expressed by a full NP, koa sikiti ‘the magic stick’ not by a pronoun, which results in a repetition of the same NP. To avoid this, the valency-increasing construction is employed and this allows ‘the magic stick’, which is an adjunct, to be expressed by a pronoun. In example (9.26), ko (3SG.F) is marked with a comitative postposition sate ‘with’ and this can only be human.

(9.25) ...ko=pa teli=k=a ko=a sikiti, ti
3SG.F=PROS dig=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG magic.stick and.then
ko=k=ati o=la...
3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL go=PRES
‘...she went and dug the magic stick, and then she went with it...’ (22-9-37)

(9.26) Ko ol=a ko sate.
3SG.F go=PRES 3SG.F COM
‘She went with her.’

In (9.25), although a non-argument is promoted to an argument by the valency-increasing construction, it does not highlight the affectedness of any argument. As discussed above, it occurs only for the non-human referent to be expressed by a pronoun. Example (9.25) contains an intransitive verb. Below is such an example with a transitive
verb. ‘This story’ in (9.27-a) is an active referent and is expressed by the object clitic attached to the verb \( k \) (3SG.F).

(9.27-a) \( \text{...kömi=}a \quad \text{bazu-bazulao} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{pui} \quad \text{matu} \)  
\( \text{PROX.SG.F=LIG} \quad \text{REDUP-folktale} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{very} \)  
\( \text{tuvevo=}a=ma \quad \text{melai} \quad \text{silo-silo=}a=mu \quad \text{ke=}m=ai \)  
\( \text{true=LIG=3SG.F} \quad \text{but} \quad \text{REDUP-small=LIG=3PL} \quad 3\text{PL=}3\text{PL.O=}\text{VAL} \)  
\( \text{ibue=}k=a, \)  
\( \text{make} \cdot \text{quiet=3SG.F.O=}\text{PRES} \)  
‘...this folktale, it is not very true, but [people] make children quiet with [this story].’ (27-1-1)

Compare now (9.27-b) to (9.27-a).

(9.27-b) \( \text{Ke} \quad \text{ibue=}m=0 \quad \text{silo-silo=}a=mu \quad \text{ko=}a \)  
\( 3\text{PL make} \cdot \text{quiet=3PL=NRFUT} \quad \text{REDUP-small=LIG=3PL} \quad 3\text{SG.F=}LIG \)  
\( \text{bazu-bazulao} \quad \text{kale.} \)  
\( \text{REDUP-folktale} \quad \text{with} \)  
‘They will make the children quiet with this story.’

In both (9.27-a) and (9.27-b), ‘children’ is a core argument. In (9.27-b) this is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the verb. In (9.27-a) it is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. This is because ‘children’ is the affected argument in both examples—in (9.27-a) it is not ‘the story’ that is the affected argument. Both examples highlight the affectedness of the object, ‘children’, and there is no pragmatic difference between (9.27-a) and (9.27-b). Thus, in (9.27-a) the valency-increasing construction is not employed for the purpose of highlighting the affectedness on the ‘children’, as this is already done by the verb, a transitive verb, itself. Similarly to (9.25), the valency-increasing construction here is employed only in order that ‘this story’ can be expressed by a pronoun.

As illustrated above the introduced argument by the valency-increasing marker is always coded as an object, and the increase of the number of core arguments is indicated by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. This object clitic takes the preverbal position. Object clitics attached to verbs, on the other hand, usually take a postverbal position—they immediately follow the verb, but there are exceptions to this. Four verbs, \( kelo \) ‘to see’, \( kovo \) ‘to get’, \( kuo \) ‘to eat’, and \( kio \) ‘to say’, take an object clitic preverbally, but in this case, they are attached to the verb, not to the valency-increasing marker. Thus there are two different preverbal slots for object clitics and these are clearly distinguished from each other. Object clitics attached to the verb are obligatory for the

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58 As noted above, the introduced argument is not always cross-referenced with the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker, and so one can say only that this slot for an object clitic indicates an increase of the valency, and not that this slot is the slot for the added object (introduced argument).
occurrence of the verb, while object clitics attached to the valency-increasing marker are not. These aforementioned four verbs may occur with the valency-increasing construction (see §9.4.1 and §9.4.3).

Each of three valency-increasing markers, a, ai, and ati indicates different semantic roles of an introduced argument as shown in the following table. In other words, the speaker selects one of three valency-increasing markers, a, ai, and ati, depending on what semantic role he/she wants to assign to the introduced argument. The table below also shows whether the introduced argument is a promoted or added one.

Table 9.1: Semantic roles of introduced arguments by valency-increasing markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Markers</th>
<th>Semantic roles</th>
<th>Promotion or addition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>beneficiary (benefactive)</td>
<td>promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>source (ablative)</td>
<td>promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>topic of quotation</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai(^{59})</td>
<td>instrument (comitative)</td>
<td>promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goal (allative)</td>
<td>promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gift</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>topic of speech</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>name</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cause/reason</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>experiencer</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ati</td>
<td>accompaniment (comitative)</td>
<td>promotion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Topic’ of speech means what the subject of the sentence is talking about, while ‘topic’ of quotation means what the subject of the sentence is quoting about.

In the subsequent sections, the semantic roles which each valency-increasing marker indicates are examined: a in §9.4.1, ai in §9.4.2, and ati as in §9.4.3. The valency-increasing marker a can also add an argument with the semantic role of cause/reason or a source, but this requires the co-occurrence of the possessor-raising marker. This is described in §9.4.4. Furthermore, the valency-increasing marker a may also promote an argument with the semantic role of possessor in the possessor-raising construction. This is described in §9.5.

9.4.1 Valency-increasing marker a

The valency-increasing marker a refers to semantic roles of beneficiary, source, and topic of quotation. The first two are examples of argument promotion while the last one is

\(^{59}\) In (9.18-a), the introduced argument is a goal, in other words a recipient. This argument can be interpreted as a beneficiary as he benefits from receiving something.
an example of argument addition. The valency-increasing marker *a* promotes an ablative argument in combination with a transitive motion verb\(^{60}\) and it can add an argument with the semantic role of topic of quotation in combination with the verb *kio* 'to say'. In combination with other verbs than these, *a* promotes a benefactive argument.

**Table 9.2:** Semantic roles of arguments introduced by a valency-increasing marker *a* and verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic roles</th>
<th>Kinds of verbs</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beneficiary (benefactive)</td>
<td>verbs other than below</td>
<td><em>ereko</em> 'to make'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>paseko</em> 'to ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>rabuto</em> 'to weed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>source (ablative)</td>
<td>transitive motion verbs</td>
<td><em>votutiko</em> 'to move'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>sogoeko</em> 'to chase'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topic of quotation</td>
<td>only one verb</td>
<td><em>kio</em> 'to say'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *a* promotes a benefactive and an ablative argument.

(9.28-a) Benefactive

\[ A=v=a \]

\[ 1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL \quad \text{weed}=\text{RCP} \]

'I weeded for him.'

(9.28-b) A=rabut=ala  \[ \text{Joni} \quad \text{kage} \]

\[ 1SG=\text{weed}=\text{RCP} \quad \text{John} \quad \text{BEN} \]

'I weeded for John.'

(9.29-a) Ablative

\[ Ko=m=a \]

\[ 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL \quad \text{move}=3SG.F.O=\text{RCP} \]

'She moved it from them (she moved it away from them).'

(9.29-b) \[ Ko=\text{vatut}i=k=ala \]

\[ 3SG.F.\text{move}=3SG.F.O=\text{RCP} \quad 3PL \quad \text{at} \quad \text{ABL} \]

'She moved it from them (she moved it away from them).'

The verb *kio* 'to say' is a direct speech verb, and the actual words of an utterance are expressed by a juxtaposed independent clause. For example,

(9.30) "*Uri*" \[ k=i=ko=la \]

\[ \text{good} \quad 3SG.F.O=\text{say}=3SG.F=\text{PRES} \]

"‘Good,’ said she.’ (16-1-3)"
With this verb *kio* ‘to say’, the valency-increasing marker *a* introduces an argument which presents the topic of a quotation. When *a* occurs with *kio* ‘to say’, the verb is always marked with a relative clause marker, and this forms a headless relative clause. Both the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker and the relative clause marker agree with the topic argument. The quotation is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the verb.

(9.31) \[ \text{Nio} \quad \text{"Nei} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{ngo} = \text{da} \quad v = a \]

\text{SEQ} \quad \text{PROX.SG.M} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 2\text{SG}=\text{SIT} \quad 3\text{SG.M.O}=\text{VAL}

\[ \text{lupao} = \text{vi} = \text{ni}, \quad \text{a} = \text{da} \quad v = a \]

\text{refuse=RMP=REL.NONF} \quad 1\text{SG}=\text{POSS} \quad 3\text{SG.M}=\text{VAL}

\[ \text{lupao} = \text{va} \quad \text{vo} \quad \text{siele"} \]

\text{refuse=PREM} \quad 3\text{SG.M} \quad \text{dog}

\[ v = a \quad k = i = \text{ngo} = \text{ve} = \text{ni} \quad \text{nio} \]

\text{3SG.M}=\text{VAL} \quad 3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{say}=2\text{SG}=\text{RMP}=\text{REL.NONF} \quad \text{FOC.NONF}

\[ k = i = \text{ko} = \text{la}. \]

\text{3SG.F.O}=\text{say}=3\text{SG.F}=\text{PREM}

‘She said, “this is the one you refused, you said, “I refuse a dog” talking about him.”’ (27-18-114)

(more literally, ‘She said, “this is the one you refused, him about whom you said, “I refuse a dog.”’)

As described in §8.2.2, the verb *kio* ‘to say’ morphologically behaves in a different way from other verbs—a pronominal enclitic which cross-references with the subject follows the verb instead of taking a VP-initial position. Thus, in this example, *ngo* (2SG) cross-references with the subject.

The valency-increasing marker *a* can also occur with a few transitive verbs, *kelo* ‘to see’, *kovo* ‘to get’, and *kwo* ‘to eat’, which take object clitics as proclitics. Bilua object clitics have either a C or CVC structure, and when the object clitic which cross-references the direct object has a CVC structure, VPs headed with the aforementioned verbs obligatorily employ the valency-increasing construction, but the valency-increasing construction here neither promotes nor adds an argument. That is, the number of core arguments does not increase and stays two. The slot for an object clitic preceding the valency-increasing marker is filled by the object clitic in a CVC structure, which cross-references with the direct object. The slot for an object clitic on the verb is always filled with the first person singular object clitic *l*, but this does not have any referent. In the following example, there are three bound pronouns, a pronominal enclitic *a* (1SG), an object clitic *qel* (2DU.O) attached to the valency-increasing marker *a*, and another object clitic *l* (1SG.O) attached to the verb, as underlined. However, there are only two arguments involved: ‘I’, the subject, and ‘you’, the direct object, which are cross-referenced on the VP by *a* (1SG) and *qel* (2DU.O) respectively, and there is no referent of the object clitic *l* (1SG.O). Note that *l* (1SG.O) here has nothing to do with the subject ‘I’—this stays as *l* even when the subject is non-first person singular.
Example (9.32-a) cannot be paraphrased as example (9.32-b), which does not employ the valency-increasing construction. Example (9.32-b) is not grammatical.

(9.32-b) *\( A = ba \) \( gel = el = o \).
\( 1SG = PROS \ 2DU.O = see = NRFUT \)
'I am going to see you.'

When the object clitic that cross-references with the direct object has a C structure, the valency-increasing construction is never employed.

(9.33) \( A = ba \) \( k = el = o \).
\( 1SG = PROS \ 3SG.F.O = see = NRFUT \)
'I am going to see her.'

It is not well understood why the valency-increasing construction has to be employed under the above environment. It may be hypothesised that the valency-increasing construction is employed so that the stress falls on the verb. In Bilua, stress falls on the first syllable of phonological words. Thus, in (9.32-a) in which an object clitic in a CVC structure is attached to a valency-increasing marker, the stress falls on the verb, but in (9.32-b), in which the same object clitic is attached to the verb and which is ungrammatical, it would fall on the object clitic.61

(9.32'-a) \( 'a = ba \) \( 'gel = a \) \( 'l = el = o \).
\( 1SG = PROS \ 2DU.O = VAL \ 1SG.O = see = NRFUT \)
'...I am going to see you...' (21-2-9)

(b) *\( A = ba \) \( 'gel = el = o \).
\( 1SG = PROS \ 2DU.O = see = NRFUT \)
'I am going to see you.'

9.4.2 Valency-increasing marker ai

The valency-increasing marker ai refers to the semantic roles of instrument, goal, topic of speech, cause/reason, gift, name, and stimulus. The first two are examples of argument promotion while the rest are argument addition. In combination with a verb which describes an action, ai promotes an instrumental argument, while in combination with a

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61 This hypothesis itself is based on the assumption that object clitics affect the stress on their host, unlike pronominal proclitics, which do not. Pronominal proclitics, which have either a CV or V structure, do not affect the stress on their host verbs (see §2.6). There is no evidence however that proves this assumption is true, but one may further postulate that a proclitic in a CVC structure, but not a CV or a V structure, may affect stress on the host.
motion verb, it promotes an allative argument. Ai adds arguments with semantic roles of topic of speech and cause/reason, combined with verbs of speech and emotion verbs respectively. Ai adds arguments with semantic roles of gift, name, and stimulus combined with verbs listed in the following table. Ai is often elided to a, especially when it occurs with verbs zario ‘to want/need’ and nianii ‘to know’. Whether a is in fact a or an elided form of ai can be decided from the kind of the verb or from the context.

**Table 9.3:** Semantic roles of arguments introduced by a valency-increasing marker ai and verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic roles (instrumental)</th>
<th>Kinds of verbs</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| instrument                   | verbs which express an action | erekato/ereko ‘to make’  
pazoto/pazoko ‘to hit’  
roeto/roeko ‘to cut’  
tauvezio ‘to help oneself’  
tauvezato/tauveko ‘to help’ |
| goal (allative)              | motion verbs   | zio ‘to go’  
kilo ‘to come’  
vatuto/vatutiko ‘to move’ |
| topic of speech              | verbs of speech | pesio ‘to speak’  
bazuto ‘to tell’  
bazubazekinio ‘to tell each other’ |
| cause/reason                 | emotion verbs  | zialo ‘to cry’  
aqasiele + elo ‘to become surprised’  
duki + elo ‘to become sad’ |
| gift                         | two verbs      | besiekinio ‘replace each other’  
tatabaraa ‘to trade’ |
| name                         | two verbs      | nokaeko ‘to call’  
katiko ‘to give’ |
| stimulus                     | two verbs      | zario ‘to want’  
nianii ‘to know’ |

The valency-increasing marker ai is also employed to mark a strong negation with the verb roveo ‘can’. In the following example, there are two bound pronouns, a (1SG) and k (3SG.F.O), but there is only one argument, ‘I’, involved, and thus there is no referent of the object clitic k (3SG.F.O) attached to the valency-increasing marker. It is not transparent what syntactic/semantic motivation lies behind this use of the valency-increasing marker ai.

(9.34)   \[ \begin{array}{cccc}
Pui & a=ba & k=ai & rove=a & zio. \\
NEG & 1SG=PROS & 3SG.F.O=VAL & can=PRES & goNOM
\end{array} \]

‘I (definitely) cannot go.’
The following two pairs of examples illustrate that \textit{ai} promotes arguments with the semantic roles of instrument and goal.

(9.35-a) Instrumental
\begin{align*}
K_o=v=ai & \quad saqae=v=ala & \quad ko & \quad suma. \\
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL & \quad brush=3SG.F.O=RCP & \quad 3SG.F & \quad \text{cloth}
\end{align*}

\text{‘She brushed (cleaned) him with a cloth.’}

(9.35-b) \(K_o=saqae=v=ala\)
\begin{align*}
sum & \quad kale. \\
3SG.F & \quad brush=3SG.M.O=RCP & \quad \text{cloth} & \quad \text{with}
\end{align*}

\text{‘She brushed (cleaned) him with a cloth.’}

(9.36-a) Allative
\begin{align*}
K_e=nge=ai & \quad kue=vi & \quad enge. \\
3PL & \quad 1PL.EXC.O=VAL & \quad \text{come}=RMP & \quad 1PL.EXC
\end{align*}

\text{‘They came to us.’}

(9.36-b) \(\ldots ege \quad ta \quad qe=kue=va\)
\begin{align*}
ko & \quad ngo \quad kasi. \\
1DU.EXC & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad 1DU.EXC=&\text{come}=\text{PRES} & \quad \text{here} & \quad 2SG & \quad \text{at}
\end{align*}

\text{‘...we came here to you.’ (26-8-44)}

\textit{Ai} may add an argument with a semantic role of gift, something which is transferred from one person to another. In the data, there are two verbs which occur with this semantic role as listed above. In fact, combinations of \textit{ai} with these two verbs are considered to form one lexical entry.

(9.37-a) Gift
\begin{align*}
Nge=q=ai & \quad tatabaraov=ou & \quad maketi & \quad kale. \\
1PL.EXC & \quad 3SG.F.O=VAL & \quad \text{pay}=\text{FUT} & \quad \text{market} & \quad \text{in}
\end{align*}

\text{‘We will sell it in a market.’}

(9.37-b) \(Nge=databaraov=ou.\)
\begin{align*}
1PL.EXC & \quad \text{pay}=\text{FUT}
\end{align*}

\text{‘We will pay.’}

(9.38-a) Gift
\begin{align*}
Melai & \quad ko=a & \quad sailao & \quad ikio & \quad ke=k=ai \\
\text{but} & \quad 3SG.F=LIG & \quad \text{food} & \quad \text{FOC.F} & \quad 3PL & \quad 3SG.F.O=VAL
\end{align*}

\textit{besi-besi-kini}=ou.
\text{REDUP-replace-RECP=FUT}

\text{‘But they will exchange the food between them.’ (21-4-23)}

(9.38-b) \(\ldots kubo \quad \text{missionary} \quad poso \quad ta \quad ke=basi-besi-kini=a\)
\begin{align*}
\text{many} & \quad \text{missionary} & \quad \text{PL.M} & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad 3PL & \quad \text{REDUP-replace-RECP=PRES}
\end{align*}

\textit{Sabora.}
\text{Sabora}

\text{‘...many missionaries replaced each other in Sabora.’ (10-14-117)}
In the above two pairs of examples, the meaning of the verb used with the valency-increasing marker is not so transparent. Unlike other examples given above, there is a modification of the meaning of the verb. In (9.37-b), the verb *tatabaraao* means ‘to pay’ but when this occurs with *ai* as in (9.37-a), this means ‘to sell.’ In (9.38-b), *besiekinio* means ‘to replace each other’ and when this verb occurs with *ai* as in (9.38-a), it means ‘to exchange between them’. Thus, it could be said that *ai tatabaraao* and *ai besiekinio* form one lexical entry.

With two verbs listed above, *ai* adds an argument with the semantic role of name.

(9.39-a) Name

\[
\begin{align*}
A & = ai \\
1SG & = 3SG.M.O = VAL \\
n & = 3SG.F.O = RCP \\
3SG.F & = name \\
3SG.M & = John \\
\text{second object} & \text{added object}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I gave him the name “John”.’

(9.39-b) \[A = qati = v = ala \]

ko ngi.

1SG = give = 3SG.M.O = RCP 3SG.F name

‘I gave him a name (I named him).’

The verb *katiko* ‘to give’ is a ditransitive verb and so example (9.39-a) has a valency of four. The subject, direct object, and the added object are cross-referenced by the pronominal clitic *a* (1SG), the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker *v* (3SG.M.O), and the object clitic *k* (3SG.F.O) attached to the verb respectively. The argument ‘the name’ is the second object and is not cross-referenced on the VP. In this example, both second and added objects are further expressed by NPs. Among three ditransitive verbs in Bilua, only *katiko* ‘to give’ can occur with the valency-increasing construction.

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *ai* adds arguments with semantic roles of topic of speech and a cause/reason.

(9.40-a) Topic of speech

\[
\begin{align*}
Komi & = a \\
PROX.SG.F & = LIG \\
taku & = time \\
1SG & = in \\
ga & = a \\
学期 & = 1SG \\
anga & = TOP \\
ta & = 3SG.F.O = VAL \\
\text{zari} & = a \\
k = ai \\
\text{pesi} & = o \\
ko = paloa & = a = ko \\
taku & = taku \\
want & = PRES \\
3SG.F.O & = VAL \\
\text{speak} & = NOM \\
3SG.F & = pass = PRES = 3SG.F \\
time & = time
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{keru} & = a = ma \\
\text{saev} & = o. \\
\text{TEMP} & = LIG = 3SG.F \\
\text{survive} & = NOM \\
\text{‘I want to speak about the life in the past.’} & (64-1-1)
\end{align*}
\]

(9.40-b) \[V = a \\
2SG.M & = LIG \\
\text{idol} & = FOC/NONF \\
3SG.M & = SIT \\
\text{peisi} & = a... \\
3SG & = 3SG.M = SIT \\
\text{peisi} & = a... \\
\text{peisi} & = a...
\]

‘It was the idol that spoke...’ (39-8-52)

---

62 They do however share some meaning—‘to sell’ and ‘to pay’ share the meaning ‘trading’.
(9.41-a) Cause/reason

\[ A=v=ai \quad zia=la. \]
\[ 1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL \quad cry=RCP \]
'I cried because of him (for example, because my father went away and I am sad).'

(9.41-b) \[ O=ta \quad zi=a. \]
\[ 3SG.M=SIT \quad cry=PRES \]
'He is crying.'

Note that with a few emotion verbs, a cause or a reason is introduced by a combination of a valency-increasing marker \( a \) and the possessor-raising marker \( ta \). See §9.4.4 below.

Two intransitive verbs \( zario \) 'to want/need' and \( nianiiio \) 'to know' never occur without \( ai \), and thus \( ai \) plus \( zario \) 'to want/need' or \( nianiiio \) 'to know' each form one lexical entry. With these verbs, \( ai \) signals the presence of an argument with the semantic role of stimulus.

(9.42) \[ ...ke=v=ai \quad matu \quad zari=a \quad rorot=o \quad vo \]
\[ 3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL \quad very \quad want=PRES \quad marry=NOM \quad 3SG.M \]

\( Koro-koroqanisi. \)
\( REDUP-Korokoroqanisi \)
'...they wanted to marry Korokoroqanisi very much.' (39-12-82)

(9.43) \[ A=v=ai \quad nianii=a. \]
\[ 1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL \quad know=PRES \]
'I know him.'

### 9.4.3 Valency-increasing marker \( ati \)

The valency-increasing marker \( ati \) indicates the semantic role of accompaniment or addressee, the person someone is speaking with.\(^63\) It always promotes a comitative argument.

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\(^63\) An observant reader may wonder whether the valency-increasing marker \( ati \) is related to a verb \( katiko \) 'to give'. There is no evidence however to support this contention. The verb initial \( k \) of \( katiko \) is a part of the verb and not the default form of an object clitic \( k \) (3SG.F.O)—\( katiko \) is segmented as \( kati=k=o \) (give=3SG.F.O=NOM) not \( *k=ati=k=o \) (3SG.F.O=give=3SG.F.O=NOM).
### Table 9.4: Semantic role of arguments introduced by the valency-increasing marker *ati* and verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic roles</th>
<th>Kinds of verbs</th>
<th>Examples of verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>accompaniment</td>
<td>any kinds</td>
<td><em>vinaeko</em> ‘to tie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>addressee (comitative)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>rokasiko</em> ‘to tear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>kailo</em> ‘to go up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>zulao</em> ‘to play’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>kio</em> ‘to say’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *ati* promotes a comitative argument.

(9.44-a) Comitative (accompaniment)

\[ ...o=k=ati \]
\[ saqor=a. \]
\[ 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL \]
\[ go.down=PRES \]
\[ ‘...he went down with her (he took her down).’ (48-4-37) \]

(9.44-b) \[ Ke=saqor=a \]
\[ vo \]
\[ sate. \]
\[ 3PL=go.down=PRES \]
\[ 3SG.M \]
\[ COM \]
\[ ‘They went down with him.’ \]

(9.45-a) Comitative (accompaniment)

\[ ...ko=v=ati \]
\[ roka-rokasi=k=a... \]
\[ 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL \]
\[ REDUP-tear=3SG.F.O=PRES \]
\[ ‘...[the devil] tore [the house] with him in it...’ (43-5-53) \]

(9.45-b) \[ Ko=roka-rokasi=k=a \]
\[ vo \]
\[ sate. \]
\[ 3SG.F=REDUP-tear=3SG.F.O=PRES \]
\[ 3SG.M \]
\[ COM \]
\[ ‘[The devil] torn [the house] with him.’ \]

In (9.45-b), in which the comitative argument is expressed by a postpositional phrase, it would be unclear, without a context, whether ‘he’ accompanies ‘the devil’ or ‘the house’.

Two motion verbs *zio* ‘to go’ and *kilo* ‘to come’, in combination with *ati*, can be translated as ‘to take’ and ‘to bring’ respectively.

(9.46) \[ ...se \]
\[ ta \]
\[ ke=v=ati \]
\[ ol=a \]
\[ Fiji. \]
\[ 3PL \]
\[ TOP \]
\[ 3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL \]
\[ go=PRES \]
\[ Fiji \]
\[ ‘...they took him to Fiji.’ (12-8-78) \]

(9.47) \[ Kama \]
\[ rekorusu \]
\[ ta \]
\[ ke=k=ati \]
\[ kue=la. \]
\[ INDEF.SG.F \]
\[ girl \]
\[ TOP \]
\[ 3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL \]
\[ come=RCP \]
\[ ‘They brought a girl.’ (25-7-51) \]

With the verb *kio* to ‘say’, the promoted argument can be treated as having the semantic role of addressee—the person who the subject is speaking with can be treated as an addressee.
(9.48-a) Comitative (addressee)

...nio  se  ta  eri  v=ati
          and.then  3PL  TOP  s.th.like.this  3SG.M.O=VAL

k=i=ke=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3PL=PRES
‘...and then they say to him something like this.’ (25-7-50)

(9.48-b) Ni  omadeu  taku  kurou  ta  eri
          and one time pigeon  TOP  s.th.like.this

k=i=o=la  kobaka  kasi.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES  snail  at
‘And, once (one day), the pigeon told the snail something like this.’
(15-1-3)

A combination of the verb jouro ‘to jump’ and ati has an unpredictable meaning, ‘to follow’.

9.4.4 Valency-increasing marker a with ta

The valency-increasing marker a can promote an argument with the semantic role of source in combination with an intransitive motion verb, while it adds an argument with a semantic role of cause/reason with some verbs of cognition. However this requires a co-occurrence of the possessor-raising marker ta.

Table 9.5: Semantic roles of arguments introduced by the valency-increasing marker a in combination with ta and verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic roles</th>
<th>Kinds of verbs</th>
<th>Examples of verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>source</td>
<td>intransitive motion verbs</td>
<td>soqoilo ‘to run away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zio ‘to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kilo ‘to come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cause/reason</td>
<td>some verbs of cognition including emotion verbs</td>
<td>ngalo ‘to be frightened’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lupao ‘to refuse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ukaka + elo ‘to be careless’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example,

(9.49-a) Source

Me=da  v=a  soqoilo=ou.
1PL.INC=POSS  3SG.M.O=VAL  run.away=FUT
‘We will run away from him.’
Valency and transitivity

(9.49-b)  
Me=soqoi=ou  
vo  kasi  azo. 
1PL.INC=run.away=FUT  3SG.M  at  ABL
'We will run away from him.'

(9.50-a)  
Cause/reason  
...o=ta  v=a  nga=va  vo  qili...
3SG.M=POSS  3SG.M.O=VAL  be.frightened=PRES  3SG.M  giant
'...he is frightened of the giant...' (48-3-28)

(9.50-b)  
O=ta  nga=va.
3SG.M=SIT  be.frightened=PRES
'He is frightened.'

Note that *ta* here cannot be treated as the situation-change marker. This is because the situation-change marker *ta* cannot occur with a valency-increasing marker (see §9.6). This is further demonstrated by the fact that such a sentence can have the negation marker. The situation-change marker never occurs with the negation marker (see §8.5.3), but the possessor-raising marker can.

(9.51)  
Pui  o=ta  k=a  soqoi=va.
NEG  3SG.M=POSS  3SG.F.O=VAL  run.away=PRES
'He didn’t run away from her.'

(9.52)  
Pui  a=da  k=a  nga=va.
NEG  1SG=POSS  3SG.F.O=VAL  be.frightened=PRES
'I am not frightened by her.'

Thus *ta* here is the possessor-raising marker. The possessor-raising marker usually indicates that one of the arguments has a possessor relation to another argument (see §9.5). The possessor-raising marker here however does not have such a function. For example, (9.49-a) does not mean that ‘we’ and ‘him’ are in a possessor–possessee relationship. An occurrence of the possessor-raising marker here is simply due to the fact that the valency-increasing marker *a* requires the slot for the possessor-raising marker to be filled. As discussed in §8.2.1, both the possessor-raising and valency-increasing markers are constituents of a preverbal complex. This complex contains five slots which can be filled with certain kinds of morphemes. Valency-increasing markers always require the slot for object clitics to be filled, and when the valency-increasing marker *a* occurs with the function described in this section, it also requires another slot, one which precedes the slot for object clitics, to be filled. This is the slot for the possessor-raising marker. It is because of this that *ta*, the possessor-raising marker, occurs here.

9.5 Possessor-raising construction

A possessor-raising construction is defined as:
[a] construction in which a semantic Possessor-possessed relation is expressed via coding the Possessor as a core grammatical relation of the verb, regardless of whether it is expressed as subject, direct object, or indirect object. (Payne 1997:395)

A Bilua possessor-raising construction consists of the possessor-raising marker *ta* and one of the valency-increasing markers attached with an object clitic. The valency-increasing marker here always promotes an argument. This argument is viewed as being in a possessor–possessee relationship, and the person/number/gender of the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker agrees with the person/number/gender of the possessor. Pragmatically, the possessor-raising construction indicates that the possessor is affected by an event involved with the possessee. Accordingly, the possessee can only be in an inalienable relationship with the possessor (see §4.3 for nouns which can be inalienably possessed).

Example (9.53-b) has two core arguments, ‘they’ and ‘trees’, which are cross-referenced on the VP by *ke* (3PL) and *k* (3SG.F.O) respectively. In this example, ‘his chainsaw’ is not an argument, as clearly indicated by a comitative postposition marking the NP **vo=ko chainsaw** (3SG.M=3sg chainsaw), and it is not cross-referenced on the VP. In (9.53-a) ‘his chainsaw’ is promoted to a core argument by the valency-increasing marker *ai*. The object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker agrees with the possessor ‘his’, rather than with the promoted argument itself ‘his chainsaw’, and is thus realised as **v** (3SG.M). The possessee alone is expressed by the NP **ko=a chainsaw** (3SG.F=LIG chainsaw). Thus, in (9.53-a) the argument ‘his chainsaw’ is expressed by a combination of the object clitic and the NP. This example expresses that the possessor ‘his’ is affected by an event of their cutting trees with the chainsaw, which belongs to him. Note that a chainsaw has a special significance for Vella La Vella island people and thus can be an inalienably possessed noun.

(9.53-a) \[Ke=ta \quad v=ai \quad kobue=k=ala \quad ko=a\]
\[3PL=POSS \quad 3SG.M.O=VAL \quad cut=3SG.F.O=RCP \quad 3SG.F=LIG\]

chainsaw.
chainsaw
‘They cut [trees] with his chainsaw.’

(9.53-b) \[Ke=kobue=k=ala \quad vo=ko \quad chainsaw \quad kale.\]
\[3PL=cut=3SG.F.O=RCP \quad 3SG.M=3SG.F \quad chainsaw \quad with\]
‘They cut [trees] with his chainsaw.’

In (9.53-a), the possessor ‘his’ and the possessee ‘chainsaw’ cannot be treated as separate arguments. If that were the case, it would mean that there are four arguments in this example, ‘they’, ‘trees’, ‘his’, and ‘chainsaw’ and accordingly there should be four bound pronouns, agreeing with each of these four arguments. However, there are only three bound pronouns indicating there are only three arguments, which are ‘they’, ‘tree’, and ‘his chainsaw’.

In (9.53-a), the valency-increasing marker *ai* introduces an argument with the semantic role of instrument. In combination with the possessor-raising marker, the valency-increasing marker *a* always introduces an argument with the semantic role of possessor.
The comparison between (9.54-a) and (9.54-b) illustrates that in (9.54-a) the ‘his’ alone is the introduced argument, and ‘all rubbish’ is the original object. These two arguments are in a possessor—possessee relationship. Notice that unlike in (9.53-a), in (9.54-a) the possessor and the possessee do not form a single argument. Thus, there are three core arguments in (9.54-a): the subject, ‘she’, the object, ‘all rubbish’, and the added object ‘he/his’. In this example, the possessee ‘all rubbish’ is treated as a body part of the possessor, as the rubbish is in the mouth of the possessor—the brother-in-law of the possessor put the rubbish in his mouth and sealed the mouth.

(9.54-a) ...ko=ta v=a ngamu=k=a kiada=ma
3SG.F=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL throw.away=3SG.F.O=PRES all=3SG.F
voti-voti...
REDUP-rubbish
‘...she threw away all his rubbish...’ (39-5-36)

(9.54-b) Ko=ngamu=k=a kiada=ma voti-voti.
3SG.F=throw.away=3SG.F.O=PRES all=3SG.F REDUP-rubbish
‘She threw away all rubbish.’

The following is another example in which the introduced argument has the semantic role of possessor and the possessor and the possessee do not constitute one argument. In this example, the verb is intransitive, but there are two core arguments—‘my’ and ‘the son’—because of the valency increase. Example (9.55-a) expresses that the possessor, the mother, will be distressed if the possessee, the son, dies.

(9.55-a) “Koe o=ta l=a vouv=ou vo=a meqora”,
INTJ 3SG.M=POSS 1SG.O=VAL die=FUT 3SG.M=LIG child
“‘Oh, my son will die on me.’” (27-9-56)

(9.55-b) “O=vouv=ou vo=a meqora”.
3SG.M=die=FUT 3SG.M=LIG child
“‘The son will die.’”

The possessor-raising marker ta can occur with any valency-increasing markers. The following is an example with ati. In example (9.56), there are two core arguments, the original argument, the subject, ‘they’, and the introduced argument, the object, ‘his boot’, with the semantic role of accompaniment. The object clitic agrees with the possessor ‘his’.

(9.56) ...ke=ta v=ati soqoi=va.
3PL=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL run.away=PRES
‘...they ran away with his [boots].’ (16-6-77)

With a possessor-raising construction, ‘the Possessor may or may not be simultaneously expressed by a pronoun, clitic, or affix internal to the NP which contains the possessed item’ (Payne 1997:395). In example (9.57), the possessor is expressed by a bound pronoun, a possessor marker, in the NP o=loilo (3SG.M=face) ‘his face’, in which
‘face’ is the possessee. This NP is a direct type of a possessive NP (see §7.3 for structures of possessive NPs).

(9.57) \[ ...ko=ta \quad v=ai \quad sivoez=a \quad o=loilo... \]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
3SG.F=POSS & 3SG.M.O=VAL & urinate=PRES & 3SG.M=face \\
\end{array}
\]
‘...she urinated on his face...’ (43-5-53)

9.6 Summary

In the sections above, the valency of verbs and valency-changing mechanisms in Bilua were described. The valency-increasing construction functions to introduce a new core argument. With argument promotion, affectedness of one of the arguments, often the introduced argument, is highlighted, and the affected argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. The valency-increasing construction may also be employed so that a non-human referent can be expressed by a pronoun. Here, it promotes a non-argument to a core argument but it does not function to highlight the affectedness of an argument.

Valency-increasing markers do not occur with the situation-change marker ta (see §8.5.3. This is because ta highlights the change of situation instead of the affectedness of an argument. One clause cannot highlight both. That is, there is complementary distribution here; the situation-change marker ta highlights the change of situation, while valency-increasing markers highlight the affectedness of an argument. Example (9.58) below highlights the new situation that the war is here, and thus it has the situation-change marker.

(9.58) \[ ...ko=a \quad kana\ ta\ lula\ ko=ta\ amaqe=la\ anime \]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
3SG.F=LIG & war & TOP & already & 3SG.F=SIT & enter=RCP & 1PL.INC \\
\end{array}
\]
\[ \text{kasi...} \]
\[ \text{at} \]
\[ \text{‘...the war has already entered into our area...’} \] (22-7-30)

When the sentence is one that highlights the affectedness of an argument, it will be one in the valency-increasing construction.

(9.59) \[ Ko=a \quad kana\ ta\ lula\ ko=m=ai\ amaqe=a. \]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
3SG.F=LIG & war & TOP & already & 3SG.F=1PL.O=VAL & enter=PRES \\
\end{array}
\]
\[ \text{‘The war has already entered into our area (the war has already come to us).’} \]

Transitive verbs on their own highlight the affectedness of an argument with the semantic role of patient, while intransitive/transitive verbs accompanied by a valency-increasing marker can highlight the affectedness of an argument with various other kinds of semantic role. A valency-increasing marker may co-occur with the possessor-raising marker, and this highlights the affectedness of a participant with the semantic role of possessor.

This concludes the description of valency and transitivity in Bilua. The next chapter deals with adjuncts.
10 Adjuncts

10.1 Postpositional phrases

This chapter presents a description of adjuncts, but first a brief description of postpositional phrases (PPs) is presented, as PPs typically function as adjuncts and there is no chapter/section which deals with a description of PPs elsewhere in this work.

The head of a postpositional phrase is a postposition, and this governs an NP or a locational/temporal phrase (see below). Postpositions in Bilua are as follows, repeated from §5.7. There is also a complex postposition of reason *kale avo* ‘because of’.

locative \( kasi \) and \( kale \)

vicinity \( vasi \)

ablative \( azo \)

temporal \( keru \)

comitative \( sate \)

benefactive \( kaqe \)

privative \( pide \)

similative \( jari \)

Two locative postpositions, \( kasi \) and \( kale \), are also realised as \( asi \) and \( ale \). In the data \( asi \) occurs only when it follows a noun *pade* ‘house’ or a pronominal enclitic *mu*, but *kasi* can also follow these. Therefore, *kasi* is considered to be the basic form. Both *kale* and *ale*, on the other hand, occur with any nouns. Furthermore, *kale/ale* may also be realised as a clitic *le* when the preceding word ends with *a* or when it follows a nominalised verb.

\( (10.1) \quad ...a=qaka=ko \quad lezu \quad melai \quad ikoana \quad ko=a \)

1SG=elder.sibling=3SG.F head too EXT.SG.F 3SG.F=LIG

\( mola=le, \)

canoe=in

‘...my older sister’s head too was on the canoe.’ (25-5-36)

It is not the case, however, that *le* is always chosen after a word ending with *a* or a nominalised verb. Sometimes when the preceding word ends with *a*, *kale* is used, but never *ale*, or when the preceding word is a nominalised verb, both *kale* and *ale* can be used. There appears to be no criterion which determines which of *kale* and *ale* is the basic form. However, since *kasi* is considered to be the basic form between *kasi* and *asi*, one might say that between *kale* and *ale*, *kale* is the basic form.
The ablative postposition *azo* and the postposition of vicinity *vasi* are distinguished from all other postposition, which can only govern NPs. *Azo* can govern any temporal and locational phrase, while *vasi* can govern any locational phrase. Temporal and locational phrases can be a PP headed with a locative postposition, a temporal/locational adverb, or a temporal/locational NP (see §10.3 and §10.4). A PP headed with *vasi* itself is also a locational phrase.

PPs headed with all postpositions except simulative *jari* ‘like’ can function as adjuncts, as described below. PPs headed with *jari* can function as complements of the verb *iko* ‘to cause’ (see §8.7.3) or a non-verbal predicate (see §11.2). The word *jari* can also function as a general modifier (see §10.10 below). A PP may also function as an NP modifier (see §7.2.1.3.1).

10.2 Introduction

As defined in §3.2.2, adjuncts are peripheral components of clauses, and they take the form of an NP, a PP, an adverb, the negation marker, a general modifier, or an adverbial clause. This chapter presents a description of NPs, PPs, adverbs, and general modifiers as adjuncts. The negation marker is described in §3.2.2 and §11.5. Adverbal clauses are described in §12.4.

Bilua adjuncts can be divided into different semantic types. The following table sets out different semantic types of adjuncts in Bilua and constituents which can function as each semantic type.

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It may be postulated that the morpheme *jari* is categorised as just a general modifier, and not as a postposition as well. The following example, however, illustrates that *jari* can govern an NP and can also be a postposition. In this example, *jari* governs an NP *ngo*=ko *zaloni* ‘your ornament’, and the postpositional phrase *ngo*=ko *zaloni jari* ‘your ornament-like’ functions as a modifier in a modifier phrase. This modifier phrase modifies the head of the NP *zaloni* ‘decoration’.

```
[[ngo=ko zaloni]NP jari]PP=a=ma zaloni
2SG=3SG.F ornament SIM=LIG=3SG.F ornament
'ornaments like your ornaments'
```
### Table 10.1: Semantic types of adjuncts and constituents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic types of adjuncts</th>
<th>Constituents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| locational                | • locational adverbs  
                            |   • NPs headed with a locational noun  
                            |   • PPs headed with kasi, kale, or vasi  |
| temporal                  | • NPs headed with a temporal noun  
                            |   • PPs headed with kale, keru  
                            |   • temporal adverbs  |
| ablative                  | • PPs headed with azo  
                            |   • manner adverbs  
                            |   • linking adverbials  
                            |   • circumstantial adverbs  |
| manner                    | • general modifier pala 'only'  
                            |   • general modifier jari 'something like'  
                            |   • PPs headed with kale  
                            |   • PPs headed with kale  
                            |   • PPs headed with sate  
                            |   • PPs headed with pide  
                            |   • PPs headed with kage  
                            |   • PPs headed with kale avo  |
| linking                   |              |
| circumstantial            |              |
| restrictive               |              |
| simulative                |              |
| simultaneous              |              |
| instrumental              |              |
| comitative                |              |
| privative                 |              |
| benefactive               |              |
| reason                    |              |

Each semantic type of adjuncts is described below. One clause may have more than two adjuncts, and these occur in a certain order. The order of adjuncts is also described below.

### 10.3 Locational

Locational adjuncts can be a locational adverb, an NP headed with a locational noun, or a PP headed with a postposition kasi 'at', kale 'in', or vasi 'adjacent to'. These constituents are referred to as locational phrases, and they can all be the predicate of a locational clause as well (see §11.3).

As set out in §4.3, open subclasses of nouns are divided into two types: locational nouns and non-locational nouns. An NP headed with a locational noun can function as a locational adjunct by itself, while an NP headed with a non-locational noun requires a postposition in order to function as a locational adjunct.
10.3.1 Locational adverbs

Locational adverbs, two deictic adverbs *koi* ‘here’ and *sai* ‘there’, and an indefinite locational adverb *uki* ‘somewhere there’, and a distance adverb *vanga* ‘far’, function as locational adjuncts.

(10.2)  
*Se ta ke=pazo-kin=e sai.*  
3PL TOP 3PL:hit-RECP=RMP there  
‘They fought there.’ (12-9-85)

(10.3)  
*“Uki nio ngo=ba tare=k=ou... somewhere there FOC.NONF 2SG=PROS wait=3SG.F.O=FUT*  
‘“Somewhere there you will go and wait...’ (2-5-31)

(10.4)  
*Qo=ta ol=a vanga...*  
3DU=SIT go=PRES far  
‘The two went far...’ (59-6-47)

The word *koi* also functions as a locational noun meaning ‘place’ (see next section). Unlike *koi* ‘place’ as a noun, *koi* ‘here’ as a deictic adverb cannot be the head of an NP and forms a phrase on its own. Thus, unlike a noun *koi* ‘place’ it cannot co-occur with an optional constituent of NPs. In example (10.5) *koi* can only be treated as a noun, ‘place’, as it is modified by a modifier phrase. *Koi* in example (10.6) on the other hand can only be treated as an adverb ‘here’ — treating it as a noun results in a semantic idiosyncrasy.

(10.5)  
*...sai ta ile-ile=a koi...*  
there TOP REDUP-beautiful=LIG place  
‘...that was a beautiful place...’(26-12-68)  
‘*...that was a beautiful here...’

(10.6)  
*Anga ta koi.*  
1SG TOP here  
‘I am here.’  
‘*I am place.’

10.3.2 Locational NPs

An NP headed with a locational noun, that is a placename, a relational noun, or the noun *koi* ‘place’, can function as a locational adjunct.

(10.7) NP headed with a placename  
*...vo ta o=vou=vi sai Fiji.*  
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=die=RMP there Fiji  
‘...he, he died there in Fiji.’ (12-8-80)
(10.8) NP headed with a relational noun

...o=koi=a ko=a okate.
3SG.M=climb=PRES 3SG.F=LIG high‘...he climbed that high (high up on the tree).’ (48-3-26)

(10.9) NP headed with koi ‘place’

...se ta ke=vaq=k=ake kiada=ma piza omadeu
3PL TOP 3PL=leave=3SG.M.O=HIST all=3SG.F bone one

koi.

place‘...they left all bones at one place.’ (26-24-131)

10.3.3 Locational PPs

A PP headed with a postposition, kasi, kale, or vasi functions as a locational adjunct. Kasi and kale are locative postpositions, and vasi is a postposition of vicinity. Kale can mark not only a spatial location but also a temporal location. Thus, a PP headed with kale can also function as a temporal adjunct (see §10.4.3). It can also function as an adjunct which presents a simultaneous situation, or as an instrumental adjunct (see §10.11 and §10.12).65

Kasi and kale only govern an NP headed with a non-locational noun. Vasi ‘adjacent to’, on the other hand, governs any locational phrase—a PP headed with kasi or kale, a locational NP, or a locational adverb.

10.3.3.1 Kasi ‘at’ and kale ‘in’

Each of kasi ‘at’ and kale ‘in’ governs NPs headed with certain kinds of non-locational nouns. Kasi can govern an NP headed with a personal name, a kinship term, an independent pronoun, a demonstrative, or a human common noun. That is, it governs an NP which has a human referent. Kasi can also govern an NP headed with a concrete common noun such as kitu ‘leg’ and ore ‘tree’.

(10.10) Personal name

Hilda kasi a ev=e.

Hilda at 1SG stay=RMP

‘I stayed at Hilda’s.’

(10.11) Kinship term

Anige ta lea ta qe=pa barol=o
1DU.INC TOP tomorrow TOP 1DU.INC=PROS arrive=NRFUT

65 Manner adverbs appear to have originated in postpositional phrases headed with le, a contracted form of kale. This is discussed in §5.2.
anga=ko mama ni niania kasi saita.
1SG=3SG.F father and mother at first
‘We, tomorrow, we will reach my father and mother, first.’ (27-17-104)

(10.12) Independent pronoun
...koi ngo kasi a=da raneo=vou.
here 2SG at 1SG=SIT sleep.overnight=FUT
‘...here at your place I will sleep overnight.’ (59-11-90)

(10.13) Demonstrative
A=da rane=la vo kasi.
1SG=SIT sleep.overnight=RCP 3SG.M at
‘slept overnight at his place.’

(10.14) Human common noun
...pui qe=runurakao=vou maba madu kasi...
NEG 3DU=relax=FUT person COLL.PL at
‘...you will not relax at/with people...’ (27-21-131)

(10.15) Non-spatial common noun
...ko=kue=va ko niiniu vo=ko potu=a=ma
3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F fish 3SG.M=3SG.F wound=LIG=3SG.F
kiti kasi.
leg at
‘...fish came to his wounded leg.’ (24-6-69)

Kale can govern an NP which has a large area as a referent; that is, an NP whose head is peuru ‘village/home town’, udu ‘island’, toupa ‘lake’, or siqo ‘bush’. It can also be an NP whose head is an abstract noun such as kerukeru ‘thought’. An abstract noun can be a de-adjectival noun such as tapata ‘hardship’ and duki ‘sad’, or a nominalised verb such as pazokinio ‘fight’ and saevo ‘life’.

(10.16) Common noun of large area
Vo ta o=beta papu=a toupa kale...
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES lake in
‘He was sitting in a lake...’ (24-5-62)

(10.17) Abstract common noun
Ango=ko keru-keru kale anga ta
1SG=3SG.F REDUP-thought in 1SG TOP
a=geru-kerue=k=a.
1SG=REDUP-think=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘In my thinking, I thought about it.’ (12-9-86)

(10.18) Abstract common noun (de-adjectival noun)
Vo ta o=vae=m=ake duki kale
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=leave=3PL.O=HIST sadness in
o=tou-tou    ni    o=megorasadidi.
3SG.M=REDUP-tribe and 3SG.M=family

'He left his tribe and his family in sadness.' (23-3-35)

(10.19) Abstract common noun (nominalised verb)

\[ Nge \quad elo=u \quad enge=ko \quad saev=o \quad kale. \]
1PL.EXC stay=FUT 1PL.EXC=3SG.F survive=NOM in

'We will stay in our life.' (64-4-24)

In examples (10.11) and (10.15) above and also (10.22) and (10.23) below, the entity marked with a locative postposition is a goal. This interpretation is due to the semantics of their respective verbs; goals are part of the semantic representation of verbs.

NPs headed with a noun which refers to a small area, such as kiaro ‘garden’ or a three dimensional space (a building or a container), such as pade ‘house’ and sope ‘shrine’, can be the object of both kasi and kale.

(10.20) Common noun of three dimensional place (building) with kasi ‘at’

\[ ...go=baro=a \quad ke=pade \quad kasi... \]
3DU=arrive=PRES 3PL=house at

‘...they arrived at their house...’ (24-4-35)

(10.21) Common noun of three dimensional place (building) with kale ‘in’

\[ ...o=beta \quad butai=va \quad inio \quad pade \quad kale... \]
3SG.M=CONT hide=PRES FOC.NONF house in

‘...he kept hiding in the house...’ (59-6-45)

(10.22) Common noun of small area with kasi ‘at’

\[ ...niania=ka=ma \quad ko \quad ol=a \quad kiaro \quad kasi... \]
mother=LG=3SG.F 3SG.F go=PRES garden at

‘...the mother went to the garden...’ (27-2-13)

(10.23) Common noun of small area with kale ‘in’

\[ ...aniqe \quad ta \quad qe \quad ol=a \quad kiaro \quad ale. \]
1DU.INC TOP 1DU.INC go=PRES garden in

‘...we went to the garden,’ (39-1-4)

Notice that in (10.22) and (10.23), an NP headed with kiaro ‘garden’ is marked with kasi ‘at’ and kale ‘in’ respectively, and it expresses a goal of the same verb zio ‘to go’ in both examples. Example (10.23) does not mean that the subject went ‘into’ the garden. The postpositional phrase simply indicates a goal.66

The distributions of kasi and kale are summarised in the following table.

---

66 There may be a subtle semantic difference here, but the author has not been able to find it from the data or elicitation.
Table 10.2: Distribution of kasi and kale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of head of NP</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type I</td>
<td>kasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• person names</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• kinship terms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• demonstratives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• human common nouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• non-spatial concrete common nouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type II</td>
<td>kale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• common nouns of large area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• abstract common nouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(including de-adjectival nouns and nominalised verbs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type III</td>
<td>kasi and kale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• common nouns of small area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• common nouns of three dimensional place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(buildings and containers)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With speech verbs, a locative PP headed with kasi ‘at’ presents an addressee. Thus, kasi can also mark an entity with the semantic role of addressee.

(10.24) \(Qe=kil=ou \quad nio \quad qe=tauve=l=ou\)
2DU=come=FUT SEQ 2DU=help=1SG=FUT

\[k=i=koe \quad ko=ko \quad meqora \quad kasi.\]
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP 3SG.F=3SG.F child at

"You will come and help me", she said to her daughter." (27-20-122)

When the predicate implies an entry, kale can be interpreted as ‘into’, as in the following example.

(10.25) ...\(o=pa \quad raibi=k=a \quad ko=a \quad duruo \quad kale.\)
3SG.M=PROS pour=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG string bag in

‘...he went and poured them into a string bag.’ (2-4-22)

Kale can also mean ‘on (top of)’ or indicate physical contact, and kale can then co-occur with nouns of Type I as well as of Type II.

(10.26) Kale ‘on’ with a non-spatial common noun (Type I)
...\(o=turoe=k=a \quad o=lezu \quad kale...\)
3SG.M=strike=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=head on

‘...he struck it against his head...’ (59-2-20)

(more literally ‘...he struck it on his head...’)

(10.27) Kale ‘on’ with a common noun of large area (Type II)
Miduku _ kale _ ko=papu=vou...
ground on 3SG.F=sit=FUT

'It will sit on the ground...' (2-6-33)
With common nouns of three dimensional place (Type III), *kale* can only mean ‘in’, and a relational noun *topi* ‘on’ is used instead of *kale* for ‘on’ or a physical engagement.67 Note that relational nouns are becoming postpositions and may follow an NP in present Bilua (see §4.3.5). This is the case in the following example.

(10.28) \texttt{Ke=papue=v=e} \quad \texttt{komi=a} \quad \texttt{jari} \quad \texttt{topi.} \\
3PL=sit=3SG.M.O=RMP \quad \text{PROX.SG.F=LIG} \quad \text{copra.house on} \\
‘They sat him on this copra house.’ (43-2-19)

As mentioned above, *toupa* ‘lake’ belongs to Type II and can occur only with *kale* ‘in’. There is no expression for ‘to be at the lake’, but instead one can say ‘to be at water’, using an NP headed with *ju* ‘water’. *Ju* means ‘water’ in general, and it can refer to a river, a stream, a lake etc. *Ju* ‘water’ belongs to Type III, and an NP headed with *ju* ‘water’ can be marked by both *kasi* ‘at’ and *kale* ‘in’.

(10.29) \texttt{...ko=baro=a} \quad \texttt{sai} \quad \texttt{ju} \quad \texttt{kasi...} \\
3SG.F=arrive=PRES \quad \text{there water at} \\
‘...she arrived there at the water...’ (27-22-142)

(10.30) \texttt{Vo} \quad \texttt{ta} \quad \texttt{ju} \quad \texttt{kale} \quad \texttt{o=vae=k=a.} \\
3SG.M \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{in} \quad 3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES \\
‘He left it in the water.’ (2-1-4)

An NP headed with a non-locational noun is obligatorily marked with a locative postposition when it is used with a locational sense. This applies even when an NP is marked with another postposition, such as the postposition of vicinity *vasi* ‘adjacent to’ or the ablative postposition *azo* ‘from’. Thus, *vasi* and *azo* can govern a locative PP (see §10.3.3.2 and §10.5).

10.3.3.2 Vasi ‘adjacent to’

As noted above, *vasi* ‘adjacent to’ can govern any kind of locational phrase. A PP headed with *vasi* ‘adjacent to’ refers to the vicinity of the area described by the governed phrase. The following is an example of *vasi* governing an NP headed with a locational noun.

---

67 When *topi* ‘on’ indicates physical contact, it can also follow an NP headed with a non-spatial common noun. That is, with an NP headed with a non-spatial common noun, physical contact can be indicated by either the postposition *kale* or the relational noun *topi*. In the following example, *topi* ‘on’ indicates physical contact between an axe and a hand.

\texttt{...puli=a=ma} \quad \texttt{maja} \quad \texttt{enge=ko} \quad \texttt{ngase} \quad \texttt{topi...} \\
\quad \text{NEG=LIG=3SG.F} \quad \text{axe} \quad 1\text{PL.EXC}=3SG.F \quad \text{hand on} \\
‘...there is no axe on our hand...’

*Topi* is a relational noun, not a postposition. Like other relational nouns, it occurs as the possessee of an indirect type of possessive NP (see §4.3.5 for relational nouns).
(10.31) ...vo ta tova vasi inio
   3SG.M TOP behind adjacent.to FOC.NONF

o=li-li-t=a...
3SG.M=look.back=PRES
‘...he looked back at the area adjacent to behind [him]...’ (28-4-33)

In the example above, the area referred to is not right behind him but the area surrounding it. The following diagram illustrates the area tova vasi ‘the area adjacent to behind him’ refers to. In diagrams given in this section, the dotted line indicates the area covered by a governed constituent and between the dotted line and the bold line is the area covered by a PP headed with vasi ‘adjacent to’. For example in the following diagram, the dotted line indicates the area covered by tova ‘behind’, while the area between the dotted line and the bold line marks the area covered by a PP tova vasi ‘the area adjacent to behind him’.

![Diagram showing the area adjacent to behind him]

The following is an example of vasi governing a PP headed with a locative postposition.

(10.32) Ke=ta ol=ala Gizo udu kale vasi
   3PL=SIT go=RCP Gizo island in adjacent.to
‘They went to the area adjacent to Gizo island.’

![Diagram showing Gizo island]

In (10.33), vasi governs a deictic adverb sai ‘there’. Sai ‘there’ and vasi ‘adjacent to’ are contracted into savasi.

(10.33) ...vo ta sa-vasi kuleto.
   3SG.M TOP there-adjacent.to first
‘...he was around there (that place) first.’ (15-4-37)
Vasi ‘adjacent to’ does not govern an NP which can be marked with a locative postposition kasi ‘at’, as kasi refers to immediate vicinity itself as well as the area expressed by the governed NP. For example, pade kasi ‘at the house’ indicates the area within the bold line in the following diagram. The dotted line indicates the area of the house.68

10.4 Temporal

A temporal adverb, an NP headed with a temporal noun or a relational noun tova ‘behind’, or a PP headed with a postposition kale or keru can function as a temporal adjunct. These are categorised as temporal phrases.

NPs headed with all temporal nouns except for taku ‘time’ function as a temporal adjunct without postpositionally marked. An NP headed with a temporal noun taku ‘time’ may optionally be marked with a postposition.

10.4.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs function as temporal adjuncts. The list of temporal adverbs is given in §5.2. All temporal adverbs except for lula ‘already’, mainio ‘later’, and sipole ‘soon’

68 Vasi and kasi are similar in their forms and they both mean something like ‘the vicinity’. It may be postulated then that they are different realisations of a postposition of vicinity. Incidentally, the first consonants of each of vasi and kasi, v and k, are identical with third person singular masculine and feminine object clitics respectively, and this might suggest that vasi and kasi are masculine and feminine forms respectively. However, there appears to be no syntactic motivation why there should be different forms for only this type of postposition. Furthermore, if vasi and kasi were masculine and feminine forms, it is expected that they would agree in gender with the governed NP, but this proves to be not true. Kasi is always the form that marks a personal name regardless of whether it is a male or female name.
can occur either before or after the predicate. The aforementioned temporal adverbs always occur before the predicate.

(10.34) \( \ldots \text{vairutu} \quad \text{ng}=\text{didie}=k=a \quad \text{anga}=k \quad \text{pesi-pesi} \ldots \)

now \( \quad 2\text{SG}=\text{listen}=3\text{SG}.\text{F}=\text{PRES} \quad 1\text{SG}=3\text{SG}.\text{F} \quad \text{REDUP-story} \)

‘...now you are listening to my story...’ (10-18-151)

(10.35) \( \ldots \text{q}=\text{pa} \quad \text{v}=\text{el}=\text{ou} \quad \text{lea} \ldots \)

3\text{DU}=\text{PROS} \quad 3\text{SG}.\text{M}.\text{O}=\text{see}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{tomorrow}

‘...the two will go and see him tomorrow...’ (26-6-34)

(10.36) \( \text{lula} \quad o=ta \quad \text{vou}=\text{la} \ldots \)

already \( \quad 3\text{SG}.\text{M}=\text{SIT} \quad \text{die}=\text{PRES} \)

‘He has already died...’ (16-6-83)

### 10.4.2 Temporal NPs

NPs headed with a temporal noun or a relational noun tova ‘behind’ can function as temporal adjuncts. The following are examples of an NP headed with a temporal noun.

(10.37) \( \ldots \text{so} \quad \text{inio} \quad \text{nioqa}=k \quad \text{saev}=o \quad \text{kiad}=\text{ma} \quad \text{taku} \ldots \)

that \( \quad \text{FOC.NONF} \quad 3\text{DU}=3\text{SG}.\text{F} \quad \text{survive}=\text{NOM} \quad \text{all}=3\text{SG}.\text{F} \quad \text{time} \)

‘...that was the life of the two all the time.’ (27-3-18)

(10.38) \( \ldots o=ta \quad \text{marong}=a \quad \text{kubo} \quad \text{nganiu} \ldots \)

3\text{SG}.\text{M}=\text{SIT} \quad \text{sleep}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{many} \quad \text{day}

‘...he slept for many days...’ (27-4-24)

It is mentioned in the next section that the NPs koa taku ‘that time’ and komia taku ‘this time’ may be marked with a postposition kale or keru. Other NPs headed with taku, for example kiadama taku ‘all the time’ as in (10.37), cannot be marked with any postposition.

In (10.39) below, the head of the underlined temporal NP is taku ‘time’. This is modified by a modifier phrase, kevadomoaka ‘one (the time) which they planned’ (see §7.2.1.3.1 for modifier phrases), in which the modifying constituent is a future clause and the future tense marker ou is realised as o. Note that here the future tense marker, not a past tense marker, is employed even though the situation of planning occurred in the past. This is because the time set up by the plan itself is situated in the future.

(10.39) \( \text{ko}=\text{barol}=\text{ou} \quad \text{ko}=\text{a} \quad \text{taku} \)

3\text{SG}.\text{F}=\text{arrive}=\text{FUT} \quad 3\text{SG}.\text{F}=\text{LIG} \quad \text{time}

\( \text{ke}=\text{vadom}=k=\text{e}=\text{a}=\text{ma} \quad \text{inio} \quad \text{ke}=\text{k}=\text{ati} \)

3\text{PL}=\text{plan}=3\text{SG}.\text{F}.\text{O}=\text{FUT}=\text{LIG}=3\text{SG}.\text{F} \quad \text{FOC.NONF} \quad 3\text{PL}=3\text{SG}.\text{F}.\text{O}=\text{VAL} \)
When a temporal NP is headed with tova ‘behind’, it is always a possessive NP. A possessive NP headed with tova ‘behind’ means ‘after such and such time’, where ‘such and such time’ is expressed by a possessor NP (see §7.3.2). It may be said that a relational noun tova ‘behind’ is becoming a postposition meaning ‘after’.

(10.40) Se=ko tova inio ko ta ko=ta
3PL=3SG.F behind FOC.NONF 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=SIT

nabul=a ko risu.
bake=PRES 3SG.F crab

‘It was after them (after they went), she baked a crab.’ (48-1-8)

10.4.3 Temporal PPs

A PP headed with keru or kale can function as a temporal adjunct. Keru can govern an NP headed with a numeral referring to a year and the pronoun so ‘that’, or an NP koa taku ‘that time’ or lulama taku ‘past’. Keru is optional when its governed NP is headed with taku ‘time’, and the NP by itself can function as a temporal adjunct. Keru can also mark a clause, functioning as a subordinator (§12.4.1).

(10.41) ...kiada=ma guli ti ikoana ko=a taku keru.
    all=3SG.F thing TOP EXT.SG.F 3SG.F=LIG time TEMP

‘...there was everything at that time.’ (64-1-5)

(10.42) Omadeu vuro siotolu paizana keru ta
    one thousand eight hundred TEMP TOP

komi=a udu kale ta puli=a=ma
PROX.SG.F=LIG island in TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F

pazo-kini=o.
hit-RECP=NOM

‘In 1800, there was no fighting in this island.’ (12-9-88)

Kale can govern only NPs koa taku ‘that time’ and komia taku ‘this time’, but like keru described above this kale is optional, and these NPs by themselves can function as temporal adjuncts (see §10.4.2 above).

(10.43) Komi=a tuku kale ta kubo guli ta ikoana
    PROX.SG.F=LIG time in TOP many thing TOP EXT.SG.F

komi=a Solomoni ailadi.
PROX.SG.F=LIG Solomon island

‘In this time, there are many things in the Solomon Islands.’ (64-2-8)
According to informants, when the governed NP is *koa tako* ‘that time’, the two postpositions *keru* and *kale* are interchangeable, and it appears that there is no semantic difference between *koa tako keru* and *koa tako kale*.

The distribution of *keru* and *kale* is summarised in the following table.

**Table 10.3:** Distribution of *kale* and *keru*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of NP</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numerals referring to a year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koa tako</em> ‘that time’</td>
<td><em>keru</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the pronoun <em>so</em> ‘that’ which refers to a clause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lula=ma tako</em> (already=3SG.F time) ‘past’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koa tako</em> ‘that time’</td>
<td><em>kale</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>komia tako</em> ‘this time’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Kale* can also mark a possessive NP *ko=ko rane=o* (3SG.F=3SG.F sleep.overnight=NOM), forming an idiom *koko raneo kale*. This means ‘the next day’.

(10.44) ...*ko=ko rane=o kale ti nioqa ta*

3SG.F=3SG.F sleep.overnight=NOM in TOP 3DU TOP

gq=koi=va.

3DU=go.up=PRES

‘...the next day, they went up.’ (59-4-32)

*Keru* forms an idiom with an adjective *kiada* ‘all’; for example, *kiada keru* ‘always/all the time’.

(10.45) ...*kiada keru anigie ta qe ol=a kiaro ale... all TEMP 1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC go=PRES garden in

‘...always, we, we go to the garden...' (24-8-83)

10.5 Ablative

The ablative postposition *azo* ‘from’ governs a locational phrase, a temporal phrase, or an NP headed with a demonstrative. In addition to these, *azo* can also govern an interrogative *lai* ‘where’.

*Azo* marks a source/origin when it governs a locational phrase or an interrogative *lai* ‘where’.

(10.46) *Pujuavole anga ta a=q=ai bazut=a*

making.it short 1SG TOP 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL tell=PRES
ko=kue=vi=ma vakapeuru ale azo...
3SG.F=come=RMP=REL.F western.country in ABL
‘Making it short, I am going to tell a story which came from a western
country.’ (10-14-121)

(10.47) Koi ___ kazo ke=rorao=va.
here ABL 3PL=travel.through.bush=PRES
‘From here they travelled through a bush.’ (10-10-85)

(10.48) Lai ___ kazo inio ko=kue=va.
where ABL FOC.NONF 3SG.F=come=PRES
‘Where did she come from?’ (59-3-25)

Azo marks a starting point of extension of time, when it governs a temporal phrase.

(10.49) So ___ keru azo inio kiada=mu ta ke=kue=vi
That TEMP ABL FOC.NONF all=3PL TOP 3PL=come=RMP
Vonunu.
Vonunu
‘From that time, everyone came to Vonunu.’ (12-5-49)

Note that in (10.46) and (10.49), azo follows other postpositions. These postpositions
cannot be omitted. Azo is the only postposition which can co-occur with another
postposition.

The postposition azo is interpreted as ‘of’ when the demonstrative it governs refers to a
group of people and when this ablative PP is followed by an indefinite pronoun.

(10.50) Ege ___ azo kala inio koi o el=ou.
1DU.EXC ABL INDEF.SG.M FOC.NONF here 3SG.M stay=FUT
‘One from/of us will stay here.’ (59-4-30)

10.6 Manner

There are several manner adverbs in Bilua as listed in §5.2. A manner adverb can be
modified by an intensifier matu ‘very’. A manner adverb can occur either before or after
the predicate.

(10.51) ...taukavole ko=ta aer=a.
quickly 3SG.F=SIT separate=PRES
‘...it would separate quickly.’ (34-1-9)

(10.52) O=nokae=v=a matuvole.
3SG.M=call=3SG.M.O=PRES loudly
‘He called him loudly.’ (12-7-71)
10.7 Linking

As noted in §5.2, linking adverbials indicate the successional relationship between one situation presented by the clause in which a linking adverbial occurs and another situation presented by the clause which precedes or follows this. They link two clauses semantically but not syntactically because they do not necessarily occur in a sentence consisting of two or more clauses. Thus, they are treated as a constituent of the clause and not as coordinators. The following is a list of linking adverbials repeated from §5.2.

- sainio ‘therefore/then’
- soinio ‘accordingly’
- saitainio ‘afterwards’
- saikazo ‘following that’
- sole ‘that’s why’

Except for sole ‘that’s why’, linking adverbials all occur only before the predicate.

\[(10.53) \quad "Ki \text{esa inio} ko=\text{beta} siusiut=a \text{inio},\]
\text{INTJ maybe FOC.NONF 3SG.F=CONT swim=PRES FOC.NONF}
\text{soinio pui ko=kue=va"} \quad k=i=ko=la.
\text{accordingly NEG 3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES}
\text{‘"Maybe, she is still swimming, accordingly, she hasn’t come,’ said she.’}
\text{(27-23-151)}

Sole ‘that’s why’ can occur either before and or the predicate.

\[(10.54) \quad Sito ta matu piza=ka=la maba. \quad \text{Sole} \quad pui\]
\text{Sito TOP very strong=LIG=3SG.M person that’s why NEG}
\text{ke=rove=a noqpe=v=o.}
\text{3PL=can=PRES capture=3SG.M.O=NOM}
\text{‘Sito was a very strong person. Because of that, they could not capture him.’}
\text{(12-7-64/65)}

\[(10.55) \quad ...se ta ke=ziaroli=oke, ake se=ko}
\text{3PL TOP 3PL=mourn=HIS INTJ 3PL=3SG.F}
\text{maba=mu=kо piza se ta ke=k=e=ake}
\text{person=COLL.PL=3SG.F bone 3PL TOP 3PL=3SG.F.O=see=HIST}
\text{sole,}
\text{that’s why}
\text{‘They, they mourned, because they saw their people’s bones.’ (26-24-129)}

Two linking adverbials sainio ‘therefore’ and soinio ‘accordingly’ may be used to mark significant points in the speaker’s argumentation. In such a case, they take strong intonational stress. The speaker gives strong stress to a linking adverbial in order to warn the hearer that he/she is going to present a significant point of argumentation.
(10.56) Komi=a Vella La Vella  udu kale ta puli=a=ma
3SG.F=LIG Vella La Vella island in TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F
sailao komi=a taku enge ta
food 3SG.F=LIG time 1PL.EXC TOP
nge=madoe=k=a melai pui nge=rove=a sole.
1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=PRES but NEG 1PL.EXC=can=PRES that’s why
Soinio ko=kue=va=ko taku kaitu=a=ma
accordingly 3SG.F=come=PRES=REL.F time future=LIG=3SG.F
enge=ko saev=o ta esa olaqua=vo
1PL.EXC=3SG.F survive=NOM TOP maybe suffering=NOM
enge ta nge=rove=a tu el=о.
1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=can=PRES IRR stay=NOM
‘In this Vella La Vella island, we tried [to get food], but because we cannot [get it] there is no food this time. Accordingly, in the time which is coming, in the future, maybe our life will be a suffering one, we are likely to stay [in suffering].’ (64-3-20-21)

10.8 Circumstantial

As set out in §5.2, circumstantial adverbs are a group of adverbs, which give surrounding information about the situation presented by the predicate and which are neither temporal nor locational. The following is a list of circumstantial adverbs repeated from §5.2:

muli ‘altogether’
saita ‘first’ (this is done first)
maba ‘truly’
esa ‘maybe’
lula ‘already’
mainio ‘later’
kuleto ‘first’
sipole ‘soon’
mata/mati ‘again’

Among circumstantial adverbs, some occur only before the predicate and others occur only after the predicate. An exception to this is mata/mati ‘again’, which can occur before or after the predicate.
(10.57) *Kiada keru ti ko ikio se=a saidi=ko saev=o.*
all TEMP TOP 3SG.F FOC.F 3PL=LIG family=3SG.F survive=NOM

*Nioqa ti go ol=a kiaro kale...*  
3DU TOP 3DU go=PRES garden in

*Nioqa=vo mama mati o ol=a ju kale niuniu*  
3DU=3SG.M father again 3SG.M go=PRES water in fish

vaili=k=o=le.
look.for=3SG.F.O=NOM=PURP

‘All the time, that was their life. The two went to the garden... As for the father of the two, he went to the water (lake) again in order to look for fish.’ (24-3-27-30)

(10.58) *Ni vo ta o=ta ke=ve mata abu=le.*
and 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=SIT go=RMP again fishNOM=PURP

‘And, he went fishing as usual.’ (24-3-34)

_Esa ‘maybe’, lula ‘already’, mainio ‘later’, kuleto ‘first’, and maba ‘truly’ occur only before the predicate._

(10.59) ..._maba uri=a maqin=o o=ta ev=a..._  
truly good=LIG be.full=NOM 3SG.M=SIT become=PRES

‘...truly he became nicely full...’ (43-3-27)

_Muli ‘altogether’ and saita ‘first’ occur only after the predicate._

(10.60) *Erisanga ta kiada=mu ta ke ev=a*  
today TOP all=3PL TOP 3PL stay=PRES

_keta=le muli kiada=mu Vella La Vella maba poso._  
edge=in altogether all=3PL Vella La Vella person PL

‘Today, everyone stays together at the coast, every one, Vella La Vella people.’  
(9-6-42)

_Mata/mati_ means ‘again’ as in (10.61) below but this can be interpreted as ‘as expected/as usual’. This is the case in example (10.58) above, in which it is suggested that this kind of situation customarily/repeatedly occurs. In (10.61), the context tells that the same situation occurred before, and thus _mata/mati_ is simply interpreted as ‘again’.

(10.61) ..._o=pekao=va, o=dokol=a mati_  
3SG.M=dance=PRES 3SG.M=stop=PRES again

_o=pekao=va..._  
3SG.M=dance=PRES

‘...he danced, he stopped, and then again he danced...’ (26-12-67)
10.9 Restrictive

The general modifier *pala* 'only' has scope over the clause and thus functions as a restrictive adjunct. *Pala* 'only' can occur only after the predicate.

(10.62) ...*me=q=ati*  
  *vail=ou*  
  *pala.*  
  1PL.INC=3SG.F.O=VAL look=FUT only  
  '...we will only look after her.' (59-9-74)

10.10 Similative

The general modifier *jari* 'like' has scope over the verbal predicate and thus functions as a similitative adjunct. *Jari* 'like' can occur only after the predicate.

(10.63) ...*ke=ta*  
  *kule=a*  
  *jari*  
  *se=ko*  
  *zaloni*  
  *kale.*  
  3PL=SIT be.first=PRES SIML 3PL=3SG.F ornament in  
  'It was like they won with their ornaments.' (67-5-50)  
  (more literally '...It was like they were the first in their ornaments.')</br>

The above example occurs in a discourse where different groups of people decorated with ornaments got together for a feast, and one group of people was wearing such beautiful ornaments that other people felt as if there was an ornament competition, and the beautifully ornamented group of people won the competition.

10.11 Simultaneous

A PP headed with locative *kale* can present a simultaneous situation. When a PP presents a simultaneous situation, the governed NP can have only a nominalised verb as its head, and *kale* is often contracted to *le* and cliticised to the preceding nominalised verb.

(10.64) ...*o=peka=va*  
  *vo=ko*  
  *tali=o*  
  *kale*...  
  3SG.M=dance=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F walk=NOM in  
  'he danced in his walk (he danced walking)...' (26-12-65)

(10.65) *Ko ta*  
  *siu=le*  
  *ju*  
  *kale.*  
  3SG.F TOP swim=NOM=in water in  
  'She was in water, in swimming (she was swimming).' (59-7-57)

*Siu*le 'in swimming' and *ju kale* 'in water' in example (10.65) may be analysed as one postpositional phrase filled by two postpositional phrases in apposition. If so, both postpositional phrases refer to one and the same situation, not two different situations occurring simultaneously. There is no evidence which determines whether this is the case or not, and here it is treated as separate PPs.
10.12 Instrumental

The locative postposition *kale* can govern an NP which has a semantic role of instrument. This use is an extension of its locative marking function.

(10.66) Ko=a niuniu ta pui tali _____ kale inio 3SG.F=LIG fish TOP NEG fishing.rod with FOC.NONF

o=k=o=a...
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
'As for the fish, it wasn’t with a fishing rod he got them...' (24-6-65)

(10.67) ...ke=vinae=k=a qusini kale...
3PL=tighten=3SG.F.O=PRES rope with
'...they tightened it with a rope...' (28-2-16)

10.13 Comitative

A PP headed with the comitative postposition *sate* ‘with’ presents a referent, either animate or inanimate, which accompanies some other referent.

(10.68) Melai koi=za=mu ta ke ev=a Barakoma se=vo but here=LIG=3PL TOP 3PL stay=PRES Barakoma 3PL=3SG.M lekasa sate.
chief COM
'But, people from here, they stayed in Barakoma with their chief.' (23-1-2)

(10.69) ...ko=a niania=ka=ma ta kora-korail=o _____ sate 3SG.F=LIG mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP REDUP-angry=NOM COM
inio eri k=i=ko=la.
FOC.NONF s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'...the mother said something like this in anger.' (24-9-88)

10.14 Privative

The privative postposition *pide* is the opposite of *sate* presented in the last section: a PP headed with *pide* presents a referent which does not accompany another referent.

(10.70) Ko ol=ala zari-zari pide. 3SG.F go=RCP REDUP-baggage PRIV
'She went without baggage.'

(10.71) Ko=vait=ala megora pide. 3SG.F=return=RCP child PRIV
'She returned without [her] child.'
10.15 Benefactive

A PP headed with the benefactive postposition *kage* presents a beneficiary.69

(10.72) A ere=k=ala ko mola vo kage.
1SG make=3SG.F.O=RCP 3SG.F canoe 3SG.M BEN
‘I made a canoe for him.’

(10.73) A=m=ati vail=ala megora poso tirisa kage.
1SG=3PL.O=VAL look=RCP child PL teacher BEN
‘I looked after the children for the teacher.’

10.16 Reason

A PP headed with a complex postposition *kale avo* presents a reason. *Kale avo* governs an NP headed with *kio* ‘saying/words’ or a pronoun so ‘that’.

(10.74) Ngo ta gospel=ko k=i=o kale avo inio
2SG TOP Gospel=3SG.F 3SG.F.O=say=NOM because.of FOC.NONF

koi vairutu...
here now
‘You are here now because of the word of the Gospel...’ (10-18-151)

(10.75) Alil=0 melai matu kubo se ta ke alil=a
be.born=NOM also very many 3PL TOP 3PL be.born=PRES

ni enge=ko atatai melai matu kubo komi=a
and 1PL.EXC=3SG.F count also very many PROX.SG.F=LIG

taku so kale avo inio anga ta eri
time that because.of FOC.NONF 1SG TOP s.th.like.this

k=i=a=la...
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
‘The birth rate is also very high, [babies] are born, and our population is also very high this time; because of that I say something like this...’ (64-3-22)

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69 An expression like ‘this is for you’ is expressed by a (headless) possessive NP.

*Komi* ta ngo=ko,
PROX.SG.F TOP 2SG=3SG.F
‘This is yours. (This is for you).’

In the above example, there is ellipsis of the possessee noun.
10.17 Order of adjuncts

A clause may have two unmarked adjuncts, unmarked by a topic or a focus marker, on the same side of the predicate. When this happens, they occur in a certain order according to their types. Different semantic types of adjuncts are divided into four groups according to the positions they take: manner/similative adjuncts, locational/temporal/ablative adjuncts, linking adjuncts, and other adjuncts.

When two adjuncts occur after the predicate, they occur in the order of: a manner/similative, locational/temporal/ablative, other, and linking adjuncts. When they both occur before the predicate, the order is reversed. That is, the distance between the predicate and each group of adjuncts is the same regardless of whether they occur before or after the predicate. This order reflects the semantic function of each type of adjunct. Adjuncts which present information more concerned about the situation presented by the predicate occur closer to the predicate. Manner/similative adjuncts present information about the predicate head and so they occur closest to the predicate, while linking adjuncts do not give any information about the predicate and so they occur furthest from the predicate. In (10.76), a locational adjunct precedes a circumstantial adjunct.

(10.76) ...kiada=ma maba madu se ta ke=sogo=vi.
all=3SG.F person COLL.PL 3PL TOP 3PL=run.away=PRES

Ni ke=kue=va Vonunu muli.
and 3PL=come=PRES Vonunu altogether
locational adjunct circumstantial adjunct
‘...everyone, they ran away. And came to Vonunu altogether.’ (12-5-42-43)

One circumstantial adverb, mata/mati ‘again’, is an exception. It occurs in any position. In (10.77), mata ‘again’ precedes a locational adjunct and takes a closer position than the locational adjunct.

(10.77) ...ko=ta koiv=a mata segara topi...
3SG.F=SIT climb=PRES again betelnut on
circumstantial adjunct locational adjunct
‘...she climbed to a top of the betelnut tree again...’ (59-2-17)

In (10.78) mata ‘again’ occurs further from the predicate than the locational adjunct.

(10.78) ...se ta mata sai ke=ta ev=e...
3PL TOP again there 3PL=SIT stay=RMP
circumstantial adjunct locational adjunct
‘...they stayed there as usual...’ (27-24-154)

This concludes the description of adjuncts. In the next chapter, different types of non-verbal clauses are described.
11 Equational, locational, and existential clauses

11.1 Introduction

As introduced in §3.3, the minimum constituents of non-verbal clauses are a subject NP marked with a topic marker and a predicate. The following is an example of a non-verbal clause.

(11.1) \textbf{Anga} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{ta} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{titisa=lala.}

1SG \hspace{0.5cm} TOP \hspace{0.5cm} teacher=1SG

subject NP \hspace{0.5cm} predicate NP

'I am a teacher.'

This shows that a non-verbal clause typically has a topic-comment structure (see §14.2.2). A topic is what the sentence is about. The predicate of a non-verbal clause gives some information about the subject. Therefore, it is plausible that the subject is marked with a topic marker.

The subject NP or the predicate of a non-verbal clause can be a focus, marked by a focus marker. In such a case, the subject NP is not marked with a topic marker (see example (11.9) below). Furthermore, the predicate may be fronted and may precede the subject NP. In this case too, the subject NP is not marked with a topic marker (see example (11.12) below).

A non-verbal clause can have an optional constituent which functions as an adjunct, and this occurs clause-initially or -finally. Non-verbal clauses cannot have a grammatical specification of tense, but time can be specified by a temporal adjunct. A temporal adjunct is often marked with a topic or focus marker, as illustrated by the following example.

(11.2) \textbf{Puliako} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{omadeu} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{vuro} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{sio} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{otolu} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{paizana} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{keru}

before \hspace{0.5cm} one \hspace{0.5cm} thousand \hspace{0.5cm} eight \hspace{0.5cm} hundred \hspace{0.5cm} TEMP

temporal adjunct

ta \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{komi=a} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{udu} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{kale} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{ta} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{puli=a=ma}

TOP \hspace{0.5cm} PROX.SG.F=LIG \hspace{0.5cm} island \hspace{0.5cm} in \hspace{0.5cm} TOP \hspace{0.5cm} NEG=LIG=3SG.F

subject NP \hspace{0.5cm} predicate NP

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**pazok**-**ini**-**o**.
hit-RECP=NOM

‘Before 1800, in this island, there was no fighting.’ (12-9-88)

Non-verbal clauses can be divided into three types on syntactic and semantic grounds: equational (§11.2), locational (§11.3), and existential (§11.4). Each type of non-verbal clause has a different type of phrase as its predicate. The syntactic distinction between the three types of non-verbal clauses is neutralised in negative clauses. This is described in §11.5.

**11.2 Equational clauses**

The predicate of an equational clause can be an NP. The head of an NP can be any non-locational noun as in (11.3). Equational clauses express what the subject is.

(11.3)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{...vo} & \text{ta} & \text{siele...} \\
3SG.M & TOP & dog \\
\text{subject NP} & \text{predicate NP} & \\
\text{‘...he is a dog...’} & (27-7-48)
\end{array}
\]

The predicate of an equational clause can also be a PP headed with the simulative *jari* ‘like’.

(11.4)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Komi} & \text{ta} & \text{pu} & \text{mu} & \text{n} & \text{ji} & \text{...} \\
PROX.SG.F & TOP & NEG & blood.stain & SIM & \\
\text{subject NP} & \text{predicate NP} & \\
\text{‘This is not like a blood stain...’} & (34-1-10)
\end{array}
\]

The predicate NP always agrees with the subject NP in person. Thus, in example (11.5), in which the subject NP is first person, the predicate NP is marked as first person, and also singular, by a pronominal enclitic *lala* (1SG). In example (11.6), the subject NP is third person, and there is no occurrence of a pronominal enclitic since a common noun *dokita* ‘doctor’ is third person by default and does not require a special marking for the third person (see §7.4). Notice that in both examples, the predicate NP is non-referential as it denotes a category. Thus, in (11.5) the predicate NP is syntactically encoded as first person singular but semantically it is neutral to person, number, and gender distinction as it refers to a category.\(^70\)

\(^70\) Also, as described §7.2.1.6, first/second person marking is obligatory in first/second person NP. In the following example, the predicate NP is co-referential with the subject NP and thus it is second person, and this triggers a second person marking by a pronominal enclitic on the predicate NP.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Ngo} & \text{ta} & \text{matu=la} & \text{lasiverusu=nga} \\
2SG & TOP & big=3SG.M & boy=2SG \\
\text{subject NP} & \text{predicate NP} & \\
\text{‘You are a big boy.’}
\end{array}
\]
(11.5)  \textit{Anga ta dokita=}lala.  \\
1SG TOP doctor=1SG  \\
'I am a doctor.'

(11.6)  \textit{Vo ta dokita}.  \\
3SG.M TOP doctor  \\
'He is a doctor.'

This pronominal enclitic is omitted when the predicate NP is a headless possessive NP, as illustrated by (11.7).

(11.7)  \ldots\textit{ngo} ta enge=ko...  \\
2SG TOP 1PL.EXC=3SG.F  \\
subject NP predicate NP  \\
'...you are ours (our person)...' (59-9-64)

As illustrated by examples given above, the predicate of an equational clause is always an NP. In §7.2.1.3.1, an example was presented in which the predicate is just an adjective, but this is a result of ellipsis of the head of an NP as well as the head of an MP. The following example is repeated from §7.2.1.3.1.

(11.8)  \textit{Komi=a siele ta silo}.  \\
PROX.SG.F=LIG dog TOP small  \\
'This dog is a small one.'

In this example, the predicate is realised as \textit{silо} 'small' as a result of ellipsis of the head of an NP, \textit{siele} 'dog', and ellipsis of the head of an MP, a pronominal enclitic \textit{ma} (3SG.F), which modifies the head of an NP. Thus the full realisation of this predicate is \textit{silо=a=ma siele} (small=LIG=3SG.F dog) 'a small dog'. In this example, the head of an NP \textit{siele} 'dog' is ellipsed first, as the head is recoverable from the subject NP \textit{komi=a siele} 'this dog'. Then, the head of an MP is further ellipsed. In the data, there are not many examples in which the head of an MP is ellipsed and the predicate of an equational clause is realised as an adjective only.

11.3 Locational clauses

The predicate of locational clauses can be any locational phrase (see §10.3 for locational phrases). Locational non-verbal clauses describe the location of the subject NP.

(11.9)  \ldots\textit{ko=kо kolu ikio sai...}  \\
3SG.F=3SG.F smoke FOC.F there  \\
subject NP predicate AdvP  \\
'...it was her smoke that was there.' (59-10-81)
(11.10) \textit{Qe} \quad \textit{ta} \quad \textit{koi} \quad \textit{komi=a} \quad \textit{pade} \quad \textit{kasi.} \quad \textit{2DU} \quad \textit{TOP} \quad \textit{here} \quad \textit{PROX.SG.F=LIG} \quad \textit{house} \quad \textit{at} \quad \textit{subject \ NP} \quad \textit{predicate \ AdvP} \quad \textit{predicate \ PP} \quad \textit{‘You are [staying] here at this house.’ (43-1-3)}

11.4 Existential clauses

Existential clauses describe an existence of an entity described by the subject NP. The predicate of an existential clause is always an existential marker. There are two types of existential markers: non-specific location existential markers which indicate the existence of an entity in a non-specific location, and distal existential markers which indicate the existence of an entity at some distance. Both types of existential marker inflect for number and gender. The following are the forms of each type of existential markers repeated from §5.10.

\textbf{Table 5.8: Existential markers}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number/gender</th>
<th>Non-specific</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular masculine</td>
<td>inevoana</td>
<td>une</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular feminine</td>
<td>ikoana</td>
<td>uko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>iniqiana</td>
<td>unioqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>inisiana</td>
<td>uni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (11.11) and (11.12) have a non-specific location existential marker and distal existential marker respectively.

(11.11) \textit{So=a=ma} \quad \textit{bazu-bazu} \quad \textit{ta} \quad \textit{iskoana.} \quad \textit{that=LIG=3SG.F} \quad \textit{REDUP-story} \quad \textit{TOP} \quad \textit{EXT.SG.F} \quad \textit{subject \ NP} \quad \textit{predicate} \quad \textit{‘There was that kind of story.’ (10-8-67)}

(11.12) \quad \ldots \textit{o=koi=k=a,} \quad \textit{uko} \quad \textit{bare=ko} \quad \textit{epa.} \quad \textit{3SG.M=climb=3SG.F.O=PRES} \quad \textit{D.EXT.SG.F} \quad \textit{bare=3SG.F} \quad \textit{fruit} \quad \textit{predicate} \quad \textit{subject \ NP} \quad \textit{o=luap=ake} \quad \textit{sole.} \quad \textit{3SG.M=be.hungry=HIST} \quad \textit{because} \quad \textit{‘...he climbed, fruits of bare tree were there, he was hungry, that was why [he climbed].’ (47-2-9)}

There are two factors which distinguish existential clauses from other types of non-verbal clauses. First, the subject can only be third person. Second, its predicate, the existential marker, shows agreement with the subject NP.
Existential clauses often contain a locational adjunct which presents the location of an existing entity.

(11.13) \[ \text{Kala} \quad maba \quad ta \quad inevoana \quad anga \quad kasi. \]
INDEF.SG.M person TOP EXT.SG.M 1SG at
subject NP predicate locative PP

‘There is a man with me.’ (59-11-97)

When the existing entity is clear from the discourse, the subject NP, the NP referring to the existing entity, may be omitted.

(11.14) \[ \ldots \text{inevoana} \quad | \quad o=beta \quad teku=a. \]
EXT.SG.M 3SG.M=CONT lie=PRES
predicate

‘...he is there, he is lying.’ (26-21-116)

(11.15) \[ \ldots ke=pa \quad lelepi=k=a \quad ta \quad | \quad ikoana \quad sai. \]
3PL=PROS shake=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then EXT.SG.F there
predicate

‘...they shook it and there was food there.’ (59-3-27)

Example (11.14) occurs in a discourse where people are talking about him, the existing entity. In the preceding discourse of (11.15) one day they found there was some food in their baskets when they returned from fishing. Next day, when they came back from fishing, they shook the basket to see whether there was some food in the basket again. Example (11.15) appears then. It is understood from the discourse that what exists is food.

The semantic distinction between existential clauses and locational clauses presented in the last section is not clear-cut. A locational clause inherently tells the existence of an entity by telling its location. On the other hand, an existential clause implies that there is a location where an entity exists, and so it often contains a locational adjunct. The fundamental difference between them is that in locational clauses the subject is talked about in terms of its location, while in existential clauses, it is talked about in terms of its existence. This difference is reflected on the type of the predicate in each type of clause.

11.5 Summary

Different types of non-verbal clauses are described above. They all have the same clause structure but their predicates are different, as summarised in the following table.
### Table 11.1: Predicates of non-verbal clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of clause</th>
<th>Predicates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>equational</td>
<td>NPs headed with a non-locational noun or a pronominal enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PPs headed with the simulative <em>jari</em> 'like'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locational</td>
<td>locational phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>existential</td>
<td>existential markers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negative non-verbal clauses are all treated as equational clauses in terms of their predicate type; they always have an NP or a PP headed with *jari* as their predicates. However, there is a distinction between equational clauses on the one hand and locational and existential clauses on the other. In the first case, an equational clause can be negated by placing the negation marker *puī* between the topic marker and the predicate. The negation marker functions as an adjunct.

(11.16) \[ \ldots \textit{komi=a} \quad \textit{bazu-bazulao} \quad \textit{ta} \quad \textit{puī} \quad \textit{matu} \quad \text{PROX.SG.F=LIG} \quad \text{REDUP-folktale} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{very} \]

\[ \textit{tuvevo=a=ma...} \quad \text{true=LIG=3SG.F} \]

‘...this folktale is not a very true one...’ (27-1-1)

In the second case, in a negative locational or equational clause, the predicate is realised as a headless NP which contains a modifier phrase consisting of the negation marker and a pronominal enclitic. Example (11.17) expresses that the referent of subject NP does not exist in the location presented by a locational adjunct, and thus it is a negative locational clause, while (11.18) expresses non-existence of an entity and thus it is a negative existential clause.

(11.17) \[ \ldots \textit{kake} \quad \textit{maba} \quad \textit{madu} \quad \textit{ta} \quad \textit{puili=a=ma} \quad \textit{ko=a} \]

\[ \text{INDEF.PL} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{COLL.PL} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{NEG=LIG=3SG.F} \quad 3SG.F=LIG \]

\[ \textit{peuru} \quad \textit{kale}, \quad \text{village in}, \]

‘...some people were missing in the village,’ (26-2-13)

(11.18) \[ \textit{Vo=ko} \quad \textit{taka} \quad \textit{ta} \quad \textit{lula} \quad \textit{puili=a=ma...} \]

\[ 3SG.M=3SG.F \quad \text{claw} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{already} \quad \text{NEG=LIG}=3SG.F \]

‘His claws were already gone...’ (26-23-125)

This concludes the description of different types of non-verbal clauses. The next chapter describes different types of dependent clauses.
12 Dependent clauses

12.1 Introduction

Dependent clauses are clauses which cannot stand on their own. Their occurrence is dependent on a main clause, an independent clause. Following Thompson and Longacre (1985:172), Bilua dependent clauses can be divided into three types: relative clauses which function as an NP modifier, complement clauses which function as an argument, and adverbial clauses which function as a modifier of a VP or an entire proposition.

In Bilua dependent clauses, no constituent can be marked with a topic or a focus maker. Occurrences of aspeotcal/modal markers are very restricted in the VPs of dependent clauses.\textsuperscript{71} These two factors distinguish dependent clauses from independent clauses. Furthermore, an independent clause is always finite, while a dependent clause can be either finite or non-finite. In a non-finite dependent clause, the verb is bound by a nominal derivational enclitic o, which marks non-finiteness.

Each type of Bilua dependent clause is described below: relative clauses (§12.2), complement clauses (§12.3), and adverbial clauses (§12.4). §12.5 presents a summary.

12.2 Relative clauses

12.2.1 Introduction

A relative clause in Bilua is marked with a relative clause marker on the VP. This relative clause may be embedded into an NP, modifying the head of that NP (headed relative clause; see §12.2.3). In example (12.1) below, two relative clauses modify the head \textit{maba} `person'. In this section relative clauses (RCs) and NPs which contain a relative clause are both marked by square brackets. The underline indicates the constituent which is modified by a relative clause. This constituent is referred to as `object of relativisation'.

\begin{verbatim}
(12.1) [Kala maba [o=lilijio=vi=ni]_{RC}^{NP} \underline{vo}]
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{71} This excludes \textit{pa} which obligatorily occurs in a negated past clause (see §8.5.6). There is no restriction on this \textit{pa} in dependent clauses.

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Example (12.1) is analysed as one relative clause filled by two relative clauses in apposition since both relative clauses have maba ‘person’ as their head.

The relative clause may also form an NP on its own (headless relative clause, see §12.2.4) as in example (12.2). In a headless relative clause, there is no overt object of relativisation, but a bound pronoun in the relative clause, that is, a pronominal proclitic or an object clitic, indicates the absent but understood referent by agreeing in person, number, and gender with it. In (12.2), this is indicated by the double underlined object clitic k (3SG.F).

(12.2)  $A=q=ea=la$  
$[o=pazo=k=ala=ma]_{RCNP}$  
$1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES$  
$3SG.M=hit=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F$  
‘I saw [the woman] whom he hit.’

A relative clause can be non-restrictive or restrictive. A non-restrictive relative clause presents additional information about an already identifiable referent. Headless relative clauses in Bilua, except for ones marked with a relative clause marker vi (REL), are always non-restrictive. A restrictive relative clause gives information essential to the identification of the referent of an NP. Without this information, the hearer would not be able to identify the referent. The first relative clause in example (12.1) above is a restrictive one. If the speaker just says kala maba ‘one man’, the hearer would not be able to identify which man the speaker is talking about. A headed relative clause can also be non-restrictive. In example (12.4) in the next section, the headed relative clause is non-restrictive, and the demonstrative vo (3SG.M) identifies the referent.

The tense of relative clauses in Bilua can only be present or past. A future clause forms a modifier phrase with a pronominal enclitic and this functions as an NP modifier (see §7.2.1.3.1). In the following example the NP is headless, and it contains a modifier phrase which consists of the future clause marked with a dotted underline, the pronominal enclitic mu (3PL), and the ligature a which links the future clause to the enclitic.

(12.3)  $[Sai...ke=zio=vo=a=mu]_{NP}$  
$ta$  
$kake$  
$ta$  
$reko-reko$...

there  
3PL=go=FUT=LIG=3PL TOP INDEF.PL TOP REDUP-woman

‘As for people who will go there, some are women...’ (21-9-54)

The main clause and the relative clause share a common argument. In (12.1), the common argument is ‘man’, and this is the subject of both main and relative clauses. In (12.2), the common argument is ‘her’, and this is the object of both main and relative clauses. Functions of common arguments are discussed in §12.2.5.
12.2.2 Structure of relative clauses

There are four relative clause markers: ko (REL.F), ma (REL.F), ni (REL.NONF), and vi (REL), which are enclitics and which attach to the right edge of the VP in relative clauses. Vi is used with a limited set of verbs and is described later in this section. Ko, ma, and ni are distributed according to the person/number/gender of an NP containing a relative clause and also according to the tense marker in the VP of a relative clause. Ni can be used only when the NP is not third person singular feminine. In a third person singular feminine NP, ko is used when the relative clause contains the present tense marker, while ma is used when it contains the recent/remote past tense marker. The distribution of ko, ma, and ni is summarised in the following table.

Table 12.1: Distribution of relative clause markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/number/gender of NPs</th>
<th>Tense markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third singular feminine</td>
<td>ko (REL.F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-third singular feminine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Above is the distribution for human referents. With non-human referents, either ko or ma is chosen depending on the tense marker in the relative clause.

It appears that these four relative clause markers historically have the same origin as some of Bilua inflectional pronouns. Ko, ma, ni, and vo are the third person singular feminine distal demonstrative, the third person singular feminine pronominal enclitic, the third person plural proximate demonstrative, and the third person singular masculine distal demonstrative respectively. Their distributions, however, show some differences: ni, as a pronoun, is third person plural, but as a relative clause marker, it is non-third person singular feminine. In §7.2.1.3.1, we saw that third person singular masculine and feminine forms of pronominal enclitics show a third person singular masculine vs. non-third person singular masculine distribution when they are the head of MPs. This distribution of the two third person singular forms also applies to demonstratives on possessor NPs (§7.3.2). Thus, with pronominal enclitics in MPs and demonstratives in possessor NPs, two third person singular forms are chosen and distributed. On the other hand, with relative clause markers, it is the third person singular feminine and third person plural forms that are in distribution, and they show a third person singular feminine vs. non-third person singular feminine distribution.72 It is not all that clear why vo, which is the third person singular masculine distal demonstrative, is used with a limited set of verbs as a relative clause marker.

In example (12.4) the referent of the NP containing a relative clause is third person singular masculine, as indicated by the demonstrative vo (3SG.M), and so the VP of the

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72 This distribution is in fact the same distribution as focus markers (§14.3.2), but focus markers are not pronouns.
relative clause is marked with *ni* (REL.NONF), which is the form employed for non-third person singular feminine. Example (12.5) contains two relative clauses. In the first instance, the referent of the NP containing a relative clause is third person singular feminine, as indicated by the demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F), and the verb in the relative clause has the present tense marker, and accordingly the relative clause is marked with *ko* (REL.F). This NP is the subject of a non-verbal clause and its predicate is expressed by the second relative clause, which is a headless relative clause. The subject NP and the predicate NP in this example are co-referential and so the predicate NP, which is realised as a headless relative clause, is also third person singular feminine. This relative clause contains a remote past tense marker, unlike the first relative clause. Accordingly, the relative clause is marked with *ma* (REL.F).

\[(12.4) \quad \text{Pujuo inio} \quad [\text{vo} = a \quad \text{maba} \quad [\text{ko} = a \quad \text{niabara}]
\]
Pujuo FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG person 3SG.F=LIG war.canoe
\[o = k = ati \quad ke = ve = ni]_{NP}\]
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL go=RMP=REL.NONF
‘It was Pujuo, the man who went with the canoe.’ (25-1-8)

\[(12.5) \quad \ldots [\text{komi} = a \quad \text{maba} \quad \text{[anga} = k \quad \text{pesi-pesi} \quad \text{ko} = ta] \quad \text{PROX.SG.F} \quad \text{person} \quad 1SG=3SG.F \quad \text{REDUP-speech} \quad 3SG.F=POSS
\]
\[l = a \quad k = o = a = ko]_{NP} \quad ta \quad [\text{ko} = kue = vi = ma]
1SG.O=VAL 3SG.F=get=PRES=REL.F TOP 3SG.F=come=RMP=REL.F

\[\text{Japan} \quad \text{azo}]_{RCNP}\]
Japan ABL
‘...this person, who is taking my story, is one who came from Japan.’
(10-17-142)

The VP of a relative clause cannot contain aspectual/modal markers, but there is one exception to this. The VP of a headless relative clause may take the situation-change marker *ta* (see §12.2.4). Since the continuous marker cannot occur in a relative clause, a relative clause cannot present an on-going situation.\(^\text{73}\)

Similar to an independent clause, a relative clause can be negated by placing a negation marker in front of the predicate, as in example (12.6). An NP modified by a relative clause itself can be negated when this is a non-verbal predicate, as in (12.7).

\[(12.6) \quad \text{Komi} \quad \text{ta} \quad [\text{ko} = a \quad \text{suma} \quad [\text{pui} \quad a = ba] \quad \text{PROX.SG.F} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3SG.F=LIG \quad \text{cloth} \quad \text{NEG} \quad 1SG=PROS
\]
\[\text{tatabarae} = k = ala = ma \quad \text{ravi}]_{NP}\]
buy=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F yesterday
‘This is the cloth which I didn’t buy yesterday.’

---

\(^{73}\) To express a situation in which one saw someone doing something, two juxtaposed clauses are used, and the VP of the second clause takes the continuous marker (see §13.3).
(12.7) Komi ta pui [ko=a suma [a=ba  
PROX.SG.F TOP NEG 3SG.F=LIG cloth 1SG=PROS  
				
tatabarae=k=ala=ma ravi]NP. 
buy=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F yesterday  
‘This is not the cloth I bought yesterday.’

Notice that the VP of the relative clauses in both (12.6) and (12.7) contains the prospective marker pa. The prospective marker pa is obligatory in any negated clause in past tense, yet pa here does not carry any aspeical/modal function. In (12.7), even though the relative clause itself is not negated, since its head is negated, the VP of the relative clause contains the prospective marker.

Vo (3SG.M) as a relative clause marker can attach to only a few verbs: *viq* ‘to hear’, *ere* ‘to happen’, and *kalo* ‘to occur’. Relative clauses of this kind are always headless relative clauses and consist of the VP on its own. They always represent a story or an event—they mean ‘something one heard’, ‘something which happened’, and ‘something which occurred’.

(12.8) ...[a=q=ai viq=e=vo]RCNP komi=a bazu-bazu  
1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL hear=RMP=REL PROX.SG.F=LIG REDUP-story  

ta eri nio.  
TOP s.th.like.this FOC.NONF  
...something I heard, this story is something like this. (22-1-2)

(12.9) ...ko pui [ko=pa erei=vo]RCNP ni pui  
3SG.F NEG 3SG.F=PROS happenRMP=REL and NEG  
[ko=pa ka=e=vo]RCNP.  
3SG.F=PROS occur=RMP=REL  
‘...it is not something which happened or which occurred.’ (27-1-1)

12.2.3 Headed relative clauses

A headed relative clause may precede or follow the head it modifies. The position of the headed relative clause depends on whether the NP contains a determiner or not. When it does not contain a determiner, the relative clause precedes the head. In example (12.10), there is no determiner and the relative clause precedes the head.

(12.10) [Ivangana ke=k=ai ere=k=a=ko]RC  
hook 3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL make=3SG.F.O=PRES=REL.F  
guli]NP ta kilie.  
thing TOP shell  
‘The thing with which they made a hook was a shell.’ (28-1-7)

When the NP contains a determiner, the relative clause follows the head. This NP can also have other optional NP constituents, and all optional NP constituents including the
determiner occupy the position they normally do. Determiners always take the NP initial position, as in examples (12.1), (12.4), (12.6) and (12.7), while a modifier may precede or follow the head. In example (12.11), a modifier kiadama ‘all’ follows the head and the relative clause follows this.

(12.11)  
...ke=bori=k=a  
3PL=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES  
[ko=a  
3SG.F=LIG  
ore  
kiada=ma  
all=3SG.F]

[se  
ke=vae=k=e=ma]RC

3PL  
3PL=leave=3SG.F.O=RMP=REL.F

‘...they1 carried all the trees theyj left.’ (22-5-19)

When the head of a relative clause is a temporal noun or a locational noun koi ‘here’, the relative clause always precedes the head. When a relative clause modifies the head koi ‘place’ it is never marked with a pronoun, as in example (12.13). This is because a modifier of koi ‘place’ cannot have a morpheme that has a reference to a person/number/gender (see §7.2.2.4). The clause here is regarded as a relative clause because of its modifying function.

(12.12)  
[[Ko=kue=va=ko]RC  
taku]NP  
ta  enge  
Vella La Vella
3SG.F=come=PRES=REL.F  
time TOP 1PL.EXC

udu  
kale=a=ma  
maba  
poso=ngela  
ta
island  
in=LIG=3SG.F  
person PL.M=1PL.EXC  
TOP

tapata  
ge=da  
el=ou.
hard  
1PL.EXC=SIT  
become=FUT

‘In the time which is [just] coming, [the lives of] we Vella La Vella island people will become hard.’ (64-3-16)

(12.13)  
Kasa  
ko=m=ai  
i=k=a  
[[se  
ke=mutai=va]RC

sight  
3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL  
cause=3SG.F.O=PRES  
3PL  
3PL=hide=PRES

koi]NP.

place

‘[The spirit] showed the place they1 were hiding to themj.’ (12-6-59)

The referent of an NP which contains a headed relative clause can only be third person, and its number/gender can be specified by a determiner. In (12.4), (12.5), (12.6), (12.7), and (12.11) it is specified by a demonstrative. In (12.1) it is specified by an indefinite pronoun.

12.2.4 Headless relative clauses

As noted above, in a headless relative clause, there is no overt object of relativisation. A headless relative clause may form an NP on its own and a bound pronoun in the relative clause indicates the person/number/gender of the NP. This bound pronoun can be
an object clitic as in examples (12.2) and (12.8) or a pronominal proclitic as in examples (12.9) and (12.14) below.

The referent of a headless relative clause may be identified only from the discourse. In the discourse where the following example occurs, there is no mention of 'story' at all.

(12.14)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Anga} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad a=q=a & \quad \text{bazu-bazut=a} \\
1SG & \quad TOP & 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL & \text{REDUP-tell=PRES} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{ko}=\text{kue}=\text{vi}=\text{ma} & \quad \text{vakapeuru} & \quad \text{kale} & \text{a} \text{zo}]_{\text{RCNP}} \\
3SG.F=\text{come}=\text{RMP}=\text{REL.F} & \quad \text{western.country} & \text{in} & \text{ABL} \\
'\text{I am telling the story which came from a western country.}' & (10-14-121) \\
\text{(more literally 'I am telling it which came from white people's village.'})
\end{align*}
\]

The NP which consists of a headless relative clause (hereafter, headless relative clause) can be any person. In examples (12.2), (12.8), (12.9), and (12.14), it is third person. It is second person in (12.15) and it is first person in (12.16) and (12.17) below.

As described in §7.2.1.6, a Bilua NP which has a first or second person referent obligatorily contains a pronominal enclitic phrase-finally. With a headless relative clause, this pronominal enclitic is attached to the relative clause marker. Thus, in (12.15) the second person singular pronominal enclitic nga is attached to the pronoun ni (3PL).

(12.15)  

\[
\begin{align*}
A=\text{ng}=\text{e}=\text{ala} & \quad [\text{nga} & \text{ol}=\text{ala}=\text{ni}=\text{nga} & \text{Gizo}]_{\text{RCNP}} \\
1SG=2SG.O=\text{see}=\text{RCP} & \quad 2SG & \text{go}=\text{RCP}=\text{REL.NONF}=2SG & \text{Gizo} \\
'\text{I saw you [the one] who went to Gizo.'}
\end{align*}
\]

Moreover, the predicate NP of a non-verbal equational clause in Bilua agrees with the subject NP in person (§11.2). Thus, in (12.16) and (12.17), the subject NP is first person, and the predicate NP is expressed by a headless relative clause, and first person is marked by a pronominal enclitic attached to the relative clause marker. Notice that in these examples, the predicate tells what category of people/things the subject belongs to and thus the predicate NP is non-referential,\(^{74}\) but it is still coded as first person because of the agreement between subject and predicate NPs.

(12.16)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Enge}=\text{a} & \quad \text{saidi} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad [[\text{puli}=\text{a}=\text{ma} & \text{niuniu} \\
1PL.EXC=\text{LIG} & \text{family} & \text{TOP} & \text{NEG}=\text{LIG}=3SG.F & \text{fish} \\
\text{nge}=\text{q}=\text{u}=\text{a}=\text{ni}]_{\text{RC}}=\text{ngela}]_{\text{NP.}} \\
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=\text{eat}=\text{PRES}=\text{REL.NONF}=1PL.EXC \\
'\text{We, [members of] our family are ones who eat no fish.'} & (24-2-19)
\end{align*}
\]

(12.17)  

\[
\begin{align*}
...\text{anga} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad [\text{[q}=\text{zaulao}=\text{va}=\text{ni}]_{\text{RC}}=\text{lala}]_{\text{NP}} & ... \\
1SG & \quad TOP & 1SG & \text{hunt}=\text{PRES}=\text{REL.NONF}=1SG \\
'...\text{I am one who hunts (a hunter)...'} & (59-10-87)
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{74}\) Notice however, the relative clause is non-restrictive; although it has no referent, one can identify the category.
A headless relative clause functioning as a non-verbal predicate can also be referential, but this requires the situation-change marker *ta*. As noted in §8.5.3, the situation-change marker *ta* occurs only in a clause which presents a non-habitual/generic situation. This is the only environment where an aspectual/modal marker can occur in a relative clause.

\[(12.18)\]  
\[\text{Vo=a meqora ta [q=ta ke=ve=ni}}\]  
\[\text{3SG.M=LIG child TOP 3SG.M=SIT go=RMP=REL.NONF}\]  
\[\text{Australia}_{\text{RCNP}}.\]  
Australia  
‘That child is the one who went to Australia.’

### 12.2.5 Functions of common arguments

A relative clause shares a common argument with the main clause. The common argument can be any of S/A/O arguments of the relative clause. It is more frequently the S/O argument than the A argument. In (12.2), (12.6), (12.7), (12.8), and (12.11) it is the O argument, and in (12.1), (12.9), (12.14), (12.15), (12.17), and (12.18), it is the S argument. In (12.4) and (12.16), it is the A argument. In (12.5), the first one is A argument and the second one is the S argument.

The common argument can also be a second object of the headed relative clause, as in the following example.\(^{75}\)

\[(12.19)\]  
\[\text{A=q=ea=la [ko=a chainsaw}}\]  
\[\text{1SG=3SG.F.O=see=RCP 3SG.F=LIG chainsaw}\]  
\[\text{[ke=kati=ve=e=ma}_{\text{RC}}]\]  
\[\text{3PL=give=3SG.M.O=RMP=REL.F}\]  
‘I saw the chainsaw which they gave to him.’

Keenan and Comrie (1977) present a hierarchy for the functions of the common argument in the relative clause as follows: Subject > Direct object > Indirect object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparison.

In Bilua case, a subject (S/A) or a direct object (O) of the relative clause can be a common argument. An oblique can be realised as an added object (see §9.4 for added objects) in the valency-increasing construction, and this then can be a common argument, as illustrated by example (12.20) below. Note that it was stated in §3.2.1 that there is no category of oblique core arguments in Bilua. Oblique here is interpreted as non-arguments which are realised as core arguments in added object relation in the valency-increasing construction, and this includes arguments with the semantic role of possessor.

\(^{75}\) In Bilua, the argument with the semantic role of recipient is in direct object relation, while the argument with the semantic role of gift is in second object relation (see §3.2.1), although the English translation suggests that the relations are the other way around.
Thus, Bilua fits in the hierarchy presented by Keenan and Comrie—all argument on the left side of Genitive can be relativised. Bilua has no specific expression for comparisons.

The common argument *maba* ‘person’ in example (12.20) below has the semantic role of possessor, and this is realised as an added object by valency increase: *maba* ‘person’ in (12.20) cross-references on the VP by the object clitic *v* (3SG.M.O) on the valency-increasing marker. The relative clause in (12.4) is another example. In this relative clause, the common argument has the semantic role of accompaniment and this is realised as an added object.

(12.20) \[ V_o=a \quad maba \quad [k_o=t_a \quad v=a \quad v_o=v_i=n_i \\
3SG.M=LIG \quad person \quad 3SG.F=POSS \quad 3SG.M.O=VAL \quad die=RMP=REL.NONF \\
o=\textit{rek{o}}{\text{RC}}_{NP} \quad t_a \quad matu \quad duki \quad o=\textit{ta} \quad e_v=a. \\
3SG.M=wife \quad TOP \quad very \quad sad \quad 3SG.M=SIT \quad become=\text{PRES} \]

‘The man whose wife died became very sad.’

12.3 Complementation

12.3.1 Introduction

Complementation is defined as ‘the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate’ (Noonan 1985:42). In his complement types, Noonan includes nominalised complements (an NP whose head is a nominalised verb) as one type of complement. ‘Nominalised complements are predications with the headless structure of noun phrases’, and ‘[t]he argument [in nominalised complements] may assume associative (genitival) relationships with the predicate’ (1985:60).

Formally, Bilua complement clauses can be divided into three types:

- finite complement clauses
- non-finite complement clauses
- nominalised complement

The structure of finite and non-finite complement clauses is the same as that of independent clauses, but in finite and non-finite complement clauses, the VP always takes clause-initial position and optional constituents follow this. Furthermore, finite and non-finite complement clauses are distinguished from independent clauses in terms of the VP structure/constituents as described below. Finite and non-finite complement clauses can be the object of a verbal clause or the subject of a non-verbal clause.

Bilua nominalised complements have a basic or a possessive NP structure, and they can take any role. They can be the subject or the object of a verbal clause as well as the subject or the predicate of a non-verbal clause.

In both non-finite complement clauses and nominalised complements, the verb is bound by a nominal derivational enclitic *o* for a non-finite marking, but they are distinguished from each other in terms of the expression of arguments. In a nominalised
complement, an argument is expressed by an embedded possessor NP, and this and the nominalised verb form a possessive NP. This fits with the description of nominalised complements by Noonan above. On the other hand, in a non-finite complement clause, an argument is expressed by a non-embedded, independent NP, just as in independent clauses.

When a complement clause is an object, it always follows the main clause. This is the basic position of O NPs. Like O NPs, O complement clauses are cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic. The object clitic here is realised in the default form, the third person singular feminine form. This is because clauses are not specified for person/number/gender (see Corbett 1991:203–212 for a discussion about the selection of a particular form for agreement with clauses). Only a small group of verbs can take a finite/non-finite complement clause or a nominalised complement as the O argument. This is discussed in §12.3.5, after a description of each of the three types of complement clauses: finite complement clauses in §12.3.2; non-finite complement clauses in §12.3.3; and nominalised complements in §12.3.4.77

12.3.2 Finite complement clauses

The VP of a finite complement clause is distinguished from the VP of an independent clause by restrictions for tense markers and the non-occurrence of modifiers. The tense of a Bilua finite complement clause can be future only, and hence its VP contains either the near future tense marker or the future tense marker. The situation described by a finite complement clause is thus always an unrealised one, and because of this, the finite complement clause is always preceded by the irrealis marker tu. The complement clause, preceded by tu, immediately follows the VP of the main clause. The complement clause has the VP clause initially and other constituents follow this. The subject of the main clause and the subject of the finite complement clause can be co-referential or not co-referential. The following are some examples. In this section, underlines mark complement clauses.

\[12.21\] ...\(o=k=a\)  
\[zari=a\]  
\[tu\]  
\[ko=k=ai\]  
\[3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL\]  
\[want=PRES\]  
\[IRR\]  
\[3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL\]  
\[zoman=o\]  
\[se\]  
\[sate...\]  
\[join=NRFUT\]  
\[3PL\]  
\[COM\]  
'...he wanted her to join it with them...' (67-2-21)

\[12.22\]  
\[Enge \ ta\]  
\[nge=madoe=k=a\]  
\[tu\]  
\[nge=jisil=ou\]  
\[1PL.EXC\]  
\[TOP\]  
\[1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=PRES\]  
\[IRR\]  
\[1PL.EXC=dive=FUT\]

76 However, when a nominalised complement has two arguments, one of the arguments is expressed by a non-embedded NP (see §12.3.4).

77 There is no interrogative complement clause in Bilua. An English sentence like ‘I don’t know where he went’ is expressed by two juxtaposed independent clauses (see §13.3).
Tu is not a complementiser but rather a morpheme which indicates that the clause which follows presents an unrealised situation. This contention is supported by the fact that it can occur between two independent clauses as well (see §13.3).

It was previously stated that the subject of the main clause and the subject of the finite complement clause can be co-referential or not co-referential, and this is illustrated by examples above. A finite complement clause may contain aspectual/modal markers except for the implicative marker be, but this is limited to when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are not co-referential.

(12.23) A=v=ai zari=a tu o=pa iruruput=ou.
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL want=PRES IRR 3SG.M=PROS work=FUT
'I want him to go and work.'

In the examples above, complement clauses are objects. A finite complement clause can also be the subject of a non-verbal clause. In a non-verbal clause whose subject is a complement clause, the order of subject and predicate is reversed; the predicate precedes the subject, and the subject—which is a complement clause—is preceded by the irealis marker tu. The predicate can only be an adjective. Thus,

| Adjective | Irrealis marker | Complement clause |

When a finite complement clause is the subject of a non-verbal clause, it may contain an aspectual marker, the prospective marker pa, but not other aspectual markers. For example,

(12.24) ...uri tu a=ba mumae=m=ou siqo kale.
good IRR 1SG=PROS have.lost=3PL.O=FUT bush in
'[...it will be] good for me to go and get them lost in the bush.' (16-1-12)

12.3.3 Non-finite complement clauses

The VP of non-finite complement clauses shows many differences from the VP of independent clauses. It lacks a phrase-final tense marker and instead it takes a nominal derivational enclitic o. It also lacks a pronominal proclitic and it can never contain an aspectual/modal marker or a modifier. An exception to this is when it is the subject of a non-verbal clause and when the predicate of this clause is an NP headed with male 'match'; it may contain a pronominal proclitic. Furthermore, in such a case, the complement clause may take an optional NP in preverbal position (see below).

When a non-finite complement clause is an object, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the non-finite complement clause are always co-referential, and so in the non-finite complement clause the subject is never expressed.
(12.25) \( vo \quad ta \quad o=tanie=k=a \quad vairizat=o \quad ko \)
\( 3SG.M \quad TOP \quad 3SG.M=\text{begin}=3SG.F.O=\text{PRES} \quad \text{look.for}=\text{NOM} \quad 3SG.F \)

niuniu.

fish

...he began to look for fish.’ (24-2-21)

A non-finite complement clause can present either an unrealised situation or a realised situation. In example (12.25), the main verb is *tanieko* ‘to begin’, which points at the beginning of an event, and the complement clause presents a realised situation, since as soon as an event starts, this event becomes realis. In the following example, the non-finite complement clause presents an unrealised situation. The verb *zario* ‘to want’ expresses the subject’s wish that a situation will/would be accomplished, and thus it presents an unrealised situation. When a non-finite complement clause presents an unrealised situation, it can optionally be preceded by the irrealis marker *tu*.

(12.26) \( a=q=a \quad zari=a \quad tu \quad k=ai \quad bazut=a... \)
\( 1SG=3SG.F.O=\text{VAL} \quad \text{want}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{IRR} \quad 3SG.F.O=\text{VAL} \quad \text{tell}=\text{NOM} \)

‘...I want to tell a story...’ (12-1-1)

The structure of example (12.26) is very similar to the structure of example (12.21), which is an example of a finite complement clause. The difference here is that there is no occurrence of a pronominal proclitic in (12.26) as this is a non-finite complement clause, while there is an occurrence of a pronominal proclitic in (12.21) as a finite complement clause requires this.

It might be considered that indeed there is only one type of complement clause that covers both finite and non-finite complement clauses. That is, there is only one type of complement clause, either finite or non-finite. It is not possible to treat all complement clauses as non-finite since there are examples in which complement clauses are definitely finite—examples (12.22), (12.23), and (12.24). Now suppose they are all finite and what is treated as a nominal derivational enclitic *o* in a non-finite complement clause is in fact a near future tense marker, this would result in some semantic contradiction. For example, in example (12.41) below, suppose the complement clause is finite, *o* on the verb *nabulo* ‘to bake’ then should be treated as the near future tense marker. This is semantically problematic as the situation described by the complement clause here is a realised one—she finished baking, which means she already baked. Thus, it is not possible to treat all complement clauses as finite either, and two types of complement clauses, finite and non-finite complement clauses, should be distinguished.

A non-finite complement clause can also be the subject of a non-verbal clause, and this takes the sentence structure presented in the last section; the predicate precedes the subject and the irrealis marker *tu* occurs between them.

(12.27) "Uri \quad tu \quad niae=v=o \quad ko \quad sailao \quad saita.
\( \text{good} \quad \text{IRR} \quad \text{feed}=3SG.M.O=\text{NOM} \quad 3SG.F \quad \text{food} \quad \text{first} \)

"[It will be] good to feed him some food first,’ (26-22-119)
When the predicate of a non-verbal clause is an NP headed with the noun male ‘match’, there is no occurrence of the irrealsis marker, and the VP of the complement clause may contain a pronominal proclitic which expresses the subject. In example (12.28), the pronominal enclitic o (3SG.M) expresses the subject and this is further expressed by an NP omadeu maba ‘one man’.

(12.28) ...pui [ko=male] omadeu maba o=bori=k=o...
     NEG 3SG.F=match one person 3SG.M=carry=3SG.F.O=NOM
        predicate                  subject
     ‘...[the huge string bag] was not equal to one person’s carrying it.’ (67-3-30)
     (more literally ‘...one man’s carrying it was not a match...’)

The noun male ‘match’ obligatorily occurs with a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references the subject. This pronoun does not necessarily have a referent. In (12.28), ko does not have any referent. In (12.29a) below, it has a referent.

(12.29-a) Pui [ke=male] bori=k=o.
     NEG 3PL=match carry=3SG.F.O=NOM
        predicate                  subject
     ‘They were not equal to carrying [the huge string bag].’
     (more literally ‘Carrying it wasn’t their match.’)

The pronoun ke here in fact indicates the subject of the nominalised verb. Ke can be shifted onto the nominalised verb, and male is then bound by ko (3SG.F), the default form. Example (12.29a) can be paraphrased as:

(12.29-b) Pui ko=male [ke=bori=k=o].
     NEG 3SG.F=match 3PL=carry=3SG.F.O=NOM
     ‘[The huge string bag] was not equal to their carrying it.’
     (more literally ‘Their carrying it was not a match.’)

12.3.4 Nominalised complement

A nominalised complement in Bilua is an NP headed with a nominalised verb. In the following example, the nominalised verb saev=o means ‘life’.

(12.30) ...uri=a=ma saev=o go=k=o=e.
     good=LG=3SG.F survive=NOM 3DU=3SG.F.O=get=RMP
     ‘...the two had a good life.’ (43-6-70)

In the above example, the NP is a basic NP. A nominalised complement may be realised as an indirect type of possessive NP as well (see §7.3.2), and the embedded possessor NP presents the subject or the object of the nominalised verb. In example (12.31), the demonstrative vo (3SG.M) forms the possessor NP and this presents the subject of the nominalised verb, while in example (12.32), the noun meqo ‘bonito’ forms the possessor NP and this presents the object of the nominalised verb.
(12.31) $A=q=e=a \quad vo=ko \quad vouvat=o...$

1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F kill=NOM

'I saw his killing (of someone)...' (12-13-113)

(12.32) $Ko \quad ikio \quad mego=ko \quad k=ov=o.$

3SG.F FOC.F bonito=3SG.F 3SG.F=get=NOM

'That was [the way to catch bonitos].’ (28-5-45)

A nominalised complement may have two arguments. In such a case, the subject is expressed by a possessor NP and the object is expressed by a non-embedded NP. The possessive NP which includes the subject expression always precedes the NP which expresses the object. In example (12.33), a possessor NP $vo$ (3SG.M) and an NP $ko=a maba$ (3SG.F=LIG person) present the subject and the object respectively. As noted in §6.5.1.4, the object clitic on a nominalised verb cross-references the object. In (12.33), this is ‘the person (the woman)’.

(12.33) $Vo=ko \quad vouvae=k=o \quad ko=a \quad maba \quad ta$

3SG.M=3SG.F kill=3SG.F.O=NOM 3SG.F=LIG person TOP

\[\text{matu \quad ruge.} \]

very bad

‘His killing (murder) of that person (woman) was very bad.’

A nominalised complement thus, except for when the object is expressed by an independent basic NP, takes the form of a regular NP, and therefore it can contain a modifier phrase as in (12.30), or a determiner as in (12.34), and also it can have any function: they are objects in (12.30) and (12.31), the predicate of a non-verbal clause in (12.32), the subject of a non-verbal clause in (12.33), and the subject of a verbal clause in (12.34) below. Notice that unlike when a finite or non-finite complement clause is the subject of a non-verbal clause, a non-verbal clause in (12.33) is in the basic non-verbal clause structure; the subject, which is marked with a topic marker, precedes the predicate (see §11.1 for the basic non-verbal structure).

(12.34) $...komi=a \quad pazokini=o \quad ta \quad ko \quad erei \quad siolotlu$

PROX.SG.F=LIG fight=NOM TOP 3SG.F happenRMP eight

\[\text{paizana \quad sabere \quad keru.} \]

hundred year TEMP

‘this fighting happened in 800.’ (9-5-37)

12.3.5 Main verbs

In the last three sections, three different types of complement clauses in Bilua are described. The first two types of complement clause, the finite complement clause and the non-finite complement clause, can be the object but not the subject of a verbal clause. The third type of complement clause, the nominalised complement, can be the subject as well as the object of a verbal clause. When complement clauses are objects, finite and
non-finite complement clauses and nominalised complements are in complementary distribution. A nominalised complement can be the object of any Primary verb, as long as this is semantically possible. Primary verbs are ‘those directly referring to some activity or state, i.e. verbs which can make up a sentence by themselves with appropriate NPs filling the various semantic roles’ (Dixon 1991:88). A finite or non-finite complement clause can be the object of only several Secondary verbs. ‘Secondary verbs all provide semantic modification of some other verbs’ (Dixon 1991:90). Syntactically, secondary verbs are main verbs but semantically, the complement verb is the central verb. For example, in a sentence, ‘he finished eating’, semantically ‘to eat’ is the central verb, but syntactically ‘to finish’ is the main verb.

Verbs which can take a finite or non-finite complement clauses are:

- roveo ‘can’
- tanito/tanieko ‘to begin’
- epezo ‘to stop’
- lupao ‘to refuse’
- paiko ‘to finish’
- zario ‘to want’
- madoeko ‘to try’

Some of the verbs above such as roveo ‘can’, tanito ‘to begin’, epezo ‘to stop’, and lupao ‘to refuse’, are morphologically intransitive verbs—they are not bounded by an object clitic, but they can still take an O complement clause. With these verbs the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are always co-referential and the complement clause is realised as a non-finite complement clause.

Roveo ‘can’ is a unique verb both syntactically and semantically. It is an intransitive verb, but can have an object complement clause, and its meaning, ‘can’, is a modal one.

(12.35) ...ngeh=rove=a\$tu k=\$o=vo k\$o takula...
1PL.EXC=can=PRES 3SG.F.O=GET=NOM 3SG.F money
‘...we could get money...’ (64-2-11)

The fact that roveo ‘can’ is the main verb is demonstrated by the following example in which a relative clause marker goes on this verb, the main verb.

(12.36) ...ang\$a ta pui a=rove=a=ni=lala\$talio
1SG TOP NEG 1SG=can=PRES=REL.NONF=1SG walk.fastNOM

\$ni a\$ka\$za\$=o.
and fly=NOM

‘...I am not one who can walk fast or fly.’ (15-1-6)

Tanito ‘begin’ and epezo ‘to stop’ are both intransitive verbs and never occur with an O NP but can occur with an O complement clause.
(12.37) ...o=tanit=ake \(\textit{tali}=a\)...  
3SG.M=begin=HIST walk=NOM  
‘...he started walking...’ (26-11-60)

(12.38) \textit{Melai} pui o epez=a \(\textit{keru-kerue}=k=a\)...  
but NEG 3SG.M stop=PRES REDUP-think=3SG.F.O=NOM  
‘But, he didn’t stop thinking about her...’ (27-23-152)

\textit{Lupao} ‘to refuse’ is an intransitive verb but can still take an O NP, though this requires the valency-increasing construction as in example (12.39), while it can take an O complement clause without employing the valency-increasing construction as in example (12.40).\(^{78}\)

(12.39) ...\(\textit{ko}=ta\) ng=a \(\textit{lupao}=\textit{you}\).  
3SG.F=SIT 2SG.O=VAL refuse=FUT  
‘...she will refuse you.’ (27-4-22)

(12.40) ...\(\textit{a}=\textit{lupa}\) ra\(e=\textit{v}=a\)...  
1SG=refuse marry=3SG.M.O=NOM  
‘...I refuse to marry him...’ (27-7-48)

\textit{Paiko} ‘to finish’ is a transitive verb. Similar to the intransitive verbs listed above, with this verb, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are always co-referential and the complement clause is realised as a non-finite complement clause.

(12.41) \(\textit{Ko}=\textit{pai}=k=a\) \(\textit{nabul}=o\).  
3SG.F=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES bake=NOM  
‘She finished baking.’ (67-3-29)

\textit{Zario} ‘to want’ is an intransitive verb, but it is always used in the valency-increasing construction and thus this takes two core arguments. \textit{Madoeko} ‘to try’ is a transitive verb and so it takes two core arguments. \textit{Madoeko} ‘to try’ and \textit{zario} ‘to want’ can take either a finite or a non-finite complement clause. With these verbs, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause can be either co-referential or not co-referential. When they are not co-referential, the complement clause can only be finite. For example,

(12.42) A=\(\textit{madoe}=v=\textit{ala}\) \(tu\) o=\(\textit{studyput}=o\) \(\textit{melai pui}\)  
1SG=try=3SG.M.O=RCP IRR 3SG.M=study=NRFUT but NEG

\(^{78}\) \textit{Lupao} ‘refuse’ with the present tense-marking enclitic, \textit{lupao}=\textit{va} (refuse=PRES) is often realised as \textit{lupa}. 
\[ o = k = a \quad zari = a. \]
3SG.M = 3SG.F.O = VAL want = PRES

'I tried to get him to study but he doesn’t want to.'

(more literally ‘I tried him so that he will study but he doesn’t want to.’)

\[(12.43) \quad A = v = a i \quad zari = l a \quad t u \quad o = z i o = v o u \quad G i z o \]
1SG = 3SG.M.O = VAL want = RCP IRR 3SG.M = go = FUT Gizo

\[ r a v i \quad m e l a i \quad p u i \quad o = p a \quad o l = a l a. \]

yesterday but NEG 3SG.M = PROS go = RCP

'I wanted him to go to Gizo yesterday, but he didn’t go.'

(more literally ‘I wanted him so that he would go to Gizo yesterday, but he didn’t go.’)

The object clitic on the main verb in (12.42) and the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker preceding the verb \textit{zario} ‘to want’ in (12.43) both show agreement with the subject of the complement clause. These clitics can be replaced with a default form, \( k \) (3SG.F.O), agreeing with the complement clause instead. It might be hypothesised that when these object clitics agree with the subject, the speaker is addressing his interest to the person whom he tried or he wanted, while when they agree with the complement clause, the speaker’s interest is addressed to the event expressed by the complement clause. More data with appropriate discourse is required to prove this hypothesis.

When two subjects are co-referential, the complement clause can be either finite or non-finite. Below example (12.22) is repeated from §12.3.2.

\[(12.44) \quad N g e = m a d o e = k = a \quad t u \quad r e r i = k = o... \]
1PL.EXC = try = 3SG.F.O = PRES IRR chase = 3SG.F.O = NOM

'We try to chase [wild animals] (but unsuccessfully)...' (64-3-19)

\[(12.45) \quad ... a = v = a i \quad z a r i = a \quad b a z u - b a z u = t o \quad k a l a \]
1SG = 3SG.M.O = VAL want = PRES REDUP-tell = NOM INDEF.SG.M

\textit{bazu-bazulao},
REDUP-folktales

'...I want to tell a folktales.' (24-1-1)

\[(12.22') \quad E n g e \quad t u \quad n g e = m a d o e = k = a \quad t u \quad n g e = j i s i l = o u \]
1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC = try = 3SG.F.O = PRES IRR 1PL.EXC = dive = FUT

\[ n i \quad n g e = q = o = v o u \quad k o \quad n i u n i u \quad m a \quad b i o... \]

and 1PL.EXC = 3SG.F.O = get = FUT 3SG.F fish or shell

'try to dive and get fish or shell...' (64-2-12)

---

\[ ^{79} \text{As the translation in the brackets suggests, this is not a causative clause, and thus the verb ‘to study’ is not causativised.} \]
(12.46) \( o=k=a \)   \( zari=a \)   \( tu \)   \( o=rae=ng=o.. \)
\( 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL \)  \( \text{want=PRES} \)  \( \text{IRR} \)  \( 3SG.M=\text{marry}=2SG.O=\text{NRFUT} \)
‘...he wants to marry you...’ (27-7-38)

The following table presents a summary of verbs which take finite and non-finite complement clauses.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Finite/non-finite</th>
<th>Co-referentiality of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tanito/tanioko ‘to begin’</td>
<td>non–finite</td>
<td>co-referential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epezo ‘to stop’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lupao ‘to refuse’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roveo ‘can’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paiko ‘to finish’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madoeko ‘to try’</td>
<td>finite</td>
<td>co-referential or not co-referential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zario ‘to want’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.4 Adverbial Clauses

There are four types of adverbial clauses in Bilua: temporal, purposive, imaginative conditional, and absolutive clauses. Adverbial clauses are marked with a relator which takes the form of a subordinator or a postposition. Adverbial clauses can be finite or non-finite. Similar to non-finite complement clauses, non-finite adverbial clauses do not contain tense and aspect markers, and their verbs take the nominal derivational enclitic \( o \).

The four types of adverbial clauses can be divided into two groups: those which can be substituted by a single word and those which cannot (Thompson & Longacre 1985: 177). Among Bilua adverbial clauses, only temporal clauses can be substituted by a single word, whereas others cannot. Temporal clauses are also distinguished by their ability to be a focus or a topic. Others do not have such an ability.

80 Some speakers also use a complement clause with the verb inainao ‘to get ready’, but some do not accept this. The following example, which contains the verb inainao ‘to get ready’ and its complement clause, was found in the data:

\( ...\text{o} \)   \( \text{inai-o}=\text{va} \)   \( \text{tu} \)   \( \text{zie} \)   \( \text{kiaro} \)   \( \text{kasi} \)
\( 3DU \)   REDUP-get.ready=PRE\text{S}   \text{IRR}   \text{goNOM}   \text{garden}   \text{at} \\
\( \text{saila-saila}=o=\text{le} \),
REDUP-get.food=NOM=PURP
‘... the two got ready in order to go to the garden to get food,’ (27-12-72)

This example, however, is not accepted by some speakers. It may be the case that this clause is a result of an influence from English expression, ‘get ready to do’.
12.4.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses can be finite or non-finite. Both types precede the main clause. A finite temporal clause is marked with keru, which always occurs immediately after the VP. If the clause has constituents other than the VP, they follow keru. Keru can also govern an NP (see §10.4.3); that is, it is a postposition.

(12.47) ...kubo maba madu ke=kail=a keru kiaro kasi
many person COLL.PL 3PL=go.up=PRES TEMP garden at

se ta ke=rove=a tu barol=o se=ko peuru kale.
3PL TOP 3PL=can=PRES IRR arrive=NOM 3PL=3SG.F village in
"...when many people went up to their gardens, they could return to their
village." (26-8-48)

Example (12.47) occurs in a narrative in which one person went up to his/her garden but never returned to the village, while when more than one person went up to their gardens, they would come back.

Finite temporal clauses may present a situation which immediately precedes a situation described by the main clause, as in (12.47) above, when the verb in the temporal clause is a totally terminative verb or a gradually terminative verb (see §8.4 for a classification of verbs). When this verb is a durative verb, the two situations described by the main clause and the temporal clause are simultaneous, as in example (12.48).

(12.48) Nio so keru ke=m=e=a keru se=a
SEQ that TEMP 3PL=3PL.O=see=PRES TEMP 3PL=LIG

reko-reko se lasiverusu ta se=ko kiaro kale.
REDUP-women 3PL boy TOP 3PL=3SG.F garden in
"And, that time, when women saw them, the boys were in their garden."
(22-3-12)

Furthermore, a finite temporal clause may present a situation that is happening when the situation described by the main clause occurs. In such a case, the VP in the temporal clause has an intransitive verb accompanied by the continuity marker beta, as in example (12.49). A transitive verb never occurs in such a temporal clause (see below).

(12.49) ...ke=beta koazat=a keru inio, ni=a
3PL=CONT get=PRES TEMP FOC.NONF PROX.PL=LIG

kana madu ta ke=ta baro=a.
war COLL.PL TOP 3PL=SIT arrive=PRES
"...while they were getting them, these warriors arrived." (25-2-19)

A non-finite temporal clause never contains a subject-marking pronominal proclitic, and its VP always consists of the head, an intransitive verb or a transitive verb accompanied with an object clitic, and the nominal derivational enclitic o. There are three different subordinators which mark non-finite temporal clauses: maqa and palate are both translated as 'while' and puliako is translated as 'before'.

Dependent clauses 223
The subordinator *maqa* 'while' follows the clause it marks. The non-finite temporal clause here obligatorily takes an S NP in preverbal position.

\[ \text{[S NP VP] } maqa \]

\[ \text{VP } \Rightarrow \text{V(=object clitic)=NOM} \]

(12.50) *So keru vo teku maqa inio kurou ta*

that TEMPO 3SG.M lie.down NOM while FOC.NONF pigeon TOP

\[ o \text{ ait=ake.} \]

3SG.M count=HIST

'That time, while he is lying down, the pigeon counted.' (15-3-24)

*Maqa* may mark an NP whose head is *so* 'that', the pronoun which has a clause as an antecedent as in (12.51). That is, *maqa* can be treated as a postposition. However, since *so* 'that' refers to a clause and since *maqa* 'while' can only govern an NP *so* 'that' but no other NPs, *maqa* 'while' is categorised as a subordinator.

(12.51) *Kasa ko=m=ai i=k=a se ke=matu*

sight 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL put=3SG.F.O=PRES 3PL 3PL=very

\[ \text{mutai=va koi.} \]

hide=PRES place that while FOC.NONF 3PL TOP 3PL=PROS

\[ v=ati inot=a vo Sito o ev=a koi \]

3SG.M.O=VAL look.for=PRES 3SG.M Sito 3SG.M stay=PRES place

*Maravari kingu kale.*

Maravari forest in

'It showed them, the place they$_j$ were hidden. While they$_i$ were hidden, they$_i$ went to look for the place where Sito was staying in Maravari forest.'

(12-6-59~61)

The subordinator *palate* 'during' also follows the clause it marks. It may contain an S NP or an adjunctival phrase preverbally.

\[ \text{[(S NP/adjunctival phrase) VP] } palate \]

\[ \text{VP } \Rightarrow \text{V(=object clitic)=NOM} \]

(12.52) *Australia el=o palate inio a=qe=ve kubo*

Australia stay=NOM while FOC.NONF 1SG=see=RMP many

\[ aza-aza=ma quli. \]

REDUP-various=3SG.F thing

'While living in Australia, I saw many, various things.'
The subordinator puliako ‘before’ precedes the clause it marks. An optional S NP occurs between puliako and the verb, and an optional adjunctival phrase occurs in postverbal position.

\[
\text{puliako ([S NP] VP (adjunctival phrase))} \quad \text{VP} \Rightarrow \text{V(=object clitic)=NOM}
\]

(12.53) \(\ldots\text{puliako nioqa tada}=o \quad \text{nio} \quad o \quad \text{ol}=a\)
before 3DU depart=NOM FOC.NONF 3SG.M go=PRES

\(o=pa \quad k=o=a \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{kokoro.}\)
\(3SG.M=\text{PROS} \quad 3SG.F.O=\text{get}=\text{PRES} \quad 3SG.F \text{ pole}\)
‘...before they departed, he went, he went and got a pole.’ (59-6-44)
(more literally ‘not that the two had departed, and he went, he went and got a pole.’)

(12.54) \(\text{Puliako} \quad \text{komi}=a \quad \text{lotu} \quad \text{saev}=o\)
before PROX.SG.F=LIG Christianity survive=NOM

\(\text{barol}=o \quad \text{ko},\)
arrive=NOM here
‘Before Christian life arrived here,’ (10-1-1)

It may be hypothesised that puliako originated in three morphemes: puli (NEG) a (LIG), and ko (3SG.F), and that this combination is lexicalised as a subordinator. The pronoun ko appears to refer to the following non-finite clause, but note that a clause is normally substituted by a pronoun so ‘that’, not ko (3SG.F). In (12.53), ko (3SG.F) refers to nioqa tadao ‘they depart’. Thus, puliako nioqa tadao literally means ‘not that the two had departed’. Their departure had not occurred when the situation expressed by the main clause occurred ‘he went, he went and got a pole’; it happened after the situation expressed by the main clause happened. Thus, puliako can be interpreted as ‘before’. Puliako has a homonym ‘that’s nothing/that’s not a big deal/that’s Okay’.

There is no semantic difference between maqa ‘while’ and palate ‘while’, but maqa can be used only when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are not co-referential. In (12.50), they are not co-referential. Palate can be used both when they are co-referential and when they are not co-referential. In (12.52), they are co-referential. Puliako can also be used when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are co-referential or not co-referential. In (12.53), they are not co-referential.

Temporal clauses with maqa/palate ‘while’ present a situation as atelic, while those with puliako present an unrealised situation with reference to the situation described by the main clause. Atelic and irrealis situations are characteristic of low transitivity as described in Hopper and Thompson (1980). Because of this, these temporal clauses can have only an intransitive verb as noted above. This is also the case when kera has the meaning ‘while’, as in (12.49). On the other hand, when kera has the meaning ‘when’, as in (12.47) and (12.48), the situation is not presented as atelic, as it is a realised one with
reference to the situation described by the main clause. Consequently, when keru is
interpreted as 'when', the verb can be either transitive or intransitive.

Both finite and non-finite temporal clauses may express the meaning 'while' as shown
above. There seems to be a semantic difference between them. Example (12.49) in
which the finite temporal clause has the meaning 'while' highlights the subject's
involvement with the event of getting them, and thus the S argument is always expressed
by a pronominal proclitic, and additionally by an S NP. On the other hand, examples
(12.50) and (12.52), which are non-finite temporal clauses, do not highlight the subject's
involvement with the event. Because of this, the S argument in a non-finite temporal
clause may not be expressed as in (12.52).

12.4.2 Purposive clauses

A purposive clause presents a purpose for movement. Consequently, the main verb
has to be a motion verb or a verb that implies movement. A purposive clause is always
non-finite and is marked with an enclitic le, which is attached to the nominal derivational
enclitic on the verb. The subject of the main clause and the subject of the purposive
clause are always co-referential and the purposive clause never contains a subject marker.
An optional O NP occurs in preverbal position while an optional adjunctival phrase
occurs in postverbal position. Thus, the structure of a purposive clause is:

\[(O \text{ NP}) \quad VP=le(\text{adjunctival phrase})\quad VP \Rightarrow V(=\text{object clitic})=\text{NOM}\]

A purposive clause follows the main clause.

(12.55) \( Vo \quad ta \quad o=ta \quad ke=ve \quad leba \quad vailizat=0=le \)
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=SIT go=RMP labourer look.for=NOM=PURP

Malaita.
Malaita
'He went to Malaita to look for labourers.' (12-2-14)

(12.56) \( Ke=ta \quad kail=a \quad Koro-koroqanisi \quad kasi \)
3PL=SIT go.up=PRES REDUP-Korokoroqanisi at

\( pazo-kini=0=le. \)
hit-RECP=NOM=PURP
'They went up to Korokoroqanisi in order to fight.' (39-14-90)

The subordinator le may have originated in the cliticised form of a locative
postposition kale 'in'. This then means that a purposive clause fills a nominal slot. A
purpose can also be expressed by an independent clause introduced by the irrealis marker
tu (see §13.3). In such a case, the verb can be any kind of verb.
12.4.3 Imaginative conditional clauses

The subordinator tea ‘if’ follows a clause and marks it as an imaginative conditional clause. An imaginative conditional clause presents the speaker’s presumption of what might happen. It is always finite but can take no aspectual/modal marker. The main clause follows the imaginative conditional clause and is always in the future tense. The tense of an imaginative conditional clause can be past or future. When it is past, it presents a counterfactual situation, a situation that did not happen. In examples below imaginative conditional clauses are underlined.

(12.57) Counterfactual

Sole nge=tuvevope=k=a ta komi=a
that’s why 1PL.EXC=believe=3SG.F.O=PRES TOP PROX.SG.F=LIG

gospel lotu saev=o pui ko=pa kue=vi
Gospel Christianity survive=NOM NEG 3SG.F=PROS come=RMP

tea komi=a pazo-kini=o ta pui ko=pa
if PROX.SG.F=LIG hit-RECP=NOM TOP NEG 3SG.F=PROS

epez=o.
stop=NRFUT

‘So, what we believe is that if this Gospel, Christian life had not come, this fighting would not have stopped.’ (10-16-137–138)

(more literally ‘That is why, we believe and consequently if this Gospel, Christian life had not come, this fighting would not have stopped.)

When it is future, it presents a hypothetical situation, a situation which might happen.

(12.58) Hypothetical

Nge=madoe=k=ou tea enge ta nge=roveo=vou
1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=FUT if 1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=can=FUT
tu atie=k=o enge=ko miduku.
IRR lead=3SG.F.O=NOM 1PL.EXC=3SG.F land

‘If we tried, we would be able to lead (conquer) our land.’ (64-3-22)

Tea ‘if’ can also follow an imperative clause, and in such a case it is not followed by another clause. This means that ‘it was time to do’. 81

(12.59) Kailot=omo tea.
go.up=IMP.PL if

‘It was time to go up!’

---

81 There is also an idiom sai tea (there if) meaning ‘that’s it/that’s enough’. For example, when someone is pouring coffee for you, you can say sai tea ‘that’s it/that’s enough’ to stop her/him.
Conditions can also be expressed by an independent clause followed by a causal coordinator. This is described in §13.2.6. A summary of conditionals in Bilua is also presented in §13.2.6.

### 12.4.4 Absolutive clauses

According to Thompson and Longacre, ‘absolutive’ is a cover term for a dependent clause type which has the following properties:

(i) the clause is marked in some way as being [dependent];

(ii) there is no explicit signal of the relationship between the main and subordinate clause; thus

(iii) the interpretation of this relationship is inferred from the pragmatic and linguistic context (Thompson & Longacre 1985:200–201).

There is one type of absolutive clause in Bilua, which means ‘no good such and such happens’. An absolutive clause is marked with the postposition kale ‘in’ and thus it fills a nominal slot. Its VP always contains a subject marker, a pronominal enclitic, and an optional NP takes preverbal position. An absolutive clause can either precede or follow the main clause. In the following examples, underlines mark absolutive clauses.

\[
[(\text{NP}) \text{ VP}] \text{ kale}
\]

\[
\text{VP} \Rightarrow \text{PRON=V(=object clitic)=NOM}
\]

(12.60) \[\text{...megora me=baidae=k=o ale ko=ta}
\]

\[
\text{child 2PL=finish=3SG.F.O=NOM in 3SG.F=SIT}
\]

\[
\text{raneo=vou inio.}
\]

\[
\text{sleep.overnight=FUT FOC.NONF}
\]

‘...no good to eat up children, it’s going to be dawn.’ (47-2-90)

(more literally ‘...no good to finish children, it will sleep overnight.’)

(12.61) \[\text{...ko=ko vima } \text{ ta pui ngo el=ou}
\]

\[
\text{3SG.F=3SG.F underneath TOP NEG 2SG stay=FUT}
\]

\[
\text{ko=a duruo ko=ng=ai raibizi=o kale.}
\]

\[
\text{3SG.F=LIG big.bag 3SG.F=2SG.O=VAL pour=NOM in}
\]

‘...don’t stay underneath [the big string bag], [it is] no good for [ngali nuts in]

the big string bag to pour on you.’ (2-5-31)

Example (12.60) is uttered in a context where people started eating children when they could not find food for a few days because darkness continued over several days, and then finally someone who climbed a tree found that it was going to be dawn and told the people not to eat up children.
12.5 Summary

In the sections above, different types of dependent clauses are described. No dependent clause can contain a constituent marked with a topic or a focus marker. Relative clauses are always finite. Complement clauses and adverbial clauses can be finite or non-finite. Finite dependent clauses always contain subject and tense markers. They may contain an aspectual/modal marker but this is possible only in certain environments.

In non-finite dependent clauses, the verb is bound by the nominal derivational enclitic o instead of a tense marker. That is, the verb is turned into a nominal. In their description of nominals derived from verbs, Comrie and Thompson (1985:359) states that ‘action nominals typically have some of the syntactic characteristics of both sentences and non-derived noun phrases ... the extent to which action nominals are verbal or nominal varies considerably from language to language’. In Bilua, non-finite complement and adverbial clauses retain characteristics of sentences more than nominalised complements do. As in independent clauses, an argument of non-finite complement and adverbial clauses can only be expressed by an NP, while an argument of nominalised complements can be expressed by a possessor NP embedded into a possessive NP whose head is a nominalised verb. Furthermore, non-finite complement and adverbial clauses may contain a pronominal proclitic which functions as a subject marker, but nominalised complements cannot. However, none of non-finite dependent clauses, including nominalised complements, can take a tense marker or an aspectual/modal marker.

This concludes a description of dependent clauses. The next chapter presents a description of coordination.
13 Coordination

13.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses coordination. Coordination is a mechanism where two or more constituents of the same syntactic status are linked. In Bilua, coordination can be indicated by coordinators or by juxtaposition. Juxtaposition can only indicate coordination of independent clauses. Coordinators, on the other hand, can link various kinds of constituent as described below.

13.2 Coordinators

13.2.1 Introduction

There are six coordinators in Bilua as follows, repeated from §5.11.

- conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and'
- disjunctive coordinator *ma* 'or'
- adversative coordinator *melai* 'but'
- sequential coordinator *inio* 'sequentially/and then'
- causal coordinator *ta/ti* 'and then/consequently'
- intensifying coordinator *ti*

The adversative coordinator *melai* 'but' can form a complex coordinator with the negation marker *pui* (see §13.2.4).

All coordinators occur between the constituents they link. The intensifying coordinator *ti*, however, is different to the others. It can only link identical phrases or words. Semantically, its function is to intensify the meaning of the linked constituents. *Ti* can link phrases (NPs, PPs, and VPs) and words (the negation marker *pui* and *matu* 'big'). *Ti* is described in §13.2.7 following a description of other coordinators.

Constituents linked by the five other coordinators can be:

- nouns
- NPs
- PPs
- non-verbal predicates

230
independent clauses
dependent clauses

Conjunctive and disjunctive coordinators can link all of these constituents. The adversative coordinator can link all but nouns. Sequential and causal coordinators can link only independent clauses.

Linked constituents can also be constituents of the same syntactic function. In the following example, the linked constituents are a deictic adverb koi 'here' and a postpositional phrase peuru kale 'in the village'. Both of them function as locational adjuncts. In this section, each of the linked constituents is marked with square brackets, and the coordinator is underlined.

(13.1) Ne=a matu peuru ta matu kubo maba madu PROX.SG.M=LIG big village TOP very many person COLL.PL
ke ev=a [koi] ma [peuru kale].
3PL stay= PRES here or village in
‘As for this big village, many people lived here or in the village.’ (26-1-2)

Words and phrases linked by a coordinator are treated as one constituent. In example (13.2), the two linked nouns form one constituent, and this is the head of the possessive NP.

(13.2) Ni o=zio=vou ko=a sinaqurusu=ko [mama] and 3SG.M=go=FUT 3SG.F=LIG girl=3SG.F father
ni [niania] kidi kasi.
and mother COLL.DU at
‘He will go to the father and mother of the girl.’ (26-1-6)

Mama ni niania kidi in (13.2) could also be analysed as coordination of two NPs, [mama] ni [niania kidi], but this does not fit in the given discourse since it would then mean ‘one father and two mothers’.

 Conjunctive and disjunctive coordinators share two properties; they can be recursive, and the order of linked phrases can be freely changed without a change of meaning. In example (13.3), there are four NPs linked by the conjunctive coordinator ni ‘and’ which occurs between each pair of linked constituents, and their order can be changed without a change of meaning.

(13.3) Ke inainae=k=o=a=ma ta [bolo] ni [mania] 3PL get.ready=3SG.F.O=FUT=LIG=REL.F TOP pig and pudding
ni [mau] ni [meqo]. and taro and bonito
‘As for things they will get ready, [these] are pigs, puddings, taros, and bonitos.’ (21-4-22)

When more than two constituents are linked, a coordinator is obligatory in front of the last linked constituent, but others are optional. In fast speech, it often occurs only once in
front of the last constituent, while in slow speech, it often occurs between each constituent. In (13.3), the coordinator *ni* ‘and’ before *mego* ‘bonito’ cannot be omitted, but the others can be omitted.\(^{82}\)

In slow speech, there may be a pause between linked constituents. When there is a pause, a coordinator forms one intonation unit with either the preceding or following constituent, or it may form an intonation unit by itself; there could be a pause before and after the coordinator. When there is a pause, there is a rising or level intonation on the word which precedes the pause. The end of the sentence, on the other hand, is indicated by falling intonation in Bilua, in a declarative sentence. In the following example, there is a slight pause before a coordinator *ni* ‘and’, which forms one intonation unit with the clause that follows it. There is a rising intonation on the word *bita* ‘string bag’.

\[^{82}\text{This example can be analysed as either coordination of nouns or NPs: it is possible to consider that linked nouns form the head and this by itself forms an NP, or it is also possible to consider that each noun forms an NP on its own and four NPs are coordinated. Either analysis is possible and there is no factor that determines which approach is more probable here.}\]

\[^{83}\text{It may be said that coordinators here function like linking adverbials (see §10.7), but unlike linking adverbials, which do not necessarily occur in clause-initial position (that is, which may occur clause-internally) coordinators can only occur clause-externally.}\]

(13.4) \[Qo=sukati=k=a \quad ko \quad bita, \quad ni \quad [nioqa \quad ta \quad 3DU=fill=3SG.F.O=PRES \quad 3SG.F \quad string.bag \quad and \quad 3DU \quad TOP \quad qo=vait=a \quad peuru \quad kale]. \quad 3DU=return=PRES \quad \text{village in} \]

‘They filled string bags, and they returned to the village.’ (24-2-13)

Coordinators, *ni* ‘and’, *inio* ‘sequentially/and then’, and *tila* ‘and then/consequently’ may also function to indicate the continuation of a story or a sentence. With this function, they may occur clause-initially or between a dependent clause and an independent clause as well as between two independent clauses. This may suggest that coordinators here are treated as a part of a clause. However, as they can form an intonation unit with either the preceding or the following clause and they can also form an intonation unit of their own, they are not treated as a part of the clause.\(^{83}\) In example (13.5) below, there is an occurrence of *inio* between an adverbial dependent clause and an independent clause. There is a slightly long pause after the adverbial clause, and the speaker places *inio* before he starts the next clause in order to indicate the sentence is continuing.

(13.5) \[Ko=a \quad omolomolo \quad o=viq=a \quad keru, \quad ma \quad 3SG.F=LIG \quad echo \quad 3SG.M=hear=PRES \quad TEMP \quad or \quad ko=a \quad kora \quad o=viq=a \quad keru, \quad inio \quad vo \quad 3SG.F=LIG \quad sound \quad 3SG.M=hear=PRES \quad TEMP \quad SEQ \quad 3SG.M\]
Coordination

\[ ta \ o=t\ a \ matu \ pekao=ke. \]
TOP 3SG.M=SIT very dance=HIST

‘When he heard the echo or when he heard the sound, he danced hard.’
(26-13-74)

The following is another example.

(13.6) \[ Eri \ k=i=o=la \ \mid \ “o” \ k=i=o=la. \]
s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

\[ Ti \ “o=solo=la” \ nio \]
and.then 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=FUT FOC.NONF

\[ k=i=a=la. \]
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES

‘He said something like this. He said “o”. And then, I said “He will send it down”.’ (2-4-24-25)

Each of the six coordinators is described in sections below.

13.2.2 Conjunctive coordinator ni ‘and’

The conjunctive coordinator ni ‘and’ simply conjoins constituents. The following are some examples of the use of the conjunctive coordinator with different types of constituents. An example of nouns linked by ni ‘and’ is given in the last section. In (13.7), linked NPs form a possessor NP, and this is marked with a possessive marker ko (3SG.F).

(13.7) NPs

\[ Omuqa \ kidi \ inio \ qo \ ibat=ou \ omuqa \]
two COLL.DU FOC.NONF 3DU push=FUT two

\[ rana \ [ko=a \ rekorusu] \ ni \ [vo=a \ lasiverusu]=ko \]
side 3SG.F=LIG girl and 3SG.M=LIG boy=3SG.F

\[ tu \ qo=tibae-ki=ni=ou. \]
IRR 3DU=stick-RECP=FUT

‘Two people push both sides of the girl and the boy so that they will stick with each other.’ (21-11-65)

(13.8) PPs

\[ Vella \ La \ Vella \ udu \ kale=a=mu \ se \ ta \ ke=ke=ve \]
Vella La Vella island in=LIG=3PL 3PL TOP 3PL=go=RMP

\[ [edo-edolo=a=ma \ zae \ poso \ kale] \ ni \]
REDUP-different=LIG=3SG.F area PL in and
[(edo-edolo=a=ma) tou-tou kale].
REDUP-various=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-tribe in
‘Vella La Vella people went to different areas and to various tribes.’ (12-9-84)

(13.9) Non-verbal predicates
Ne=a [puli=a=ma seseu
PROX.SG.M=LIG coconut crab TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F finger
sa=la] [puli=a=ma vo=ko zau-zau] ni
COM=3SG.M and NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=3SG.F REDUP-beard and
[puli=a=ma vo=ko taka].
NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=3SG.F claw
‘This coconut crab does not have any fingers, beard, or claws.’ (26-18-100)
(more literally ‘This coconut crab is with no fingers and no beard of his and no
claws of his.’)

(13.10) Dependent clauses
So keru [ke ilusi=v=e keru] ni
that TEMP 3PL worship=3SG.M.O=RMP TEMP and
[ke=lulue=v=e keru] ta ke=roveo=vi
3PL=follow=3SG.M.O=RMP TEMP TOP 3PL=can=RMP
ko ko=kati=m=e=ma quli
3SG.F.O=see=NOM 3SG.F 3SG.F=give=3PL.O=PRES=REL.F thing
ni ko ko=m=ai ruali=k=e=ma
and 3SG.F 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL make.it.true=3SG.F.O=RMP=REL.F
quli se=ko aza-aza=ma tuvevoput=0 poso kale.
thing 3PL=3SG.F REDUP-various=3SG.F believe=NOM PL in
‘That time, when they worshipped him and when they followed him, they could
see the thing it gave them and the thing which made it true to them in their
belief.’ (10-2-18)

(13.11) Independent clauses
...vo ta [o ol=a ju kale sukulu ju]
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M go=PRES water in stream water
ni [o=vaili=k=a ko niuniu].
and 3SG.M=look.for=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F fish
‘...as for him, he went to the big water, the stream (water), and he looked for
fish.’ (24-2-22)

As noted in the last section, words and phrases linked by a coordinator are treated as
one constituent. When linked constituents are clauses, they are treated as one clause.
That is, situations described by linked clauses are treated as one situation consisting of
subparts which are described by each linked clause. When clauses are linked by ni, a
change of the order of clauses may result in a change of meaning. In example (13.11), the change of the order results in his looking for fish before he went to the stream.

### 13.2.3 Disjunctive coordinator ma ‘or’

The disjunctive coordinator *ma* ‘or’ marks two alternatives. The following are some examples of disjunctive coordination with different types of constituents. *Ma* ‘or’ has a different function when it links two identical NPs, as discussed below. When *ma* ‘or’ links two NPs which function as core arguments, the pronominal proclitic or the object clitic on the VP agrees with the closer NP. Thus, in example (13.13) below the pronominal proclitic on the VP agrees with the second NP of the linked NPs, the one which is closer to the VP.

(13.12) Nouns

\[ ...nage=q=ov=ou \quad ko \quad [niuniu] \quad ma \quad [bio]... \]
\[ 1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT \quad 3SG.F \quad fish \quad or \quad shell \]
\[ ...we\ will\ get\ fish\ or\ shell... \] (64-2-12)

(13.13) NPs

\[ ...[nioqa=ko \quad niania] \quad ma \quad [nioqa \quad saidi] \quad ta \]
\[ 3DU=3SG.F \quad mother \quad or \quad 3DU \quad family \quad TOP \]
\[ qo=kejue=k=a \quad ko=a \quad niuniu, \]
\[ 3DU=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES \quad 3SG.F=LIG \quad fish \]
\[ ...their\ mother\ or\ two\ of\ the\ family\ cook\ the\ fish,’ \] (24-3-26)

(13.14) PPs

\[ O=ta \quad ol=ala \quad [kiaro \quad kasi] \quad ma \quad [siyo \quad kale]. \]
\[ 3SG.M=SIT \quad go=RCP \quad garden \quad at \quad or \quad bush \quad in \]
\[ ‘He\ went\ to\ the\ garden\ or\ to\ the\ bush.’ \]

(13.15) Non-verbal predicates

\[ Vo \quad ta \quad [dokita] \quad ma \quad [nesi]. \]
\[ 3SG.M \quad TOP \quad doctor \quad or \quad nurse \]
\[ ‘He\ is\ a\ doctor\ or\ a\ nurse.’ \]

(13.16) Dependent clauses (repeated from 13.2.1 above)

\[ [Ko=a \quad omolomolo \quad o=viq=a \quad keru], \quad ma \]
\[ 3SG.F=LIG \quad echo \quad 3SG.M=hear=PRES \quad TEMP \quad or \]
\[ [ko=a \quad kora \quad o=viq=a \quad keru], \quad inio \quad vo \]
\[ 3SG.F=LIG \quad sound \quad 3SG.M=hear=PRES \quad TEMP \quad and\ then \quad 3SG.M \]
\[ ta \quad o=ta \quad matu \quad pekao=ke. \]
\[ TOP \quad 3SG.M=SIT \quad very \quad danceNOM=HIST \]
\[ ‘When\ he\ heard\ the\ echo\ or\ when\ he\ heard\ the\ sound,\ he\ danced\ hard.’ \]
\[ (26-13-74) \]
(13.17) Independent clauses

\( \text{Vo} = \text{ko} \quad \text{pekao} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{"[Kake ke=l=ati} \text{ INDEF.PL 3PL=1SG.O=VAL} \)

\( \text{pesio]} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{[kake ke=l=el=la,]} \)

\text{SpeakNRFUT or INDEF.PL 3PL=1SG=see=NRFUT}

\( k=i=o=la... \)

\( \text{3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M.O=PRES} \)

‘As for his dance, “Some people will speak to me or some people will see me”,

he said...’ (26-13-71)

When it links two identical nouns \( \text{ma} \) indicates variety/multiplicity.

(13.18) \( \text{Ke=ke=ve [udu] ma [udu].} \)

\( \text{3PL=go=RMP island or island} \)

‘They went to an island or an island (various islands).’ (10-2-22)

(13.19) \( ...\text{nge=q=ov=ou} \quad \text{enge=ko} \quad \text{pade=ko} \)

\( \text{1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT 1PL.EXC=3SG.F house=3SG.F} \)

\( \text{[kama]} \quad \text{ma [kama].} \)

\( \text{INDEF.SG.F or INDEF.SG.F} \)

‘...we will get something or something (various things) for our house...’ (64-2-9)

\text{Udu ma udu ‘island or island (various islands), in (13.18) and kama ma kama ‘something or something (various things)’ in (13.19) are similar to an English expression ‘this and that’ in ‘he wants this and that’ meaning ‘he wants lots of things’}.

### 13.2.4 Adversative coordinator melai ‘but’

The adversative coordinator \text{melai ‘but’} in general marks a contrast. When it links NPs, PPs, non-verbal predicates, or dependent clauses, \text{melai} always forms a complex coordinator with the negation marker \text{pui}. Usually, \text{pui} occurs in front of the first linked constituent and \text{melai} occurs between linked constituents, as in examples (13.20), (13.22), and (13.23). Linked NPs/PPs may occur discontinuously, and in such a case, both \text{melai} and \text{pui} occur in front of the second NP/PP. This is illustrated by example (13.21).

(13.20) NPs

\( \text{Ni se=a kaida maba madu se pui [Sito=ko} \)

\( \text{SEQ 3PL=LIG all person COLL.PL 3PL NEG Sito=3SG.F} \)

\( \text{vaki]} \quad \text{melai [se] ta ke=lupi=k=a} \quad \text{se=ko lezu} \)

\( \text{troop but 3PL TOP 3PL=tie=3SG.F.O=PRES 3PL=3SG.F head} \)
_diri=a=ma suma kale._
red=LIG=3SG.F cloth in
‘And all those people, not Sito’s troop, but they (all those people) tied red cloth around their heads.’ (12-5-45)

(13.21) PPs

..._vo ta [o=potu kale] inio_
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=wound with FOC.NONF
_o=k=o=a ko niuiniu, melai pui_
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=take=PRES 3SG.F fish but NEG

[tali kale].

fishing rod with
‘...he gets fish with his wound not with a fishing rod.’ (24-6-70)

(13.22) Non-verbal predicates

..._vo=a botolo ta maba botolo, pui_
3SG.M=LIG bottle TOP truly bottle NEG

[sibi=a=mu=ko botolo] melai [vakamaba=mu=ko
black=LIG=3PL=3SG.F bottle but white.people=3PL=3SG.F

botolo].

bottle
‘...the bottle is truly a bottle, not a black people’s bottle but a white people’s bottle.’ (47-1-5)

(13.23) Dependent clauses

_Pui [ko=barol=ou keru] melai [ko=vait=ou keru]_
NEG 3SG.F=arrive=FUT TEMP but 3SG.F=return=FUT TEMP

_inio qe=kati=k=ou._
FOC.NONF 1DU.INC=give=3SG.F.O=FUT
‘Not when she arrives but when she returns, we will give it to her.’

With clauses, it either forms a complex coordinator with the negation marker as in (13.24) or it functions as a coordinator by itself as in (13.25). The negation marker appears in front of the VP.

(13.24) Independent clauses

..._[matu raisi-raisii ko=ta ev=a], melai_ very REDUP-evening 3SG.F=SIT become=PRES but

[nioqa=vo mama ta pui o=baro=a].
3DU=3SG.M father TOP NEG 3SG.M=arrive=PRES
‘...even though it became late evening, their father didn’t arrive.’ (24-4-36)

(13.25) Independent clauses

..._[kubo kele-kele o=revoe=k=a] melai_ many REDUP-point 3SG.M=go.around=3SG.F.O=PRES but
[o=beta  ol=a]...
3SG.M=CONT  go=PRES
'...even though he went around many points, he kept going...' (38-1-4)

_Melai_ 'but' may indicate a concessive relationship between clauses and can be translated as 'even though' or 'in spite of the fact that' as in the examples above. _Melai_ may also imply a substitutive relationship as in example (13.26) meaning 'but instead'.

(13.26) Independent clauses

...[pui  o=nokae=v=a]  melai  [o=ta  vait=a],
NEG 3SG.M=call=3SG.M.O=PRES  but  3SG.M=SIT  return=PRES
'...he (the son) didn’t call him, but instead he (the son) returned,' (24-7-71)

A substitutive relationship signals that one expected situation is replaced by another unexpected situation (Thompson & Longacre 1985:199). In (13.26) the son was looking for him (his father) and therefore it was expected that the son would call him when the son found him but contrary to expectation, he didn’t call him and just returned.

13.2.5 Sequential coordinator _inio_ 'sequentially/and then'

The sequential coordinator _inio_ 'sequentially/and then', glossed as SEQ, can only link independent clauses. It indicates a temporal, sequential relation. _Inio_ is often elided into _nio_.

(13.27)  ...[vo  ta  o=k=o=a  kama
3SG.M  TOP  3SG.M=3SG.F.O=take=PRES  INDEF.SG.F
keru-keru],  _inio_  [vo  ta  eri
REDUP-think  SEQ  3SG.M  TOP  s.th. like this
k=i=o=la].
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'...he got some thought and then he said something like this.' (24-2-18)

(13.28)  ...[o=saqor=a]  _inio_  [o=lokie=k=a
3SG.M=go.down=PRES  SEQ  3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES
ko=a  qusini].
3SG.F=LIG  rope
'...he went down and then coiled the rope.' (2-9-52)

It may be postulated that the sequential coordinator _inio_ 'sequentially/and then' and the focus marker _inio_ (see §14.3.2) historically have the same origin. _Inio_ 'sequentially/and then', like focus structures, helps to push the communication forward, by indicating that there is something happening next. In fact, when a VP is followed by _inio_, it is sometimes ambiguous whether it is a focus marker or the sequential coordinator _inio_, as in Bilua a VP on its own can form a clause; both the focus marker and the sequential coordinator can follow a VP. This is when _inio_ forms one intonation unit with both the preceding VP and
a clause which follows. In such a case, *inio* is treated as a sequential coordinator in this work. On the other hand, if *inio* and the preceding VP form one intonation unit of their own, *inio* is regarded as the focus marker, as the focus marker normally forms one intonation unit with the constituent it marks.

### 13.2.6 Causal coordinator *ti/ta* ‘and then/consequently’

Causal coordinators *ti* and *ta* link only independent clauses and they indicate a causal succession between events described by the linked clauses. It appears that historically they have the same origin as topic markers *ta* and *ti*. This is discussed later below.

The causal coordinator is usually realised as *ti* when linked clauses present realised situations. *Ta* can be used when the situation described by the second of two linked clauses describes an unexpected situation, and this results in a connotation of surprise. This is illustrated by example (13.29). *Ti*, on the other hand, does not have such a connotation. There is no unexpectedness in example (13.30).

(13.29) \[Sainio o=lilit=a] ta [kala zio lo] therefore 3SG.M=look.back=PRES and.then INDEF.SG.M devil

\[lula=mu ke=pape v=e ni] jari to pi].

before=3PL 3PL=sit=3SG.M.O=RMP=REL.NONF copra.shed top

‘Therefore, he looked back and then [he found that] there was a devil which people in the past had sat on the top of the copra shed.’ (43-2-18)

(13.30) \[ko=ta surai=va] ti [ko=ta] 3SG.M=SIT heal=PRES and.then 3SG.M=SIT

\[poda=k=a].

come.out=3SG.F.O=PRES

‘...it healed and consequently it came off.’ (34-1-10)

*Ta* can also be used when the first of linked clauses contains a perception verb, *mamulo* ‘to be suspicious’, *nianii* ‘to know’, *kerukero* ‘to think’, *paqumulo* ‘to understand’, or *kelo* ‘to see’. In such a case, the second of linked clauses describes what the subject suspects/knows/thinks/understands/sees. The second of linked clauses in examples below are not complement clauses, as they contain constituents marked with a topic/focus marker, whereas no dependent clauses can contain a constituent marked with a topic/focus marker.

(13.31) \[Anga=ko keru-keru kale anga ta\]

1SG=3SG.F REDUP-thought in 1SG TOP

\[a=geru-kerut=a] ta [ko=kue=va=ko] taku ta\]

1SG=REDUP-think=PRES and.then 3SG.F=come=PRES=REL.F time TOP

\[enge Vella La Vella udu kale=a=ma maba poso=ngela\]

1PL.EXC Vella La Vella island in=LIG=3SG.F person PL=1PL.EXC
The VP in the clause which follows ti often contains the continuity marker beta/be. The continuity marker here always has the 'sequential' use (see §8.5.4).

When linked clauses present unrealised situations, the clausal coordinator is usually realised as ta. Ti is used when linked clauses present habitual generic situations. Example (13.35) occurs in a story about traditional marriages in which situations described are generic.

(13.34) ...[me=k=a zario=vou] ta [me=ngavi nio 2PL=3SG.F.O=VAL want=FUT and.then 2PL=EMPH FOC.NONF
me=koi=k=ou]...
2PL=climb=3SG.F.O=FUT
‘...if you want [betelnuts] you yourself will climb [the betel nut tree]...’
(more literally ‘...you want [betelnuts] and then you yourself will climb [the betel nut tree]...’ (59-8-68)

(13.35) [Esa ko=a sinaqurusu=ko mama ni niania ta maybe 3SG.F=LIG girl=3SG.F father and mother TOP
lula go=vou=vou] ti [ko=a sinaqurusu=vo already 3DU=die=FUT and.then 3SG.F=LIG girl=3SG.M
papa kasi].
uncle at
'Maybe if the father and mother of the girl are already dead, [they will go to see]
her uncle.'
(more literally 'Maybe the father and mother of the girl are already dead, and
then [they will go to see] her uncle'.) (21-2-7)

Or ti can occur when the clause that follows contains the continuity marker betalbe. Again, the continuity marker here has the 'sequential' use.

(13.36) "$\ldots[ge=zi0] \quad ti \quad [ge=beta \quad wait=0]\ldots$"
        IDU.EXC=goNRFUT \ and\then \ IDU.EXC=CONT return=NRFUT
        "$\ldots\text{we will go and then return}\ldots$" (27-17-108)

Notice that in (13.35) a clause that is followed by a causal coordinator has its own
topic. The topic NP, ko=a sinaquirusu=ko mama ni niania 'the father and mother of the
girl', is not the topic of the (contracted) second clause ko=a sinaquirusu=vo papa kasi
'[they will go to see] her uncle', and thus this topic is the topic of only the first clause.

Haiman (1978) shows that conditional clauses and topics are marked in an identical
way in some languages and he illustrates semantic similarity between conditionals and
topics: 'I am arguing that topics, like conditional clauses, are presuppositions of their
sentences. But superficially, at least, presupposition means different things in the case of
NPs and complement sentences' (Haiman 1978:585). Haiman also states that a
conditional construction indicates a 'causal succession' between two clauses.

The morphemes ta and ti in Bilua function as topic markers (see §14.2), and it may be
suggested that ta and ti described above are in fact topic markers. Indeed, there is some
evidence that supports this contention. Topic markers, ta and ti, however, appeared to
have developed as causal coordinators as discussed below.

The following evidence supports the above contention. First, in examples (13.34) and
(13.35), ta and ti clearly mark a clause which presents a condition. Furthermore, as
described in §14.2.3, the topic marker ti can be used only when the clause presents a
habitual/generic situation. This accords with the choice of topic marker for example
(13.35).

Second, a pronoun so 'that', which refers to a clause, can be marked by a topic marker
ta/ti, and so marked by ta/ti may present a condition. Ta/ti here cannot be treated as a
causal coordinator, as ta/ti as a coordinator cannot link an NP to a clause. In the following
example, the pronoun so 'that', which is marked by ta (TOP), refers to a clause 'he does
not eat'. Semantically, this clause presents a condition; the situation described by the
clause that follows the topic marker ta occurs under this condition.

(13.37) "$Koe \quad ako \quad so_{\ldots} ta \quad o=ta \quad vou=vo \quad inio$
        INTJ INTJ that \ TOP \ 3SG.M=SIT die=NRFUT FOC.NONF
        $ang=a=vo \quad meqora \quad vuat=o \quad melai \ pui$
        1SG=3SG.M child eat=NOM too NEG
Thus, it may be said that causal coordinators *ta* and *ti* are indeed topic markers. However, there is some other evidence that suggests that topic markers *ta* and *ti* have developed as coordinators. First, *ti* can be used when the situations described are not habitual/generic ones as in examples (13.30), (13.33), and (13.36). Second, in some of examples above, the topic marker does not necessarily mark a condition. For example, in example (13.29) it is hard to say that the clause marked by *ta* presents a condition. Third, *tilta* may also occur in the clause-initial position, indicating the continuation of a story or a sentence (see §13.2.1), and in such a case it seems more reasonable to say that *ti/ta* here is a coordinator rather than a topic marker. In conclusion, one might say that topic markers *ta* and *ti* have developed or at least are in the process of developing as causal coordinators, and in this work *ta* and *ti* are treated as coordinators when they follow a clause.\(^{84}\)

In their classification of conditionals, Thompson and Longacre (1985:190–191) make a distinction between reality conditions and unreality conditions. Unreality conditions are divided into predictive and imaginative conditions. With predictive conditions one predicts what will be (1985:190–191) and this is expressed by a clause followed by a causal coordinator as in the above examples. On the other hand, imaginative conditions are expressed by a clause marked with a subordinator *tea* ‘if’ (see §12.4.3).

Reality conditions are divided into three kinds: present, habitual/generic, and past. Among these, a habitual/generic condition is expressed by a clause followed by *ti*, as in example (13.35). Present and past conditions are also expressed by a clause followed by *ta* or *ti*. Thompson and Longacre’s (1985:190) example for a present condition, ‘if it’s raining out there, (my car is getting wet)’ could be expressed by two independent clauses linked by a causal coordinator *ti* as in example (13.38) below.

(13.38)  
\[
[Esä niero ko=ta ev=a sai] ti
\]
\[
\text{maybe rain 3SG.F=SIT become=PRES there and.then}
\]
\[
[anga=ko car ta site-site].
\]
\[
1SG=3SG.F car TOP REDUP-wet
\]

‘It may be raining there, and then my car is wet.’

*Ti* but not *ta* can be recursive, thus one sentence may contain more than two clauses linked by *ti*. When *ti* is recursive, it indicates a sequence of situations that occur one after another, and *ti* here is better translated as ‘and’. This also supports the contention that *ti*, and also *ta*, have developed as a coordinator.

(13.39)  
\[
[Ko=ta baro=a] ti [ko ta ko ol=ala raro]
\]
\[
3SG.F=SIT arrive=PRES and.then 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F go=RCP pot
\]

\(^{84}\) However, there appears to be no relationship between another topic marker *melai* and the adversative coordinator *melai*. 
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\[ \text{pade asi] ti [ko=zarupat=a]...} \] house at and.then 3SG.F=sweep=PRES
‘She arrived and she went to the kitchen and she swept...’ (59-6-52)

A causal coordinator \textit{ti} ‘and then/consequently’ may link an ablative PP to a locational phrase that presents a goal (see §10.5 for ablative PPs).

(13.40) \textit{So ti so vo=ko saqor=o kale sipole tiania} that INT that 3SG.M=3SG.F descend=NOM in near middle
\[ o=baro=ke \quad vo=ko \quad peuru \quad kale \quad azo \quad ti \quad saka \] 3SG.M=arrive=HIST 3SG.M=3SG.F village in ABL and.then seaside
\textit{matu peuru kale ta tiania vo ta o=dokol=ake.} big village in TOP middle 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=stop=HIST
‘It went on and on in his descent, he reached close to the middle, middle point from his village to the seaside, the big village, (and) he stopped.’ (26-12-66)

(13.41) \textit{...ke=ngavi=ko iruiruput=o maba poso ta matu} 3PL=EMPH=3SG.F work=NOM person PL TOP very
\[ ile-ile=a=ma \quad kiti \quad kasi \quad azo \quad ti \quad lezu \quad kasi... \] REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.F foot at ABL and.then head at
‘...her own working people are very beautiful from the foot to the head...’ (67-5-49)

On the surface it looks as if \textit{ti} links two phrases in the above two examples. \textit{Ti} here still however can be treated as a causal coordinator, as illustrated by the following example. Example (13.42a) can be analysed as consisting of two clauses, and this presents an extension of area. In the first clause, the VP \textit{ko=tani=t} (3SG.F=begin=PRES) is omitted, and only the ablative adjunct is left. This is linked by a causal coordinator \textit{ti} to the second clause, which presents a goal.

(13.42-a) \textit{Bilua eria ta Joroveto ju kasi azo ti} Bilua area TOP Joroveto water at ABL and.then
\[ ko=baro=a \quad Koloa \quad ju \quad kasi. \] 3SG.F=arrive=PRES Koloa water at
‘As for Bilua area, [it starts] from Joroveto river and then it arrives at Koloa river.’ (22-1-4)

The predicate of the second clause in (13.42a) can be omitted and this results in (13.42b), showing a similar structure to (13.40) and (13.41). Thus, \textit{ti}, occurring between an ablative PP and a locational PP that presents a goal, can be treated as a causal coordinator.

(13.42-b) \textit{Bilua eria ta Joroveto ju kasi azo ti} Bilua area TOP Joroveto water at ABL and.then
Koloaju kasi.
Koloa water at
‘Bilua area is from Joroveto river to Koloa river.’

Furthermore, ti can also link an ablative PP to a temporal phrase that presents an
ending point of an extension of time (see §10.4 for temporal phrases).

(13.43) A iruruput=ala vikaleazo ti raisi-raisi.
1SG work=RCP morning ABL and.then REDUP-evening
‘I worked from morning to evening.’

13.2.7 Intensifying coordinator ti

The intensifying coordinator ti (INT) links two identical phrases (NPs, PPs, or VPs) or
words (the negation marker pui or an adjective matu ‘big’ as in examples (13.49) and
(13.50) below). NPs, PPs or VPs linked by ti always refer to a situation, and ti indicates
intensity or persistence of the situation. For example, in example (13.44) ti links two
identical PPs, and it indicates the intensity of the fighting.

(13.44) PP
...[pazo-kini=o=le] ti [pazo-kini=o=le] ti
hit=RECP=NOM=in INT hit=RECP=NOM=in and.then
ke=ta ruvur=a, se Kutakabai=mu.
3PL=SIT all.die=PRES 3PL Kutakabai=3PL
‘...after the intensive fighting they, Kutakabai people, all died.’ (22-7-32)
(more literally ‘...in the fighting and in the fighting, they Kutakabai people all
died.)

Phrases linked by ti can be treated as clauses, as they refer to situations in the manner
that clauses do. Accordingly, linked phrases can be linked to a clause by a coordinator.
This is usually done by a causal coordinator ti, as in (13.44). In fact, it is plausible that
the intensifier coordinator ti has originated in the causal coordinator ti, but when ti links
identical phrases, it indicates intensity or persistence of the situation because of the
repetition of the same phrase.

Phrases that occur on both sides of the intensifier ti can have only minimum
constituent(s). The object NP governed by a PP can consist of a noun only. This can only
be a nominalised verb, as in (13.44). When the linked phrases are NPs, these can have
only their heads. The head of the NP can be a nominalised verb as in example (13.45), or
the pronoun so ‘that’, which has a clause as its antecedent as in example (13.46). In both
examples, the linked NPs refer to situations.

(13.45) ...[puze=v=o] ti [puze=v=o] ti
blow=3SG.M.O=NOM INT blow=3SG.M.O=NOM and.then
Coordination  245

diri-dir  o=ta  ev=a  vo=a  taka...
REDUP-red  3SG.M=SIT become=PRES  3SG.M=LIG  claw
‘...he blew and blew the fire, and then the claws [of the coconut crab] became red...’ (38-3-10)
(more literally ‘...blowing it and blowing it, the claws became red...’)

(13.46) [So]  ti  [so]  ti  [so]  ti  sopu  tiania
that  INT  that  INT  that  and.then  hill  middle

[o=baro=a]  
3SG.M=arrive=PRES
‘He chased and chased and chased them, and then he reached the middle of the hill.’ (16-6-80)

In (13.46), the antecedent of the pronoun so ‘that’ is a clause ‘he chased them’, which occurs in the previous discourse.

The minimum constituent of a VP in Bilua is a pronominal proclitic, the head, and a tense/mood marker. VPs linked by ti may additionally have the situation-change marker ta. The situation-change marker adds dynamicity because of its function of indicating a change of situation. Since a Bilua VP can form a clause on its own, it can be said that coordination of VPs by ti is a case of coordination of clauses. However, ti cannot link clauses that contain constituents other than VPs.

(13.47) Ti  [o=ta  ol=a]  ti  [o=ta  ol=a]  ti
and.then  3SG.M=SIT  go=PRES  INT  3SG.M=SIT  go=PRES  INT

3SG.M=SIT  go=PRES  INT  3SG.M=SIT  go=PRES  forest in
‘He went and went and went and went in the forest.’ (24-11-91)

(13.48) [Ke=kail=a]  ti  [ke=kail=a]  ke=baro=ke
3PL=go.up=PRES  INT  3PL=go.up=PRES  3PL=arrive=HIST
ko=a  zae  kale,
3SG.F=LIG  area in
‘They went up and went up, (and) they arrived at the area,’ (26-23-123)

Ti can also link identical words, the negation marker pui as in example (13.49) or an adjective matu ‘big’ as in example (13.50) below. The negation marker pui linked by ti indicates a strong negation. Among all adjectives, only matu ‘big’ can be linked by ti.

(13.49)  ‘...sole  koi  nio  maba  [pui]  ti  [pui]  ngo
so  here  FOC.NONF  truly  NEG  INT  NEG  2SG

el=o”,  k=i=ko=la,
stay=NRFUT  3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘...so, truly you never stay here’, she said,’ (24-9-89)

(13.50) So  sole  vo  ta  o=lilit=ake  inio
that  because  3SG.M  TOP  3SG.M=look back=HIST  SEQ
O=v=e=ake  [matu]  ti  [matu]=la
3SG.M=3SG.M.O=see=HIST  big  INT  big=3SG.M

Utupe,
coconut.crab
'So, he looked back and he saw a very big coconut crab,' (26-15-85)

Other adjectives than matu 'big' cannot occur with the intensifying coordinator ti. With other adjectives, intensity can be indicated by a general modifier matu 'very' as in example (13.51). The adjective matu 'big' cannot be modified by a general modifier matu 'very', and intensity can only be indicated by the intensifying coordinator ti, as in the above example.

(13.51)  Sito ta  matu  piza=ka=la  maba.
Sito  TOP  very  strong=LIG=3SG.M  person
'Sito is a very strong person.' (12-7-64)

It might be hypothesised that an adjective matu 'big' and a general modifier matu 'very' are one and the same word. In fact, both can modify nouns. However, as described in §5.3, a general modifier matu 'very' modifies nouns without a pronominal enclitic attached, while an adjective matu big' requires a pronominal enclitic. Therefore, matu 'big' and matu 'very' are treated as separate words in this work.

13.3 Juxtaposition

Independent clauses may be linked by juxtaposition. Juxtaposition may link more than two clauses. In a sentence in which clauses are linked by juxtaposition, the boundary between clauses is normally marked with a slight rising intonation at the end of each clause which occurs sentence internally. This is followed by a short pause. The final clause, the end of the sentence, is marked with a falling intonation.

Similarly to coordination of clauses by the conjunctive coordinator ni 'and', the clauses linked by juxtaposition are regarded as presenting one situation which has subparts. Clauses are normally linked by juxtaposition in fast speech or when the second of linked clauses presents an unrealised situation. Example (13.52) as the whole describes what the two do every morning and this has subparts.

(13.52)  [Kiada=ma  vikale  nioqa  ta  qo  ol=a  kiaro  kasi]
all=3SG.F  morning  3DU  TOP  3DU  go=PRES  garden  at

[qo=baro=a  kiaro  kasi].  [nioqa  ta  qo  iruruput=a
3DU=arrive=PRES  garden  at  3DU  TOP  3DU  work=PRES
sai].
there
'Every morning, the two, they went up to the garden, they arrived at the garden, [and] the two, they worked there.' (24-1-10)
When the second of two linked clauses linked by juxtaposition presents an unrealised situation, this clause is preceded by the irrealis marker tu and presents a purpose, as in example (13.53), or a result, as in example (13.54). The second clause can also be an imperative clause, as imperative clauses always present an unrealised situation. This is illustrated by example (13.55).

(13.53) ...[ko ina-inao=va] tu [ko ta ko=wait=ou
3SG.F REDUP-get.ready=PRES IRR 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=return=FUT
mata]...
again
‘...she got ready in order that she will return again...’ (59-7-60)

(13.54) [O=kil=o], [o=kil=o] tu [maba
3SG.M=come=NRFUT 3SG.M=come=NRFUT IRR truly
a aive=v=o anga].
1SG scold=3SG.M.O=NRFUT 1SG
‘He will come, he will come, and truly (that will result in that) I will scold him.’
(24-8-82)

(13.55) “[Pui vanga inio sai] tu [vae=k=a] tu
NEG far FOC.NONF there IRR leave=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG IRR
[ko=zio ko=ngavi “], k=i=ko=la,
3SG.F=goNRFUT 3SG.F=EMPH 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘It’s not far away, leave it, she will go herself’, she said.’ (27-22-140)

Tu is not a purposive/resultative subordinator; the second clause of example (13.53) contains a constituent marked with a topic marker, whereas a dependent clause cannot have a constituent marked with a topic marker.85

Clauses linked by juxtaposition may express two simultaneous situations when the first clause has the verb kelo ‘to see’ as in example (13.56).

(13.56) ...[o=k=e=a nioqa] [qo=beta kue=va],
3SG.M=3DU.O=see=PRES 3DU 3DU=CONT come=PRES
‘...she saw her coming.’ (27-11-68)

One might consider that the second clause in (13.56) is in fact a finite complement clause that functions as an object. This however contradicts a description of finite complement clauses presented in §12.3—first, a Bilua finite complement clause contains only a future/near future tense marker; second, a finite complement clause can be the

---

85 The irrealis marker tu is not a coordinator, as it may also occur between an independent clause and a complement dependent clause (see §12.3.2 and §12.3.3). In such a case, the complement clause can only be a finite or non-finite complement clause which takes only a Secondary verb as the main verb. On the other hand, when tu occurs between independent clauses, the verb which precedes can only be a Primary verb.
object of only Secondary verbs; and third, a Bilua finite complement clause immediately follows the VP of the main clause. Whereas, in example (13.56), the verb in the second clause has the present tense marker, the verb in the first clause is a Primary verb, and the second clause does not immediately follows the VP of the first clause. Thus, example (13.56) cannot be treated as main plus complement clauses unless we establish another type of finite complement clause, which accommodates the structure of example (13.56). This, however, does not seem to be so motivating or economical, as such a complement clause would occur only with a clause containing *kelo* ‘to see’. Furthermore, there is no syntactic/morphological marking of the second clause as a dependent clause. Therefore, example (13.56) is treated as an example of juxtaposed clauses.

Two clauses are always linked by juxtaposition when the second of the linked clauses is an interrogative clause.

(13.57) ...*[pui nga=baqumu=k=a] [noi nio ke=ta]*

NEG 1PL.EXC=understand=3SG.F.O=PRES how FOC.NONF 3PL=SIT

*ka=va, ma ke=ta vou=a inio, ma do=PRES or 3PL=SIT die=PRES FOC.NONF or

*ka koi ke=ta ol=a].

INDEF place 3PL=SIT go=PRES

‘...we don’t understand how they are doing, or [if] they died or they went somewhere.’ (26-4-25)

(13.58) *[Pui a=q=a nianii=a] [esa noni=a=ma]*

NEG 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL know=PRES maybe how=LIG=3SG.F

*saev=o ikio enge nge=q=ov=ou survive=NOM FOC.F 1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT

*kaitu=a=ma saev=o].

future=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM

‘I don’t know maybe what kind of life we will get, [for] future life.’ (64-3-32)

One might consider that the second clauses in the two examples above are interrogative complement clauses, as the English translations suggest this. Notice, however, that the second clause in each example above contains a constituent marked with a focus marker: *noi* ‘how’ in (13.57) and *noniama saevo* ‘what kind of life’ in (13.58). This suggests that the second clauses are independent clauses—Bilua dependent clauses cannot contain a constituent marked with a focus marker, while independent clauses may (see §12). One might make an exception to this—a complement clause may contain a constituent marked with a focus marker when this constituent contains an interrogative word. Such an exception, however, is not employed in this work, as again there is no syntactic/morphological marking of interrogative clauses as dependent, and examples above are treated as juxtaposition of two clauses.

Juxtaposition is also the preferred way of indicating coordination when one of the linked clauses has a linking adverbal. This is because a linking adverbal itself marks a
successional relationship between two situations. Linking adverbials are described in §10.7.

This concludes the description of coordination. The next chapter deals with discourse organisation in Bilua.
14 Discourse organisation

14.1 Introduction

This chapter presents three kinds of constructions that encode discourse organisation: topic structure, focus structure, and constituent order. A topic is what a clause/sentence is about, while a focus is defined by Lambrecht (1994:213) as ‘the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition’.

When analysing topic and constituent order, it is important to distinguish different kinds of referent status. Lambrecht (1988 and 1994:74–116) combines two concepts, ‘identifiability’ and ‘activation’, previously suggested by Chafe (1976 and 1987) to distinguish referent status. Hence one can label a referent as ‘identifiable’ if it ‘can be retrieved from the context or recalled from memory’ or as ‘unidentifiable’ if a referent is one ‘for which a new referential entry or model has to be created in the mind of the hearer before it can be recalled in subsequent discourse’ (Lambrecht 1988:144). Furthermore, unidentifiable referents can be divided into two types: unanchored and anchored.

A discourse entity is Anchored if the NP representing it is LINKED, by means of another NP, or “Anchor,” properly contained in it, to some other discourse entity. Thus a bus is Unanchored, or simply Brand-new, whereas a guy I work with, containing the NP I, is Brand-new Anchored, as the discourse entity the hearer creates for this particular guy will be immediately linked to his/her discourse entity for the speaker. (Prince 1981:236)

If a referent is identifiable, this can be in one of three activation states: active, accessible/semi-active, or inactive.

An active concept is one “that is currently lit up, a concept in a person’s focus of consciousness at a particular moment.” An accessible/semi-active concept is one “that is in a person’s peripheral consciousness, a concept of which a person has a background awareness, but one that is not being directly focused on.” An inactive concept is one “that is currently in a person’s long-term memory, neither focally nor peripherally active”. (Lambrecht 1994:94)

A referent can be textually, inferentially, or situationally accessible. A referent which has been active earlier in the discourse is textually accessible. Inferentially accessible means that a referent is inferable from some other active referents in the discourse, and situationally accessible means that a referent is accessible due to extra-linguistic context.

Thus, five different types of referent status can be recognised: inactive, accessible, active, anchored, and unanchored, with three subtypes of accessible referents: textually
accessible, situationally accessible, and inferentially accessible. This is summarised as follows (based on Lambrechts 1994:109).

Figure 14.1: Different types of referent status

This chapter is organised as follows. Topic and focus are described in §14.2 and §14.3 respectively. Both topic and focus markers in Bilua may emphasise a contrast. This is described in §14.4. A clause may have both topic and focus constituents. The order of topic and focus constituents within a clause is described in §14.5. Following this, section §14.6 presents functions and order of unmarked constituents in Bilua. Section §14.7 presents a summary.

14.2 Topic

14.2.1 Introduction

A topic is what a given clause/sentence is about, and ‘a constituent is a topic expression if the proposition expressed by the clause with which it is associated is pragmatically construed as conveying information about the referent of the constituent’ (Van Valin and Lapolla 1997:203).

A language may have a topic structure which contains a topic expression and a comment expression, an expression which presents information about this topic. In this section, first the topic structure in Bilua is described in §14.2.2. A topic expression in Bilua consists of a phrase marked with a topic marker. There are three topic markers in Bilua: *ta, ti*, and *melai*. Their distribution is described in §14.2.3. In Bilua, only NPs which have an identifiable referent can be marked with a topic marker. See §14.2.4.

14.2.2 Topic structure

In the Bilua topic structure, a topic is expressed by a phrase marked by a topic marker, and this is followed by a comment expression, which minimally contains a verbal
predicate and which may additionally contain optional constituents of verbal clauses.\(^6\)
This is schematised as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic expression</th>
<th>Comment expression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phrase + topic marker</td>
<td>verbal predicate (+ optional constituents)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 14.2:** Topic Structure

In the following, the term ‘topic constituent’ refers to a phrase marked with a topic marker. Note that the topic structure does not have to be employed in every single sentence in Bilua. The topic structure is employed for a pragmatic reason. This is discussed later in this section.

In example (14.1), an NP vo (3SG.M) ‘he’ presents a topic, and an NP + a VP qusini=ko varu o=k=o=a ‘he got the bark of varu trees’ presents a comment about this topic. Then, a new topic is introduced by an NPanga ‘I’, and an NP + a VP bita=ko ipupu a=q=o=a ‘I got the bark of ipupu tree’ presents a comment about the new topic.

(14.1)  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[Vo ta]} \quad \text{[qusini=ko varu o=k=o=a]} \\
\text{3SG.M TOP rope=3SG.F varu.tree} \quad \text{3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES} \\
\text{topic expression} \quad \text{comment expression}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[anga ta]} \quad \text{[bita=ko ipupu a=q=o=a].} \\
\text{1SG TOP string-bag=3SG.F ipupu.tree} \quad \text{1SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES} \\
\text{topic expression} \quad \text{comment expression}
\end{array}
\]

‘As for him, he got [the bark of] varu trees, [and] as for me, I got [the bark of] ipupu trees.’

Thus, the topic structure consists of a topic expression and a comment expression, which are a topic constituent marked with a topic marker and a verbal predicate with optional constituent(s) respectively. The comment expression can form a clause by itself, as a Bilua verbal predicate can equal a clause. The topic expression is sometimes a part of this clause and at other times it is not. In Bilua, the topic constituent may have a core argument or adjunct status in relation to the predicate in the comment expression but this is not always the case. In the former case, topic and comment expressions are considered to form one clause. That is, the topic expression is an intraclausal element. In example (14.1), each of the topic constituents has a subject status in relation to the predicate, and thus topic and comment expressions form one clause. Similarly, in example (14.2), the topic constituent has a temporal adjunct status in relation to the predicate, and thus the topic and comment expressions form one clause.

(14.2)  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Nio} \quad \text{so keru ta bereti kio o=bori=k=a} \\
\text{and.then that TEMP TOP bread FOC.F 3SG.M=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES}
\end{array}
\]

---

\(^6\) A topic marker is also an obligatory constituent of a non-verbal clause, marking the subject NP. This is described in §3.3 and §11. It is not obligatory for a verbal clause to contain a topic marker.
When the topic constituent has no relation with the predicate in the comment expression, the topic and comment expressions do not form one clause. The comment expression forms a clause on its own, and the topic expression is an autonomous, extracausal element. In example (14.3) below, the topic constituent is \( vo=ko \ peka=o \) 'his dance', and the comment expression is two coordinated clauses which follow the topic expression. The topic constituent here is not an argument of the verb \( pesio \) 'to speak' or \( kelo \) 'to see'. Nor does it function as an adjunct of these clauses. Thus, in (14.3), topic and comment expressions do not form one clause.

(14.3) \( vo=ko \quad peka=o \quad ta \quad "kake \quad ke=l=ati \)
\( 3SG.M=3SG.F \quad dance=NOM \quad TOP \quad INDEF.PL \quad 3PL=1SG.O=VAL \)
\( pesi=o \quad ma \quad kake \quad ke=l=el=o," \)
\( speak=NRFUT \quad or \quad INDEF.PL \quad 3PL=1SG.O=see=NRFUT \)
'As for his dance, "it makes people speak to me or it makes people see me,"

(26-13-71)
(more literally 'As for his dance, "some people speak to me or some people see me"'.)

Topic and comment expressions usually form one intonation unit, but the topic expression may form its own intonation unit. In such a case, the topic expression is regarded as an extracausal element, regardless of whether the topic constituent has any relation with the predicate in the comment expression or not. In example (14.4), the topic expression forms its own intonation unit, and thus it does not form one clause with the comment expression, even though the topic constituent has a subject relation with the predicate in the comment expression. Note that in this example one NP is filled with two NPs in apposition; \( rekoama \) 'the wife' and \( voa\ sieleko\ reko \) 'the wife of the dog', and this is topicalised.

(14.4) ...\( reko=a=ma \quad vo=a \quad siele=ko \quad reko \quad ta, \)
\( wife=LIG=3SG.F \quad 3SG.M=LIG \quad dog=3SG.F \quad wife \quad TOP \)
\( tuto \quad ale \quad ko \quad i=k=a... \)
\( coconut.container \quad in \quad 3SG.F \quad put=3SG.F.O=PRES \)
'...as for the wife, the wife of the dog, she put [the food] in a coconut container...' (27-12-75)

Furthermore, a topic constituent may form its own intonation unit, independent of the topic marker. In this case too, the topic expression is treated as an extracausal element.

(14.5) ...\( enge=ko \quad peuru \quad kale, \quad ta \quad matu \quad kubo \quad maba \)
\( 1PL.EXC=3SG.F \quad village \quad in \quad TOP \quad very \quad many \quad person \)
A topic structure may have more than one topic expression. When there are two topic expressions, one may be an extracausal element and the other may be an intra-causal element. In such a case, the latter occurs closer to the comment expression. In example (14.6), \textit{se=kə iruruput=o} 'their work' is an extracausal element; it has no relation with the predicate in the comment expression. On the other hand, \textit{se} 'they' is an intra-causal element; it has a subject status in relation to the predicate in the comment expression. Consequently, \textit{se} 'they' occurs closer to the comment expression.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{se=kə} & \textit{iruruput=o} & \textit{ta} & \textit{se} & \textit{ta} & \textit{ke} \\
3PL=3SG.F & work=NOM & TOP & 3PL & TOP & 3PL \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textit{kiaro kale.}  
\textit{garden in}  
\textit{...as for their work, they, they worked in a garden.} (26-1-4)

When two topic expressions are both intra-causal elements, both syntactically and by intonation, the order depends on the functions of the topic constituents—they take their usual positions in a clause (see §3.2.2). Thus, the one which is a core argument occurs closer to the predicate than the one which is an adjunct. In example (14.7) an argument NP \textit{enge} 'we' and a temporal adverb \textit{erisanga} 'today' are both intra-causal elements. They are a core argument and an adjunct respectively. The former, an argument, occurs closer to the predicate than the latter, an adjunct.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\textit{Erisanga} & \textit{ta} & \textit{enge} & \textit{ta} & \textit{nge} & \textit{ukaka} \\
today & TOP & 1PL.EXC & TOP & 1PL.EXC & careless \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textit{iruruput=a.}  
\textit{work=PRES}  
\textit{‘Today, we work carelessly.’} (10-19-164)

In example (14.8) the first topic expression \textit{aniqe ta} (1DU.EXC TOP) 'we' is treated as an extracausal element, even though the NP \textit{aniqe} has a subject relation with the predicate in the comment expression. This is because this NP and the temporal adjunct \textit{lea} 'tomorrow' do not take their usual positions—the NP precedes the adjunct. If the topic expression, \textit{aniqe ta} 'we', was a part of the clause, it should occur after the other topic expression, \textit{lea ta} 'tomorrow'.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\textit{“Aniqe} & \textit{ta} & \textit{lea} & \textit{ta} & \textit{qe=pə} & \textit{barol=o} \\
1DU. INC & TOP & tomorrow & TOP & 1DU. INC=PROS & arrive=NRFUT \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textit{anga=kə \textit{mama ni niania kasi saita.}}  
\textit{1SG=3SG.F father and mother at first}  
\textit{‘We, as for tomorrow, we will reach my father and mother, first.’} (27-17-104)

As described above, a topic structure contains a constituent which presents a topic. In a discourse, the topic structure is employed for three reasons.
First, the speaker may employ the topic structure in order to establish a new topic. In example (14.9), the last clause in sentence [1] is in the topic structure, and *nioqa* (3DU) ‘the two’ is established as a new topic by this topic structure, and there is no occurrence of the topic structure again until sentence [5], in which a new topic *nea sigoa-maba* ‘the bushman’ is established. In Bilua, once a new topic is established, it can be expressed by a pronominal proclitic which cross-references the subject. That is, the subject presents the topic without being marked. Thus, in sentences from [2] to [4], the established topic ‘the two’ is expressed by the pronominal proclitic *qo* (3DU). In [6], although the topic changes from ‘he’ back to ‘the two’, the topic structure is not employed in order to re-establish ‘the two’, which had just been the topic in sentences [1] to [4], as a topic. Thus, it is not necessary to employ the topic structure in order to re-establish an old topic, as long as it is still an active referent, and this can be done by presenting it as the subject instead. Note that in [5], the topic constituent is the subject of a non-verbal clause, but the topic marker still functions to establish a new topic. Accordingly, in the verbal clause which follows this, ‘he’ is the established topic and is presented as the subject.

(14.9) [1] So sole ko=raneo=ke, ti that that’s why 3SG.F=sleep.overnight=HIST and.then
ke=pitoe=k=e=ni nioqa omuqa maba kidi,
3PL=choose=3DU.O=RMP=REL.NONF 3DU two person COLL.DU

nioqa ta qo=ta kail=ake omadeu lekito.
3DU TOP 3DU=SIT go.up=HIST one early.morning

3DU=go.up=HIST INT 3DU=go.up=HIST INT 3DU=go.up=HIST

big-forest in FOC.NONF PROX.SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F home

[4] Qo=kail=ake qo=kail=ake ni qo=peati=k=ake
3DU=go.up=HIST 3DU=go.up-HIST and 3DU=go.over=3SG.F.O=HIST

ko sopu, kadaule inio qo=baro=ke
3SG.F hill instantly FOC.NONF 3DU=arrive=HIS

ne=a sigoa=a maba=ko peuru kale.
PROX.SG.M=LIG bush=LIG person=3SG.F home in

[5] Ne=a sigoa=a-maba ta sai o=peuru kale
PROX.SG.M=LIG bush=LIG-person TOP there 3SG.M=home in

sai nio o ev=a koi, sai nio
there FOC.NONF 3SG.M stay=PRES where there FOC.NONF

vo=ko vinasa.
3SG.M=3SG.F heritage
[6] Qo=baro=ke sai ni eri k=i=go=lake
  3DU=arrive=HIST there and s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3DU=HIST
  "uri=a=ma ngadale."
  good=LIG=3SG.F afternoon

[1] Because of that, next day, the two people whom they chose, they went up early in the morning. [2] They went up and up and up. [3] This person’s home was in a big forest. [4] They went up and up, and they went over a hill and they arrived instantly at this bushman’s home. [5] This bushman was there at his home, that was where he lived, that was where his heritage was. [6] The two arrived there and said something like “good afternoon.”’ (26-7-35-41)

Second, the speaker may employ the topic structure in order to draw attention to an event with a previously established topic referent. In example (14.10) each sentence is in the topic structure: vo ‘he’ is marked with a topic marker. The first topic structure establishes vo ‘he’ as a new topic, and the rest are employed in order to draw attention to events being described.

(14.10) Ni puliako lotu tukeu vo ta
  and before Christianity be.longNOM 3SG.M TOP
  o=ta vou=ke. Vo ta o=vae=m=a=ke
  3SG.M=SIT die=HIST 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=leave=3PL.O=PRES=HIST
  duki kale o=tou-tou ni o=megorasaidi. Vo ta
  sadness in 3SG.M=REDUP-tribe and 3SG.M=family 3SG.M TOP
  ke=daulae=v=ake sai Qao.
  3PL=bury=3SG.M.O=HIS there Qao
  And, not long after Christianity arrived, he, he died. He left his tribe and family in sadness. They buried him there in Qao.’ (23-3-34-36)

Finally, the topic structure may be employed in order to emphasise a contrast. This is described in §14.4 below.

14.2.3 Topic markers ta, ti, and melai

There are three topic markers in Bilua: ta, ti, and melai. Ti and ta simply function as topic markers and have no semantic content. Ti occurs in restricted environments. It occurs when the topic expression is an intraclausal element and when the clause presents a habitual/generic situation. Example (14.11) describes what two people (the son and the mother) and the father do every day, and thus the situations described are habitual ones. Therefore, the topic constituents are marked with ti, not with ta.

(14.11) ...nioga__ti qo ol=kiaro kale, go=mama__ti
  3DU TOP 3DU go=PRES garden at 3DU=father TOP
Discourse organisation

\( o \quad ev=a \quad pade \quad kasi. \)
3SG.M stay=PRES house at
‘...as for the two, they went to the garden, and as for the father, he stayed at the house.’ (24-2-17)

\( Ti \) can also occur when the topic constituent has an adjective \( kiada \) ‘all’ as in the last example in (14.12).

(14.12) \( ...enge \quad ta \quad nge=rove=a \quad tu \quad k=ov=o \quad kubo \)
1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=can=PRES IRR 3SG.F.O=get=NOM many
\( sailao \quad ivere \quad kale, \quad enge=ko \quad kiaro \quad kale=a=ma \quad sailao \)
food sea in 1PL.EXC=3SG.F garden in=LIG=3SG.F food
\( melai \quad kubo \quad | \quad siqo \quad melai \quad uri \quad | \quad ore \quad melai \quad kubo \quad | \quad \\
\text{too many bush too good tree too many} \)
\( kiada=ma \quad quli \quad ti \quad ikoana. \)
all=3SG.F thing TOP EXT.SG.F
‘...as for us, we can get much food in the sea, the food from our garden is plentiful too, the bush is good too, there are also many trees, there is everything.’
(64-1-5)

\( Ta \), on the other hand, can be used in any environment, including environments in which \( ti \) can occur. The first topic constituent in (14.12) is marked with \( ta \), even though the topic expression here is an intraclausal element and the clause describes a generic situation. On the other hand, topic expressions in example (14.9) are all intraclausal elements and the clauses do not describe a habitual/generic situation. Therefore, the topic constituents can only be marked with \( ta \). In example (14.13) there are two topic expressions; the first one is an extraclausal element, and so the topic constituent can be marked only by \( ta \). The second one is an intraclausal element and the topic constituent contains \( kiada \) ‘all’, but this is still marked with \( ta \). Thus, there is no restriction on environments in which \( ta \) can occur.

(14.13) \( Melai \quad vo \quad ta \quad kiada \quad keru \quad ta \quad pui \)
but 3SG.M TOP all TEMP TOP NEG
\( o=sisu=a=ni \quad melai \quad ko=a \quad taku \quad kale \)
3SG.M=have.fruit=PRES=REL.NONF but 3SG.F=LIG time in
\( inio \quad omadeu \quad pado \quad ikio \quad vo=ko \quad epa... \)
FOC.NONF one MESone FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F fruit
‘But, as for [the betelnut tree], all the time, it did not bear any fruit, but that time there was one fruit of [the betelnut tree]...’ (59-1-8)

In (14.13) two coordinated clauses present a comment about the topic \( vo \) (3SG.M) ‘it (the betelnut tree)’. In this example, the topic ‘it’ is talked about with regard to two different temporal references \( kiada \ keru \) ‘all the time’ and \( ko=a \ taku \ kale \) ‘in that time’. The first clause has its own topic ‘all the time’, which is a subtopic within the topic \( vo \) ‘it’.
Kiada keru is not the topic of the second clause. The second clause does not have a subtopic, and the topic is just vo ‘it’.

The third topic marker melai has a semantic content as well as serving as a topic marker: it means ‘too’ or ‘also’. It indicates that the comment includes the same or similar information as the information given by the preceding clause. This is illustrated by example (14.14). In this example the topic changes from the wife of the dog to the mother, but since the mother took the same action as the wife, the change of topic is indicated by the topic markers melai ‘too’.

(14.14) ...vo=a siele=ko reko ta tuto ale
3SG.M=LIG dog=3SG.F wife TOP coconut.container in
ko i=k=a ni niania=ka=ma melai
3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES and mother=LIG=3SG.F too
tuto ale ko i=k=a.
coconut.container in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES
...as for the wife of the dog, she put [the food] in a coconut container, and as for the mother, she too put it in a coconut container. (27-12-75)

In Bilua, the subject of a non-verbal clause is marked with a topic marker (see §11). This can be any of ia, ti, and melai. The second, third, fourth, and fifth clauses in example (14.12) are non-verbal clauses, and their subjects are both marked by melai. Melai is employed here because these clauses present the same information, just as the first clause does, ‘many’.

14.2.4 Referent status of topic NPs

Lambrecht discusses the relationship between types of referent status presented in §14.1 and their acceptability as topic. The more identifiable the referent is, the more acceptable it is as a topic. This is summarised by the following diagram (based on Lambrecht 1994:165).

Identifiable–active
Identifiable–accessible
Identifiable–inactive
Unidentifiable–anchored
Unidentifiable–unanchored

Most Acceptable

Least Acceptable

Figure 14.3: The topic acceptability scale

In Bilua only an NP which has an identifiable referent can be a topic constituent. Among identifiable referents, only active and accessible referents can be topic constituents. A less acceptable referent, however, requires more processing effort to interpret the utterance, and so it is quite rare for such a referent to be a topic.
In example (14.15) below the referent of the topic NP kake tanatana=mu ‘some elders’ has not previously occurred in the discourse, but it is a situationally accessible referent. The speaker starts this story with a scene-setting of the village, and in every village there are some elders. In example (14.16) the referent of the topic NP omuja kiti ‘(his) two legs’ marked with a topic marker appears for the first time. This is a body part of the subject of this clause and thus it is an inferentially accessible referent.

(14.15) Omadeu taku inio,  
\[\text{one time FOC.NONF INDEF.PL REDUP-elder=3PL TOP}\]
ke=k=ai  
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES PROX.SG.F
ke=k=ai  
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES TEMP PROX.SG.F
lekasa ta o=ta  
chief TOP 3SG.M=POSS 3PL.O=VAL hear=HIST
\[m=a \quad \text{viq}=\text{ake.}\]
\[‘\text{One day, some elders, they were talking to each other about this, when they were talking to each other about this, the chief heard them.’ (26-3-20)}\]

(14.16) Vo ta o=beta  
\[\text{3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES lake in SEQ}\]
papu=a  
toupa kale inio,  
\[\text{lake in 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES SEQ two leg}\]
\[\text{Ni}o \quad \text{omuja kiti}\]
\[\text{lake in 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES SEQ there}\]
ta o=soloe=k=a  
toupa kale. Inio, sai  
\[\text{TOP 3SG.M=dangle=3SG.F.O=PRES lake in SEQ there}\]
nio o=tare=k=a  
\[\text{FOC.NONF 3SG.M=wait=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F fish}\]
\[\text{‘He was sitting in the lake, he was sitting in the lake. And [his] two legs, he dangled them into the lake. And, there he waited for fish.’ (24-5-62–64)}\]

A categorical/generic NP is always identifiable as the hearer can identify the category. A categorical/generic NP can also present a topic marked with a topic marker. In example (14.17), the NP visi=a=mu ‘younger ones’ presents ‘younger ones’ in general. This example is stated by an older sister whose younger sister married before her, and she is making a general statement about the marriage, not just about her and her younger sister.

(14.17) "Koe visi=a=mu ta. pui kapiavole  
\[\text{EXCL younger=LIG=3PL TOP NEG quickly}\]
ke=rorot=a=ni  
3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF FOC.NONF older=LIG=3PL
nio  
kaka=ka=mu
\[\text{‘Younger ones, they do not quickly marry and it’s older ones who marry first,’}\]
\[\text{‘Younger ones, they do not quickly marry and it’s older ones who marry first,’}\]
\[\text{(27-18-113)}\]

14.3 Focus

14.3.1 Introduction

Following Lambrecht's (1994:213) definition of focus, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:202) write:

The 'old' information is the set of assumptions evoked by the utterance that make up the context necessary for understanding the utterance. We will now refer to this set of assumptions as the 'pragmatic presupposition' or just 'presupposition'. The part of the assertion which is not within the pragmatic presupposition we will call the 'focus' or 'focus of the assertion'; it is the part that is unpredictable or unrecoverable from the context.

The relationship between the focus and presupposition can be illustrated by a set of questions and answers given to these questions. For example, the question 'who went to the party?' is built on a pragmatic presupposition 'someone went to the party', and in an answer given to this question 'Steve' or 'it was Steve who went to the party', 'Steve' is the focus. What is informative here is 'not the information in the focus by itself, but the association of that information with the set of assumptions that constitute the pragmatic presupposition' (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:202). That is, in the above example, what is informative is the association between 'Steve' and 'someone went to the party', and this association is expressed by the it-cleft sentence 'it was Steve who went to the party' in which 'Steve' is the focus, which is unrecoverable from the context.

Thus, a focus is that part of an assertion which is not within the presupposition. However, when the discourse evokes no presupposition, focus and assertion coincide. For example, the question 'what happened' does not constitute any presupposition other than that something happened, and an answer to this question, 'he fell off the tree' is the focus and this itself is the informative assertion.

A language may have a focus structure in which the focus is syntactically or morphologically marked. It-cleft sentences in English are an example of this. In Bilua, the constituent which expresses focus, the focus constituent, is marked either syntactically or morphologically; it takes a preverbal position or it is marked by a focus marker. These two ways of marking focus constituents are described below.

14.3.2 Focus structure

There are two different ways to mark the focus constituent in Bilua—the focus constituent can be marked by a preverbal position or marked by a focus marker. That is, the focus structure is a clause in which a constituent is marked as a focus constituent. The focus constituent can be a core argument, an adjunct, or a predicate.\footnote{Lambrecht (1994:221–234) and Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:206–210) propose three focus types: argument focus (narrow focus by Van Valin and LaPolla), predicate focus, and sentence focus. Bilua focus structures are used for only argument (narrow) and predicate focus, and there is no grammatical structure for sentence focus in Bilua.} Whether this is
marked by a focus marker or by a preverbal position depends on the function of the focus constituent.

In Bilua, O NPs, locational/temporal adjuncts, all adjuncts expressed by a PP, and circumstantial adverbs mata/mati ‘again’ (see §10 for different kinds of adjuncts) can be focus constituents by taking a preverbal position. In example (14.18), the focus constituent is a preverbal object NP ‘a big string of fish’.

(14.18) ...vo ta o=vait=a keru kubo niuniu
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=return=PRES TEMP many fish
sate matu=ma dere-dere o=k=ati
COM big=3SG.F REDUP-string.of.fish 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL
saqor=a.
go.down=PRES
‘...when he came back with fish, he came down with a big string of fish.’
(24-3-23)

Example (14.18) occurs in a discourse in which ‘he’ went fishing. From this discourse, the presupposition ‘he will come back with something’ is evoked. ‘Something’ is replaced by the information ‘a big string of fish’. The association between this information and the presupposition is expressed by a clause in the focus structure ‘he came down with a big string of fish’ in which ‘a big string of fish’ is the focus constituent.

In the second clause of example (14.19) below, a PP bita=le ‘in a string bag’ is a locational adjunct, while raqauza ‘ember’ in the third, sakareju ‘coconut shell filled with water’ in the fourth, and zouke sakareju ‘three coconut shells filled with water’ in the fifth clauses are all objects. Each of these is the focus constituent of its clause and takes preverbal position. In the discourse where this example occurs, the son tells his mother to get taro, embers, and coconut shells filled with water to go for a walk. The mother takes the actions described in example (14.19) following his request. The first clause says that the mother got taro ready, and from this, the presupposition ‘the mother put taro somewhere X’ is evoked. ‘Somewhere X’ is replaced by ‘in a string bag’. Following this, another presupposition ‘the mother (also) carried other things’ arises. ‘Other things’ is replaced with more specific referent in the utterance, in the remaining clauses.

(14.19) Ti ko ina-inae=k=a ko mau |
and.then 3SG.F REDUP-get.ready=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F taro
bita=le ko i=k=a, raqauza
string.bag=in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES ember
ko=bori=k=a, ti, sakareju
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then coconut.shell.filled with water
ko=bori=k=a | zouke sakareju
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES three coconut.shell.filled with water
ko=bori=k=a.
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘Then, she got taro ready, she put them in a string bag, she carried embers, and she carried coconut shells filled with water, she carried three coconut shells filled with water.’ (27-13-81)

Object NPs and the aforementioned adjuncts can in addition be marked with a focus marker. This is discussed later in this section.

Unlike the constituents described above, S/A NPs, manner adjuncts, linking adjuncts, and complements of a VP cannot be a focus constituent just by taking a preverbal position. They have to be marked by a focus marker to be a focus constituent. A constituent which is marked with a focus marker always takes a preverbal position. The description of the focus structure so far suggests that the preverbal position is a marked position for an O NP, while it is not for an S/A NP—an O NP can be a focus constituent by taking a marked preverbal position, while for an S/A NP this is the unmarked position and so it requires a special marking in order to be a focus constituent. This is further discussed in §14.6. Since a VP itself occupies the reference position for other constituents, the VP also requires a focus marker to be a focus constituent as well. Note that a VP headed with the verb kio ‘to say’ always takes other constituents preceding itself. Therefore, with this VP, any constituent has to be marked with a focus marker to be a focus constituent.

The subject or the predicate of a non-verbal clause can also be a focus constituent, and these are also marked by a focus marker.

There are two focus markers in Bilua: inio and ikio, and they are often elided into nio and kio respectively. When a focus marker marks a constituent other than an NP, a focus marker is always realised as inio, while when it marks an NP, it can be inio or ikio, showing agreement with the focus NP. They show the following person/number/gender agreement with the focus NP.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus marker</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ikio</td>
<td>third person singular feminine</td>
<td>unspecified number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inio</td>
<td>non-third person singular feminine</td>
<td>singulative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that the distribution of focus markers is different from the distribution of pronominal enclitics as heads of modifier phrases (see §7.2.1.3.1) or demonstratives as possessor markers (see §7.3.2). There, with human referents, the third person singular feminine, dual, and plural were grouped together in opposition to the third person masculine. In contrast, here, third person singular feminine is in opposition to all others. Thus, inio (FOC.NONF) rather than ikio (3FOC.F) is regarded as the default form, and it

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88 Incidentally, with this verb, the focus argument can only be the object. There is no example in the data in which the subject of this verb is the focus constituent.
is because of this that inio (FOC.NONF) is chosen when the marked constituent is not an NP.

There are exceptions to the distribution given in Table 14.1. An NP which consists of ngavi ‘self’ cliticised with a pronominal proclitic, PRON=ngavi ‘by oneself’, or an NP functioning as a complement of a VP is always marked with inio. On the other hand, an NP headed with a quantifier is always marked with ikio.89

In example (14.20), the constituent anga ‘I’ is marked with a focus marker inio. This is the subject of a non-verbal clause in the first instance and is the subject of a verbal clause in the second instance. This example occurs in a discourse where three brothers are discussing which of the three should wait at home. From this, the presupposition, ‘someone (one of us) waits’, is evoked, and ‘someone’ is replaced with anga ‘I’, and this is expressed by the second instance of the focus structure. Another presupposition ‘someone is the older one’ is deduced from extralinguistic context. Here everyone wants to be the one who waits, and the senior one has the authority over the choice. That is, the issue becomes ‘who is the older one?’

(14.20) ...qe  kiada=qela  ta  qe=zio=vou  anga  inio  2DU  all=2DU  TOP  2DU=go=FUT  1SG  FOC.NONF
kaka=ka=lala  anga  inio  koi  a=dare=k=ou.
elder.sibling=LIG=1SG  1SG  FOC.NONF  here  1SG=wait=3SG.F.O=FUT
‘Both of you, you will go, it is me who is older, it is me who will wait here.’
(59-4-31)

Example (14.21) occurs in a discourse in which he climbed to the top of a ngali nut tree and sent down ten bags of ngali nuts to his wife waiting at the bottom of the tree. Following this, the presupposition ‘next he did X on the tree’ arises, and ‘did X’ is replaced with a specific action ‘(he) came down’. The complete information ‘he came down from the top of the nagli nut tree’ is expressed by a clause in the focus structure in which the verbal predicate is the focus constituent.

(14.21) Q=beta  saqor=a  inio  ko=a  nene  topi  3SG.M=CONT  go.down=PRES  FOC.NONF  3SG.F=LIG  ngali.nut top
azo...
ABL
‘He came down from the top of the ngali nut tree...’ (2-8-47)

In example (14.22), the focus constituent is the non-verbal predicate. Here the presupposition is that the subject ‘she’ is available for a comment. The assertion ‘she is

89 Note that ‘unspecified number’ for non-human in Table 14.1 means that it can be any number—it does not mean that it cannot be specified for a number. Thus, there is no contradiction when ikio is used for numerals.
'pregnant' is given as a reason for the assertion expressed in the following clause ‘you will go and get water for her’.  

(14.22) "...ko ta molu=a=ma ikio tu
3SG.F TOP pregnant=LI G=3SG.F FOC.F IRR
ngo=ba k=a tobet=e,
2SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL get.water=IMP.SG
"...she is pregnant and [so] you will go and get water for her,"

Thus, one way of marking the focus constituent is by a preverbal position and the other is by a focus marker. Naturally, when the focus constituent is morphologically marked, it is obvious that it is a focus constituent, and when it is not, it is less obvious, as it can be identified as a focus constituent only by the function of this constituent and by its position. Because of this, an object NP and the afore-mentioned adjuncts, which do not require a focus marker to be a focus constituent, can also be marked with a focus marker. In the example below, an instrumental adjunct takes a preverbal position and is marked with a focus marker.

(14.23) Nio sainío nioqa=vo megora ta o=ta
SEQ therefore 3DU=3SG.M child TOP 3SG.M=SIT

mamul=a ta vo ta o=potu kale
be.suspicious=PRES and.then 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=wound with

ino FOC.NONF 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3SG.F fish but NEG

kale.
tali fishing.rod with

'And, therefore, the child of the two, he got suspicious, [and he suspected that] the father caught fish with his wound [on his legs] but not with a fishing rod.'

(24-6-70)

As illustrated in the examples given above, the presupposition is usually accessible to the hearer. However, this could be inaccessible as well. For example, the last clause in example (14.24) has the focus structure. This is built on the presupposition 'he became something', in which something is replaced by 'snake' in the focus structure, but this presupposition is not accessible to the hearer from the context or through inference. In such a case, the focus structure has an effect of highlighting; it indicates an important part of the story. This effect results from the fact that the speaker is presenting an inaccessible

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90 This is one of the subfunction of it-clefs in English proposed by Prince (1978:902); the it-cleft may suggest that one state of affairs is closely tied to another.
presupposition as if it were an accessible one to the hearer. That is, here there is an implication 'don't you know this, this is what happened?'\footnote{Remember that two linking adverbials, soinio 'consequently and sainio 'therefore' which originated in an NP so 'that' and an adverb sai 'there' respectively and are marked by a focus marker, may be used to point to the highlight of the story (see §10.7).}

(14.24) \( O=lei\text{nio-}lei\text{nio} \ ti \ o=lei\text{nio-}lei\text{nio} \ ti \ o=lei\text{nio-}lei\text{nio} \\
3SG.M=\text{REDUP-lick} \ INT \ 3SG.M=\text{redup-lick} \ INT \ 3SG.M=\text{REDUP-lick} \\
ti \ o=\text{ta} \ v=a \ saivi=k=a \ ko=a \\
and.then \ 3SG.M=\text{POSS} \ 3SG.M.O=\text{VAL} \ heal=3SG.F.O=\text{PRES} \ 3SG.F=LIG \\
potu, \ ti \ vo=a \ maba \ ta \ dole \ inio \\
wound \ and.then \ 3SG.M=LIG \ person \ TOP \ snake \ FOC.NONF \\
o=\beta e\text{ta} \ ev=a. \\
3SG.M=\text{CONT} \ become=\text{PRES} \\
'[...[the snake] licked him, he licked him, and he licked him, consequently he healed his wound, and consequently, the man, he became a snake.'] (24-11-97)

In a Bilua interrogative clause, a constituent that contains an interrogative word is often a focus constituent, as this is the part of the question which is not presupposed.

(14.25) "...\text{la}i\_\text{nio} \ a=ba \ tare=k=ou?" \\
where \ FOC.NONF \ 1SG=PRES \ wait=3SG.F.O=\text{FUT} \\
k=i=a=la. \\
3SG.F.O=\text{say}=1SG=PRES \\
"...where shall I go and wait??" I said. (2-5-30)

(14.26) \text{La}\text{l}a=\text{nga}\_\text{nio} \ ngo? \\
what=thing \ FOC.F \ 3SG.F \\
'Who are you?' (28-2-23)

However, in a non-verbal interrogative clause in which the question word is \text{lai} 'where', that is in a non-verbal interrogative clause that questions the location of the subject, \text{lai} 'where' is never a focus constituent. Instead it is a topic constituent as in example (14.27).

(14.27) \text{La}\text{i} \ _\text{ta} \ ko? \\
where \ TOP \ 3SG.F \\
'Where is she?' (27-23-150)

It is rather peculiar that only an interrogative word \text{lai} 'where' as a non-verbal predicate can be a topic constituent and that it cannot be a focus constituent, and there appears to be no explanation why this is so. There is also an example in which an interrogative word \text{lai} 'where' takes the predicate position of a non-verbal clause as in example (14.28).
(14.28) Bolo ta lai?
pig TOP where
‘Where is pig?’ (43-3-29)

This example appears in the discourse in which the speaker’s husband went pig-hunting, and the speaker, his wife, utters this when he came home, apparently empty-handed. What she is asking here is about pigs — whether he brought back any pig or not, and it is not where the pig is. Thus, example (14.28) conveys the sense of ‘what about pigs?’ It is because of this that here ‘pig’ occurs as the topic constituent and consequently lai ‘where’ occurs as the predicate.

One clause may have two focus constituents. In example (14.29) below, the subject NP is marked with a focus marker while the object NP takes a preverbal position, and thus both are focus constituents. The presupposition here is ‘someone told me something’.

(14.29) “So inio anga=ko kil=o megora”,
that FOC.NONF 1SG=3SG.F come=NOM child

\[ k=i=ko=ve, \quad anga=ko \quad taite, \quad anga=ko \quad niania \]
\[ 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP \quad 1SG=3SG.F \quad g.parent \quad 1SG=3SG.F \quad mother \]

\[ kasi, \quad soinio, \quad a=niania \quad ikio \quad komi=a \quad bazu-bazu \]
at consequently 1SG=mother FOC.F PROX.SG.F=LIG REDUP-story

\[ ko=l=ai \quad bazue=k=e, \]
\[ 3SG.F=1SG.O=VAL \quad tell=3SG.F.O=RMP \]

‘That was my arrival, child’, said my grandmother to my mother, [and] consequently, it was my mother who told this story to me,’ (25-9-66)

When there are two focus constituents, the one which is marked with a focus marker precedes the one which is not marked with a focus marker, as in (14.29). Two focus constituents may both be marked with a focus marker, as in the last clause in example (14.13) repeated below. In this example, one of the focus constituents is a non-verbal predicate and the other is an adjunct. The first one occurs closer to the subject NP, since the predicate is the core of the clause.

(14.13’) Melai vo ta kiada keru ta pui
but 3SG.M TOP all TEMP TOP NEG

\[ o=sisu=a=ni \quad melai \quad ko=a \quad taku \quad kale \]
\[ 3SG.M=have.fruit=PRES=REL.NONF \quad but \quad 3SG.F=LIG \quad time \quad in \]

\[ inio \quad omadeu \quad pado \quad ikio \quad vo=ko \quad epa... \]
FOC.NONF one MESOne FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F fruit

‘But, as for [the betelnut tree], all the time, it did not bear any fruit, but that time there was one fruit of [the betelnut tree]...’ (59-1-8)
14.4 Contrastiveness

In the last two sections, a description of topic and focus structures was presented. Both of these structures may emphasise a contrast. Contrastiveness is ‘not a category of grammar but the result of the general cognitive processes’ (Lambrecht 1994:291), but a contrast which arises from the discourse can be emphasised by a topic or focus structure.

The topic structure is usually employed in order to establish a new topic or in order to draw the hearer’s attention (see §14.2.2). The topic structure may also be employed in order to emphasise a contrast. Example (14.30) occurs in a story about ngali nut-collecting. The speaker is telling how she and her husband used to prepare a string bag and a rope and go to collect ngali nuts. In the story, the topic keeps changing among ‘she (the speaker)’, ‘her husband’, and ‘the two (the speaker and her husband)’. As mentioned in §14.2.2, it is not necessary to employ the topic structure in order to re-establish an old topic as the current topic. In (14.30), the topic structure is employed in order to emphasise a contrast between the two: what the husband did and what the speaker did.

(14.30) Qe=sagor=a inio, vo____ta ju kale
1DU.EXC=go.down=PRES 3SG.M TOP water in
ko=a varu | anga ta
3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG varu.tree 1SG TOP
nganiu ale a=va=ka=a.
sun in 1SG=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘We went down, and as for him, he left [the bark of] varu trees in the water, and as for me, I left [the bark of ipupu trees] in the sun.’ (2-1-4)

Similarly in examples (14.11) and (14.14) above, the topic structure is employed in order to emphasise a contrast between two active referents.

The contrast emphasised by a topic marker has a sense of parallel—what one does is parallel to what another does. Focus markers also mark a contrast, but here the contrast has a sense of selection.92

The function of focus markers is to mark a constituent as presenting focus. This constituent may be one which was selected from a set. In such a case, the focus constituent is presented in contrast with others which were not selected from the set. In (14.20) repeated below anga ‘I’ is chosen from three brothers, who were all candidates for the one who will wait.

(14.20’) ...qe kiada=gela ta qe=zio=vou anga inio
2DU all=2DU TOP 2DU=go=FUT 1SG FOC.NONF

---

92 Dik (1989:277–285) defines focus as the most salient information in a given discourse. He distinguishes two types of focus, one of which is the ‘contrast’ focus. The ‘contrast’ focus is further divided into different types of contrast, two of which are referred to as ‘selecting’ and ‘parallel’ by Dik.
kaka=ka=lala anga inio koi a=dare=k=ou.
elder.sibling=LIG=1SG 1SG FOC.NONF here 1SG=wait=3SG.F.O=FUT
‘Both of you, you will go, it is me who is older, it is me who will wait here.’
(59-4-31)

Similarly in (14.29) repeated below a=niania ‘my mother’ was selected from between
the grandmother and the mother.

(14.29’) “So inio anga=ko kil=o meqora”,
that FOC.NONF 1SG=3SG.F come=NOM child
k=i=ko=ve, anga=ko taite, anga=ko niania
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP 1SG=3SG.F g-parent 1SG=3SG.F mother
kasi, soinia, a=niania ikio komi=a bazu-bazu
at consequently 1SG=mother FOC.F PROX.SG.F=LIG REDUP-story
ko=l=ai bazue=k=e,
3SG.F=1SG.O=VAL tell=3SG.F.O=RMP
“That was my arrival, child,” said my grandmother to my mother, [and]
consequently, it was my mother who told this story to me,” (25-9-66)

In (14.17) repeated below, kaka=ka=mu ‘older ones’ is selected from the ‘younger
ones’ and ‘older ones’. In this example, the NPs ‘younger ones’ and ‘older ones’ are non-
referential, and both present a topic; first and the second clauses are about ‘the younger
ones’ and ‘older ones’ respectively. Therefore, the NP ‘younger ones’ is marked with a
topic marker, but the NP ‘older ones’ is not marked with a topic marker. This is because
the NP ‘older ones’ also presents a focus. Here, the presupposition is ‘someone marries
first’, and ‘someone’ is replaced by ‘the older ones’. When one constituent presents both
topic and focus, it is marked with a focus marker, not with a topic marker.

(14.17’) “Koe visi=a=mu ta, pui kapiavole
EXCL younger.sibling=LIG=3PL TOP NEG quickly
ke=rorot=a=nio | kaka=ka=mu
3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF FOC.NONF older.sibling=LIG=3PL

inio kuleto ke=rorot=a=nii,”
FOC.NONF first 3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF
‘‘Younger ones, they do not quickly marry and it’s older ones who marry first,’’
(27-18-113)

14.5 Order of a topic and a focus

The means of marking topic and focus constituents in Bilua was described above.
Topic and focus constituents may co-occur, and in such a case, the topic constituent
normally precedes the focus constituent. This order is plausible since a topic is what the
clause/sentence is about. For example,
(14.31)  
\[
\text{Sainio} \quad \text{ko=a} \quad \text{niania=ka=ma} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{kora-korial}=o \\
\text{therefore} \quad 3SG.F=LIG \quad \text{mother=LIG}=3SG.F \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{REDUP-anger=NOM}
\]

\[
\text{sate__ino} \quad \text{eri} \quad k=i=k=la. \\
\text{COM} \quad \text{FOC.NONF} \quad \text{s.th.like.this} \quad 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
\]

‘Therefore, the mother, she said something like this in anger.’ (24-9-88)

In the preceding discourse of example (14.31), the son told the mother that the father caught fish with the wound on his legs, and so she was waiting for him to come back so that she could scold him. This brings out the presupposition ‘she says something (possibly with some emotion)’ and ‘in anger’ replaces ‘emotion’. The information ‘she said something like this in anger’ is about ‘the mother’, the topic.

When the focus constituent is a locational/temporal adjunct as well, this normally follows the topic constituent. In example (14.32), a locational adjunct ‘at the edge of the bunü tree’ follows the topic constituent ‘he’. The topic ‘he’ says that the clause presents information about him, ‘he was sitting at the end of the bunü tree’. This information is built on a presupposition that ‘he was sitting somewhere’ and the focus ‘at the end of the bunü tree’ replaces ‘somewhere’.

(14.32)  
\[
\ldots vo \quad ta \quad sai \quad bunü=ko \quad vaila \quad inio \\
\text{3SG.M TOP there bunü.tree}=3SG.F \quad \text{edge FOC.NONF}
\]

\[
o=beta \quad \text{papu=a.} \\
\text{3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES}
\]

‘...as for him, it was there at the edge of the bunü tree where he was sitting.’

(27-1-88)

However, there are several examples in the data in which a temporal adjunct as a focus constituent precedes a topic constituent. For example,

(14.33)  
\[
\text{Nio} \quad \text{nioqa} \quad \text{saqe} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{qo=kiada} \quad \text{puli=a=ma} \quad \text{nioqa}=ko
\]

\[
\text{SEQ} \quad 3DU \quad \text{couple TOP 3DU=all} \quad \text{NEG=LIG}=3SG.F \quad \text{3DU}=3SG.F
\]

\[
\text{megora.} \quad \text{Puliako} \quad \text{megora} \quad \text{sa=nga} \quad \text{el}=o
\]

\[
\text{child before child COM}=2SG \quad \text{become=NOM}
\]

\[
inio \quad vo \quad lasive=a=la \quad ta \quad o=ta \quad vou=va,
\]

\[
\text{FOC.NONF} \quad 3SG.M \quad \text{male=LIG}=3SG.M \quad \text{TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=PRES}
\]

\[
\text{reko=a=ma} \quad \text{ikio} \quad \text{sai.}
\]

\[
\text{female=LIG}=3SG.F \quad \text{FOC.F} \quad \text{there}
\]

‘And, the couple were by themselves, they had no child. It was before they became to be with a child (they had a child), that he, the husband, died; the wife was [left] there.’ (27-2-7)

In this example, the first sentence presents the information ‘they had no child’. The temporal adjunct in the second sentence presents the information ‘before they had a child’. Both of these have a reference to ‘having a child’, and the temporal adjunct is placed in the clause-initial position in order to link the second sentence to the first sentence. In other examples in which a temporal adjunct as a focus constituent precedes a topic
constituent, the temporal adjunct is expressed by a PP so keru (that TEMP) ‘that time’. This links the sentence in which this phrase occurs to the sentence which precedes.

There are also examples in which the temporal adjunct omadeu taku (one time) ‘one day’ as the focus constituent precedes the topic constituent.

(14.34) *Omedeu taku inio nioqa ta mata qo=t a*

one time FOC.NONF 3DU TOP again 3DU=SIT

kail=a.
go.up=PRES

‘One day, the two went up [to the garden] as usual.’

In (14.34) the temporal adjunct occurs in clause-initial position in order to introduce a change in the story. This example occurs after the speaker said what the two (the mother and son) and their father do every day, and by this temporal adjunct, the speaker is indicating that something, something different, is going to happen.

The focus constituent which precedes the topic constituent is usually marked with a focus marker, but it may not be so marked. A speaker may start a new story by an unmarked temporal adjunct, vairutu ‘today’ as an introduction of a story. In such a case, the presupposition is the entire story which is not accessible to the hearer.

(14.35) *Vairutu anga ta a=q=a zari=a bazut=o*

now 1SG TOP 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES tell=NOM

kama bazu-bazulao.
INDSG.F REDUP-folktales

‘Now, I am going to tell a folktales.’

Finally, the temporal adjunct *erisanga* ‘at present’ may occur clause-initially in order to highlight the change of situation. In example (14.36), *erisanga* ‘at present’ occurs in order to highlight that ‘he’, a coconut crab, who has been killing village people, died.

(14.36) ...vo=ko taka ta lula puli=a=ma o=seseu

3SG.M=3SG.F claw TOP already NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=finger

melai puli=a=ma o=zau-zau melai puli=a=ma.
too NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=REDUP-beard too NEG=LIG=3SG.F

_Erisanga nei ta o=ta vou=la._
at.present PROX.SG.M TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=RCP

‘...his claws have gone, his fingers too have gone, his beard too has gone. Now, this, he has died.’ (26-17-96)

In summary, a temporal adjunct may precede a topic constituent, when it functions to link sentences, as in example (14.33) or when it highlights a change, as in (14.34) and (14.36). It may also precede a topic constituent when it occurs as an introduction of a story, as in (14.35).
14.6 Order of unmarked constituents

This section presents the pragmatic functions of unmarked constituents, unmarked by a topic or a focus marker, in different positions. As introduced in §14.1, there are five types of referent status: active, accessible, inactive, anchored, and unanchored. Accessible referents are subdivided into textually accessible, situationally, and inferentially referents. Both subject and object NPs in Bilua can occur preverbally and postverbally. Subject/object NPs with different kinds of referents have different pragmatic functions depending on the position they take.

There are four different functions of unmarked NPs in Bilua. First, an NP may perform the function of introducing a new participant or reintroducing an already introduced participant into the discourse. Second, an NP may function to clarify the identity of the referent. Third, an NP may be used for emphasis. Fourth, as described in §14.3.2, it may present focus information. Relationships between the syntactic function of an NP, the position of an NP, and the kind of referent status are summarised in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic function</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Referent status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preverbal</td>
<td>Postverbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reintroduction</td>
<td>clarification</td>
<td>textually accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>introduction</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>situationally/inferentially accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus</td>
<td>emphasis clarification</td>
<td>active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus</td>
<td>reintroduction clarification</td>
<td>textually accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus</td>
<td>introduction</td>
<td>situationally/inferentially accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus</td>
<td>introduction</td>
<td>unidentifiable (both anchored and unanchored)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14.2: Pragmatic functions of unmarked NPs
Note that the primary function of an unmarked object NP in preverbal position is to present focus information, but when its referent is not active, it results in introducing or reintroducing a participant into the discourse.93

In Bilua, all NPs are optional. They are obligatory only when their referent is not retrievable from the discourse, that is when it has not been introduced into the discourse as a participant or when the referent has already been introduced but has ceased to be a participant prior to the current segment of discourse and thus needs to be reintroduced into the current discourse.

The above table shows that an O NP in a preverbal position is a focus constituent. An S/A NP can also occur in a preverbal position but cannot be a focus constituent without being marked by a focus marker (see §14.3.2). This suggests that the preverbal position is a marked position for an O NP, whose unmarked, basic position is postverbal. On the other hand, a preverbal position is the unmarked, basic position for an S/A NP, and because of this it requires a special marking by a focus marker to be a focus constituent. Furthermore, these positions, a preverbal position for an S/A NP and a postverbal position for an O NP, are the position each of them takes in order to reintroduce a participant, without marking any contrastiveness. One might say that this is because these are their unmarked, basic positions. Thus, it can be said that the basic constituent order in Bilua is SV/AVO.

A Bilua clause usually does not have two unmarked NPs, in particular on the same side of the predicate, but there is one example in the data in which both unmarked subject and object NPs occur in preverbal position. This is presented in §14.6.4.

In the following, three pragmatic functions of NPs: (re)introduction, clarification, and emphasis are described. The analysis here excludes NPs which are added as afterthoughts since these NPs are not regarded as parts of clauses.

14.6.1 (Re)introduction of participants

An NP may function to introduce or reintroduce a participant into the discourse. When an NP functions to (re)introduce a participant, it has to be a full NP, since otherwise, its referent would be unclear. A subject (S/A) NP in preverbal position or an object (O) NP in postverbal position which has a referent other than an active or a textually accessible referent functions to introduce a participant into the discourse. Example (14.37) appears at the beginning of a story and thus the subject NP in preverbal position, ‘pigeon and snail’, has unanchored referents. In example (14.38) the object NP ‘their heads’ has an inferentially accessible referent. The referent has not appeared in the discourse but it is a body part of an active participant.

(14.37) Omadeu taku [kurou ni kobaka]s qe=beta
one time pigeon and snail 3DU=CONT

93 Also, when an NP is marked with a topic or a focus marker and when the referent of this NP is not an active referent, it results in introducing or reintroducing the referent into the discourse.
A subject NP in a preverbal position and an object NP in a postverbal position which has a textually accessible referent reintroduces a participant into the current discourse. The referent of the subject NP in a preverbal position, 'the mother' in example (14.39) below, has previously appeared in the discourse but has ceased to be a participant some time before the current discourse. It is brought back into the discourse by an unmarked subject NP here. The referent is a textually accessible one.

(14.39) Ko=rere=a inio ko=pa zuzue=v=a,  
3SG.F=run=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=PROS squeeze=3SG.M.O=PRES  
ko=v=ai kiavi=a, ko=lume=v=a,  
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL be.pleased=PRES 3SG.F=kiss=3SG.M.O=PRES  
saitainio ko=v=ati kail=a. Nio [ko=a afterwards 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL go.up=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=LIG  
niania=ka=ma]A ko=v=e=a inio ko=ta  
mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES and.then 3SG.F=SIT  
matu zolei=va. very be.happy=PRES  
'[The wife] ran, and then she went and hugged him, she was pleased with him, she kissed him, and afterwards she took him up. And, the mother saw him and she was very happy.' (27-16-99-100)

In Bilua a new protagonist is brought into a discourse by one of three means: as an O NP in a postverbal position, as in (14.40), as an S NP of the verb elo 'to stay', as in (14.37) above, or as the subject NP of an existential clause, as in (14.41) below. It is very rare for a new protagonist to be introduced into the discourse as an A argument. 

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94 This fits with a cross-linguistic tendency that a new participant is introduced as S or O argument as illustrated by Du Bois (1987). In (14.39), the A argument is not a new participant. It is a participant reintroduced into the discourse.
Chapter 14

Inisiana [kake zouke saidi] subject NP kama
EXTpl INDEP.PL three family INDEP.SG.F

matu=ma peuru=ko keta-keta. Se=a saidi ta
big=3SG.F village=3SG.F REDUP-edge 3PL=LIG family TOP

ke ev=a ke=kiada koi.
3PL stay=PRES 3PL=all here
‘There was a family of three on the edge of a big village. The family, they lived here on their own.’ (24-1-3-4)

After a new protagonist is introduced by one of the three means described above, it often appears as a topic in the next clause, presented by an NP marked with a topic marker. This topic NP is expressed by a full NP rather than a pronominal NP, even though the same referent has already been presented by a full NP in the preceding clause. In all of (14.37), (14.40), and (14.41), the NP in square brackets is followed by a full NP which presents the same referent, and this is marked with a topic marker.

14.6.2 Clarification

A subject/object NP in a postverbal position may function to clarify the identify of the bound pronominal form on the verb. Because of its function, such an NP can only be a full NP and cannot be a pronominal NP. It can only be an active or a textually accessible referent, both of which have already been introduced into the discourse. In example (14.42) below, the NP ‘Sito’ is an active referent. This is a third person singular
masculine referent, and there is another active referent of third person singular masculine in the discourse. Therefore, if the speaker omits the NP, it may not be clear to the hearer to which one of these the object clitic on the verb refers. Therefore, the speaker positions the NP for clarification. In example (14.43), two underlined subject NPs appear in order to clarify who the pronominal proclitic on the preceding VP refers to. The elder sister has previously appeared in the story but there is a big gap between her last appearance and this appearance; that is, it is a textually accessible referent. On the other hand, in the discourse where (14.43) occurs, there are two female active referents. The NP kaka=ka=ma ‘the elder sister’ thus occurs to clarify that the pronominal proclitic does not refer to one of these referents, but to the older sister. Notice the use of an NP in this example is in a way similar to reintroduction described in the last section since the NP reintroduces a referent into the current discourse.

(14.42) So keru Jimi vo ta o=v=ai risai=ke that TEMP Jimi 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=3SG.M.O=VAL throw=HIST

vo Sito. Nioqa ta qo=ta zuzue-kini=ake ko=a 3SG.M Sito 3DU TOP 3DU=SIT squeeze-RECP=HIST 3SG.F=LIG

loloku kale. Matu taulavole, kubo maba madu ta gully in very quickly many person COLL.PL TOP

ke=kue=ke ni ke=noqoe=v=a [vo Sito]O. 3PL=come=HIST and 3PL=hold=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M Sito
‘That time, Jim threw himself to Sito. They held and struggled with each other in the gully. Many people came very quickly and they held Sito.’ (12-7-69-72)

(14.43) ...qo=beta ol=a inio qo ol=a lekasa=vo 3DU=CONT go=PRES FOC.NONF 3DU go=PRES chief=3SG.M

matu peuru kale pade kasi qo ol=a, ko=a big village in house at 3DU go=PRES 3SG.F=LIG

reko=ko mama ni niania kasi. Nio ko=k=e=a wife=3SG.F father and mother at SEQ 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=see=PRES

[ko kaka=ka=ma]A, |
ko=v=e=a [ko
3SG.F elder.sibling=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES 3SG.F

kaka=ka=ma]A, elder.sibling=LIG=3SG.F
‘...they went and they went to the chief’s big village, to the house, to the father and mother of the wife. And the older sister saw her, [and then] the older sister saw him.’ (27-18-111-112)
14.6.3 Emphasis

A subject/object full NP of an active referent may occur in a postverbal position. An active referent does not need to be included in a clause, nor does it need to be presented by a full NP, since its identity is clear. Therefore, when it is included, it emphasises that information presented by the NP is important in the discourse. Such an NP can only be one which presents a protagonist. There are very few examples where an NP is used with this pragmatic function, and in most instances, it occurs in the second clause where two clauses of the same information appear one after another, as illustrated by the following two examples. In both examples, the repetition of the VP emphasises the importance of this information in the discourse, but the speaker also wants to indicate that its participant is equally as important as this information, and thus the NP occurs to emphasise this.

(14.44)  ...ne=a vaiza ta o=lulue=m=ou
                PROX.SG.M=LIG shark TOP 3SG.M=follow=3PL.O=FUT
         o=lulue=m=ou [vo=a vaiza].
3SG.M=follow=3PL.O=FUT 3SG.M=LIG shark
       ‘...this shark followed them, the shark followed them.’ (34-4-31)

(14.45)  ...ne=a vaiza ta kaida koi ta vo=ko
                PROX.SG.M=LIG shark TOP all place TOP 3SG.M=3SG.F
         tauvezat=o o ere=k=e, melai omadeu zae
        help=NOM 3SG.M make=3SG.O=RMP but one area
     kale inio ke=vouvae=v=e. Savo, Savo inio
        FOC.NONF 3PL=kill=3SG.M.O=RMP Savo Savo FOC.NONF
         ke=vouvae=v=e [ne=a vaiza].
3PL=kill=3SG.M.O=RMP PROX.SG.M=LIG shark
       ‘...this shark offered his help everywhere, but it was in one area, they killed him.
         Savo, it was Savo where they killed this shark.’ (34-5-34)

In (14.44), the NP in brackets clearly has an active referent; an NP referring to the same referent occurs in the initial position of the same clause. Similarly throughout (14.45), the shark is an active referent.

This use of an NP is also found in a non-verbal clause. In the following example, the focus marker which follows the non-verbal predicate presents the predicate as a focus. The speaker adds an NP which refers to the subject NP in order to emphasise that it is the addressee who is small.

(14.46)  ...ngo ta matu silo=a=langa inio ngo...
                2SG TOP very small=LIG=2SG FOC.NONF 2SG
        ‘...you are very small, you...’ (59-4-29)
14.6.4 Two unmarked NPs in preverbal position

As noted in the introduction of this section, there is only one example in the data in which both unmarked subject and object NPs occur in a preverbal position.

(14.47) ...
ndo tua ruq=a=ma potu kale
2SG TOP bad=LIG=3SG.F wound with
ndo=q=o=a=ko niuniu ikio eqe
2SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES=3SG.F fish FOC.F 3DU
ndo=nia=a=qel=a, ruq=a=ma quili kale, tuinio=ma quili
2SG=feed=1DU.O=PRES bad=LIG=3SG.F thing with smell=3SG.F thing
kale, melai eqe=a saidi kiada keru
with but 1DU.EXC=LIG family all TEMP
qe=tauve=ng=a, tua eqe ta pui
2DU.EXC=help=2SG.O=PRES TOP 2DU.EXC TOP NEG
ruq=a=ma sailao pui kun=ka=ma, uria=a=ma sailao
bad=LIG=3SG.F food NEG dirty=LIG=3SG.F good=LIG=3SG.F food
qe=qe=k=o=a me=ngavi=ko kiaro
2DU.EXC 2DU.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 1PL=EMPH=3SG.F garden
kale,
in
‘As for you, it is the fish you get with a bad wound [you feed us], with a smelly thing, but we family, we always help you, we [don’t get] bad food, not dirty food, but we (not like you) get good food in our own garden,’ (24-9-89)

It seems that in (14.47), the speaker wanted to make the subject NP eqe ‘we’ a focus as well as the object NP uria=a=ma sailao ‘good food’ after stating the object NP. However, because of its unusual position after the unmarked focus, the eqe ‘we’ is not marked with a focus marker.

14.7 Summary

In the sections above, three constructions, the topic structure, the focus structure, and the order of unmarked constituents were described. Topic and focus structures play important roles in discourse organisation in the Bilua language, and there are frequent occurrences of topic and focus markers in texts.

The topic structure is employed in order to establish a new topic, but it can also be employed in order to draw hearer’s attention or to emphasize a contrast. On the other hand, the focus structure is employed in order to provide the hearer with unrecoverable information from the discourse, which is presented as a focus. That is, both topic and
focus structures contribute to the development of the communication and push the communication forward.

It was suggested in §13.2.5 that it may be the case that the focus marker *ini* and the sequential coordinator *ini* ‘and then’ historically have the same origin. On the other hand, it was demonstrated in §13.2.6 that causal coordinators, *ta* and *ti*, have originated in topic markers *ta* and *ti*. These coordinators all link independent clauses. Independent clauses can also be linked by the conjunctive coordinator *ni* ‘and’, but this simply conjoins two clauses. Clauses in Bilua are, in fact, more frequently connected by sequential and causal coordinators than by the conjunctive coordinator. This appears to be because of their origin as focus and topic markers, which contribute to the development of the communication. If a story were told by clauses joined just by the conjunctive coordinator, it would sound like a report in which events are presented one after another, without any indication of their discourse relationship.
Appendix 1: Verbal morphology

Most Bilua verbs have both intransitive and transitive verbs, sharing an identical string of segments, which can be referred to as ‘root’, between them. For example, the intransitive *mumazat* ‘to loose’ and transitive verbs *mumae* ‘to loose’ share the root *muma*, and the rest, -*zat* and -*e* can be treated as an intransitive and transitive suffix respectively. Thus, it is possible to segment an intransitive and transitive verb into a root and an intransitive and transitive suffix, but it appears that such segmentation does not have synchronic significance. This is because [1] there are various realisations of intransitive and transitive suffixes, and [2] the choice of intransitive suffix is not predictable from the choice of transitive suffix or vice versa.

Reason [1] is illustrated by the following list of intransitive and transitive suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive suffixes</th>
<th>-at, -t, -zat, -kat, -kazat, -an, -uan, -l, -al, -p, -o, -Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive suffixes</td>
<td>-i, -e, -eki, -ki, -si, -ie, , -u, -Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reason [2] can be demonstrated by a comparison between the above pair of intransitive and transitive verbs and another pair of intransitive and transitive verbs. A pair of intransitive and transitive verbs, *niumat* ‘to spoil’ and *niumae* ‘to spoil’, share the root *niuna* and thus the intransitive and transitive suffixes of this verb are said to be -*t* and -*e* respectively. The transitive suffix on the verb *muma* is also -*e* but the intransitive suffix on the verb *muma* is not -*t* but -*zat*. Thus, the choice of intransitive suffix is not predictable from the choice of transitive suffix. It is not predictable from the root either.

The above illustrates that it is possible to segment an intransitive and transitive verb into a root and an intransitive and transitive suffix respectively, but such segmentation has historical significance only. Therefore, in this work, each combination is treated as a fully lexicalised form, that is, as a unanalysed stem.

Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts are presented below in order to further demonstrate the reason [2]. It is obvious from these examples that there is no criterion for the choice of intransitive and transitive suffixes. Note that some intransitive and transitive counterparts show S=A relationship while some others show S=A relationship. This is also indicated in the table in the column for ‘Roots’.
Table A1.2: Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Intransitive stems</th>
<th>Transitive stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ere ‘to make/do’</td>
<td>ere-kat ‘to make’</td>
<td>ere ‘to make’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibu ‘to be quiet’</td>
<td>ibu-o ‘to become quiet’</td>
<td>ibu-e ‘to make s.o. quiet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jai lo ‘to be tired’</td>
<td>jai lo-z ‘to become tired’</td>
<td>jai lo-ki ‘to make s.o. tired’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koiv ‘to climb’</td>
<td>koiv ‘to climb’</td>
<td>koiv-ie ‘to climb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laini ‘to feel’</td>
<td>laini-zat ‘to feel’</td>
<td>laini ‘to feel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mina ‘to laugh’</td>
<td>mina-o ‘to laugh’</td>
<td>mina-eki ‘to make s.o. laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muma ‘to loose’</td>
<td>muma-zat ‘to loose’</td>
<td>muma-e ‘to loose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niuma ‘to spoil’</td>
<td>niuma-t ‘to spoil’</td>
<td>niuma-e ‘to spoil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pazo ‘to hit’</td>
<td>pazo-t ‘to hit’</td>
<td>pazo ‘to hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi ‘to fall’</td>
<td>pi-al ‘to fall’</td>
<td>pi ‘to drop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rokas ‘to tear’</td>
<td>rokas-at ‘to tear’</td>
<td>rokas-i ‘to tear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roqu ‘to care’</td>
<td>roqu-an ‘to care’</td>
<td>roqu-e ‘to care’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suiri ‘to point’</td>
<td>suiri-pat ‘to point’</td>
<td>suiri ‘to point’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar ‘to wait’</td>
<td>tar-uan ‘to wait’</td>
<td>tar-e ‘to wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toilt ‘to wake’</td>
<td>toilat ‘to wake up’</td>
<td>toilat-i ‘to wake s.o. up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vere ‘to be sick’</td>
<td>vere-p ‘to become sick’</td>
<td>vere-ki ‘to make s.o. sick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vari ‘to increase’</td>
<td>vari-o ‘to increase’</td>
<td>vari-e ‘to increase’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veu ‘to open’</td>
<td>veu-kazat ‘to open’</td>
<td>veu ‘to open’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zia ‘to cry’</td>
<td>zia-l ‘to cry’</td>
<td>zia-si ‘to make s.o. cry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The transitive suffix -u is found only with a derived stem. For example, rarom ‘to cook’ is a verb stem derived from a noun raro ‘pot’. Its intransitive and transitive verbs are rarom-at ‘to cook’ and rarom-u ‘to cook’ respectively. These are in an S=A relationship.

Some verb roots provide two intransitive stems. The following are some examples. Except for vail ‘to look’, in these sets of intransitive and transitive verbs, the intransitive verbs on the left column are in a S=O relationship with their transitive counterparts, while the intransitive verbs on the right column are in a S=A relationship with their transitive counterparts. With vail ‘to look’ both intransitive verbs are in an S=A relationship with the transitive counterpart, but the one on the left means ‘to look’ while the one on the right means ‘to look for’.
Table A1.3: Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Intransitive stems</th>
<th>Intransitive stems</th>
<th>Transitive stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keju ‘to cook’</td>
<td>keju ‘to cook’</td>
<td>keju-t ‘to cook’</td>
<td>keju-e ‘to cook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lojo ‘to stand’</td>
<td>lojo-l ‘to stand’</td>
<td>lojo-t ‘to stand s.th. up’</td>
<td>lojo-e ‘to stand s.th. up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadar ‘to dry’</td>
<td>ngadar ‘to dry’</td>
<td>ngadar-at ‘to dry’</td>
<td>ngadar-i ‘to dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paki ‘to survive’</td>
<td>paki ‘to survive’</td>
<td>paki-ezat ‘to save’</td>
<td>paki ‘to save’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vail ‘to look’</td>
<td>vail ‘to look’</td>
<td>vail-izat ‘to look for’</td>
<td>vail-i ‘to look for’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of intransitive verbs in each of the following two examples does not have any of the suffixes listed above. Instead, it has -vat and -e respectively. This is the only occurrence of -vat and also this is the only occurrence of -e as an intransitive suffix found in the data.

Table A1.4: Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts (3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Intransitive stems</th>
<th>Intransitive stems</th>
<th>Transitive stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vou ‘to die/kill’</td>
<td>vou ‘to die’</td>
<td>vou-vat ‘to kill’</td>
<td>vouva-e ‘to kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amaq ‘to enter’</td>
<td>amaq-e ‘to enter’</td>
<td>amaq-at ‘to put in’</td>
<td>amaq-i ‘to put in’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the intransitive suffixes listed above, some verbs take another type of intransitive suffixes that could be referred to as reflexive suffixes. They have two forms -il and -zi. Verbs that have one of these suffixes typically have a reflexive meaning. For example, a combination of the aforementioned root *nana* ‘to bite’ with -il means ‘to bite oneself’. However, some combinations of a root with -il/-zi do not have a reflexive meaning. For example, a combination of *pisa* ‘to break’ and -il means ‘to break by itself’, which is said to be semireflexive meaning. Like intransitive and transitive suffixes, it is not predictable from the form of the root which of these suffixes is attached to each root. Thus, it can be said that combinations of a root with a reflexive intransitive suffix are also lexicalised and they are treated as unanalysed stems in this work.
Appendix 2: Realisations of tense/mood markers

There are different realisations for each of the tense/mood markers in Bilua. Generally speaking, realisations of tense/mood markers depend on the last segment of the word they are attached to. With singular imperative mood markers, the realisation also depends on the kind of host, such as whether it is an intransitive verb or an object clitic on a transitive verb. The following table presents a list of tense/mood markers. The right column presents the distribution of different realisations. Note that the combination of verb final u and the near future tense marker o is realised as u. That is, with verbs ending with the vowel u, the near future tense marker is realised as zero morpheme. This is also the case with the nominal derivational enclitic o.\(^{95}\)

Bilua does not allow a sequence of Vs (V standing for a vowel or a diphthong). Because of this, if a vowel-initial tense/mood marker attaches to a diphthong, this results in the deletion of the second element of the diphthong. For example, the combination of besizio ‘to change’ with a present tense marker a results in besizi=a (change=PRES). Or if enclitisation results in a sequence of identical Vs, this is realised as a single V. For example, the combination of besizio to change’ with a near future tense marker results in besizio (changeNRFUT).\(^{96}\)

\(^{95}\) In this work, a verb ending with the vowel u with no near future tense marker (NRFUT)/nominal derivational enclitic (NOM) is glossed as ‘verbNRFUT/NOM’. For example,

\[
\begin{align*}
A=da & \quad \text{papu.} \\
1SG=\text{SIT} & \quad \text{sitNRFUT} \\
\text{‘I am going to sit.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
A=q=a & \quad \text{zari=a} \quad \text{papu.} \\
1SG=3SG.F.O=\text{VAL} & \quad \text{want=PRES} \quad \text{sitNOM} \\
\text{‘I want to sit.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{96}\) In this work, when a tense marker merges with the preceding vowel, this morpheme is not shown, but the gloss of this morpheme is given following the verb, just like the case with verbs ending with u. This also applies to the nominal derivational enclitic o attached to verbs.

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Table A2.1: Tense/mood markers and their distributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense/mood markers</th>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present tense</td>
<td>a / va</td>
<td>va / ao or io _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near future tense</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>Ø / u _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future tense</td>
<td>ou / vou</td>
<td>ou / C _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vou / V _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recent past tense</td>
<td>ala / la</td>
<td>ala / C _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>la / V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote past tense</td>
<td>e / vi</td>
<td>e / C _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vi / V _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical tense</td>
<td>ake / ke</td>
<td>ake / C _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ke / V _</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imperative (sg)</th>
<th>on object clitics</th>
<th>on intransitive verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>e / vi</td>
<td>e / C _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vi / V _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative (du)</td>
<td>oko / ko</td>
<td>oko / C _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ko / V _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative (pl)</td>
<td>omo / mo</td>
<td>omo / C _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mo / V _</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.2.2 below presents some examples to illustrate the above generalisation. The transitive verb *pazoko* ‘to hit’ is presented with a default object clitic *k* (3SG.F). Morphemes in the square brackets merge with the preceding vowel and do not appear in the surface structure.

Table A2.2: Verbs with tense/mood markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>vuat</em> ‘to eat’</th>
<th><em>pazo</em> ‘to hit’</th>
<th><em>pekao</em> ‘to dance’</th>
<th><em>talio</em> ‘to travel’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td><em>vuat=a</em></td>
<td><em>pazo=k=a</em></td>
<td><em>pekao</em> [vao]</td>
<td><em>talio</em> [vao]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
<td><em>vuat=o</em></td>
<td><em>pazo=k=o</em></td>
<td><em>pekao</em> [=o]</td>
<td><em>talio</em> [=o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td><em>vuat=ala</em></td>
<td><em>pazo=k=ala</em></td>
<td><em>pekao</em> [la]</td>
<td><em>talio</em> [la]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent past</td>
<td><em>vuat=e</em></td>
<td><em>pazo=k=e</em></td>
<td><em>pekao</em> [ke]</td>
<td><em>talio</em> [ke]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td><em>vuat=ake</em></td>
<td><em>pazo=k=ake</em></td>
<td><em>pekao</em> [vi]</td>
<td><em>talio</em> [vi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td><em>vuat=e</em></td>
<td><em>pazo=k=a</em></td>
<td><em>pekao</em> [vi]</td>
<td><em>talio</em> [vi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (sg)</td>
<td><em>vuat=oke</em></td>
<td><em>pazo=k=oke</em></td>
<td><em>pekao</em> [mo]</td>
<td><em>pekao</em> [mo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (du)</td>
<td><em>vuat=oke</em></td>
<td><em>pazo=k=oke</em></td>
<td><em>pekao</em> [ko]</td>
<td><em>talio</em> [ko]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (pl)</td>
<td><em>vuat=oke</em></td>
<td><em>pazo=k=omo</em></td>
<td><em>pekao</em> [mo]</td>
<td><em>pekao</em> [mo]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

97 There is variation in the realisation of a combination of a verb ending with *io*, with the recent past tense marker. The verb final *o* sometimes appears and sometimes does not.
There are some irregular verbs to which the above generalisation of tense/mood markers does not apply. Moreover, these verbs have different realisations when they are bound by tense/mood markers. Irregular verbs are ov ‘to get’, el ‘to see’, u ‘to eat’, i ‘to say’, kal ‘to occur’, el ‘to stay’ or ‘to become’, zio ‘to go’, zial ‘to cry’, barol ‘to arrive’, pial ‘to fall’, and all verbs ending with il and u. Note that with these verbs, their realisation with the nominal derivational enclitic is regarded as their basic form, as this is used in its citation form. Their realisations with different tense/mood markers are summarised in Tables A2.3–A2.6 below. An illustration for verbs ending with il and u is given with verbs pusail ‘to wash’ and papu ‘to sit’. Note that morpheme boundaries here were determined following the forms of tense/mood markers. The blank in the table is either because of the gap in the data or because combinations of certain verbs with imperative mood markers never appear. Verbs, ov ‘to get’, el ‘to see’, u ‘to eat’, and i ‘to say’ are given with the default object clitic k (3SG.F) attached. The verb i ‘to say’ never occurs without a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references with the subject, between the verb and a tense/mood marker. This is given in the first person singular form a (1SG) here.

Table A2.3: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ov ‘to get’</th>
<th>el ‘to see’</th>
<th>u ‘to eat’</th>
<th>kal ‘to occur’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>k=o=a</td>
<td>k=e=a</td>
<td>k=ua[=a]</td>
<td>kav=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>k=ov=o</td>
<td>k=el=o</td>
<td>k=u=o</td>
<td>kal=o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>k=ov=ou</td>
<td>k=el=ou</td>
<td>k=ua=ou</td>
<td>kal=ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent past</td>
<td>k=o=ala</td>
<td>k=e=ala</td>
<td>k=ua=la</td>
<td>ka=la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>k=o=e</td>
<td>k=e=e</td>
<td>k=i=e</td>
<td>ka=e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>k=o=ake</td>
<td>k=e=ake</td>
<td>k=ua=ke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (sg)</td>
<td>k=o=a</td>
<td>k=e=a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (du)</td>
<td>k=o=ko</td>
<td>k=e=ko</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (pl)</td>
<td>k=o=mo</td>
<td>k=e=mo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table A2.4: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>el</em> ‘to stay’ or ‘to become’</th>
<th><em>zio</em> ‘to go’[^98]</th>
<th><em>kil</em> ‘to come’</th>
<th><em>barol</em> ‘to arrive’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td><em>ev=a</em></td>
<td><em>ol=a</em></td>
<td><em>kue=va</em></td>
<td><em>baro=a</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
<td><em>el=o</em></td>
<td><em>zio[=o]</em></td>
<td><em>kil=o</em></td>
<td><em>barol=o</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td><em>el=ou</em></td>
<td><em>zio=vou</em></td>
<td><em>kil=ou</em></td>
<td><em>barol=ou</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent past</td>
<td><em>ev=ala</em></td>
<td><em>ol=ala</em></td>
<td><em>kue=la</em></td>
<td><em>baro=la</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td><em>ev=e</em></td>
<td><em>kev=e</em></td>
<td><em>kue=vi</em></td>
<td><em>baroi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td><em>e=ke</em></td>
<td><em>ol=ake</em></td>
<td><em>ku=ake</em></td>
<td><em>baori=ke</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (sg)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td><em>ol=a</em></td>
<td><em>ku=a</em></td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (du)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td><em>ola=ko</em></td>
<td><em>kue=ko</em></td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (pl)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td><em>ola=mo</em></td>
<td><em>kue=mo</em></td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table A2.5: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>zial</em> ‘to cry’</th>
<th><em>pial</em> ‘to fall’</th>
<th><em>pusail</em> ‘to wash’</th>
<th><em>papu</em> ‘to sit’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td><em>zi=a</em></td>
<td><em>pi=a</em></td>
<td><em>pusaiv=a</em></td>
<td><em>papu=a</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
<td><em>zial=o</em></td>
<td><em>pial=o</em></td>
<td><em>pusail=o</em></td>
<td><em>papu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td><em>zial=ou</em></td>
<td><em>pial=ou</em></td>
<td><em>pusail=ou</em></td>
<td><em>papu=vou</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent past</td>
<td><em>zia=la</em></td>
<td><em>pia=la</em></td>
<td><em>pusail=la</em></td>
<td><em>papu=la</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td><em>ziav=e</em></td>
<td><em>pia=vi</em></td>
<td><em>pusai</em></td>
<td><em>papi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td><em>zia=ke</em></td>
<td><em>pi=ke</em></td>
<td><em>pusai=ke</em></td>
<td><em>papu=ke</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (sg)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td><em>pusai</em></td>
<td><em>papi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (du)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td><em>ola=ko</em></td>
<td><em>pusai=ko</em></td>
<td><em>papu=ko</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (pl)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td><em>ola=mo</em></td>
<td><em>pusai=mo</em></td>
<td><em>papu=mo</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^98]: The verb *zio* ‘to go’ with present, recent past, and historical tense markers, and dual and plural imperative mood markers could also be analysed as *ola[=a]*, *ola=la*, *ola=ke*, *ola=ko*, and *ola=mo* respectively.
Table A2.6: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense/Mood</th>
<th>i 'to say'[^99]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>$k=i=a=la$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>$k=i=a=vou$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent past</td>
<td>$k=i=a=lala$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>$k=i=a=ve$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>$k=i=a=lake$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (sg)</td>
<td>$k=i=ve$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (du)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (pl)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^99]: It may be the case that the verb 'to say' is a discontinuous morpheme $i...l$ with which a pronominal proclitic occurs between $i$ and $l$, but $l$ does not appear when it takes future and remote past tense markers, or a singular imperative mood marker. This verb with present, recent past, and historical tense markers then would be analysed as $k=i=a=l=a$, $k=i=a=l=ala$, and $k=i=a=l=ake$ respectively, and here present, recent past, and historical tense markers show regular realisations.
Appendix 3: Texts

Transcripts of two texts are included here: *Dog-child* (text 27) and *Ngali nut collection* (text 2). The first one is a folktale. It was told by one of the informants, who was about 55 years old when it was recorded. He is a tribal chief who realises that Bilua children speak differently from older people and is conscious about maintenance of good, traditional Bilua. When analysing this text, I consulted with other informants. The text was recorded at his home in Sabora village. There was no audience at the time of recording. The second text was told by a woman who was about 90 years old at the time of recording. The story is about how she and her husband used to collect *ngali* nuts\(^{100}\) after making ropes and string bags from bark of some trees. Although the speaker was quite frail when she told the story, she told it vividly and in a most beautiful way (the first time I asked her to tell a story, she started crying, remembering her husband and could not do it). The text was recorded at her home in the *Maravari* village. Her grandchildren were present at recording.

English translations given here are free translations and are not necessarily the same as those given in chapters of the work. Whilst the English translations in the chapters reflect the clause structure and meaning of the Bilua clause and therefore may not sound like natural English, the English translations given here have been adjusted so that they sound natural in English.

**Dog-Child (Text 27)**

(1)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
Anga & ta & a=q=a & zari=a & v=ai \\
1SG & TOP & 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL & want=PRES & 3SG.M.O=VAL \\
bazu-bazut=o & kala & bazu-bazulao, & ni \\
REDUP-tell=NOM & INDEF.SG.M & REDUP-folktale & and \\
komi=a & bazu-bazulao & ta & pui & matu \\
PROX.SG.F=LIG & REDUP-folktale & TOP & NEG & very \\
tuwevo=a=ma, & melai & silo-silo=a=mu & ke=m=ai \\
true=LIG=3SG.F & but & REDUP-small=LIG=3PL & 3PL=3PL.O=VAL \\
ibue=k=o & k=i=ke=ve=ma & sole, \\
make.quiet=3SG.F.O=NRFUT & 3SG.F.O=say=3PL=RMP=3SG.F & that's why
\end{array}
\]

\(^{100}\) *Ngali* nuts are of the *Canarium* species.
Appendix 3

ko pui ko=pa erei=vo ni pui ko=pa
3SG.F NEG 3SG.F=PROS happen.RMP=REL and NEG 3SG.F=PROS

ka=e=vo melai, ke=kase=k=e ko=a
occur=RMP=REL but 3PL=mention=3SG.F.O=RMP 3SG.F=LIG

bazu-bazulao kale.
REDUP-folktale in
‘I want to tell a folktale, and this folktale, it is not very true, but people make
children quiet by telling this story. That’s what they said, it wasn’t something
which happened and it wasn’t something which occurred but still they tell it in a
folktale.’

(2) Nio vo=a bazu-bazulao
SEQ 3SG.M=LIG REDUP-folktale

k=i=o=la=ni ta eri nio.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES=REL.NONF TOP s.th.like.this FOC.NONF
‘And, what the folktale said is something like this.’

(3) Kala matu=la peuru ta inevoana kama
INDEF.SG.M big=3SG.M village TOP EXT.SG.M INDEF.SG.F

zavanga kale, ni vo=a matu=la peuru ale
area in and 3SG.M=LIG big=LIG village in

ta inevoana kala matu=la lekasa ta
TOP EXT.SG.M INDEF.SG.M big=3SG.M chief TOP

inevoana sai.
EXTSG.M there
‘There was a very big village in one area, and in that big village, there was a big
chief, he was living there.’

(4) Ni kubo maba madu ta inisiana sai ko=a
and many person COLL.PL TOP EXT.PL there 3SG.F=LIG

matu=ma peuru ale.
big=3SG.F village in
‘And there were many people there in that big village.’

(5) Ne=a matu=la peuru=ko keta-keta, ta
PROX.SG.M=LIG big=3SG.M village=3SG.F REDUP-edge TOP

inevoana kala silo=a=la peuru.
EXT.SG.M INDEF.SG.M small=LIG=3SG.M village
‘At the edge of this big village, there was a small village.’

(6) Ko=a silo=a=la peuru ale ta kainioga
3SG.F=LIG small=LIG=3SG.M village in TOP INDEF.DU
sage, nio sai ko=a peuru ale.
couple FOC.NONF there 3SG.F=LIG village in
'In that small village, there was a couple, there in the village.'

(7) Nio nioqa sage ta go=kiada puli=a=ma nioqa=ko
SEQ 3DU couple TOP 3DU=all NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3DU=3SG.F
megora, puliako megora sa=nga el=o
child before child COM=2SG become=NOM
inio, vo, lasive=a=la ta o=ta vou=va,
FOC.NONF 3SG.M husband=LIG=3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=PRES
reko=a=ma iko sai.
wife=LIG=3SG.F FOC.F there
'The couple were living by themselves; they didn't have children. Before they
had a child, the husband died and the wife was left there.'

(8) Ni ko=a reko=a=ma ta, molu=a=ma
and 3SG.F=LIG wife=LIG=3SG.F TOP be.pregnant=LIG=3SG.F
o=va=ae=k=e, vo=a lasive=a=la.
3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=RMP 3SG.M=LIG husband=LIG=3SG.M
'And as for that wife, he left her pregnant, the husband.'

(9) Nio so ti ko=beta ev=a sai, ti
and.then that TOP 3SG.F=CONT stay=PRES there and.then
ko=baro=a ko=ko taku, ti ko ta
3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.F time and.then 3SG.F TOP
ko=ta vijar=a.
3SG.F=SIT give.birth=PRES
'And then she kept staying there, and when the time for the birth came, she gave
birth.'

(10) Ko=vijari=v=a kala megora
3SG.F=give.birth=3SG.M.O=PRES INDEF.SG.M child
lasive=a=la, melai vo=a megora ta pui maba
male=LIG=3SG.M but 3SG.M=LIG child TOP NEG person
melai siele.
but dog
'She had a son, but that son was not a human but a dog.'

(11) Siele inio vo=a megora.
dog FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG child
'The son was a dog.'

(12) Ti, ko ta ko=v=ati vail=a, ko=vo
and.then 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL look=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.M
megora sole ko=v=ati vail=a
child that’s why 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL watch=PRES
ko=niae=v=a, so ti so ti o=ta
3SG.F=feed=3SG.M.O=PRES that INT that and.then 3SG.M=SIT
rapu=k=a vo=a siele, siele-megora.
grow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=LIG dog dog-child
‘And she looked after him, because he was her child she looked after him, she
fed him, it went on like that, and the dog grew, the dog-child.’

(13) Ti so ti so, nioqa ti sai, niania=ka=ma
and.then that INT that 3DU TOP there mother=LIG=3SG.F
ko ol=a kiaro kasi, vo ta
3SG.F go=PRES garden at 3SG.M TOP
o=lulue=k=a o=baroa kiaro kale inio
3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=arrive garden in SEQ
vo ta o=marong=a juli=ko raki ale.
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=sleep=PRES banana.tree=3SG.F root in
‘And it went on like that, the two lived there, the mother went to the garden, he
followed her, he arrived at the garden, and then he slept at the base of a banana
tree.’

(14) Niania=ka=ma ta ko iruruput=a, ko=papat=a ko
mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP 3SG.F work=PRES 3SG.F=plant=PRES 3SG.F
sisu, ko=papat=a ko mau, saitainio
sweet.potato 3SG.F=plant=PRES 3SG.F taro afterwards
ko=baro=a ko taku sailao ko=k=o=a
3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F time food 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
ti qo=beta saqor=a inio, nioqa saidi.
and.then 3DU=CONT go.down=PRES FOC.NONF 3DU family
‘The mother worked, she did sweet potato planting, she did taro planting,
afterwards, when the time to go home came, she got food, and the family went
down.’

(15) Qo=saqor=a pade asi, qo=baro=a sai nio,
3DU=go.down=PRES house at 3DU=arrive=PRES there SEQ
niania=ka=ma ta sailao ko ere=k=a
mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP food 3SG.F make=3SG.F.O=PRES
megora=ka=la ta o ol=a veatu tona, nio
child=LIG=3SG.M TOP 3SG.M go=PRES entrance beside and.then
veatu tona o=teku=a saitainio o=tana
entrance beside 3SG.M=lie=PRES afterwards 3SG.M=jaw
The two went down to the house, they arrived there, and then the mother, she made food, the son, he went next to the entrance, and then he lay beside the entrance, afterwards he put his jaw on something and watched his mother.

When a meal time came, she always threw his food to him, to the son, and the son went there and got it.

As for her own food, she put it in a coconut shell container.

It went on like that, that was their life all the time.

One day, the son said something like this.

One's why 2SG TOP 2SG=go=FUT big-village in SEQ 2SG=PROS tell=3SG.F.O=FUT chief=3SG.F child
vo ta omuga ikio lekasa=ko meqora sole.
3SG.M TOP two FOC.F chief=3SG.F child that’s why
"Mother, I want to marry, so you, you will go to the big village, and you go and
tell the chief’s daughter, because the chief has two daughters."

(21) Ka pad o ngo=ba l=a bazue=ko=ou
INDEF MESone 2SG=PROS 1SG.O=VAL tell=3SG.F.O=FUT
kaka=ka=ma, tu o=k=ov=o, *101
older=LIG=3SG.F IRR 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=NRFUT
k=i=o=la, k=i=o=la vo=a
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG
megora, siele-meqora.
child dog-child
‘You go and tell one, the older one for me so that I can marry her,” he said, he
said it, the child, the dog-child.’

(22) Nio “Ki meqora” k=i=ko=la ko
SEQ INTJ child 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F
niania=ka=ma, “ngo ta pui maba=nga siele=nga
mother=LIG=3SG.F 2SG TOP NEG person=2SG dog=2SG
sole pui ko=pa k=a zario=vou ko=ta
that’s why NEG 3SG.F=PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL want=FUT 3SG.F=POSS
ng=a lupao=vou.
2SG=VAL refuse=FUT
‘And then, “Child”, the mother said, “you are not a human, but a dog, so she will
not want, she will refuse you.’

---

*101 In this example, o=k=ov=ou (3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=FUT) is a direct quotation: what the dog-
child said. Here, the subject should be a (1SG) ‘I’ not o (3SG.M) as it is the speaker of this
quotation, the dog-child, who will get (marry) her. When I asked one of the informants about
this, I was told that o (3SG.M) ‘he’ is mistakenly used and it should be replaced with the correct
one a (1SG) ‘I’. There are similar cases in other texts in which a third person pronoun is used
where a first/second person pronoun is expected, for example, sentence (25) in the next text. In
this example, o=soloe=k=ou (3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=FUT) is a direct quotation: it is what
the speaker of the story said to the addressee, her husband, and the speaker is telling him what
he should do. That is, the subject of this quotation should be ‘you’ rather than ‘he’. This time,
one informant told me that the third person pronoun is used in order to show respect, as the
addressee is a chief. This explanation does not seem to apply in the first instance, as there
seems to be no need to show respect to the dog-child. In fact, it is a dubious claim that the third
person may be used in order to show respect, as there is no other instance of this in the data, and
this could just be a mistake as well.
(23) Sole pui a=zio," k=i=ko=la
that's why NEG 1SG=go.NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
So, I will not go," she said.'

(24) So keru inio vo=a megora=ka=la ta
that TEMP FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG child=LIG=3SG.M TOP
o=ta kora-korai=va duki o=ta ev=a,
3SG.M=SIT REDUP-be.angry=PRES sad 3SG.M=SIT become=PRES
ti pui o=k=a zari=a vuat=o, pui
and.then NEG 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES eat=NOM NEG
o=k=ati pesi=a o=niania, melai o=ta
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL speak=PRES 3SG.M=mother but 3SG.M=SIT
marong=a kubo nganiu.
sleep=PRES many day
'That time, the son got angry, he became sad, and then he didn’t want to eat, he
didn’t want to speak to his mother, and instead he slept for many days.'

(25) So ti so ti, niania=ka=ma
that INT that and.then mother=LIG=3SG.F
ko=v=e=a ta vo ta pui o=vuat=a,
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES and.then 3SG.M TOP NEG 3SG.M=eat=PRES
vuat=o melai o=ta lupao=va, k=ati pesi=o
eat=NOM too 3SG.M=SIT refuse=PRES 3SG.F.O=VAL speak=NOM
melai pui o=k=ati pesi=a vo=a
too NEG 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL speak=PRES 3SG.M=LIG
siele-megora ta o=ta pesi=a=ni nio
dog-child TOP 3SG.M=SIT speak=PRES=REL.NONF FOC.NONF
sole.
that's why
'It went on like that, the mother saw him and he did not eat, he refused to eat, he
didn’t speak to her either, the dog-child, he was one who spoke.'

(26) Ti ko=roque=v=a.
and.then 3SG.F=care=3SG.M.O=PRES
'And she cared for him.'

(27) Ko roque=v=a, inio "Koe ako so ta o=ta
3SG.F care=3SG.M.O=PRES SEQ INTJ INTJ that TOP 3SG.M=SIT

102 The last clause, 'the dog-child, he was one who spoke' is added here to indicate that although
dogs do not normally speak, this particular dog does.
vou=vo  inio  anga=vo  meqora  vuat=o  melai
die=NRFUT  FOC.NONF  1SG=3SG.M  child  eat=NOM  too

pui  o=vuat=a  sole,“  k=i=ko=la
NEG  3SG.M=eat=PRES  that\’s  why  3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

and.then  3SG.F=PROS  3SG.F.O=get=PRES  3SG.F=3SG.F  basket  SEQ

ko=v=o=a  omadeu  bakisa.
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=get=PRES  one  custom.money
\text{She cared for him, and then she said, \textquote{Oh, if it goes on like this he will die, my}
\text{child, because he doesn\’t eat either,}}\textquote{, and she went and got her basket and got}
\text{some custom money.}\

(28) 

\textit{Ti}  ko=bori=v=a  vo=a  bakisa
and.then  3SG.F=carry=3SG.M.O=PRES  3SG.M=LIG  custom.money

and.then  3SG.F=CONT  go=PRES  FOC.NONF  big-village  in

\textit{ol=a  matu-peuru  kale  so  ti  so  ti,  ko=ta}
go=PRES  big-village  in  that  INT  that  and.then  3SG.F=SIT

\textit{ol=a  lekasa=ko  pade  kasi.}
go=PRES  chief=3SG.F  house  at
\text{\textquote{Then, she carried the custom money and went on towards the big village, she}
\text{went towards the big village, she went on and on, and she went towards the}
\text{chief\’s house.}\

(29) 

\textit{Ko=baro=a  sai  lekasa=ko  pade  kasi, inio  \textquote{Koe no}i
3SG.F=arrive=PRES  there  chief=3SG.F  house  at  SEQ  INTJ  how

\textit{nio  k=i=ngo=la  ku=a  koi  amaqe,} FOC.NONF  3SG.F.O=say=2SG=3PRES
\text{\textquote{come=IMP.SG here enterIMP.SG}}
k=i=ko=la  vo  lekasa.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES  3SG.M  chief
\text{\textquote{She arrived there at the chief\’s house, and then, \textquote{Oh, what do you want to say,}
\text{come here, enter,}} the chief said.}\

(30) 

\textit{Ko  ta  ko=ko  panga=o=le  sole}
3SG.F  TOP  3SG.F=3SG.F  respect=NOM=in  that\’s  why

\textit{ko=loqu-loquat=a  ti,  iqe-ige=o=le  inio}
3SG.F=REDUP-bow=PRES  and.then  REDUP-kneel=NOM=in  FOC.NONF

\textit{ko  ol=a  lekasa=ko  tanama=le  inio  eri}
3SG.F  go=PRES  chief=3SG.F  front=in  SEQ  s.th.like.this
k=i=k=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'Showing her respect to the chief, she bowed and she went on her knees in front of the chief, and she said something like this.'

(31) "Koe matu=la lekasa, ako anga ta a=que=va
INTJ big=3SG.M chief INTJ 1SG TOP 1SG=come=PRES
tu a=ba pase=k=ou ngo=ko sinaqu-meqora.
IRR 1SG=PROS ask=3SG.F.O=FUT 2SG=3SG.F unmarried.woman-child
anga=vo meqora o=k=a zari=a rorot=o.
1SG=3SG.M child 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=PRES want=PRES marry=NOM
"Oh, big chief, I came to ask for your daughter, my son wants to marry.'

(32) Melai vo=a meqora ta pui maba inio
but 3SG.M=LIG child TOP NEG person FOC.NONF
siele," k=i=k=la.
dog 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'But, the son is not a human, but a dog,' she said.'

(33) "Koe matu uri. Nio anga ta komi kio matu
INTJ very good SEQ 1SG TOP PROX.SG.F FOC.F very
uri" k=i=o=la, vo=a lekasa.
good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG chief
"Oh, very good, for me, this is very good," the chief said.'

(34) Nio "Anga ta komi kio a=bori=k=ala, tu
SEQ 1SG TOP PROX.SG.F FOC.F 1SG=carry=3SG.F.O=RCP IRR
a=qati=ng=ou, "uri" k=i=k=ou ko=a
1SG=give=2SG.O=FUT good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=FUT 3SG.F=LIG
meqora ta" k=i=k=la ti ko=v=a
child TOP 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES and.then 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL
kase=k=a ko=a bakisa.
show=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money
"I carried this, I will give it to you if the daughter says "good"", she said, and she showed the custom money to him.'

(35) Ko=v=a kase=k=a ko=a bakisa
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL show=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money
nio "Uri, taruan=e tu a=nokae=k=ou saita".
SEQ good wait=IMP.SG IRR 1SG=call=3SG.F.O=FUT first
'She showed him the custom money and then "Good, wait, I will call her first," [the chief said].'
(36) Nio o=soloe=m=a vo=ko nabulo poso tu
SEQ 3SG.M=send=3PL.O=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F servant PL IRR
ke=pa noka=ke=k=0 vo=ko kaka=ka=ma
3PL=PROS call=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.M=3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F
megora, sole se ta ke ol=a inio ke=pa
child that's why 3PL TOP 3PL go=PRES SEQ 3PL=PROS
bazue=k=a nio ko=kue=va ko=kue=va
tell=3SG.F.O=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F=come=PRES
inio.
FOC NONF
'And then, he sent his servants, in order that they will go and call his elder
daughter, that's why they went, they went and told her, and then she came,'

(37) Eri k=i=o=la vo mama=ka=la.
s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M father=LIG=3SG.M
'The father said something like this.

(38) "Ngo ta komi=vo megora o=k=a
2SG TOP PROX.SG.F=3SG.M child 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL
zari=a tu o=rae=ng=o, melai vo=a
want=PRES IRR 3SG.M=marry=2SG.O=NOM but 3SG.M=LIG
megora ta pui maba inio siele inio"
child TOP NEG person FOC NONF dog FOC NONF
k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'You, the child of this woman wants to marry you, but the child is not a human
but a dog,' he said.'

(39) Ti "Ki siele sole anga ta pui a=v=a
and.then INTJ dog that's why 1SG TOP NEG 1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL
zari=a a=lupa rae=v=o vo siele"
want=PRES 1SG=refuse marry=3SG.M.O=NOM 3SG.M dog
k=i=ko=la ko=a lekasa=ko kaka=ka=ma
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F=LIG chief=3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F
megora.
child
'And, "Because he is a dog, I don't want him, I refuse to marry him, a dog," said
the chief's elder daughter.'
“Sole maba a=lupa\textsuperscript{103} pui a=ba lulue=k=ou” that’s why person 1SG=refuse NEG 1SG=PROS follow=3SG.F.O=FUT k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES ‘‘So, I refuse it, I will not follow her,’’ she said.’

"Koe ako ko=ta lupao=va sole uri tapata INTJ INTJ 3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES that’s why good hard
ikio tu a=vaitoe komi=a bakisa k=ati FOC.F IRR 1SG=return PROX.SG.F=LIG custom.money 3SG.F.O=VAL
vait=e” k=i=o=la vo=a lekasa.
return=IMP.SG 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG chief ‘‘Well, she refuses it, so, good, a problem, I return this custom money, take it home,’’ the chief said.’

Ko=bori=k=a ko=a bakisa ti 3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money and.then
ko=beta vait=a inio.
3SG.F=CONT return=PRES FOC.NONF ‘She carried the custom money and returned.’

Ko=vait=a ti ko=vait=a, kiada keru vo=a 3SG.F=return=PRES INT 3SG.F=return=PRES all TEMP 3SG.M=LIG
megora=ka=la=ko iruruput=o ta veetu ton a inio child=LIG=3SG.M=3SG.F work=NOM TOP entrance beside FOC.NONF
o=teku=a sainainio, o=k=ati vail=a 3SG.M=lie=PRES afterwards 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL look=PRES
niania=ko keve koi vasi.
mother=3SG.F way here around ‘‘She was going towards home, as for the son’s usual duties, he lay beside the entrance, and he watched the mother’s paths nearby.’

Sai nio o=k=ati vail=a. there FOC.NONF 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL watch=PRES ‘He watched there.’

So ti so ti o=ta k=a viq=a that INT that and.then 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL sense=PRES

\textsuperscript{103} As mentioned in §12.3.5, the combination of the verb lupao ‘to refuse’ with the present tense-marking enclitic va, lupao=va, is sometimes realized as lupao.
o=niania=ko tui, nio eri=a zolae=k=o
3SG.M=mother=3SG.F smell SEQ as soon as LIG lift=3SG.F.O=NOM

3SG.M become=PRES 3SG.M=head TOP 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES

ko=beta kue=va, ko=kiada pado ti
3SG.F=CONT come=PRES 3SG.M=all MESone and then

o=teku=a ti o=beta imad=a inio.
3SG.M=lie=PRES and then 3SG.M=CONT shut.eye=PRES FOC.NONF
‘He kept watching, and he sensed his mother’s smell, and then, as soon as he lifted his head, he saw her coming, by herself, and he lay and shut his eyes.’

(46) Ko=kiada pado ko=beta kue=va sole vo ta
3SG.F=all MESone 3SG.F=CONT come=PRES that’s why 3SG.M TOP

o=ta teku=a ti, vo ta duki o=ta
3SG.M=SIT lie=PRES and then 3SG.M TOP sad 3SG.M=SIT
ev=a.
become=PRES
‘She was coming by herself and so he lay and became sad.’

(47) So ti, ko=baro=a ko=niania=ka=ma inio,
that TOP 3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F=mother=LIG=3SG.F FOC.NONF

“Megora” k=i=ko=la “Komi kio
child 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=FRES PROX.SG.F FOC.F

a=qase=k=ala=ma.”
1SG=show=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F
‘Then, she arrived, the mother, and “Child,” said she, “This is what happened.”’

(48) Ko=ta lupao=va “A=lupa rae=v=o vo ta
3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES 1SG=refuse marry=3SG.M.O=NOM 3SG.M TOP

siele pui maba sole” k=i=ko=la ti
dog NEG person that’s why 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=FRES and then

ko=ta ng=a lupao=va” k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F=SIT 2SG=PRES refuse=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=FRES
‘She refused it, she said “I refuse to marry him, because he is a dog not a human,” she refused you,” the mother said.’

(49) Ti “Uri sole vae=k=a”
and then good that’s why leave=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG

k=i=o=la, k=i=o=la vo=a
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG
megora vo=a sielo-megora.
child 3SG.M=LIG dog-child
‘And, “Good, so, leave it,” he said, he said, the son, the dog-child.’

(50) Ti sainio ko=beta ev=a, so ti so
and.then then 3SG.F=CONT stay=PRES that INT so
ti so kama taku ko=baro=a.
INT that INDEF.SG.F time 3SG.F=arrive=PRES
‘And then, it went on like that, on and on, and another time arrived.’

(51) Nio “Niania-o” k=i=o=la |
SEQ Mother-VOC 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES again mother
mata “niania”
k=i=o=la
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES go=PRES IRR again ask=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG
“ol=a tu mata pase=k=a
leka=ko visit=a=ma mego=a=q=a
chief=3SG.F younger=LIG=3SG.F child 1SG=3SG.F.O=PRES
matu zari=a rorot=o sole.”
very want=PRES marry=NOM that’s why
‘And, “Mother,” he said, again “Mother,” he said, “go, and ask again, ask for the
chief’s younger daughter, because I want to marry very much.”

(52) Nio “Koe megoa” k=i=ko=la.
SEQ INTJ child 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘And, “Oh, child,” she said.’

(53) “Kaka=ka=ma meko laula ko=ta lupao=la
older=LIG=3SG.F too already 3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES
sole visit=a=ma meko soinia ko=ta
that’s why younger=LIG=3SG.F too consequently 3SG.F=SIT
lupao=vou.
refuse=FUT
‘The elder daughter already refused so the younger daughter too will refuse.’

(54) Sole vae=k=a pui ngo=roto=o melai
that’s why leave=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG NEG 2SG=marry=NRFUT but
uri” k=i=ko=la.
good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
So, leave it, don’t marry, but good,” she said.

(55) So ti o=ta korakorai=va tu mata omadeu
that TOP 3SG.M=SIT REDUP-be.angry=PRES IRR again one
wiki tiniavo omua wiki pui o=vuatu=a, pui
week about two week NEG 3SG.M=eat=PRES NEG
(56)  
Ko=v=e=a  
ta  pui  o=vuat=a  sole
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES  and.then  NEG  3SG.M.eat=PRES  that’s why
leku-leku  o=ta  ev=a,  nio  “Koe
REDUP-weak  3SG.M=SIT  become=PRES  SEQ  INTJ
o=ta  l=a  vou=vou  vo=a  meqora”
3SG.M=POSS  1SG.O=VAL  die=FUT  3SG.M=LIG  child
k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
“She saw that he didn’t eat and so he became weak, and then “Oh, my son will
die on me,” she said.’

(57)  
Sole  ko  ta  ko  ol=a  inio  ko=pa
that’s why  3SG.F  TOP  3SG.F  go=PRES  SEQ  3SG.F=PROS
ko=a  ko  bakisa,  nio  mata
3SG.F=LIG  3SG.F  custom.money  SEQ  again
ko=bori=k=a  ti
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES  and.then
ko=beta  ketain=a  nio,  ko
3SG.F=CONT  travel.along.the.coast=PRES  FOC.NONF  3SG.F
ol=a  ti  ko  ol=a  ti  ko  ol=a  lekasa=ko
go=PRES  INT  3SG.F  go=PRES  INT  3SG.F  go=PRES  chief=3SG.F
pade  asi.
house at
‘So, she went, she went and got custom money, and then again she carried it,
and she went on travelling along the coast, she went and went and went to the
chief’s house.’

(58)  
Ko=baro=a  keru  sai,  ko  ta  ko  ol=a
3SG.F.arrive=PRES  TEMP  there  3SG.F  TOP  3SG.F  go=PRES
Lekasa kasi inio ko=pa kase=k=a. chief at and.then 3SG.F=PROS mention=3SG.O=PRES ‘When she arrived there, she went to the chief, she went and said.’

(59) “Anga ta mata a=que=va, tu mata paset=о=le, 1SG TOP again 1SG=come=PRES IRR again ask=NOM=PURP ako anga=vo meqora ta o=k=a matu INTJ 1SG=3SG.M child TOP 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=PRES very zari=a rorot=o sole. want=PRES marry=NOM that’s why ‘I came again, to ask again because my son wants to marry very much.’

(60) Soinio o=soloе=l=a tu mata a=ba consequently 3SG.M=send=1SG.O=PRES IRR again 1SG=PROS pase=k=ou, “а=ba paset=о” k=i=а=la ask=3SG.F.O=FUT 1SG=PROS ask=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES inio” k=i=ko=la. FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES ‘Because of that, he sent me so that again I will ask for your daughter, I said, “I would go and ask,”” she said.’

(61) “Koe uri=avo, uri=avo sole tarian=e” INTJ good=NOM good=NOM that’s why wait=IMP.SG k=i=о=la. 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES ‘Oh Okay, Okay, so, wait,” he said.’

(62) Nio so keru ta pui kapiavole ko=kati=v=a and.then that TEMP TOP NEG quickly 3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES ko=a bakisa melai ko=tarian=a. 3SG.F=LIG custom.money but 3SG.F=wait=PRES ‘And then, that time, she didn’t give the custom money to him quickly, but she waited.’

(63) “Tarian=e” k=i=о=la vo=a lekasa wait=IMP.SG 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG chief sole ko=tarian=a inio, o odie=k=a that’s why 3SG.F=wait=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.M fetch=3SG.F.O=PRES vo=ko visi=a=ma meqora, inio sai 3SG.M=3SG.F younger=LIG=3SG.F child SEQ there ko=kue=va inio, o=bazue eri 3SG.F=come=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.M=tell s.th.like.this
"Ngo ta komi=vo meqora o=ng=a
2SG TOP PROX.SG.F=3SG.M child 3SG.M=2SG=VAL
zari=a rae=ng=o sole uri ta
want=PRES marry=2SG=NOM that’s why good TOP
k=i=ngo=vou ngo=lulue=k=ou, nio
3SG.F.O=say=2SG=FUT 2SG=follow=3SG.F.O=FUT SEQ
ngo=rae=v=ou komi=vo meqora melai
2SG=marry=3SG.M.O=FUT PROX.SG.F=3SG.M child but
vo ta pui maba inio, melai siele”
3SG.M TOP NEG person FOC.NONF but dog

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
"‘You, the child of this woman wants to marry you so if you say ‘good’ you
follow her, and then you will marry the son of this woman, but he is not a
human, but a dog,” he said.’

"Ki matu uri” k=i=ko=la ko
INTJ very good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F
visi=a=ma.
younger=LIG=3SG.F
"‘Oh, very good,” the younger daughter said.’

"Matu uri, a=lulue=k=o tu
very good 1SG=follow=3SG.F.O=NRFUT IRR
a=rae=v=o” k=i=ko=la.
1SG=marry=3SG.M.O=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
"‘Very good, I will follow her and will marry him,” she said.’

Ti ko=lulue=k=a vo=a siele-meqora=ko
and.then 3SG.F=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=LIG dog-child=3SG.F
niania ti qo=ta wait=a nioqa.
mother and.then 3DU=SIT return=PRES 3DU
‘And, she followed the mother of the dog-child, and the two returned.’

So keru vo=a meqora siele-meqora ta
that TEMP 3SG.M=LIG child dog-child TOP
o=ta k=a viq=a nioqa=ko tui nio,
3SG.M=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL sense=PRES 3DU=3SG.F smell SEQ
o=zolae=k=a vo=ko lezu ti
3SG.M=lift=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F head and then
o=k=e=a niqaga qo=beta kue=va, nio
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3DU 3DU=CONT come=PRES SEQ
o=sipuku o=viri-virie=k=a vo=ko sipuku
3SG.M=tail 3SG.M=REDUP-swing=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F tail

sapela topi.
floor on top
‘That time, the child, the dog-child, he sensed their smell, and then he lifted his head, and he saw the two coming, and then he wagged his tail on the floor.’

(69) Siele=ko kavani, o=ta zolei=va sole.
dog=3SG.F way 3SG.M=SIT be.happy=PRES that’s why
‘That’s the dog’s way, he did it because he was happy.’

(70) So ti qo=baro=a sai, ti o=k=ai
that TOP 3DU=arrive=PRES there and then 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL
soka-sokait=a siele=ko kavani o=k=ai
REDUP-jump=PRES dog=3SG.F way 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL
loilabao=va o=k=a soka-sokait=a, inio
circle=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL REDUP-jump=PRES SEQ
eri k=i=ko=la ko niania=ka=ma.
s.th.like this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F mother=LIG=3SG.F
‘And, the two arrived there, and he jumped around her, the dog’s way, he circled around her, he jumped around her, and then the mother said something like this.’

(71) “Vo inio anga=ko meqora” k=i=ko=la.
3SG.M FOC.NONF 1SG=3SG.F child 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘“That’s him, my son,” said she.’

(72) “Kio” k=i=ko=la ko=a lekasa=ko meqora
INTJ 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F=LIG chief=3SG.F child
ti niqaga vo=ko niania ni ko ta,
and then 3DU 3SG.M=3SG.F mother and 3SG.F TOP
qo inainao=va tu zio kiaro kasi
3DU get.ready=PRES IRR goNOM garden at
saila=sailaot=o=le, vo=a siele-meqora ta
REDUP=get.food=NOM=PURP 3SG.M=LIG dog-child TOP
o=lulue=k=a nioqa.
3SG.M=follow=3DU=PRES 3DU
“Really,” said the daughter of the chief, and the two, his mother and she, the
Two got ready to go to the garden in order to get food, and the child followed the
two.”

(73) O=baro=a sai ti nioqa ta sailao qo=ta
3SG.M=arrive=PRES there and.then 3DU TOP food 3DU=SIT
koazat=a, vo ta juli raki ale o=ta
get=PRES 3SG.M TOP banana.tree root on 3SG.M=SIT
marong=a.
sleep=PRES
‘He arrived there and the two got food, and he slept at the base of a banana tree.’

(74) Qo=pai=k=a saila-sailaot=o ti ke=ta
3DU=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES REDUP-get.food=NOM and.then 3PL=SIT
saqor=a.
go.down=PRES
‘The two finished getting food and they went down.’

(75) Ke=ta saqor=a ti qo=kejue=k=a ko
3PL=SIT go.down=PRES and.then 3DU=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F
sailao, ko=keju=a nio vo=ko ta
food 3SG.F=cook=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=3SG.F TOP
qo=v=a risae=k=a, ko, reko=a=ma
3DU=3SG.M.O=PRES throw=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F wife=LIG=3SG.F
vo=a siele=ko reko ta, tuto ale
3SG.M=LIG dog=3SG.F wife TOP coconut.shell.container in
ko i=k=a niania=ka=ma melai
3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES mother=LIG=3SG.F too
tuto ale ko i=k=a.
cococonut.shell.container in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘They went down and the two cooked food, the food got cooked, and as for his
food, they threw it to him, she, the wife of the dog, she put her food in
a coconut shell container, the mother too put her food in a coconut shell
container.’

(76) Ko ipuk=a ti nioqa saqie ta kala
3SG.F become.night=PRES and.then 3DU couple TOP INDEF.SG.M
rana, vo=a siele ni ko=a sinaquru, ko ta
side 3SG.M=LIG dog and 3SG.F=LIG girl 3SG.F TOP
The night came and the couple slept one side, the dog and the girl, the mother slept on another side, that was their life, next day again they did gardening, the night came, and again they returned, that was their life all the time.

(77) Omadeu tuku inio "niania" k=i=o=la
one time FOC.NONF Mother 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
vo=a meqora.
3SG.M=LIG child
‘One day, “Mother,” the son said’.

(78) "Niania ngo ta ngo inainae=k=ou ko mau
mother 2SG TOP 2SG get.ready=3SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F taro
ni uza ni ju sakare, sakareju
and fire and water coconut.shell.with water coconut.shell.with.water
ngo=bori=k=ou nio.
2SG=carry=3SG.F.O=FUT FOC.NONF
‘“Mother, you, you get ready taros, fire, and water, coconut shells filled with water, you carry coconut shells filled with water.’

(79) Tu me=ba ta lipi-lipit=ou anime
IRR 1PL.INC=PROS SIT REDUP-walk=FUT 1PL.INC
uki vanga keta=le" k=i=o=la.
somewhere.there far.away edge=in 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘So that we will go for a walk, we go, there, far away, along the coast”, he said.

(80) Nio "uri" k=i=ko=la
SEQ good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F mother=LIG=3SG.F
‘And then, “good,” the mother said’.

(81) Ti ko inainae=k=a ko mau bita=le
and.then 3SG.F get.ready=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F taro string.bag=in
ko i=k=a, raqauza ko=bori=k=a,
3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES ember 3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES
ti sakareju ko=bori=k=a zouke
and.then coconut.shell.with water 3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES three
sakareju ko=bori=k=a.
coco.nut.shell.with.water 3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘She got taros ready, she put them in a string bag, she carried an ember, she
carried coconut shells filled with water, she carried three coconut shells filled
with water.’

(82) 
\[
\begin{align*}
& Ti \quad ke=beta \quad tali=a=ni \quad nio, \quad ti \\
& \text{and.then} \quad 3PL=CONT \quad \text{travel}=PRES=REL.NONF \quad FOC.NONF \quad \text{and.then} \\
& \quad ke \quad ol=a \quad ti \quad ke \quad ol=a, \quad ti \quad se \quad ta \\
& \quad 3PL \quad go=PRES \quad INT \quad 3PL \quad go=PRES \quad \text{and.then} \quad 3PL \quad TOP \\
& \quad ke=lulue=k=a, \quad ka \quad koi \quad ke=baro=a, \quad "Koi" \\
& \quad 3PL=\text{follow}=3SG.F.O=PRES \quad \text{INDEF} \quad \text{here} \quad 3PL=\text{arrive}=PRES \quad \text{here} \\
& \quad nio" \quad k=i=ko=la \quad "Koi \quad pui" \\
& \quad FOC.NONF \quad 3SG.F.O=\text{say}=3SG.F=PRES \quad \text{here} \quad \text{NEG} \\
& k=i=o=la.
\end{align*}
\]
3SG.F.O=\text{say}=3SG.M=PRES
‘They were travellers, and they went and went, and they followed the coast line,
they arrived somewhere, “Here,” she said, “Not here,,” he said.’

(83) 
\[
\begin{align*}
& Ke=beta \quad ol=a \quad \mid \quad kala \quad kele-kele \\
& \quad 3PL=CONT \quad go=PRES \quad \text{INDEF.SG.M} \quad \text{REDUP-point} \\
& \quad ke=revoe=v=a, \quad ke=baro=a \quad sa \quad "Koi \ nio" \\
& \quad 3PL=\text{go.around}=3SG.M.O=\text{PRES} \quad 3PL=\text{arrive}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{there} \quad \text{here} \quad FOC.NONF \\
& k=i=ko=la \quad ko \quad niania=ka=ma \quad ta \quad "Pui" \\
& \quad 3SG.F.O=\text{say}=3SG.F=\text{PRES} \quad 3SG.F \quad \text{mother}=\text{LIG}=3SG.F \quad \text{and.then} \quad \text{NEG} \\
& k=i=o=la.
\end{align*}
\]
3SG.F.O=\text{say}=3SG.M=PRES
‘They went on, they went around one point, they arrived at the other side of the
point “Here,” the mother said, “No,” he said.’

(84) 
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{Zouke}=a=la \quad kele-kele \quad ke=revoe=v=a \\
& \text{three}=\text{LIG}=3SG.M \quad \text{REDUP-point} \quad 3PL=\text{go.around}=3SG.M=\text{PRES} \\
& nio, \quad vo=a \quad kele-kele \quad ka \quad rana \quad inio, \quad FOC.NONF \\
& \quad 3SG.M=\text{LIG} \quad \text{REDUP-point} \quad \text{INDEF} \quad \text{side} \quad \text{FOC.NONF} \\
& \quad kala \quad buni \quad ta \quad inevoana. \quad \text{INDEF.SG.M} \quad \text{buni.tree} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{EXT.SG.M} \\
& \text{‘They went around the third point, and at one side of the point, there was a buni}
\quad \text{tree.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(85) 
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{Nio} \quad "\text{Koi} \ \text{nio} \quad me=nabul}=\text{ou} \quad ko \quad \text{mau}. \quad \text{SEQ} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{FOC.NONF} \\
& \quad 1PL.INC=bake=FUT \quad \text{3SG.F} \quad \text{taro} \\
& \text{‘And then, “Here, we will bake taros.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(86) Sole qe ta uza bainae=k=oko nio that’s why 2DU TOP fire light=3SG.F.O=IMPdu SEQ
qe=nabul=ou anga ta komi=a buni topi 2DU=bake=FUT 1SG TOP PROX.SG.F=LIG buni.tree on.top
a=qoit=ou tu a=ba k=el=o kama 1SG=climb=FUT IRR 1SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=see=NRFUT INDEF.SG.F
niuniu sai ko alokat=a=ko” k=i=o=la.
fish there 3SG.F pass=PRES=REL.F 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘So, you, light a fire and bake, I will climb to top of this tree and will look at fish which pass,” he said.’

(87) Nioqa=ko keru-keru ale ta “Vo ta niuniu 3DU=3SG.F REDUP-thought in TOP 3SG.M TOP fish
ikio o=k=ov=ou” k=i=go=la.
FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES
‘In their thinking, “He will get fish,” the two said.’

(88) Sole “Uri” k=i=go=la nioqa ta that’s why good 3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES 3DU TOP
qo=bainat=a buni=ko raki kasi, uza qo=bainae 3DU=light=PRES buni.tree=3SG.F root at fire 3DU=light
ti mau qo=nabul=a, so ti vo ta sai and.then taro 3DU=bake=PRES that TOP 3SG.M TOP there
buni=ko vaila inio o=beta papu=a.
buni.tree=3SG.F end FOC.NONF 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES
‘So, they said “Good,” the two lit a fire at the root of the buni tree, they lit a fire, and they baked taros, and he was sitting there at the tip of the branch of the buni tree.’

(89) Melai vo=a buni ta o=koi=vi ti but 3SG.M=LIG buni.tree TOP 3SG.M=go.up=RMP and.then
o=ke=ve ti o=ke=ve ti kolo tiana 3SG.M=go=RMP INT 3SG.M=go=RMP and.then ocean middle
nio vo=ko vaila.
FOC.NONF 3SG.M=3SG.F end
‘But, the buni tree went up, it went and went, and its end was in the middle of the ocean.’

(90) Nio sai o=beta papu=a inio o=k=ati SEQ there 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL
vain=a | nioqa ta mau qo=beta peit=a.
look=PRES 3DU TOP taro 3DU=CONT peel=PRES
‘And there he sat and he looked at fish, and the two were peeling taros.’

(91) Qo=pei=k=a ko mau nio vo ta
3DU=peel=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F taro SEQ 3SG.M TOP

o=k=e=a ta “Koe sipole ko=ta
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES and.then INTJ soon 3SG.F=SIT
keju=a” k=i=o=la.
cook=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘They peeled taros, and then he saw taros, and “Oh, soon, the taros will be
cooked,” he said.’

(92) So ti so ti o=k=e=a | ko=a mau
that INT that and.then 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3SG.F=LIG taro

ta ko=ta keju=a.
TOP 3SG.F=SIT cook=PRES
‘It went on, and he saw taros, taros had cooked.’

(93) Qo=kejue=k=a ko qo=pei=k=a mati
3DU=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F 3DU=peel=3SG.F.O=PRES again

sai qo=vae=k=a.
there 3DU=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘The two cooked the taros, they peeled them, again they left them there.’

(94) O=k=e=a nio o=ta joupar=a
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=SIT jump.off=PRES

ko=a buni topi azo.
3SG.F=LIG buni.tree on.top ABL
‘He saw them cooked and then he jumped off the buni tree.’

(95) O=joupar=a ti ivere kolo tiania po o
3SG.M=jump.off=PRES and.then sea ocean middle po 3SG.M

ev=a ti sa-vasi o=sisiliput=a
become=PRES and.then there.around 3SG.M=dive=PRES

o=measisiliput=a sa-vasi.
3SG.M=dive.deep=PRES there.around
‘He jumped off, and he hit the sea, the ocean, making the sound pol, and he
dived around there, he dived deep in the sea, around there.’

(96) Saikazo o=sisiliput=a, o=sisiliput=a ti
following.that 3SG.M=dive=PRES 3SG.M=dive=PRES and.then

o=vareri=k=a ko=a siete-tupu ta
3SG.M=go.on.shore=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG dog-skin TOP
sa-vasi    o=ngamu=k=a,
there-around 3SG.M=throw.away=3SG.F.O=PRES
o=varete=k=a
3SG.M=go.on.shore=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then INDEF.SG.M very
ile-ile=a=la
lasiverusu.
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.M boy
‘He dived, he dived, he went on the shore, he threw the dog-skin away around
there, he went on the shore, and he became a very beautiful boy.’

(97)    Nio    o=purat=a.
SEQ 3SG.M=come.out=PRES
‘He came out.’

(98)    Nio “Koe lula    ko=keju=la    ko sailao”
SEQ INTJ already 3SG.F=cook=RCP 3SG.F food
k=i=o=la    nio,    eri=a    lilit=o
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES FOC.NONF as.soon.as=LIG look.back=NOM
ko    ev=a    ko    vo=ko    reko,    ta
3SG.F become=PRES 3SG.F 3SG.M=3SG.F wife and.then
ko=v=e=a
matu ile-ile=a=la
lasiverusu.
3SG.F=3SG.M=see=PRES very REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.M boy
‘And then, “Oh, the food has already cooked,” he said, and as soon as his wife
looked back, she saw a very beautiful boy.’

(99)    Ko=rere=a    inio    ko=pa    zuzue=v=a,
3SG.F=run=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=PROS hug=3SG.M.O=PRES
ko=v=ai    kiavi=a,
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL be.pleased=PRES 3SG.F=kiss=3SG.M.O=PRES
saitainio ko=v=ati    kail=a.
afterwards 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL go.up=PRES
‘She ran, and then she went and hugged him, she was pleased with him, she
kissed him, and afterwards she took him up.’

(100)    Nio    ko=a    niania=ka=ma    ko=v=e=a
SEQ 3SG.F=LIG mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES
uinio ko=ta    matu    zolei=va.
SEQ 3SG.F=SIT very be.happy=PRES
‘And then, the mother saw him and she became very happy.’

(101)    Ko=a    siele-tupu ta    o=pa    ngamu=k=e
3SG.F=LIG dog-skin TOP 3SG.M=PROS throw.away=3SG.F.O=RMP
sa-vasi,    melai    kala    matu ile-ile=a=la
there-around but INDEF.SG.M very REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.M
lasiverusu inio, o=ta kue=va.
boy FOC.NONF 3SG.M=SIT come=PRES
'The dog skin, he threw away around there, and instead a very beautiful boy came.'

(102) So ti sai nio ke=beta ev=a se=a
that TOP there FOC.NONF 3PL=CONT stay=PRES 3PL=LIG
zouke nioqa=ko peuru ale.
three 3DU=3SG.F village in
'Then, the three kept staying there in their village.'

(103) Sai ke=beta ev=a so ti so omadeu taku
there 3PL=CONT stay=PRES that INT that one time
inho, eri k=i=ko=la ko
FOF.NONF s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=F PRES 3SG.F
megora=ka=ma lekasa=ko meqora.
child=LIG=3SG.F chief=3SG.F child
'There, they stayed, it went on like that, and one day, she said something like
this, the daughter, the chief's daughter.'

(104) "Anige ta lea ta qe=pa barol=o
1DU.INC TOP tomorrow TOP 1DU.INC=PRES arrive=NRFUT
anga=ko mama ni niania kasi saita.
1SG=3SG.F father and mother at first
"'We, tomorrow, we will go and reach my father and mother, first.'

(105) Saitainio qe=vait=ou
Afterwards 1DU.INC=return=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=F PRES
k=i=ko=la.
"'Afterwards, we will return,' she said.'

(106) "Sole ngo=bazue=k=ou ngo=niania"
that's why 2SG=tell=3SG.F.O=FUT 2SG=mother
k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=F PRES
"'So, you will tell your mother,' she said.'

(107) Nio ko=a ipu inio o=bazue=k=a
and.then 3SG.F=LIG night FOC.NONF 3SG.M=tell=3SG.F.O=PRES
vo=ko niania, "Niania-o" k=i=o=la.
3SG.M=3SG.F mother Mother-VOC 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'And then, that night, he told his mother, "Mother," he said.'

(108) "Eqe ta lea ta qe=pa opio=vou
1DU.EXC TOP tomorrow TOP 1DU.EXC=PRES visit=FUT
komi ko=mama ni niania kidi qe=pa
PROX.SG.F 3SG.F=father and mother COLL.DU 1DU.EXC=PROS

opie=k=ou sole, qe=zio=vou ti
visit=3SG.F.O=FUT that’s why 1DU.EXC=go=FUT and then
qe=beta wait=ou”
1DU.EXC=CONT return=FUT

k=i=o=la, ta “Koe pui”
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES and then INTJ NEG

k=i=ko=la ko niania=ka=ma pui
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F mother=LIG=3SG.F NEG

ko=zarie=k=a.
3SG.F=want=3SG.F.O=PRES

“We, tomorrow, we will go and visit her father and mother, we will go and visit them, so we will go and come back,” he said, and then “No,” she said, the mother, she didn’t want them to go.

(109) “Melai uri “pui qe=pa raneo=vo
but good NEG 1DU.EXC=PROS be.overnight=FUT

qezio ti qe=beta wait=ou”
1DU.EXC=goNRFUT and then 2DU.EXC=CONT return=NRFUT

nio k=i=ko=la” k=i=o=la
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

vo meqora.
3SG.M child

“But it’s OK, my wife said, “we would not stay overnight, we would go and return’”, the son said.’

(110) “Koe qe=matu balao=vou sole uri qe=k=a
INTJ 2DU=very be.careful=FUT that’s why good 2DU=3SG.F.O=VAL

zari=a sole qe=zio=vou, melai qe=matu
want=PRES that’s why 2DU=go=FUT but 2DU=very

balao=vou pui qe=raneo=vou sai, ti, keve be.careful=FUT NEG 2DU=be.overnight=FUT there and then way

ma keve melai pui qe utu rurukao=vou”
or way too NEG 2DU idle relax=FUT

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

“Oh, you will be very careful, and so OK you want to do so you will go, but you will be very careful, you will not stay overnight, and on the way too, you will not relax unthinkingly,” she said.’
(111) "Uri" k=i=qo=la, ko=rane=a, good 3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES 3SG.F=be.overnight=PRES
ti qo=beta ol=a inio qo ol=a lekasa=vo and.then 3DU=CONT go=PRES and.then 3DU go=PRES chief=3SG.M
matu-pearu kale pade kasi qo ol=a, ko=a big-village in house at 3DU go=PRES 3SG.F=LIG
reko=ko mama ni niania kasi. wife=3SG.F father and mother at
"'Good," he said, and next day, they went and they went to the chief's big
village, they went to the father and mother of the wife.'

(112) Nio ko=k=e=a ko kaka=ka=ma, SEQ 3SG.F=3DU.O=see=PRES 3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F
ko=v=e=a ko kaka=ka=ma, ko, 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES 3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F
ko=ta v=a lupao=vi=ma, ti ko=ta 3SG.F=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL refuse=RMP=REL.F and.then 3SG.F=SIT
kora-korai=va. REDUP-be.angry=PRES
'And then, the elder daughter saw the two, she saw him, the elder daughter, the
one who refused him, and she got angry.'

(113) "Koe visi=a=mu ta, pui kapiavole INTJ younger.sibling=LIG=3PL TOP NEG quickly
ke=rorot=a=ni nio kaka=ka=mu 3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF FOC.NONF older.sibling=LIG=3PL
nio kuleto ke=rorot=a=ni" FOC.NONF first 3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF
k=i=ko=la. 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
"'Younger ones, they are not ones who quickly marry, it is the older ones who
marry first,' she said.'

(114) Nio "Nei ta ngo=ta v=a SEQ PROX.SG.M TOP 2SG=SIT 3SG.M.O=VAL
lupao=vi=ni, "a=da v=a lupao=va vo refuse=RMP=REL.NONF 1SG=POSS 3SG.M=VAL refuse=PRES 3SG.M
siele" v=a k=i=ngo=ve=ni nio, dog 3SG.M=VAL 3SG.F.O=say=2SG=RMP=REL.NONF FOC.NONF
(115) So ti "Uri sole qe=raneo=vou koi" that TOP good that's why 2DU=be.overnight=FUT here k=i=ko=la ko kaka=ka=ma.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRESENT 3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F
'And then, "Good, so you will stay overnight here," the elder daughter said.'

(116) Melai "Pui pui qe=pa raneo=vou "pui but NEG NEG 1DU.EXC=PROS be.overnight=FUT NEG qe=raneo=vou" k=i=ko=lala sole 2DU=be.overnight=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RCP that's why nei=ko niania" k=i=ko=lake.
PROX.SG.M=3SG.F mother 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=HIST
'But, "No, no, we are not going to stay overnight, because his mother said, 'no you will not stay overnight,'" she said.'

(117) Raisi-raisi ko ev=a ti qo=ta REDUP-evening 3SG.F become=PRESENT and then 3DU=SIT vait=a. return=PRESENT
'The evening came, and the two returned.'

(118) Qo=ta vait=a ti qo=ta matu 3DU=SIT return=PRESENT and then 3DU=SIT very tali-talit=a qo=ta matu tali-talit=a. REDUP-travel=PRESENT 3DU=SIT very REDUP-travel=PRESENT
'The two returned, and they walked hard, they walked hard.'

(119) Ti kapiavole qo=baro=a. and then quickly 3DU=arrive=PRESENT
'They reached home quickly.'

(120) Melai sai qo=ke=ve keru ta, ko=ko mama but there 3DU=go=RMP TEMP TOP 3SG.F=3SG.F father ni niania kasi qo=ke=ve keru ta, ko=a and mother at 3DU=go=RMP TEMP TOP 3SG.F=LIG reko=ko niania ta ko=bazue=k=e, tu wife=3SG.F mother TOP 3SG.F=tell=3SG.F.O=RMP IRR "Kama tako qe=kil=ou nio qe=pa INDEF.SG.F time 2DU=come=FUT SEQ 2DU=PROS
tauve=l=ou papat=o=ko mabasisu”.
help=1SG.O=FUT plant=NOM=3SG.F yam
‘But, when they went there, when they went to her father and mother, the mother of the wife said to the daughter, “Sometime, you will come and help me to plant yams.”

(121) Matu kubo ko=ko mabasisu ko=k=a zari=a
very many 3SG.F=3SG.F yam 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES
papat=o sole.
plant=NOM that’s why
‘Because she wanted to plant lots of yams.’

(122) “Qe=kil=ou nio qe=tauve=l=ou”
2DU=come=FUT and then 2DU=help=1SG.O=FUT
k=i=ko=ve ko=ko meqora kasi.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP 3SG.F=3SG.F child at
“You will come and help me,” she said to her daughter.”

(123) Nio komi kio ko=bazue=v=a, tu “Kama
SEQ PROX.SG.F FOC.F 3SG.F=tell=3SG.M.O=PRES IRR INDEF.SG.F
taku into qe=tauve=l=ou, jokurat=o mabasisu=ko
time FOC.NONF 2DU=help=1SG=FUT dig=NOM yam=3SG.F
uma-uma, kubo mabasisu pui ko=papa=k=a
REDUP-bed many yam NEG 3SG.F=plant=3SG.F.O=PRES
sole” k=i=ko=la.
that’s why 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘And, she told him this, she said “The mother told us to help her sometime
digging beds for yams, because she hasn’t planted lots of yams.”’

(124) Ti ko=bazue=v=a ta “Uri”
and then 3SG.F=tell=3SG.M.O=PRES TOP good
k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘And when she told him, he said, “Good.”’

(125) “Uri qe=zio=vou qe=pa tauve=k=ou”
good 1DU.INC=go=FUT 1DU.INC=PROS help=3SG.F.O=FUT
k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
“‘Good, we will go, we will go and help her,” he said.’

(126) Nio ko=baro=a ko=a taku ti qo=zio
SEQ 3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F=LIG time and then 3DU=goNRFUT
go=pa tauve=k=o ko=a reko=ko nania, 3DU=PROS help=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.F=LIG wife=3SG.F mother
tu mabasisu ko=papat=o k=i=go=la keri, IRR yam 3SG.F=plant=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES TEMP
ta, vo=a siele-meqora=ko reko ta, lula TOP 3SG.M=LIG dog-child=3SG.F wife TOP already

colu=a=ma.
be.pregnant=LIG=3SG.F
‘And the time arrived and when they said that they would go and help the mother so that she could plant yams, the wife of the dog-child was already pregnant.’

(127) Melai o=ta o=ta o=baizue=k=a but 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES 3SG.M=tell=3SG.F.O=PRES
vo=ko nania o=baizue “Eqa ta qe=ta 3SG.M=3SG.F mother 3SG.M=tell 1DU.EXC TOP 1DU.EXC=SIT
ziou=vou, kome=ko nania=ko mabasisu go=FUT PROX.SG.F=3SG.F mother=3SG.F yam
qee=pa tauve=k=o papat=o sole 1DU.EXC=PROS help=3SG.F.O=NRFUT plant=NOM that’s why
qee=ta zio=vou matu-peuru ale” 1DU.EXC=SIT go=FUT big-village in

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘But, he went, he told his mother, he told her, “We will go, we will go and help her mother to plant her yams, so, we will go to the big village,” he said.’

(128) Ta “Koe pui qe=ziou=vou” k=i=ko=la ko and.then INTJ NEG 2DU=go=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F
nania=ka=ma, vo=a siele-meqora=ko nania.
mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=LIG dog-child=3SG.F mother
“‘No, you will not go,’” said the mother, the mother of the dog-child.’

(129) Melai “Uri nania pui qe=pa ubait=ou” but good Mother NEG 1DU.EXC=PROS be.long=FUT

k=i=o=la, k=i=o=la vo meqora.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M child
‘But, “Good, Mother, we will not be long,” said he, the son said.’

(130) “Pui qe=pa ubait=o=a=qela nio. NEG 2DU=PROS be.long=FUT=LIG=2DU FOC.NONF
“You are not going to be long.’
(131) Sole maba pui qe=raneo=vou pui qe=rurukao=vou that’s why truly NEG 2DU=be.overnight=FUT NEG 2DU=relax=FUT
maba madu kasi” k=i=ko=la.
person COLL.PL at 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRESENTS
‘So, truly, you will not stay overnight, you will not relax with people,” she said.’

(132) Nio ko=baro=a ko=a taku ti nieqa ta
SEQ 3SG.F=arrive=PRESENT 3SG.F=LIG time and.then 3DU 3DU TOP
go=3DU ol=a.
3DU=SIT go=PRESENT
‘And, when the time arrived, the two went.’

(133) Qo ol=a ti qo ol=a ti qo=pa
3DU go=PRESENT INT 3DU go=PRESENT and.then 3DU=PROS
odie=k=a lekas=a=ko reko ti ke=ta
fetch=3SG.F.O=PRESENT chief=3SG.F wife and.then 3PL=SIT
go.up=PRES garden at and.then 3PL=PROS plant=PRES
‘They went and went, and they went and fetched the chief’s wife, and they went
up to the garden, and they planted.’

(134) Ke=papat=a so ti so ti nganiu
3PL=plant=PRES that INT that and.then sun
okate ko=ta ev=a inio ju ko=kavel=a
high 3SG.F=SIT become=PRESENT SEQ water 3SG.F=want.food=PRES
ko=a siele-megora=ko reko molu=a=ma sole
3SG.F=LIG dog-child=3SG.F wife be.pregnant=LIG=3SG.F that’s why
ju ko=kavel=a.
water 3SG.F=want.food=PRES
‘They planted, they kept planting, and the sun became high, and then she wanted
water, the wife of the dog-child, because she was pregnant, she wanted water.’

(135) “Niania ju a=q=a zari=a tu kala
Mother water 1SG=3SG.F.O=VALUE want=PRES RRR INDEF.SG.M
o=pa l=a tobet=o” k=i=ko=la.
3SG.M=PRESENT 1SG.O=VALUE get.water=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRESENTS
“Mother, I want water, so someone should go and get water for me,” she said.

SEQ older=LIG=3SG.F
‘Then, “Elder daughter.”

(137) Ol=a ngo=visi pa k=a tobet=e
go=PRES 2SG=younger.sibling PROS 3SG.F.O=VALUE get.water=IMP.SG
koJu k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F water 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'Go, go and get water for your younger sister,' she said.'

(138) "Ki ko=ngavi ko=zio" k=i=ko=la ko
INTJ 3SG.F=self 3SG.F=goNRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F
kaka=ka=ma.
older=LIG=3SG.F
'"No, she herself should go," the elder daughter said.'

(139) "Koe pui so k=a k=i=o ko=ta
INTJ NEG that 3SG.F.O=VAL 3SG.F.O=say=NRFUT 3SG.F=SIT
molu=a=ma ikio tu ngo=ba k=a
be.pregnant=LIG=3SG.F FOC.F IRR 2SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL
tobet=e" k=i=ko=la.
get.water=IMP.SG 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'Don't say that, she is pregnant so you go and get water for her,' she said.'

(140) "Pui vanga inio sai tu vae=k=a tu
NEG far.away FOC.NONF there IRR leave=3SG.F.O=PRES IRR
ko=zio ko=ngavi" k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F=goNRFUT 3SG.F=self 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'It's not far away, leave it, she will go herself,' she said.'

(141) Ti, ko=ta lupao=va ko kaka=ka=ma sole,
and.then 3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES 3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F that's why
ko=ngavi nio ko=ta ol=a.
3SG.F=self FOC.NONF 3SG.F=SIT go=PRES
'Because the elder daughter refused, she went herself.'

(142) Ko=ngavi ko=ta ol=a ti so ti so
3SG.F=self 3SG.F=SIT go=PRES and.then that INT that
ti ko=baro=a sai ju kasi, nio
and.then 3SG.F=arrive=PRES there water at SEQ
ko=k=oa ko siakona tu
3SG.F=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3SG.F rope IRR
"a=dobe=k=o" k=i=ko=la inio.
1SG=place=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES FOC.NONF
'She herself went, she went and went, and she arrived there at the water, and then she got a rope, and "I will get water," she said.'

(143) Eri=a loqun=o ko=be ev=a ko=ko
as.soon.as=LIG bend=NOM 3SG.F=IMPL become=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.F
kaka | ta | ko=rere=a | ti | ko=rere=a
elder.sibling | and.then | 3SG.F=run=PRES | INT | 3SG.F=run=PRES

Ti | "ju | a=dobe=k=o"
and.then | water | 1SG=get.water=3SG.F.O=NRFUT

k=i=ko=la | keru | inio | ko
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES | TEMP | FOC.NONF | 3SG.F

iba=| k=e | ti | ko=ta | jour=e | sa-vasi.
push=3SG.F.O=RMP | and.then | 3SG.F=SIT | fall=RMP | there-around
‘And when she said, “I will get water,” she pushed her and she fell down somewhere around there.’

Ko=ta | jour=a | sa-vasi | ti | ko=ta
3SG.F=SIT | fall=PRES | there-around | and.then | 3SG.F=SIT

vou=vi | nio | ko=kiada | inio | ko=vait=a | ko
die=RMP | SEQ | 3SG.F=all | FOC.NONF | 3SG.F=return=PRES | 3SG.F

kaka=ka=ma | ko=kiada | inio | ko=vait=a.
older=LIG=3SG.F | 3SG.F=all | FOC.NONF | 3SG.F=return=PRES
‘She fell down somewhere around there, and she died, and then the elder sister returned by herself, she returned by herself.’

Ko=vait=a | inio | “Lai | ta | ko | anga=ko | reko
3SG.F=return=PRES | SEQ | where | TOP | 3SG.F | 1SG=3SG.F | wife

k=i=o=la?” vo.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES | 3SG.M
‘She returned and then “Where is she, my wife?” he asked.’

Ti | “ju | kale | ikoana | ko=ta | siusiat=a
and.then | water | in | EXTSG.F | 3SG.F=SIT | swim=PRES

mainio | ko=pa | kil=ou” | k=i=ko=la.
later | 3SG.F=PROS | come=FUT | 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘“She is in the water, she is swimming, later she will come,” she said.

“Kio” k=i=o=la | sainio | ke=ta | iruriuput=a
INTJ | 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES | therefore | 3PL=SIT | work=PRES
so ti so raisi-raisi ko=ta baro=a.
that INT that REDUP-evening 3SG.F=SIT arrive=PRES
"'Okay," he said, and they worked, they worked and worked, and the evening arrived.'

(149)  Melai pui ko=vait=a.
but NEG 3SG.F=return=PRES
'But she didn’t return.'

(150)  "Lai ta ko? | noi nio pui kapiavole
where TOP 3SG.F how FOC.NONF NEG quickly
ko=kue=va?" k=i=o=la.
3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
"'Where is she? How come she hasn’t come back quickly?’ he questioned.’

(151)  "Ki esa inio ko=beta siusiut=a inio,
INTJ maybe FOC.NONF 3SG.F=CONT swim=PRES FOC.NONF
soinio pui ko=kue=va” k=i=ko=la.
accordingly NEG 3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
"'Maybe, she is still swimming, and so, she hasn’t come,’ she said.’

(152)  Melai pui o epez=a keru-kerue=k=o
but NEG 3SG.M stop=PRES REDUP-think=3SG.F.O=NOM
sole o=ta ol=a, o ol=a ti o
that’s why 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES 3SG.M go=PRES INT 3SG.M
ol=a ti o=lulue=k=a ko keve ti
go=PRES and.then 3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F path and.then
o ol=a ti o ol=a ti o ol=a
3SG.M go=PRES INT 3SG.M go=PRES INT 3SG.M go=PRES
3SG.M=arrive=PRES there 3SG.F=LIG well at SEQ
3SG.M=PROS look.into=PRES and.then 3SG.F=CONT lie=PRES
3SG.F=NOM sa-vasi lula ko=ta vou=vi. there-around already 3SG.F=SIT die=RMP
'But, he didn’t stop thinking about her and so he went, he went and went, and he followed
the path, and he went and went and went and he arrived there, at the
well, and then, he went and looked into the well, and he found that she was lying
down somewhere around there, she had already died.’

(153)  Nio “aki a=sinaqu” k=i=o=la
SEQ INTJ 1SG=unmarried.woman 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
ti o=ngavi melai o=ta jour=a sa-vasi
and.then 3SG.M=self too 3SG.M=SIT fall=PRES there-around

ti o=ta vou=vi ti nioqa saqe ta
and.then 3SG.M=SIT die=RMP and.then 3DU couple TOP

ko=a soqili ale qo=ta vou=vi.
3SG.F=LIG well in 3DU=SIT die=RMP

"Oh, my girl," he said, and he himself too, he jumped down around there, and he
died, and the couple died in the well.'

(154) Siele-megora=ko niania ta sai ko=ta
dog-child=3SG.F mother TOP there 3SG.F=SIT

ev=e vo=a lekasa=ko megora-saidi se ta
stay=RMP 3SG.M=LIG chief=3SG.F child-family 3PL TOP

mata sai ke=ta ev=e.
again there 3PL=SIT stay=RMP

'The mother of the dog-child, she stayed there, and the chief's family, they
stayed there as before.'

(155) Ti kio ti ko paka.
and.then sayNOM TOP 3SG.F end

'And, that is the end.'

**Ngali Nut Collection (Text 2)**

(1) Komi kio ko=a taku quasin o=k=a
PROX.SG.F FOC.F 3SG.F=LIG time rope 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

er=ka=ko vo=a qole Qidiou Tolapitu.
make=3SG.F.O=PRES=REL.F 3SG.M=LIG old Qidiou Tolapitu

'This is about the time when Qidiou Tolapitu made a rope.'

(2) "Noi ta qe=kail=a varu-varut=o=le, ni
how TOP 1DU.INC=go.up=PRES REDUP-get.varu=NOM=PURP and

ipupu."
ipupu

"How about going up to get bark of varu trees, and ipupu trees?" [he said.]'

(3) Vo ta quasin=ko varu o=k=o=a | anga ta
3SG.M TOP rope=3SG.F varu 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 1SG TOP

bita=ko ipupu a=q=o=a.
string.bag=3SG.F ipupu 1SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES

'He got the bark of varu trees to make a rope, and I got the bark of ipupu trees to
make a string bag.'
We went down and he left the bark of the varu trees in water, and I left the bark of the ipupu trees in the sun.'

'And when the bark of the ipupu trees had dried, I took it out of the sun, and I separated it into strips.'

'As for him, after leaving the bark of the varu trees in water for five days, he went and took it out of water.'

'Then, he separated it.'

'He threw away the outer skin of the varu bark.'

then 3SG.M=separate=3SG.F.O=PRES

'Then, he separated it.'

'He threw away the outer skin of the varu bark.'

then 3SG.M=separate=3SG.F.O=PRES

'Then, he separated it.'

'He threw away the outer skin of the varu bark.'

then 3SG.M=separate=3SG.F.O=PRES

'Then, he separated it.'

'He threw away the outer skin of the varu bark.'

then 3SG.M=separate=3SG.F.O=PRES

'Then, he separated it.'

'He threw away the outer skin of the varu bark.'
o=ngadari=k=a, nganiu ale.
3SG.M=dry.in.sun=3SG.F.O=PRES sun in
'Then, he brought the inner skin of the varu bark to the house, he hung it
between trees, and he dried it in the sun.'

(10) Ko=ta tabar=a ko=a varu inio vo ta
3SG.F=SIT dry=PRES 3SG.F=LIG varu and.then 3SG.M TOP
o=lavat=a.
3SG.M=separate=PRES
'When the inner skin of the varu bark had dried, he separated it into strings.'

(11) Anga melai a=lavat=a ko ipupu, bita=ko.
1SG too 1SG=separate=PRES 3SG.F ipupu string.bag=3SG.F
'Me, too, I separated the bark of ipupu trees, to make a string bag.'

(12) O=pai=k=a lavat=o vo | anga ta
3SG.M=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES separate=NOM 3SG.M 1SG TOP
a=bai=k=a nio vo ta o=quisiniput=a.
1SG=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES SEQ 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=make.rope=PRES
'He finished separating it, and I finished separating it and he made a rope.'

(13) O erekat=a ko quisin.
3SG.M make=PRES 3SG.F rope
'He did rope making.'

(14) Anga ta a=vuaroput=a ko bita.
1SG TOP 1SG=knit=PRES 3SG.F string.bag
'I did string bag knitting.'

(15) O erekat=a anga melai a erekat=a
3SG.M make=PRES 1SG too 1SG make=PRES
qe=pai=k=a ko=a quisin ni bita,
1DU.EXC=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG rope and string.bag
nio ko=baro=a nene=ko koi=ko=ko taku.
SEQ 3SG.F=arrive=PRES ngali.nut=3SG.F climb=NOM=3SG.F time
'He did rope making, me too, I did string bag knitting, we finished making the
rope and string bag, and the time to climb ngali nut trees arrived.'

(16) Nio qe=ta kail=a koit=ko=le, ko nene.
SEQ 1DU.EXC=SIT go.up=PRES climb=NOM=PURP 3SG.F ngali.nut
'And we went up there in order to climb ngali nut trees.'

(17) Vo inio o=koit=a.
3SG.M FOC.NONF 3SG.M=climb=PRES
'It was he who climbed.'
(18) *Anga ta koqu a ere=k=a nene=ko.*
1SG TOP enclosure 1SG make=3SG.F.O=PRES ngali.nut=3SG.F
‘As for me, I made an enclosure, for ngali nuts.’

(19) *Sainio vo ta o=koit=a ti o=koit=a then 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=climb=PRES INT 3SG.M=climb=PRES pui o=pesi=a, o=koit=a, o=kajor=a NEG 3SG.M=speak=PRES 3SG.M=climb=PRES 3SG.M=harvest=PRES ti, anga ta sai nio a=daruan=a. and.then 1SG TOP there FOC.NONF 1SG=wait=PRES
‘Then he climbed and climbed, he didn’t speak, he climbed, he harvested ngali nuts, and, as for me, I waited there.’

(20) *Vo ta ko=a tini-tini ta koi nio 3SG.M TOP 3SG.F=LIG REDUP-bag TOP here FOC.NONF o=qona-qona=le. 3SG.M=REDUP-neck=in
‘As for him, the bag is here, hanging from his neck.’

(21) *Duruo ta o=seri=k=a ko=ko kata big.string.bag TOP 3SG.M=hang=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.F branch topi. top
‘As for a big string bag, he hung it on the branch of the tree.’

(22) *Nio ko=a tini-tini ta ko=k=ai SEQ 3SG.F=LIG REDUP-bag TOP 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL sukat=a ko nene nio mati o=pa be.filled=PRES 3SG.F ngali.nut SEQ again 3SG.M=PROS raibi=k=a ko=a duruo kale. pour=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG big.string.bag in
‘And, when the bag was filled with ngali nuts, he poured them into the big string bag as always.’

(23) *Ko=sukat=a keru ko=a duruo so keru 3SG.F=be.filled=PRES TEMP 3SG.F=LIG big.string.bag that TEMP nio o=pesio=vou. FOC.NONF 3SG.M=speak=FUT ‘When it was filled, then, he would speak.’

(24) *Eri k=i=o=la | “o” s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES o*
k=i=о=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
"He said something like this, he said "о."

(25)  
Ти  "о=sole=k=оu"  ніо
and.then  3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=FUT  FOC.NONF
k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
"And I said "You send it down."

(26)  
"O=solot=оu"  ніо  k=i=a=la.
3SG.M=send=FUT  FOC.NONF  3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
"I said "You send it down."

(27)  
О=solot=a  "о"  k=i=о=la.
3SG.M=send=PRES  о  3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
"He sent it down, and "о," he said."

(28)  
"Anga  та  koi  tu  sai  soloe=k=оu"
1SG  TOP  here  IRR  there  send=3SG.F=FUT
k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
"I am here, send it down here," I said."

(29)  
"O"  k=i=о=la.
о  3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
"О," he said."

(30)  
"Uri  lai  nіо  koi,  lai  nіо  a=ba
good  where  FOC.NONF  place  where  FOC.NONF  1SG=PROS
tare=k=оu"  k=i=a=la.
wait=3SG.F.O=FUT  3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
"Good, where is the place to wait, where shall I go and wait for it?" I said."

(31)  
"Uki  nіо  ngo=ba  tare=k=оu  melai
somewhere.there  FOC.NONF  2SG=PROS  wait=3SG.F.O=FUT  but
ko=ng=ai  pіа  kaile  sole  ko=ko
3SG.F=2SG.O=VAL  fall  in  that's.why  3SG.F=3SG.F
vima  та  pui  ngo  el=оu  ko  duruo  |
underneath  TOP  NEG  2SG  stay=FUT  3SG.F  big.string.bag
ko=ng=ai  rаibizi=о  kale  sole"
3SG.F=2SG.O=VAL  pour.itself=NOM  in  that's.why
(32) Sai nio o=solo=k=a ti there FOC NONF 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=PRES INT

o=solo=k=a ti "Mainio anga 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then later 1SG

a=qil=ou saita" k=i=a=la. 1SG=come=FUT first 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
'There, he sent it down, he sent it down, and "Wait, I will come first," I said.'

(33) "Miduku kale ko=papu=vou ti anga ta pui ground in 3SG.F=sit=FUT TOP 1SG TOP NEG

a=ba roveo=vou zolat=o, melai ko=a okale 1SG=PROS can=FUT lift=NOM but 3SG.F=LIG in.the.air

nio anga ta koi lezu ale a i=k=a FOC NONF 1SG TOP here head in 1SG put=3SG.F.O=PRES

ko=a duruo matu=ma duruo." 3SG.F=LIG big.string.bag bit=3SG.F big.string.bag
"If it sits on the ground, I won't be able to lift it, but if it stays in the air, I can
put the big string bag, here on my head, a very big string bag."

(34) Sainio eri=a tatae=k=o a ev=a then as.soon.as=LIG pull=3SG.F.O=NOM 1SG become=PRES

ko=ko siakona ako ko=a quisini 3SG.F=3SG.F string INTJ 3SG.F=LIG rope

nio a=biju=k=a. SEQ 1SG=take.off=3SG.F.O=PRES
'And as soon as I pulled the string, no the rope, I took the big string bag off the
rope.'

(35) So keru nio a=q=ati ol=a koqu that TEMP FOC NONF 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL go=PRES enclosure

ale, koqu kasi nio a=raibi=k=a. in enclosure at SEQ 1SG=pour=3SG.F.O=PRES
'That time, I took it to the enclosure, and I poured the ngali nuts into it.'

(36) Nio "Titie ko bita" k=i=o=la. SEQ tie 3SG.F string.bag 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'And, "Tie the string bag," he said.'
(37) Nio a-ditie=k=a ko bita nio “Koivie”
SEQ 1SG=tie=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F string.bag SEQQ take.up
k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
‘And I tied the string bag, and “Take it up,” I said.’

(38) Nio o=koivie=k=a.
SEQ 3SG.M=take.up=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘And he took it up.’

(39) Nio mata o=koit=a vo | mata kama
SEQ again 3SG.M=climb=PRES 3SG.M again INDEF.SG.F
o=sukati=k=a ko duruo.
3SG.M=fill=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F big.string.bag
‘And again, he climbed, again he filled a string bag.’

(40) Mata “o” k=i=o=la.
again o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘Again “o,” he said.’

(41) “Ou o=solot=ou” nio k=i=a=la.
Oh 3SG.M=send=FUT FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
‘“Oh, he will send it down,” I said.’

(42) Ti mata “o-o-o-ko ko ko ko ko”
and.then again o-o-o ko ko ko ko
k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘Again, “o-o-o-ko ko ko ko ko,” he said.’

(43) Nio mata a ol=a nio a=ba
SEQ again 1SG go=PRES SEQQ 1SG=PROS
piju=k=a.
take.off=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘And then again, I went and took the bag off the rope.’

(44) So ti so ti so ti o=paizie=k=a ko
that INT that INT that and.then 3SG.M=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F
nene.
ngali.nut
‘It went on and on and on and on like that, and he finished one ngali nut tree.’

(45) O=koi=k=a.
3SG.M=climb=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘He climbed it.’
(46) Toni kita kio o=solve=k=a, ti
ten string.bag FOC.F 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then
o=ta saqor=a inio.
3SG.M=SIT go.down=PRES FOC.NONF
‘He sent down ten string bags, and he came down.’

(47) O=ta saqor=a inio ko=a nene topi
3SG.M=SIT go.down=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.F=LIG ngali.nut top
azo nio vo ta eri k=i=o=la.
from SEQ 3SG.M TOP s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘He came down from the top of the ngali nut tree, and then he said something
like this.’

(48) “O-o-o-o-o” k=i=o=la.
O-o-o-o-o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
“O-o-o-o,” he said.’

(49) “O-o-o-o-o” k=i=o=la.
O-o-o-o-o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
“O-o-o-o-o,” he said.’

(50) “Ngo=baize=k=a sole ngo=da saqor=ou”
2SG=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES that’s why 2SG=SIT go.down=FUT
nio k=i=a=la.
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
“You finished and so come down,” I said.’

(51) “Ee” k=i=o=la.
yes 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
“Yes,” he said.’

(52) O=saqor=a ti ko=a qusini ta sa-vasi
3SG.M=go.down=PRES and.then 3SG.F=LIG rope TOP there-around
okate, o=saqor=a inio o=lokie=k=a
high.up 3SG.M=go.down=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES
ko=a qusini.
3SG.F=LIG rope
‘He came down and as for the rope, it was hanging from high up there, he came
down and he coiled the rope.’

(53) O=lokie=k=a ti o=lokie=k=a,
3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES INT 3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES
o=pai=k=a lokie=k=o nio
3SG.M=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES coil=3SG.F.O=NOM SEQ
o=k=ati  kue=va.
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL  come=PRES
‘He coiled and coiled it, he finished coiling it and he came with it.’

(54) O=ta  kue=va  anga  kasi.
3SG.M=SIT  come=PRES  1SG  at
‘He came to me.’

(55) “Qe=ta  saqor=ou  nio  lea  nio  mata
1DU.INC=SIT  go.down=FUT  SEQ  tomorrow  FOC.NONF  again
vo=a  ore  a=ba  koiv=ou”  k=i=o=la.
3SG.M=LIG  tree  1SG=PROS  climb=FUT  3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘‘We will go down, and tomorrow, again I will climb that tree,’’ he said.’

(56) So  inio  ko=kav=a=ni  ko=a
that  FOC.NONF  3SG.F=happen=PRES  REL.NONF  3SG.F=LIG
nene.
ngali.nut
‘That is the way to go with ngali nuts.’

(57) Ko  ta  vo=ko  ikokoput=o  ta  ko  ta
3SG.F  TOP  3SG.M=3SG.F  show.bravey=NOM  TOP  3SG.F  TOP
koiparaoput=ko.
say.“o’’=NOM
‘That’s how he showed his bravery, that’s when he said “o’”

(58) O=koiparaoput=o  nio  |  “o”  k=i=o=la.
3SG.M=say.’o’=PRES  FOC.NONF  o  3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘He said “o”. “O,” said he.’

(59) Ta  o  ikokoput=a  keru  inio  “o”
and.then  3SG.M  show.bravey=PRES  TEMP  FOC.NONF  o
k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘When he showed bravery, he said “o.”’

(60) “So  inio  ko=ka=va=ni  sole”
that  FOC.NONF  3SG.F=happen=PRES  REL.NONF  that’s.why
k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘‘Because that’s how it goes,’’ he said.’

(61) Nene=ko  tako.
ngali.nut=3SG.F  time
‘Time for ngali nuts.’
(62) So *tinia ma.*
that about or
‘That’s about it?’
References


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A grammar of Bilua
A Papuan language of the Solomon Islands

Kazuko Obata

Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
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Map 1: The island of Vella La Vella and the Solomon Islands
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The present paper is not just my own creation, for a number of people have contributed to its fruition. Without a doubt, the people to whom I owe most gratitude are the speakers of Bilua, in particular my two primary informants, Nelson Ivulu and Hai Volosi. I am most grateful to them for sharing their knowledge of Bilua language and culture with me. They also ensured that I would feel safe and comfortable during my fieldwork; many thanks also to their both immediate and extended families, especially Hazel Ivulu and Hilder Volosi, for their hospitality and assistance. It was a great advantage to me in my research to stay with local families where I had constant contact with the Bilua language as well as life on Vella La Vella, the home of the Bilua language. In every village I visited, I enjoyed a warm welcome and hospitality. In particular, the Riqueo family in Maravari, who were the very first family I stayed with on Vella La Vella, were always very hospitable to me. I was most pleased to meet Ole Gina in Pazaju, who had been to Japan and Australia among other countries. It was a rare opportunity for me to share overseas experience with someone from the Solomon Islands. Thanks also to Nerida Naqe, a schoolteacher in Gizo, for showing her interest in my work and for discussions we had.

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At The Australian National University, where I undertook a PhD program in linguistics, I benefited from the help of a number of staff members of the Department of Linguistics (Faculties), the Department of Linguistics (Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies), and the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology (the latter has been located at La Trobe University since December 1999). My first main supervisor, Sasha Aihenvald, was always encouraging, showing interest in my research. I appreciated her comments, based on her wide knowledge of the languages of the world. Malcolm Ross, my second supervisor, gave me insightful advice from his Oceanic background. To Harold Koch, who became my first supervisor after the departure of Sasha, thanks are due for reading the whole draft of my paper and for the generous amount of time he spent in discussions with me. Thanks also to my adviser, Masayuki Onishi, for carefully reading and giving comments on some of the chapters.

I also would like to extend my gratitude to Bob Dixon for introducing me to Descriptive Grammar. It was his Basic Linguistic Theory course, which he delivered at the Australian Linguistic Institute held at the ANU in 1996, that inspired me to write a grammar of a previously undescribed language. After attending his course, to my own
great surprise, I decided to change the object of my research from my native language Japanese to Bilua, a language of which I had no previous knowledge. I am also grateful to him for providing me with an office in the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology. At the center I met many outstanding linguists who came from all over the world as visiting scholars or research fellows, and I was especially fortunate to meet Hans-Jürgen Sasse, Randy LaPolla, Gerrit Dimmendaal, Carl Rubino, and Geoffrey Haig.

I also would like to thank Sue Holzknecht, then at the Study Skills Centre. I was fortunate to have someone who has a linguistics background to help me with my English. She was also able to give me appropriate advice when I was stressed from my study, having done a PhD program herself.

Being a fieldworker, I benefited from the company of students who had conducted fieldwork: Lea Brown, Alec Coupe, Michael Dunn, Beth Evans, Catriona Hyslop, Eva Lindström, and Angela Terrill. It was always enjoyable and inspiring to share their fieldwork experience.

On the financial side, the receipt of an Australian Postgraduate Research Award was greatly appreciated.

I owe very much to my friends and parents for their support and encouragement over the last few years. I would like to thank especially Kristina Crnagoj, Danny Farrow, Alec Coupe, Pavitra Gurung, Carl Rubino, Jeff, Lisa, and Elen Klein, and Cate Turk. I am most grateful to Robert Ackland for his patience and understanding.
# Abbreviations and conventions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1st person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3rd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AdjP</td>
<td>adjectival phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLL</td>
<td>collective marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CompP</td>
<td>complement phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuity marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.EXT</td>
<td>distal existential marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXC</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>non-specific locational existential marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>focus marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIST</td>
<td>historical tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative mood marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPL</td>
<td>implicative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRG</td>
<td>interrogative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTS</td>
<td>intensifying coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTJ</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>LIG</td>
<td>ligature</td>
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<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative postposition</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>masculine</td>
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<td>MES</td>
<td>measure pronoun</td>
</tr>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>negation marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONF</td>
<td>non-feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONM</td>
<td>non-masculine</td>
</tr>
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<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominal derivational clitic</td>
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<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRFUT</td>
<td>near future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>modifier phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>object clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLM</td>
<td>plural marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessor-raising marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>postpositional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>present tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIV</td>
<td>privative postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROS</td>
<td>prospective marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>proximate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive subordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCP</td>
<td>recent past tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECP</td>
<td>reciprocal marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relative clause marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RMP</td>
<td>remote past tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.b.</td>
<td>somebody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEQ</td>
<td>sequential coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIML</td>
<td>simulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIT</td>
<td>situation-change marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.th.</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAL</td>
<td>valency-increasing marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>vocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Verb Phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Clitics and affixes are marked with preceding or following = and - respectively.
Square brackets [ ] used in English translations indicate that this part of the translation
does not correspond exactly to the Bilua example(s).
When an example is from a conversation or an elicitation, no text, page, or sentence
numbers are given.
When an example from a transcribed text is used, the text, page, and sentence numbers
are given in brackets after the English translation. Two of the transcribed texts are
presented in Appendix 3. When an example is only a part of a sentence, this is indicated
by ‘...’ or ‘,’ in both the Bilua sentence and its English translations. For example,

...qe=pai=k=a  ko=a  qusini ni  bita,
1DU.EXC=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG rope and string.bag
‘...we finished [making] the rope and string bag.’ (2-3-15)

However, in Chapter 2, ‘phonology and morphophonology’; ‘...’ and ‘,’ are used only
in the English translations.
Ungrammatical examples are marked with an asterisk.
1 Introduction

1.1 The Bilua language and its location

Bilua is the language spoken on Vella La Vella island in the Western Province of the Solomon Islands. According to the census conducted in 1976 (Solomon Islands Statistics Division 1980), there are about 85 vernacular languages indigenous to the Solomon Islands. The majority of these are Austronesian languages, but among them are four Papuan languages (or seven, depending on whether the Reefs–Santa Cruz family is included or not—see §1.2 below). Bilua is one of these four languages, but the languages spoken in the surrounding islands are all Austronesian.

Vella La Vella island is divided into five areas: Bilua, Kurikuri, Java, Dovere, and Joria, according to different dialects spoken in each area. The dialect spoken in the Bilua area is regarded as the standard one by local people, and thus the language is called Bilua. It appears that this is because the Methodist missionaries who arrived and settled in the Bilua area in the early 20th century decided that the language spoken in the Bilua area was the language of the island. The grammar of Bilua presented in this work is based on the language spoken in the Bilua area. Note that there are no exact dialect boundaries, but generally the Bilua area is considered to extend from Supato village to the Eleteve village (see Map 1).\(^1\) Bilua is also spoken in the Saeagri village in the neighbouring Gizo Island. A legend tells that people from the Bilua area of Vella La Vella moved to Saeagri and thus they speak the dialect spoken in the Bilua area. Altogether there are about 8000–9000 speakers of Bilua including children.

The author has not done a study of the different dialects, but differences between Bilua and other dialects have been noticed in terms of vocabulary and verbal inflection. For example, sopu ‘hill’ and sopoilo ‘to run away’, and a future tense marker vou in the Bilua dialect correspond to taba, toalizo and kou respectively in the Java dialect. There are no phonological differences among the different dialects.

In the past, the Austronesian language Roviana was used as a lingua franca in the region and so older people in Vella La Vella speak Roviana as well. However, the role of Roviana has been taken over by Solomon Islands Pidgin, the common language in the Solomon Islands. Solomon Islands Pidgin is used at Primary schools as well as at church ceremonies, which are central to the lives of people in Vella La Vella. There is a high rate of intermarriage between Vella La Vella people and people from other islands. Mixed

\(^1\) On the map of Vella La Vella produced by the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands in 1972, Vella La Vella is divided into seven areas: Bilua, Siromai, Java, Dovere, Irigila, Jorio, and Supato.
couples communicate in Pidgin, Bilua, or one of the other Solomons languages. Pidgin words are mixed into Bilua and sometimes people switch from one language to another in their speech. Thus, the Bilua language is changing because of the influence of Pidgin, and, although the population of Vella La Vella is increasing rapidly, it can be said that Bilua is endangered.

1.2 Previous work and Papuan languages in the Solomon Islands

Previous work on Bilua is very limited. Ray (1928) presented a small word list in Bilua, while Capell (1969) and Todd (1975) each presented some grammatical features in Bilua in a comparative study on four Papuan languages spoken in the Solomon Islands: Bilua, Baniata, Lavukaleve, and Savosavo. None of these works, however, presents a full grammar of Bilua. On the basis of the work above, Greenberg (1971) categorises these four languages together as the Central Solomon (non-Austronesian) languages of Indo-Pacific, while Wurm (1982) categorises them as the Central Solomons family of the East Papuan phylum. In addition to these works, George Milner did some research on Bilua in the early fifties but has not published his results. The New Testament has been translated into Bilua by a group of local people led by Phil Pike from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and the Bilua version of Bible was published in 1992. There is a small English-to-Bilua school dictionary compiled by Pike but he has not written any linguistic papers on the language.

Capell (1969) presents a comparison among the four Papuan languages—Bilua, Baniata, Lavukaleve and Savosavo—in terms of noun classes and verbal inflection. In his paper he argues that there are two noun classes in Bilua, masculine and non-masculine, which are marked by the particles vo and ko respectively. He says further that this contrast recurs with adjectives and verbs as a morphological contrast; for example, adjectives modifying a noun from the masculine class and the non-masculine class have a suffix -ala and -ama respectively.

The present study finds that this contrast is not demonstrated by the data. A noun such as maba ‘person’ can have both male and female referents and it can occur with both vo and ko. The contrast is therefore not a simple matter of masculine versus non-masculine noun classes in opposition (see §1.4 below).

Capell (1969) describes the noun classification as a characteristic of the four Papuan languages listed above and notes that this is also found in the languages of southern Bougainville, as well as in the ‘Melanesian languages’ of Malaita. He leaves the conclusion on their genetic relationship, however, to a further study of these languages.

Greenberg (1971:816) proposes a genetic relationship among Bilua, Lavukaleve, Savosavo, and Baniata and refers to them as the Central Solomon languages. His study and proposal are based on some resemblance among pronouns and fifty-two other words

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2 The group was located in the Bilua area, signifying that the dialect spoken in this area is regarded as the standard one.
of these four languages. Furthermore, he studies pronouns and the same fifty-two words, where they are available, in the languages of the Reefs–Santa Cruz family and compares them to the Central Solomon languages. Finding some resemblance between these two groups of languages, he states (1971:816) that the members of the Reefs–Santa Cruz family have the closest relationship to the Central Solomon languages, and groups them all together as the Central Melanesian group of non-Austronesian languages in the Indo-Pacific. It could be true that they are related, but it is hard to accept a proposal based on a list of pronouns and such a small number of words.

Todd (1975) also presents a comparison among the four languages in terms of pronominal forms, noun classifications, and word lists. In her paper, she presents a list of personal pronouns, subject markers, object markers, and verbal auxiliaries, and some determiners in Bilua. On the basis of her study, she concludes that these four languages are related and groups them together as the Solomon Language Family. In particular, she points to a closer relationship between Bilua and Savosavo. She also tentatively includes the Yele languages of Rossel Island in the Solomon language family on the basis of similarity in pronominal forms.

Wurm (1982:231–244) also proposes a language family, the Central Solomons family, consisting of Bilua, Lavukaleve, Savosavo and Baniata, and considers it as a subgroup of the East Papuan phylum. He groups Papuan languages in the area to the east of the New Guinea mainland as the East Papuan phylum. This includes Papuan languages spoken in New Britain, New Ireland, the Solomon Islands, and the Louisiade Archipelago. The East Papuan phylum languages are divided into three subphylic groups: the Yele–Solomons – New Britain super-stock, the Bougainville super-stock, and the Reefs–Santa Cruz family.

The Yele–Solomons – New Britain super-stock is subdivided into the Yele–Solomons stock and the New Britain stock. These two stocks are grouped together because of ‘comparative closer structural and lexical links with each other than with languages of the other stock-level groups in the phylum’ (Wurm 1982:232). The Bougainville super-stock is subdivided into the East Bougainville stock and the West Bougainville stock.

The Yele–Solomons stock is subdivided into three groups: the Central Solomon Family, the extinct Kazukuru Family, and the Yele language. In the extinct Kazukuru Family are Kazukuru, Guliguli, and Dororo languages, all of which are extinct.

There are three languages in the Reefs–Santa Cruz family: Reefs (Aiwo), Santa Cruz and Nanggu, and accordingly there are seven Papuan languages spoken in the Solomon Islands: four in the Central Solomon family and three in the Reefs–Santa Cruz family.

Whether the three languages in the Reefs–Santa Cruz Family are Papuan or Austronesian languages is the subject of controversy. Lincoln (1978) presents a

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3 Subject markers, object markers, and verbal auxiliaries are referred to as ‘pronominal proclitics’, ‘object clitics’, and ‘pronominal enclitics’ respectively in this work.

4 People of Vella La Vella were well-known head-hunters until missionaries arrived. They paddled as far as Savo island, where Savosavo is spoken, for raids, and sometimes brought back people from other islands including Savo. Bilua and Savosavo may have influenced each other as a result of such contacts.
hypothesis that they are Austronesian languages on the basis that there are similarities between these languages and Proto Oceanic with regard to some grammatical morphemes. On the other hand, Wurm (1978 and 1982) argues that they are Papuan languages heavily influenced by Austronesian languages. He bases this view on their similarity to other languages of the East Papuan phylum in terms of structure and lexicon, as well as on the lack of regular phonological correspondences between these languages and Proto Austronesian and Proto Oceanic.

Tryon and Hackman (1983) regard the languages of the Reefs–Santa Cruz Family as Papuan but they exclude them in their diagram (Figure 1.1 below) of the East Papuan phylum because of their unclear position within the East Papuan phylum. Santa Cruz and Nanggu appear to have a closer link with the languages of the East Bougainville stock, while Reefs (Aiwo) appears to have a closer link with the languages of Yele–Solomons stock.

![Diagram of East Papuan phylum]

**Figure 1.1:** Papuan Languages in the Solomon Islands within the East Papuan Phylum (Tryon & Hackman 1983:42)\(^5\) Asterisks here mean that these languages are extinct.

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\(^5\) In their paper, Tryon and Hackman (1983) spell Bilua and Baniata as Mbilua and Mbaniata respectively. In the past, the latter spelling was used more frequently. At present, both spellings are recognised but the former ones are more widely used. The 'mb' of Mbilua and
Although it has been proposed that Bilua, Lavukaleve, Savosavo and Baniata are genetically related, none of these languages is fully described yet, and until a full grammatical description of all of them is produced, their relationship remains in question. Angela Terrill has presented a grammar of Lavukaleve in her PhD thesis, and she and Michael Dunn have been working on a grammatical description of Baniata. Evelyn Todd has been doing research on Savosavo. Their studies and this study on Bilua may shed some light on the question of the genetic relationship between these languages.

1.3 Fieldwork and collection of data

The grammar of Bilua presented in this work is based on an analysis of the data collected during two fieldwork periods in the Bilua area of Vella La Vella and in the Saeragi village of Gizo. The first fieldwork period was from March to August 1997 and the second was from September to November 1998. The data mostly comprise recorded texts of old folktales, custom practices, and stories from childhood told by people, both female and male, between 55 and 90 years of age. Seventy-two texts were collected, from which thirty-two (about 240 minutes) were transcribed and translated into English with the help of speakers of Bilua. Some data were collected from conversations.

People who helped the author with transcription and translation were aged under 35 years, while for the analysis of the language or elicitation the author worked with older people who were over fifty-five years of age.

1.4 Grammatical profile

As noted above, Bilua is a Papuan language surrounded by Austronesian/Oceanic languages. According to Foley (1986:2–3):

The term ‘Papuan languages’ must not be taken in the same sense as ‘Austronesian languages’. While all Austronesian languages are genetically related in one family, in the sense that they all descend from a common ancestral language called Proto-Austronesian spoken some 6,000 years ago...[Papuan languages] do not all trace their origins back to a single ancestral language...when a language is termed 'Papuan', this claims nothing more than that a language is not Austronesian.

Most notably, Bilua is distinguished from Oceanic languages in terms of a masculine–feminine distinction in the third person singular pronominal forms. Local people often cite this difference as a distinctive feature of Bilua.

There are other features of Bilua that are not shared with Oceanic languages (see Lynch, Ross, and Crowley forthcoming). In Bilua, tense and mood are marked by bound forms, clitics on VPs (§8.3), while in Oceanic languages they are marked by free forms.

Mbanita represents a prenasalised voiced bilabial stop. However, as described in §2.2, in Bilua voiced stops are prenasalised intervocalically but not word-initially.
Bilua is basically an AVO language, but other constituent orders are freely found (§14.6). A variety of constituent orders is found in Oceanic languages but is fairly fixed in each language. In Bilua possessive constructions, the possessor precedes the possessee (§7.3). This order is reversed in Oceanic languages. Bilua relative clauses are marked with a clitic on their VPs (§12.2), while relative clauses in Oceanic languages are preceded by a marker with a subordinating function. Serial verb constructions are widely found in Oceanic languages, but there is no serial verb construction in Bilua.

There are some features that are shared by Bilua and Oceanic languages. In both, a distinction is made between inclusive and exclusive for the first person dual and plural pronominal forms (§5.5.1). Bilua has reduplication of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and numerals (§6.5). Reduplication is also found in Oceanic languages. Aspect markers occur between a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references with the subject, and the verb (§8.5). Bilua is a consistently nominative–accusative language. Oceanic languages are generally nominative–accusative languages.

Other grammatical characteristics of Bilua are as follows. Both clitics and affixes are found. Bilua is both a head- and a dependent-marking language according to Nichols' (1986) criteria. Core arguments are head-marked on the VP by bound pronouns (see §3.2.1)—a head-marking feature; in NPs, person, number, and gender are generally marked on optional NP constituents (see §7.4)—a dependent-marking feature. A possessive NP can be either head or dependent-marked (see §7.3). There are two types of predicates: verbal and non-verbal, distinguished by their predicates (§3.1). There is the valency-increasing construction, which introduces a new core argument; this increases the valency by one (§9.4 and §9.5). There are frequent occurrences of topic and focus markers (§14.2 and §14.3).

Pronominal forms have three person distinctions (first, second, and third) and three number distinctions (singular, dual, and plural). As noted above, the first person dual and plural have a distinction between exclusive and inclusive, while the third person singular has a distinction between masculine and feminine.

There are no grammatical genders in Bilua, but personal names, some kinship terms, and some nouns have an inherent gender. Common nouns are inherently third person and are not marked for number. Person/number/gender can be marked by optional NP constituents (§7).

There are three kinds of dependent clauses: relative, complement, and adverbial clauses (§12). Some coordinators link words, phrases, and clauses, and others link only independent clauses (§13).

1.5 Approach of the grammar

This work presents a general description of Bilua grammar, primarily from a synchronic viewpoint. Although it is preferable not to include a diachronic analysis in a descriptive grammar, some historical hypotheses are included in the work where I believe it is helpful in understanding the grammar.

The grammatical description commences in the following chapter with an analysis of the phonology and morphophonology.
2 Phonology and morphophonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of phonology and morphophonology: it covers consonant phonemes (§2.2), vowel phonemes (§2.3), phonotactics (§2.4), stress (§2.5), clitics (§2.6), phonological processes (§2.7), reduplication (§2.8), intonation (§2.9), and orthography (§2.10). Customary notation conventions are followed—slashes // indicate phonemic representations, while square brackets [ ] indicate phonetic representations.

2.2 Consonant phonemes

There are sixteen consonants in Bilua as presented in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>voiceless stops</th>
<th>voiced stops</th>
<th>voiceless fricative</th>
<th>voiced fricatives</th>
<th>voiced affricate</th>
<th>nasals</th>
<th>lateral</th>
<th>trill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stops</td>
<td>voiced stops</td>
<td>voiceless fricative</td>
<td>voiced fricatives</td>
<td>voiced affricate</td>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>trill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

The voiced stops and the affricate have allophones: they are prenasalised intervocally. Prenasalisation does not occur in word-initial position.

/b/d/g/dʒ/ → [ⁿbⁿdⁿgⁿdʒⁿ] V_V
[b/d/g/dʒ] / word-initially
The following are some examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prenasalised</th>
<th>Non-prenasalised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(intervocally)</td>
<td>(word-initially)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.1) [ma'ba] ‘person’</td>
<td>[bolo] ‘pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.2) [pa'i'daeko] ‘to finish’</td>
<td>[deri] ‘pumpkin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.3) [sele'a'gaza] ‘seagull’</td>
<td>[gusini] ‘rope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.4) [ke'3u] ‘to cook’</td>
<td>[3airozo] ‘to be tired’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voiceless stops and the voiceless fricative are pronounced as long consonants when they occur in the second syllable before a diphthong. The following are some examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>consonants</th>
<th>long consonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(elsewhere)</td>
<td>(in the second syllable with a diphthong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.5) [si6tolu] ‘eight’</td>
<td>[attaeko] ‘to count’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.6) [lekasa] ‘chief’</td>
<td>[pekka3] ‘to dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.7) [tapata] ‘hardship’</td>
<td>[kappia3ole] ‘quickly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.8) [siakona] ‘rope’</td>
<td>[naggoeko] ‘to attach’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The bilabial voiced fricative /β/ has two allophones, [β] and [w], in free variation: /β/ is sometimes realised as a glide [w], especially in front of a low vowel /a/. For example, /βaito/ ‘to return’ is realised as [βaito] or [watto].

In addition to [d3], the voiced affricate /dʒ/ has another allophone, [tʃ], in free variation. For example, /βaredu3a/ ‘six’ is realised as [βaredu3a] or [βareduʃa].

Some examples of minimal and near-minimal pairs are as follows.

| (2.9) /p/ – /b/          | /sipi/ ‘louse’              | /sibi/ ‘black’          |
| (2.10) /l/ – /d/         | /tašabarao/ ‘pay’          | /tašao/ ‘look up’       |
| (2.11) /k/ – /g/         | /raši/ ‘root’              | /sagi/ ‘brother/sister’ |
| (2.12) /s/ – /z/         | /sašo/ ‘hot water’         | /zapo/ ‘beard’          |
| (2.13) /β/ – /b/         | /b3utu/o ‘to move’         | /b3uto/o ‘to tell’      |
| (2.14) /n/ – /ŋ/         | /ŋaka/ ‘banana’            | /ŋaŋa/ ‘mother/aunt’    |
| (2.15) /š/ – /ŋ/         | /gəmeŋ/ ‘nose’             | /ŋase/ ‘hand’           |
| (2.16) /l/ – /r/         | /lekona/ ‘leaf’            | /teko/ ‘wife’           |
| (2.17) /z/ – /dʒ/        | /gario/ ‘wish’             | /dʒari/ ‘copra house’   |
2.3 Vowel phonemes

There are five vowels, as presented in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.2**: Vowel phonemes

The following are examples of minimal and near-minimal pairs.

(2.18) /a/ – /e/  /kalo/ ‘way’ /kelo/ ‘to see’
(2.19) /a/ – /i/  /dara/ ‘blood’ /diiri/ ‘red’
(2.20) /a/ – /o/  /kalo/ ‘way’ /kolo/ ‘ocean’
(2.21) /a/ – /u/  /kaiko/ ‘strange’ /kuki/ ‘axe’
(2.22) /e/ – /i/  /teget/ ‘ridge’ /tiiti/ ‘trouser’
(2.23) /e/ – /o/  /kelo/ ‘to see’ /kolo/ ‘ocean’
(2.24) /e/ – /u/  /ketuketo/ ‘to tease’ /kutukutu/ ‘cloud’
(2.25) /i/ – /o/  /kilikili/ ‘armpit’ /kolokolo/ ‘arrival’
(2.26) /i/ – /u/  /klikili/ ‘armpit’ /kuluuku/ ‘neck’
(2.27) /o/ – /u/  /bolo/ ‘pig’ /bulo/ ‘heart’

All combinations of vowels occur: /iɛl/, /iail/, /iəl/, /iul/, /iei/, /eal/, /eəl/, /eu/, /eai/, /eal/, /aol/, /aʊl/, /oi/, /oəl/, /oal/, /oul/, /ui/, /uəl/, /uəl/, and /uəl/. When they belong to the same phonological word, they are diphthongal. The diphthongal nature of these combinations is apparent with reduplicated forms in which the VV sequences reduplicate as one syllable. A reduplicated form has the first two syllables reduplicated. For example, in a reduplicated form /βualala/ ‘hot’, /ua/ is counted as one syllable. If /ua/ were counted as two syllables, a reduplicated form should have /βu-a-βu-a-la/, but this is not the case (see §2.8).

Vowels do not have allophones when they occur individually, but in diphthongs the front and back vowels are realised as lax vowels [i], [e], [o], and [u] when they are the second element: [ie], [io], [iu], [ei], [eo], [eu], [ai], [ae], [oi], [oe], [ou], [iu], [ue], and [uo]. This suggests that the first vowel in a diphthong is the nucleus, and the second is non-syllabic.

The only attested cases of syllabic vowel sequences occur with reduplication, in which a syllable break matches a morpheme break. For example, a combination of vowels /au/ in a reduplicated form [u-pa-iu-pa-to] ‘to shout many times’, which is a reduplicated form of /upato/ ‘to shout’, is a syllabic vowel sequence. Each of /a/ and /u/ belongs to a
different syllable. This is supported by the second stress on /u/ and the realisation of /u/ as [u] rather than [u]. If /a/ and /u/ formed a diphthong, there would not be a stress on /u/ and also /u/ would be realised as [u] since the second element of the diphthong cannot be stressed as described in §2.5, and /u/ is realised as [u] when it is in the second element of a diphthong as noted above.

2.4 Phonotactics

The syllable structure in Bilua is (C)V for the first syllable and CV for other syllables, C representing any consonant and V here representing a vowel or a diphthong. This means that there are no sequences of Vs in Bilua within a phonological word (see §2.6 for phonological words). An exception to this is an interjection /ee/ ‘yes’.

The minimum number of syllables per phonological word is one, and this can only be CV but not V only. A maximum word length of seven syllables is found in the data. Some examples are:

(2.28) CV

/leu/ ‘tomorrow’

(2.29) VCV

/ipu/ ‘night’

(2.30) CVVCV

/lezu/ ‘head’

(2.31) VCVCV

/ariku/ ‘four’

(2.32) CVVCVCV

/βidulu/ ‘key’

(2.33) VCVCVCCV

/inainaeko/ ‘to prepare’

(2.34) CVVCVCVCV

/pikimato/ ‘to dig soil’

(2.35) CVVCVCVCVCCVCV

/kolokologanisi/ ‘Kolokoloqanisi (male name)’

All consonants can occur in the word-initial and medial positions but never in the word-final position. All vowels can occur in the word-initial, medial, and word-final positions. There are some restrictions on the occurrences of diphthongs. Only /au/ and /ae/ can occur word-initially. In the word-final position, all but /ao/ can occur. All diphthongs can occur in the word-final position, but one of them, /oa/, occurs over a morpheme boundary only. For example,

(2.36) [ko=a]

3SG.F=LG
‘that (feminine)’

(2.37) [βo=a]

3SG.M=LG
‘that (masculine)’

In each of these examples, a demonstrative and a ligature form one phonological word: the morpheme boundary occurs between the demonstrative and the ligature, and a combination of vowels o and a over this morpheme boundary is realised as a diphthong.
The following table summarises the occurrences of phonemes in different positions.

Table 2.3: Occurrences of phonemes in different positions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word-initial</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>/au/, /ae/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word-medial</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all but /ao/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word-final</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5 Stress

Stress is applied to the first syllable of a phonological word. Stress is not contrastive in Bilua. For a diphthong, stress is realised as prominence on the first element.

(2.38) [ˈtoupa] ‘lake’

(2.39) [ˈuri] ‘good’

(2.40) [ˈsiotolu] ‘eight’

(2.41) [ˈruˑge] ‘bad’

(2.42) [ˈbarutu] ‘today/now’

Stress, however, may fall on the second syllable of a phonological word when a phonological word does not coincide with a grammatical word. This is described in the next section.

2.6 Clitics

A Bilua phonological word may consist of one or more clitics and their host. Clitics attach to a word, a ‘host’, forming one phonological word with their host. There are two types of clitics: enclitics, which take the preceding word as the host, and proclitics, which take the word that follows as the host. Most Bilua clitics are enclitics, but there are pronominal proclitics as well. Object clitics can function either as enclitics or proclitics. Clitics in Bilua are:

- pronominal proclitics
- pronominal enclitics
- object clitics
- tense/mood markers, which are enclitics
- nominal derivational enclitics
- ligature, which is an enclitic
relative clause markers, which are enclitics
the purposive subordinator *le*, which is an enclitic

This section presents a general description of Bilua clitics, particularly with regard to stress. A description of each clitic is given in Chapters 5 and 6.

Unlike words, clitics do not bear inherent stress, and this suggests that they do not form a phonological word of their own — they form one phonological word with their host, the word they are attached to. This is illustrated by example (2.43-a). In this example, two enclitics, a ligature *a* and a pronominal enclitic *ma* (3SG.F), are attached to an adjective [-uri] forming a modifier phrase. As these enclitics are not independent phonological words, none of them bears stress. They form one phonological word with their host, *uri*, and the stress falls on the first syllable of this phonological word following the stress pattern in Bilua described in the last section.

(2.43-a) [-uri=a=ma 'pa"de]
good=LIG=3SG.F house
'a good house'

If each of the ligature *a* and the pronominal enclitic *ma* (3SG.F) formed a phonological word of its own, (2.43-a) would be analysed as:

(2.43-b) [-uri 'a 'ma 'pa"de]
good LIG 3SG.F house
'a good house'

but this is not the case.

Like clitics, affixes do not bear inherent stress. Clitics are distinguished from affixes by the following non-phonological criteria. 'Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot' (Zwicky & Pullum 1983:504). 'Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups' (1983:504). Unlike affixes, 'clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts' (1983:503) and they can combine with a phrase (Zwicky 1985:288), while affixes cannot.

Cliticisation does not affect the stress on the host in Bilua. Example (2.43-a) above illustrates that encliticisation does not affect the stress on the host and thus the stress falls on the first syllable of the host, which coincides with the first syllable of the resulted phonological word.

Procliticisation does not affect the stress on the host either, and this results in the stress falling on the second syllable of a phonological word, as illustrated by the following two examples. In each of these examples, a phonological word consists of a host and one or more clitics. In (2.44), a pronominal proclitic is attached to a noun, [nafa], forming a possessive NP. The pronominal proclitic here marks a possessor. In (2.45), the pronominal proclitic is cliticised on the verb, [bofae], and they form one phonological word together with two enclitics: the object clitic and the tense marker. The pronominal proclitic here functions as a subject marker. In both examples, the stress still falls on the first syllable of the host, which is the second syllable of the phonological words (see §2.7
for a further description of phonological words formed by cliticisation of a pronominal proclitic on the host).

(2.44)  [a=’nāpā]  
1SG=mother  
‘my mother’  

(2.45)  [ø=’bouβæ=k=a]  
3SG.M=kill=3SG.F.O=PRES  
‘...he killed it,’ (24-11-93)⁶  

In the two examples above, proclitics form one phonological word with a content word, a noun in (2.44) and a verb in (2.45). A pronominal proclitic may form a phonological word with another kind of content word, a modifier in a VP. In this case too, the stress falls on the first syllable of the host, which is the second syllable of the phonological word. In the following example, a pronominal proclitic o (3SG.M) and a modifier sasa ‘a bit’ form one phonological word and the stress falls on the first syllable of sasa.

(2.46)  [ø=sasa ‘mamaz=a]  
3SG.M=a bit rest=PRES  
‘...he rested a bit,’ (26-20-109)  

Thus, a pronominal proclitic may attach to a content word, which bears stress on the first syllable, and when this happens, the stress still falls on the first syllable of the content word, which is the second syllable of the phonological word.

A Bilua proclitic may have a VP particle as its host, forming one phonological word. VP particles in Bilua are aspectual/modal markers, valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker. ‘Particles are “function”, rather than “content”, items’ (Zwicky 1985:291). Bilua VP particles occur between a pronominal proclitic, which functions as a subject marker, and a verb. Aspectual/modal markers and the possessor-raising marker may form one phonological word with a preceding pronominal proclitic. Valency-increasing markers always have an object clitic as a proclitic, forming one phonological word with it. This may additionally have a pronominal proclitic preceding the object clitic. Like clitics, Bilua VP particles do not bear inherent stress. That is, a Bilua phonological word may consist of morphemes that bear no inherent stress. Such a phonological word, however, still bears stress on the first syllable of the phonological word, following the stress pattern in Bilua, as illustrated by the following examples.

---

⁶ In this example, a present tense marker a in the final position is employed in order to indicate historical present tense. In such a case, the event expressed is one that occurred in the past, and thus it is translated in the past tense (see §8.3 for a description of historical present tense). This applies to a lot of examples presented in this work, and thus many examples with a present tense marker are translated in the past tense. See ‘Abbreviations and conventions’ at the beginning of the work for an explanation of the bracketed numbers following examples.
In the first phonological word of example (2.47), a pronominal proclitic /ko/ (3SG.F) is attached to an aspectual marker, the continuity marker /beta/ forming one phonological word. In (2.48) the first phonological word consists of a pronominal proclitic /ke/ (3PL) and the possessor-raising marker /ta/, while the second phonological word consists of an object clitic /β/ (3SG.M.O) and a valency-increasing marker /ati/. In all instances, there is stress on the first syllable of the phonological word. This is manifested by a clitic in the first two instances and by a clitic–particle combination in the last instance.

(2.47) \[\text{"ko=\text{beta} \quad \text{\textquoteright kot\text{=}a}\} \]
3SG.F=CONT climb=PRES
'...she is climbing...' (21-6-35)

(2.48) \[\text{"ke=\text{ta} \quad \text{\textquoteright \beta=ati} \quad \text{\textquoteright so\text{=}go\text{=}\beta\text{=}a}\} \]
3PL=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL run.away=PRES
'...they ran away with his [boot].' (16-6-77)

A VP particle may occur without a proclitic and form a phonological word by itself. This kind of phonological word still bears stress on the first syllable. In example (2.49), an aspectual marker, the prospective marker /pa/, forms a phonological word of its own, and this bears stress.

(2.49) \[\text{"pa \quad \text{\textquoteright \betaatri=\beta=\text{a}\} \}
\]
PROS look.for=3SG.M.O=IMP.SG
'Go and look for him.'

Thus, a VP particle, when it forms a phonological word by itself, bears stress. Clitics of one type, namely pronominal proclitics, may also form a phonological word by themselves; that is, they can be phonologically independent in certain environments. This kind of phonological word also bears stress on the first syllable. Bilua pronominal proclitics all end with a vowel, and when a pronominal proclitic precedes a content word beginning with a vowel, it always forms a phonological word of its own. This is to avoid a formation of a diphthong or a long vowel. In Bilua, procliticisation, but not encliticisation, disallows a formation of a diphthong. In (2.50), the /e/ of a pronominal proclitic /ke/ (3PL) does not form a diphthong with the word-initial /u/ of /uri/ — /ke/ and /uri/ do not form one phonological word. On the other hand, the word-final /u/ of a modifier /uri/ 'good' and a ligature a, which is an enclitic, form a diphthong — /uri/ and a form one phonological word. In (2.51), a pronominal proclitic /o/ and the verb beginning with the same vowel, /o/, do not form a phonological word as Bilua does not have a long vowel. In both examples, the pronominal proclitic forms a phonological word of its own and it bears stress.

(2.50) \[\text{"ke \quad \text{\textquoteright uri=\text{a} \quad \text{\textquoteright bori=\text{k=\text{a}\}} \}
3PL good=LIG carry=3SG.F.O=PRES
'They carried it well (carefully)...' (28-6-56)

(2.51) \[\text{"o \quad \text{\textquoteright odi=\text{e=k=\text{a}\}} \}
3SG.M call=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...he called her...' (2.27-10-63)
When a pronominal proclitic precedes a content word that begins with a consonant, these two morphemes form one phonological word, and the stress falls on the first syllable of the host, the content word.

(2.52)  \[ \text{g} = '\text{b} \text{u} \text{a} \text{t} = '\text{a} \text{l} \text{a} \]  
1SG=eat=RCP  
‘I ate.’

Thus, pronominal proclitics can be phonologically independent in certain environments. The next section presents a piece of evidence that demonstrates that pronominal proclitics form a phonological word with their host.

2.7 Phonological processes

First and second person singular/plural pronominal proclitics /a/ (1SG), /nə/ (2SG), /nə/ (1PL.EXC), and /nə/ (1PL.INC/2PL) may cause the voicing of a voiceless stop or fricative onset of a concatenated syllable: voiceless stops become voiced stops while the voiceless fricative /s/ becomes an affricate /dʒ/. In §2.2, it was mentioned that voiced stops and the affricate are prenasalised intervocically. The voiced stops and affricate resulting from the above phonological process are prenasalised as well. This illustrates that the pronominal proclitic and the following word form one phonological word, with the result that the voiced stops and affricate occur in the second syllable. In each pair of the following examples, voicing occurs in (a) but it does not in (b), as marked by underlines.

(2.53-a)  \[ \text{nə}=\text{m}_ \text{b}_ \text{a} \]  
2SG.F=PROS  3SG.M.O=see=PRES  
/ə=/ preceding /pə/  
‘You will go and see him.’

(2.53-b)  \[ \text{k}_{\text{ə}}=\text{p}_\text{a} \]  
3SG.F=PROS  come=RMP  
/kə=/ preceding /pə/  
‘She came.’

(2.54-a)  \[ \text{a}=\text{d}_{\text{a}}=\text{r}_{\text{e}}=\text{k}=\text{ou} \]  
1SG=wait=3SG.F.O=FUT  
/a=/ preceding /tare=k=ou/  
‘I will wait for her.’

(2.54-b)  \[ \text{o}=\text{t}_{\text{a}}=\text{r}_{\text{e}}=\text{k}=\text{a} \]  
3SG.M=wait=3SG.F.O= PRES  
/o=/ preceding /tare=k=a/  
‘...he is waiting for it...’ (24-6-64)

(2.55-a)  \[ \text{n}_{\text{e}}=\text{g}=\text{at} \]  
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL  know=PRES  
/nə=/ preceding /k=ai/  
‘...we know it...’ (26-4-25)

(2.55-b)  \[ \text{k}_{\text{e}}=\text{k}=\text{at} \]  
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL  exchange=RECP=FUT  
/ke=/ preceding /k=ai/  
‘...they will exchange [food]...’ (21-4-23)
(2.56-a) [a="dʒisu] /a=/ preceding /sisu/
1SG=sweet.potato
‘my sweet potato’

(2.56-b) [o==!isu] /o=/ preceding /sisu/
3SG.M=sweet.potato
‘his sweet potato’

It is not the case however that these pronominal proclitics always cause voicing and prenasalisation. When they precede a VP particle, they always cause voicing and prenasalisation. When they precede an object clitic, a modifier, or a verb, they usually do but may not. In both (2.57-a) and (2.57-b) below, /ŋo/ (2SG) precedes an object clitic on the verb, /koŋo/ ‘to get’. In (2.57-a), /k/ which follows /ŋo/ is voiced and prenasalised, but in (2.57-b), it is not. Examples (2.57-a) and (2.57-b) are in free variation.

(2.57-a) [ŋo=\\text{"g}=o=a]
2SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
‘You will get it.’

(2.57-b) [ŋo=\\text{"k}=o=a]
2SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
‘You will get it.’

A pronominal proclitic forms a phonological word of its own when it precedes a vowel-initial content word, but it forms a phonological word with its host when it precedes a consonant-initial content word (see last section). In both (2.57-a) and (2.57-b), the pronominal proclitic forms one phonological word with the verb which follows, as indicated by the lack of stress on the pronominal proclitic. In (2.57-b) the lack of voicing and prenasalisation of the verb-initial consonant indicates that the phonological bond between the pronominal proclitic and the verb is not strong.³

2.8 Reduplication

Reduplication can be applied to nouns, verb roots, adjectives, and numerals, and it can be category changing or non–category changing (see §6.5). A reduplicated form can be formed by repeating the first two syllables of a non-reduplicated form. A reduplicated form consists of two phonological words, and a reduplication boundary is a boundary of

³ Examples in this work are presented in phonemic representation, and so when a voiceless stop or a fricative is voiced following the phonological process described here, it is represented in its voiced counterpart. The reader should keep this in mind so that he/she will not need to wonder how a certain morpheme is realised in different forms in examples. To name few examples, readers will find that the situation-change marker ta, the prospective marker pa, and the third person singular object clitic k are sometimes represented as da, ba, and q respectively as a result of the phonological process described in this section.
phonological words. Accordingly, the first syllable of the two reduplicated syllables is stressed (see §2.5).

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-replicated form</strong></td>
<td><strong>Reduplicated form</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.58) grammatical word</td>
<td>grammatical word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['to-ru-ru] 'egg'</td>
<td>['to-ru-to-ru-ru] 'round'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phonological word</td>
<td>phonological words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.59) grammatical word</td>
<td>grammatical word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['to-βa] 'behind'</td>
<td>['to-βa-to-βa] 'last'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phonological word</td>
<td>phonological words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (2.58), an adjective /torotoruru/ 'round' is derived from a noun /toruru/ 'egg' by reduplication. The stress on [to-ru-to-ru-ru] indicates that this consists of two phonological words [to-ru] and [to-ru-ru]: the stress is applied on the first syllable of each phonological word. These two phonological words form one grammatical word /torotoruru/. Similarly in (2.59) the stress indicates that [to-βa-to-βa] consists of two phonological words which form one grammatical word.

Bilua voiced stops and the affricate are prenasalised intervocally (see §2.2). In example (2.60) below, the word /bule/ 'peace' begins with a voiced stop. The reduplicated form of this is /bulebule/ 'clean', but the bilabial voiced stop [b] of the third syllable of this word is not prenasalised. This indicates that [b] is the beginning of a new phonological word and /bulebule/ 'clean' consists of two phonological words.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2.60) grammatical word</td>
<td>grammatical word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['bu-le] 'peace'</td>
<td>['bu-le-bu-le] 'clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phonological word</td>
<td>phonological words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel sequences remain bisyllabic between the boundaries of phonological words in reduplicated forms (see §2.3). Thus, three pieces of evidence—stress pattern, lack of prenasalisation, and bisyllabic vowel sequences—illustrate that reduplicated forms consist of two phonological words.

Some reduplicated forms are lexically reduplicated, and they lack non-replicated counterparts. For example:
(2.61) grammatical words

inherently reduplicated word ['ku-tu-'ku-tu] 'dark cloud'

phonological words

The stress pattern of the example in (2.61) indicates that it consists of two phonological words but it forms one grammatical word. Any Bilua words of which the first two syllables are repeated are reduplicated forms. [Ina'naeko] ‘to prepare’ and [kolokolojanis] ‘Kolokolojanis’ from §2.4 are both inherently reduplicated forms: they consist of two phonological words with the first syllable of each phonological word stressed.

With verbs, reduplication applies to verb roots, that is the identical string of segments shared between intransitive and transitive verbs (see §4.4). For example, an intransitive verb niumat ‘to break’ and a transitive verb niumae ‘to break’ share a root niuma and thus the reduplicated form is niuana-niuana ‘broken’. Note that some verbs have a consonant stem-finally, but verbs in Bilua are almost always criticised with one or more enclitics that have a vowel finally, forming one phonological word ending with a vowel.

When a verb root ends with a consonant, this results in a reduplicated form ending with a consonant. If the reduplicated form is a noun or an adjective, a vowel i is added to it. The addition of i takes place because in Bilua no phonological word can end with a consonant. In (2.62) and (2.63), the identical segments are tibur and podet respectively, and a reduplicated form is an adjective and a noun respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Reduplicated form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2.62) /ti-bu-r/ ‘to close (INTR)’</td>
<td>/ti-bu-ti-bu-rij/ ‘closed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ti-bu-ri/ ‘to close (TR)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.63) /po-de-u/ ‘to measure (INTR)’</td>
<td>/po-de-po-de-ti/ ‘measurement’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/po-de-ti/ to measure (TR)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reduplication can also derive a verb from a noun. Verbs derived by reduplication are considered to be fully lexicalised, as their forms are not predictable from reduplicated syllables. For example, the reduplication of /igel/ ‘knee’ results in /igeige/, and the derived verb is identical with this: /igeige/ ‘to kneel down’, while the reduplication of /lepo/ ‘tongue’ results in /lepolepo/ and it has two derived verbs, one having an extra i, /lepolepiot/ ‘to lick (INTR)’, and the other having an extra e, /lepolepoe/ ‘to lick (TR)’.

There are some examples where a non-reduplicated form has just one syllable. In such a case, the reduplicated form is not necessarily predictable from the non-reduplicated form. Here are some examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-reduplicated form</th>
<th>Reduplicated form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2.64) /pi/ ‘to drop (TR)’</td>
<td>/pika-piak/ ‘to drop many times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pi/ ‘to drop (INTR)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2.65) /pait/ ‘to finish (INTR)’ /paito-paito/ ‘last one/end’
/paï/ ‘to finish (TR)’

The reduplicated form of some monosyllabic words can be formed by repeating the whole word.

(2.66) /zio/ ‘to go’ /zio-zio/ ‘coming and going’
(2.67) /tou/ ‘skin’ /tou-tou/ ‘tribe’

In Bilua, numerals over ten are expressed by a phrase consisting of two or more numerals, and this phrase can be reduplicated. A reduplicated form can be formed by repeating the first two syllables of the phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-repduplicated form</th>
<th>Reduplicated form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grammatical words</td>
<td>grammatical words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a-ri-ku</td>
<td>/a-ri-ari-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

phonological words  phonological words

2.9 Intonation

A clause is usually articulated as one intonation. There are different intonation patterns for declarative, imperative, and interrogative clauses in Bilua, as briefly described here.

Declarative clauses generally have a falling intonation.

However, when declarative clauses are coordinated, all but the last one has a rising or level intonation, instead of falling intonation, and they are followed by a slight pause. Thus a sentence consisting of three clauses can show one of following four patterns.

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Or there may be no marking of a clause boundary at all. Two clauses may be articulated as if they are one clause. In such a case, the clause boundary may be delineated by a coordinator. However, there are also cases in which clauses are simply juxtaposed and the clause boundary is not indicated in this way either. In examples given in this work, commas are used to mark a clause boundary indicated by a pause. A vertical line is used to indicate a clause boundary where neither pause nor coordinator indicates a boundary. Examples (2.69), (2.70), and (2.71) are presented using Bilua orthography, not phonemic or phonetic representation (see next section for Bilua orthography).

(2.69) \[\text{Nioga ti qo ol=a kiaro kale, qo iruruput=a,} \]
\[\text{3DU TOP 3DU go=PRES garden in 3DU work=PRES} \]
\[\text{qo=papat=a, raisi-raisi ko ev=a | sailao} \]
\[\text{3DU=plant=PRES REDUP-evening 3SG.F become=PRES food} \]
\[\text{qo=k=a a | qo=saqar=a, ti qo=kejue.} \]
\[\text{3DU=3SG.F.O=go=PRES 3DU=go.down=PRES and.then 3DU=cook} \]

'The two went to the garden, they worked, they planted, and it became evening, and they got food, they went down, and they cooked.' (24-3-28)

Interrogative clauses typically have a rising intonation, regardless of whether they are polar questions, alternative questions, or content questions.

(2.70) \[\text{Lai ta ngo=vo mama?} \]
\[\text{where TOP 2SG=3SG.M father} \]

'Where is your father?' (24-7-73)

Imperative clauses have a level intonation.

(2.71) \[\text{Pa v=e=a ngo=mama.} \]
\[\text{PROS 3SG.M.O=see=IMP.SG 2SG=father} \]

'Go and see your father.' (24-5-45)

In Bilua, in principle, declarative, interrogative, and imperative clauses all have the same structure. Different types of clauses can be distinguished by intonation patterns, as well as by morphological icons such as an interrogative word that replaces the part of the clause which is in question and an imperative mood marker. That is, there is no distinctive clause structure for an interrogative or imperative clause. However, in a content question, an interrogative word or a constituent which contains an interrogative word is often marked by a focus marker and is shifted to the clause-initial position (see §14.3.2), while in an imperative clause the subject is often ellipsed (see §8.3).
2.10 Orthography

In this work, the orthography devised by early missionaries is adopted for simplicity’s sake, and also because it is used by Vella La Vella people. All vowels and consonants are written in their phonemic forms except for the following.

Table 2.4: Phonemes and orthography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Velar voiced stop /g/</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial voiced fricative /β/</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal voiced affricate /dʒ/</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal nasal /ɲ/</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar nasal /ŋ/</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is rather peculiar that the letter ‘q’ instead of ‘g’ is used for /g/ and the letter ‘g’ by itself is not used at all.

For a palatal nasal /ɲ/, an underlined n is also used, and this seems to be a preferred form. In this work, however, ‘ni’ is used as shown in the above table.

The pronunciation of some loan words in Bilua has been standardised and these words are written according to the pronunciation in Bilua, for example titisa ‘teacher’. The pronunciation of some loan words has not been standardised and these are written according to the spelling in their source language. For example, there is no standardised pronunciation for chainsaw and so this is written according to the spelling in English.

This concludes the description of the phonology and morphophonology of Bilua. The next chapter presents an overview of Bilua basic clause structures.
3 Basic clause structures

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents basic clause structures as an introduction to the syntax of Bilua in order to provide and to familiarise the reader with a general overview of the structure of the language.

Clauses in Bilua can be either verbal or non-verbal depending on predicates. A verbal predicate is always a verb phrase (VP), which is headed with a verb as in (3.1). A non-verbal predicate can be a noun phrase (NP), a postpositional phrase (PP), a locational phrase (see §10.3 for a description of locational phrases), or an existential marker but can never be a VP. In (3.2), the predicate is an NP.

(3.1) \[ ...niania=ka=ma\] ta \[ko=kejue=k=a\] VP \[ko\] sailao...
mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F food predicate

"...the mother, she cooked food..." (24-3-23)

(3.2) \[Vo\] ta \[student\] NP.
3SG.M TOP student predicate

"He is a student."

Basic structures of verbal clauses and non-verbal clauses are described in §3.2 and §3.3 respectively.

3.2 Basic verbal clause structure

This section presents the Bilua basic verbal clause structure. It also includes a discussion about core arguments in Bilua. As in example (3.1) above, one or more constituents of a clause are often marked with a topic or a focus marker in Bilua. Any constituent marked with a topic or focus marker takes a preverbal position regardless of its function. A description of the basic verbal clause structure in this section is based on clauses that do not contain a marked constituent. First a discussion about core arguments in Bilua is presented in §3.2.1, then, the structure of verbal clauses is presented in §3.2.2. Before proceeding, however, a brief description of the Bilua VP structure is presented, as the discussion given below will be difficult to follow without some knowledge of the VP structure (see Chapter 8 for a full description of Bilua verb phrases).

23
A Bilua VP minimally contains a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references the subject, a verb, and a tense/mood marker, which is an enclitic on the verb. A transitive verb is obligatorily attached with an object clitic, which cross-references the object, and this usually occurs between the verb and the tense/mood marker.

\[(3.3) \quad [a=bai=k=a]_{\text{VP}} \]
\[1\text{SG}=\text{finish}=3\text{SG}.\text{F.O}=\text{PRES} \]
\[\ldots \text{I finished it…} \ldots \] (2-2-12)

A VP may optionally contain an aspectual/modal marker, the possessor-raising marker, a valency-increasing marker attached with an object clitic, and a modifier, all of which occur between the pronominal proclitic and the verb. In the following example, the VP contains a valency-increasing marker \(ati\) attached with an object clitic \(l\) (1SG.O) and a modifier \(uri\) attached with a ligature \(a\) (see §5.17 for the ligature). These all occur between the pronominal proclitic \(ke\) (3PL) and the verb \(vail\) attached with a present tense marker \(a\).

\[(3.4) \quad [Ke=l=ati \quad uri=a \quad vail=a]_{\text{VP}} \]
\[3\text{PL}=1\text{SG}=\text{VAL} \quad \text{good}=\text{LIG} \quad \text{look}=\text{PRES} \]
\[\ldots \text{They look after me well.} \ldots \]

### 3.2.1 Core arguments

According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:26), core arguments are participants 'which are part of the semantic representation of the verb'. Following Dixon (1972), three different grammatical functions of core arguments are distinguished in Bilua: S (intransitive subject), A (transitive subject), and O (transitive object). In Bilua, these grammatical functions are marked on the verb phrase (VP) by bound pronouns: by a pronominal proclitic for S and A functions, and by an object clitic for the O function, which are obligatory constituents of VPs. This illustrates that Bilua is a nominative–accusative language and also a head-marking language in terms of marking of the grammatical functions (Nichols 1986), and following Nichols (1986:107–108), the term 'cross-reference' is used in describing the marking of grammatical functions on VPs. Hence, core arguments in Bilua are defined as arguments that are cross-referenced on the VP by bound pronouns. One type of core argument, however, is not cross-referenced on the VP by bound pronouns. This is discussed later in this section.

S/A arguments and the O argument are obligatorily expressed by pronominal proclitics and object clitics in VPs respectively, and they may be further expressed by optional NPs that are co-referential with these bound pronouns (see the next section for the discussion about expressions of core arguments). NPs expressing S/A/O arguments can all take both preverbal and postverbal positions. Their positions depend on whether they express an S/A argument or an O argument, and also the pragmatic function of the argument (see §14.6). The above illustrates that S and A arguments are syntactically distinguished from the O argument. Accordingly, it can be said that Bilua has two grammatical relations, 'subject' and 'object', which are associated with S and A arguments, and the O argument.
respectively. Another grammatical relation in Bilua, ‘second object’ is described later in this section. In the rest of this work, the terms subject and (direct) object are used sometimes in order to refer to grammatical relations, and other times in order to refer to arguments in subject and object grammatical relations.8

Subjects often have the semantic role of ‘agent’: ‘a participant which the meaning of the verb specifies as doing or causing something, possibly intentionally’ (Andrews 1985:68). In example (3.1) above, the subject has the semantic role of agent. Subjects may also have other semantic roles such as ‘experiencer’ and ‘causer’ as in examples (3.5) and (3.6) below.

(3.5) experiencer

\[ ...g=k=a \quad zari=a \quad rae=ng=o... \]

3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES marry=2SG.O=NOM

‘...he wants to marry you...’ (59-11-95)

(3.6) causer (non-intentional action)

\[ ...vo=a \quad botolo \quad inio \quad o \quad ere=k=e \quad ko \]

3SG.M=LIJ bottle FOC.NONF 3SG.M make=3SG.F.O=RMP3SG.F

ipututu...

eclipse

‘...the bottle caused an eclipse...’ (47-1-6)

Objects typically have the semantic role of ‘patient’: ‘a participant which the verb characterises as having something happen to it, and as being affected by what happens to it’ (Andrews 1985:68). In example (3.1) above, the object has the semantic role of ‘patient’. Objects may also have other semantic roles such as ‘product’9 and ‘recipient’.

(3.7) ‘product’

\[ \text{Nio} \quad ke \quad ere=k=a \quad ko \quad bereti. \]

SEQ 3PL make=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F bread

‘They made bread.’ (16-1-7)

(3.8) ‘recipient’

\[ ...kudo \quad sailao \quad o=kati=m=a, \]

many food 3SG.M=give=3PL.O=PRES

‘...he gave them much food,’ (16-1-7)

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:29) distinguish two kinds of core arguments: direct core arguments, ‘core arguments which are either unmarked, as in English, or marked by case alone, as in Icelandic’, that is S, A, and O arguments; and oblique core arguments, ‘core arguments which are adpositionally marked’. In Bilua, a participant that is part of the

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8 An argument introduced by the valency-increasing construction is also cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic; that is, it is also coded as an object, but this kind of argument is referred to as an ‘added object’ (see §9.4).

9 The term ‘product’ is borrowed from Jauncey (1997:56).
semantic representation of the verb may be postpositionally marked, but this is not treated as a core argument as a non-participant may also be postpositionally marked. According to Andrews (1985:69) participants are those which ‘one would think of as actual participants in the situation implied by the verb’, while non-participants are ‘entities that do not really participate, but instead form part of the setting of the event’. Postpositionally marked participant/non-participants in Bilua are not cross-referenced on the VP.

For example, in a postpositional phrase vo kasi (3SG.M at), the postposition kasi marks that the referent of the governed NP, vo (3SG.M), has the semantic role of location/goal. This referent can be a participant or nonparticipant, depending on whether the verb is subcategorised for a participant with the semantic role of location/goal or not. That is, the choice here depends on the semantics of the verb. In (3.9), the verb barolo ‘to arrive’ is said to be subcategorised for a participant with a semantic role of location/goal and so ‘him’ is a participant. In (3.10), on the other hand, the verb raneo ‘to sleep overnight’ is not subcategorised for a participant with the semantic role of goal/location, and so ‘him’ is not a participant. In both examples the underlined PP vo kasi (3SG.M at) is optional and ‘him’ is not cross-referenced on the VP by a bound pronoun.

(3.9) Bazu ta ko=barolo=a vo kasi.
story TOP 3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.M at
‘The story arrived at him.’ (cf. (3.11))

(3.10) A=da raneo=la vo kasi.
1SG=SIT sleep.overnight=RCP 3SG.M at
‘I slept overnight at his place.’

The above illustrates that ‘him’ as a participant in (3.9) and ‘him’ as a non-participant in (3.10) are not syntactically distinguished: they are both marked by a postposition, and they are both treated as non-core arguments. Thus, a defining feature of non-core arguments is marking by a postposition. A non-participant and a participant also behave in the same way in the valency-increasing construction as illustrated below. Postpositional phrases are all treated as adjuncts together with other peripheral constituents (see next section).

The valency-increasing construction introduces a new core argument, and in this construction, a non-core argument can be realised as a core argument, and therefore it can be cross-referenced on the VP. It is cross-referenced by an object clitic, and thus it is coded as an object. Examples (3.11) and (3.12) are paraphrases of examples (3.9) and (3.10). ‘Him’, which has the semantic role of location/goal in both examples, is cross-

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10 These descriptions are used by Andrews (1985:69) in order to define two classes of semantic roles, ‘participatory roles’ and ‘circumstantial roles’, which are borne by participants and non-participants respectively.

11 Raneo, with the default pronominal proclitic ko (3SG.F) (dummy it), means ‘to become next day’. Ko here perhaps refers to ‘the sun’, thus, ko=raneo literally means ‘the sun sleeps overnight’ = ‘it becomes next day’.
referred by the underlined object clitic v (3SG.M) on the VP, and thus it is a core argument.

(3.11)  ...bazu ta [ko=v=ai baro=ke]vp...
       story TOP 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL arrive=HIST
       ‘...the story reached him...’ (12-3-21)

(3.12)  [A=v=ai rane=la]vp
       1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL sleep,overnight=RCP
       ‘I slept overnight at his place.’

In (3.11) and (3.12), a non-core argument is ‘promoted’ to a core argument. The speaker may promote a non-core argument to a core argument when he/she wants to highlight the affectedness of one of participants. In (3.11), the non-core argument ‘him’ is promoted to a core argument in order to highlight the affectedness of the promoted argument. This example occurs in a discourse in which the referent’s family had been murdered and this story (news) reached him. Thus, the referent is affected by the event: he got upset upon hearing the news and searched for those who killed his family. If the speaker felt that there was no notion of affectedness of this referent, he/she would choose to express the event by (3.9) instead. Similarly example (3.12) highlights the affectedness of ‘him’. Although arguments introduced by the valency-increasing construction are coded as objects, they have different semantic roles to non-promoted, original objects. These semantic roles are described in §9.4.

There is one type of core argument in Bilua that is not cross-referenced on the VP. This can be an argument of ditransitive verbs only, a subclass of transitive verbs. Bilua verbs can be divided into two groups on morphological grounds: intransitive and transitive verbs. Transitive verbs are those that obligatorily take object clitics, while intransitive verbs can never take object clitics. For example, a pair of intransitive and transitive verbs, kejuto and kejueko respectively, shares the meaning ‘to cook (something)’. The stem of each of these verbs is kejut and kejue respectively, and k of kejueko is the default form of an object clitic, the third person singular feminine form, chosen for a citation form. Kejue can never occur without an object clitic, which is represented by k here, while kejut can never occur with an object clitic. The verb-final o in each of kejuto and kejueko is a nominal derivational enclitic, which is employed in the citation form of verbs.\(^\text{12}\) Intransitive and transitive verbs are also semantically distinguished. See §4.4.

Ditransitive verbs are morphologically a subclass of transitive verbs: they obligatorily take an object clitic. Ditransitive verbs, however, can have three core arguments: arguments in subject and object relations, plus a third argument. This third argument is not cross-referenced on the VP, and it can be expressed only by an optional NP. This NP cannot be postpositionally marked and therefore it is treated as a core argument. The term ‘second object’ is employed to refer to the grammatical relation associated with the third

\(^{12}\) Whether a verb is intransitive or transitive is clear from the absence/presence of an object clitic, and so this is not indicated in the gloss (see also §4.4).
argument. Example (3.8) above has a ditransitive verb *katiko* ‘to give’, and in this example, ‘much food’ is a second object and is not cross-referenced on the VP. A second object has either a semantic role of gift as in (3.8), or of concern, as ‘with her study’ in ‘he helped her with (concerning) her study’. A list of ditransitive verbs is presented in §9.2.

An NP which expresses an argument (participant) that has the semantic role of gift may be treated as an adjunct, as this argument is not cross-referenced on the VP. However, this argument can never be marked with a postposition; nor can it ever be promoted to a core argument in the valency-increasing construction. Consequently it is treated as one type of core argument in this work.

### 3.2.2 Structure

The ‘heart’ of a clause in Bilua is the predicate. The predicate of a verbal clause is always a VP, whose head is always a verb, and except for when the verb is *elo* ‘to become’ or *iko* ‘to put/cause’, the VP on its own can form a clause. These two verbs require a complement whose occurrence is imposed by the verbs (see Andrews 1985:89). VPs headed with these verbs are always preceded by a complement phrase. This is discussed later in this section.

As described in §3.2.1, core arguments are obligatorily expressed by bound pronouns in the VP, and clauses may optionally have NP(s) which are co-referential with the bound pronouns in the VP. These optional NPs form the core of the clause together with the VP and the complement phrase. This leads to a question of what bears an argument expression of the verb: bound pronouns in VPs, optional NPs which are co-referential with the bound pronouns, or both? It is beyond the scope of this work to find a solution to this question, but in the brief discussion which follows, it is proposed that in Bilua both bound pronouns and optional NPs can be treated as argument expressions.

As noted above, grammatical functions in Bilua are marked by bound pronouns on VPs but not on NPs. Arguments may also have a particular pragmatic function, and this is not marked on bound pronouns but on optional NPs. When marked with a topic/focus marker, NPs present a topic/focus, while unmarked NPs typically introduce a new participant, or they may have other pragmatic functions (see §14). More importantly, the identity of bound pronouns is not clear by their own right: their identity has to be established first by NPs. Consequently, it can be said that both bound pronouns and NPs are expressions of arguments. However, as an argument always has a specific grammatical function, a bound pronoun is obligatory, whereas an NP is optional as it is not obligatory for an argument to have a particular pragmatic function encoded.\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{13}\) According to Ezard (1997), in Tawala, an Austronesian language of Papua New Guinea, it is bound pronominal forms that count as an expression of core arguments, and these pronominal forms ‘index’ the person and number of arguments. Optional NPs, on the other hand, occur to mark a pragmatic role (topic and focus) (Ezard 1997:87–89, 92–93). Optional NPs in Bilua also occur to mark a pragmatic role. However unlike Tawala, in Bilua person/number/gender is marked on both NPs and bound pronouns in VPs (see §7.4 for person/number/gender marking on NPs).
Accordingly, the core in Bilua can be divided into inner and outer cores which are obligatory and optional respectively: the inner core contains the VP as well as the complement phrase, while the outer core contains core NPs.

In addition to the predicate and NPs which express core arguments, a clause may have other optional peripheral constituents such as the postpositional phrases mentioned in the last section. Other peripheral constituents are locational/temporal noun phrases, adverbs, adverbal clauses, the negation marker, and general modifiers. All these constituents function as adjuncts.\textsuperscript{16} Adjuncts occur 'subject to the requirement that the sentence make sense' (Andrews 1985:89),\textsuperscript{15} and '[t]he meaning of an adjunct does not vary as a function of the meaning of the predicate, while the meaning of an argument can vary as a function of the meaning of the predicate' (Comrie 1993).

This description of adjuncts also supports the contention that the third argument of a ditransitive verb, which was described in the last section, is not an adjunct. This is expressed by an NP and the meaning of such an NP, or in other words, the semantic role of such an NP, can be licensed only by the verb but not by the NP itself. For example, in (3.8), the NP \textit{kubo sailao} 'much food' is considered to have the semantic role of gift because of the verb \textit{katiko} 'to give', which assumes a participant with the semantic role of gift.

Postpositional phrases, locational and temporal NPs/adverbs usually occur in a postverbal position, but they may take a preverbal position to be a focus constituent (see §14.3.2). Non-locational/temporal adverbs and adverbial clauses precede or follow depending on types of adverbs and adverbial clauses. The negation marker and general modifiers always precede and follow the core respectively. Thus the basic verbal clause structure in Bilua is summarised in the following figure.\textsuperscript{16}

\begin{itemize}
\item Adverbs, general modifiers, and the negation marker all occur outside of the VP in Bilua and thus they are categorised as adjuncts.
\item Note that Andrews (1985) treats adjuncts and complements together as obliques.
\item The structure given here is similar to the layered structure proposed in Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 1993:5), but since the predicate obligatorily contains bound pronouns which are expressions of core arguments, there is no distinction made here between a nucleus and core (nucleus and arguments) as in RRG. As a matter of fact, predicate in this work and predicate in Van Valin's sense is different—Van Valin treats only the verb as the predicate, while this work treats the VP as the predicate. This difference is clearly demonstrated by a Lakhota example in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:33–34), in which the verb by itself is treated as the predicate. Accordingly, Van Valin and LaPolla treat the verb as the nucleus. They also treat pronominal affixes on the verb as core arguments, while independent NPs which cross-reference with these affixes are non-core.
\end{itemize}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periphery</th>
<th>Core</th>
<th>Periphery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Outer core</td>
<td>core NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locational NP</td>
<td>Inner core</td>
<td>VP CompP + VP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal NP</td>
<td>Outer core</td>
<td>core NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbial clause</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negation marker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Obligatory</td>
<td>Optional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3.1:** Structure of verbal clauses

This is exemplified by the following three examples.

(3.13)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Sai} \quad \text{vo=a} \quad \text{ziolo} \quad \text{ke=papue=v=e} \\
\text{there} \quad 3\text{SG.M=LIG} \quad \text{devil} \quad 3\text{PL=sit=3SG.M.O=RMP} \\
\text{Adjunct} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{VP} \\
\text{adjunct} \quad \text{outer core} \quad \text{inner core}
\end{array}
\]

'There, they sat the devil on the copra house.' (43-2-18)

(3.14)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{...ko=keju=la} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{sailao.} \\
3\text{SG.F=cook=RCP} \quad 3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{food} \\
\text{VP} \quad \text{NP}
\end{array}
\]

'...food has cooked.' (27-16-98)

(3.15)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{...dole} \quad \text{o=ta} \quad \text{ev=a...} \\
\text{snake} \quad \text{3SG.M=SIT} \quad \text{become=PRES} \\
\text{complement NP} \quad \text{VP}
\end{array}
\]

'...he became a snake...' (24-12-98)

In (3.13), the verb is transitive and the subject is expressed by a pronominal proclitic *ke* (3PL) only, while the object is expressed by an object clitic *v* (3SG.M) as well as an NP *vo=a ziolo* 'the devil'. This NP, the adverb *sai* 'there', and the locational NP *jari topi* 'on the copra house' are all optional and they can be omitted without resulting ungrammaticality.

In (3.14), the verb is an intransitive one and thus there is only one argument, the subject 'food', which is expressed by a pronominal proclitic *ko* (3SG.F) as well as an NP *ko sailao* 'food'. This NP is optional and can be omitted.

In (3.15), the verb *elo* 'to become' is an intransitive verb, but this verb requires a complement. As the verb is intransitive, it has only one core argument, the subject, expressed by a pronominal proclitic *o* (3SG.M). *Dole* 'snake' forms an NP on its own and
it is not a part of the VP, as it is possible to separate it from the VP by inserting a focus marker, whereas focus markers cannot occur within a VP. ‘Snake’ is not a core argument, as the VP does not contain a bound pronoun which is co-referential with the NP dole ‘snake’. It cannot be treated as an adjunct either as its presence is obligatory. Thus, it is a complement. When the verb is *ikoko* ‘to put/cause’, the complement phrase can also be an adjectival phrase, a postpositional phrase, or any locational phrase. Unlike core NPs or adjunct phrases, complement phrases have a fixed position in clauses—they can occur only in preverbal position.

The negation marker is an optional, non-core constituent of a clause and can thus be treated as an adjunct. The negation marker can occur only in the preverbal slot for adjuncts. If a clause has other adjunct(s) in preverbal position, the negation marker precedes them unless they are a linking adverbial or circumstantial adverb.

(3.16) ...*puu* kapiavole ko=kari=v=a ko=a bakisa
NEG quickly 3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIGcustom.money manner adverb predicate
‘...she didn’t give the custom money to him quickly (27-10-62)’

(3.17) *Soile* maba pui ge=raneo=vou...
that’s.why truly NEG 2DU=be.overnight=FUT linking adverbial circumstantial adverb predicate
‘So, truly you will not stay [there] overnight...’ (27-21-131)

The negation marker can be followed by a focus marker *nio* or a topic marker *ti*. The combination of the negation marker with *nio* indicates that an event has not happened yet but it is expected to happen soon, while the combination of the negation marker with *ti* indicates that an event has not happened contrary to expectation.

(3.18) *Puu* nio o=vou=va...
NEG FOC.NONF 3SG.M=die=PRES
‘He has not died yet [but he will die soon]...’ (26-22-117)

(3.19) "*Meqora* ngo=mama ta lai nio o=ta
child 2SG=father TOP where FOC.NONF 3SG.M=SIT
ol=ala. *Puu* ti o=baro=a”, *k=i*ko=la.
go=RCP NEG TOP 3SG.M=arrive=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘‘Child, where has your father gone? He hasn’t arrived yet [he should be here by now]”, she said.’ (24-5-40/41)

These examples clearly illustrate that the negation marker is not a part of the VP, since in Bilua only a phrase but not a phrase constituent can be marked with a topic/focus marker.

---

17 Custom money is money made of a big seashell. It has a shape of bracelet. It is given from the parents of a male person to the family of his prospective bride.
3.3 Non-verbal clauses

A non-verbal clause typically consists of the subject, expressed by a subject NP marked with a topic marker, and the predicate, expressed by an NP, a PP headed with a simulative postposition, a locational phrase (see §10.3 for locational phrases), or an existential marker. In addition to these, it may have an optional peripheral component. This can be a PP, a locational/temporal NP, an adverb, or an adverbal clause, and it may occur clause-initially or -finally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periphery</th>
<th>Core</th>
<th>Periphery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>subject</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locational NPs</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>locational NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal NPs</td>
<td>+ topic marker</td>
<td>temporal NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverb</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbal clause</td>
<td>PP</td>
<td>adverbal clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>locational phrase</td>
<td>Optional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>existential marker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Obligatory         |                       |                          |

Figure 3.2: Structure of non-verbal clauses

In example (3.20), the predicate is a headless NP (see §7.2.1.3.1).

(3.20) ...vairutu [komi=a ipu ta] [gulepo=a=ma...]
       today PROX.SG=LIG night TOP wonderful=LIG=3SG.F
       adjunct subject predicate
       ‘...today, this night is a wonderful one...’ (70-4-29)

Non-verbal clauses can be divided into three types on syntactic and semantic grounds: equational, locational, and existential. Each of these has an NP/PP, a locational phrase, and an existential marker respectively as the predicate. Different types of non-verbal clauses are described in §11.

This chapter presented structures of verbal and non-verbal clauses as well as a definition of core arguments in Bilua. The next chapter presents a description of open word classes.
4 Open classes

4.1 Introduction

In Bilua, nouns and verbs form open classes, and adjectives form a semi-open class. Criteria for open classes are given in §4.2 below. Brief descriptions of each open class are presented in subsequent sections. Closed classes are discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2 Open class criteria

Open classes in Bilua can be distinguished according to morphological and syntactic criteria. Verbs are distinguished from nouns and adjectives in the sense that they can be attached with a tense-mood marker. Only verbs can be the predicate head of a verbal clause. Nouns, but not adjectives, can be the head of an NP or the predicate head of a non-verbal clause. The above is summarised in Table 4.1. The symbol + indicates that the class has the listed function and – indicates that it does not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attachment of a tense-mood marker</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Predicate head of a verbal clause</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate head of a non-verbal clause</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of an NP</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives typically function as a modifier in an NP, but in Bilua, nouns, words in closed classes, phrases, and clauses may also function as a modifier in an NP, and as modifiers they are not morphologically distinguished—they all function as modifiers cliticised with a pronounal enclitic or a combination of a pronounal enclitic with a ligature, forming a modifier phrase (see §7.2.1.3.1).

Each of the three open classes is described below: nouns in §4.3, verbs in §4.4, and adjectives in §4.5.
4.3 Nouns

Bilua nouns are not grammatically marked for number and gender, but some kinship terms, personal names, and common nouns have a natural gender. For example, a kinship term *mama* ‘father’ is masculine or a female personal name *Kazuduri* ‘Kazuduri’ is feminine.

Bilua nouns can broadly be divided into two groups: locational nouns and non-locational nouns. Locational nouns are inherently locational and NPs headed with these nouns can function as locative adjuncts without a locative postposition. On the other hand, NPs headed with non-locational nouns cannot function as locative adjuncts without a locative postposition (see §10.3.2 and §10.3.3).

Non-locational nouns are further divided into three subclasses: common nouns, kinship terms, and personal names. They are distinguished on the basis of their ability to occur with optional NP constituents (see §7.2.2) as well as on semantic grounds. Locational nouns include two subclasses: relational nouns and placenames, and one noun *koi* ‘place’. Syntactically, relational nouns and placenames behave in the same way (see §7.2.2.4).

There are two nouns which are syntactically distinguished from all other nouns and thus do not belong to any of the above-mentioned classes. These are *male* ‘match’ (in the sense of ‘being equal’ or a ‘partner’) and emphatic *ngavi* ‘self’. These two nouns obligatorily occur with a pronominal proclitic, forming the direct type of possessive NP (see §7.3.1). An NP headed with either of these two nouns can never function as a locational adjunct, with or without a postposition. The above is summarised in the following figure.

![Diagram of noun subclasses]

**Figure 4.1: Subclasses of nouns**

Nouns can also be divided into inalienably possessed nouns and alienably possessed nouns. The former are kinship terms, common nouns of body parts, two nouns, *male* ‘match’ and emphatic *ngavi* ‘self’, and common nouns which have a special significance in the life and culture of Vella La Vella island people, such as *pade* ‘house’, *peuru* ‘village/home’, *kiaro* ‘garden’, *udu* ‘island’, *baerebaere* ‘friend’ or *toutu* ‘tribe’. All
other nouns are alienably possessed nouns. Inalienably possessed nouns, except for male ‘match’ and emphatic ngavi ‘self’, can be the head of both types of possessive NP in Bilua, direct and non-direct types. Alienably possessed nouns can be the head of only the indirect type (see §7.3.2). Male ‘match’ and emphatic ngavi ‘self’ can only be the head of the direct type of possessive NP.

Each of five subclasses of nouns, common nouns, kinship terms, personal names, placenames and relational nouns is described in the following.

### 4.3.1 Common nouns

Common nouns form the largest subclass of nouns. Some examples of common nouns are:

- **pade** ‘house’
- **pesio** ‘language’
- **peuru** ‘village/home’
- **kana** ‘war’
- **tola** ‘pain’
- **sopu** ‘hill’

Among common nouns, there is a small group of temporal nouns. NPs headed with a temporal noun can function as a temporal adjunct (see §10.4.2). The above examples are all non-temporal nouns. Temporal nouns are:

- **taku** ‘time’
- **lekito** ‘early morning’
- **nganiu** ‘day’
- **vikale** ‘morning’
- **kaboso** ‘month’
- **ngadale** ‘afternoon’
- **sabere** ‘year’
- **raisiraisi** ‘evening’
- **koloko** ‘clock (o’clock)’
- **ipu** ‘night’

There are a few uncountable nouns, for example, **raisi** ‘rice’, **mosi** ‘slippery cabbage’, **nene** ‘ngali nut’, and **nudolo** ‘noodle’. These nouns can be modified by a numeral, but when they are modified by a numeral, they mean ‘bag/bunch/packet of such-and-such a thing’ but not just ‘such-and-such a thing’. For example, in (4.1) **raisi**, modified by a numeral, as underlined, means ‘bag of rice’ not just ‘rice’.

(4.1)  
\[
\text{A=databarae=k=ala} \quad \underline{omuqa} \quad \underline{raisi}.
\]

1SG=buy=3SG.F.O=RCP  two rice
‘I bought two bags of rice.’

In contrast to uncountable nouns, countable nouns show no change of meaning when they are modified by a numeral, as in the underlined NP in the following example.
(4.2) \( A=databarae=k=ala \quad omuga \quad raro. \)
1SG=buy=3SG.F.O=RCP \quad two \quad pot

'I bought two pots.'

One common noun parani ‘warrior’ can be used as an adjective as well. It means parani ‘brave’ as an adjective.

### 4.3.2 Kinship terms

Some kinship terms in Bilua have inherent gender and others do not. The following is the exhaustive list of kinship terms in Bilua. Those in the left column have inherent gender, and those in the right column do not have inherent gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>niania</th>
<th>‘mother’</th>
<th>taite</th>
<th>‘grandparent’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘aunt (mother’s or father’s sister)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘wife’s sister’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mama</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>apakora</td>
<td>‘brother’s child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘husband’s brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘father’s brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papa</td>
<td>‘mother’s brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanala</td>
<td>‘husband’</td>
<td>megora</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘sister’s child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘husband’s brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘wife’s sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanama</td>
<td>‘wife’</td>
<td>mani</td>
<td>‘wife’s brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘husband’s sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ravaza</td>
<td>‘in-law other than mani’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kaka</td>
<td>‘older sibling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>visi</td>
<td>‘younger sibling’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two adjectives, reko ‘female’ and lasive ‘male’, can also function as kinship terms meaning ‘wife’ and ‘husband’ respectively.

One disease word, buabua ‘haemorrhoid’ can also be used as a kinship term referring to the last-born child.

Megora is also used as a common noun meaning ‘child’. Since Bilua kinship terms cannot occur with a determiner, which marks indefiniteness, when this noun occurs with determiners, it signals that it is used as a common noun. In the following example, megora is preceded by a determiner kala.

(4.3) \( ...ko=vijari=v=a \quad kala \quad megora \)
3SG.F=give.birth=3SG.M.O=PRES \quad INDEF.SG.M \quad child

\( lasive=a=la. \)
male=LiG=3SG.M

‘...she gave a birth to a male child.’ (27-2-10)
Kinship terms in Bilua can be used as modifiers in a modifier phrase (see §7.2.1.3.1 for modifier phrases). As modifiers, *kaka* ‘older sibling’ and *visi* ‘younger sibling’ mean ‘older’ and ‘younger’ respectively.

With kinship terms that do not have inherent gender, the gender can be specified by a modifier phrase (MP) which contains an adjective *reko* ‘female’ or *lasive* ‘male’ as a modifier, as illustrated by examples (4.4) and (4.5) below. In these examples, the modifier phrase, *reko=a=ma* (female=LIG=3SG.F) and *lasive=a=la* (male=LIG=3SG.M) respectively, are embedded into an NP headed with *taite* ‘grandparent’ and these specify the gender.

(4.4) \[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{reko}=a=ma & \text{taite} \\
\text{female}=LIG=3SG.F & \text{grandparent} \\
\text{MP} & \\
\text{‘grandmother’} & \\
\end{array} \]

(4.5) \[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{lasive}=a=la & \text{taite} \\
\text{male}=LIG=3SG.M & \text{grandparent} \\
\text{MP} & \\
\text{‘grandfather’} & \\
\end{array} \]

The gender can also be specified by the head of a modifier phrase, which always takes the form of a pronominal enclitic. In the following example, the pronominal enclitic *la* (3SG.M) specifies the gender as masculine.

(4.6) \[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{gole}=a=la & \text{taite} \\
\text{old}=LIG=3SG.M & \text{grandparent} \\
\text{MP} & \\
\text{‘old grandfather’} & \\
\end{array} \]

Some kinship terms can be used as vocatives on their own. In vocative use, kinship terms have restricted meanings. For example, *niania* as a vocative can only mean either ‘mother’ or ‘aunt (mother’s or father’s sister)’ although it also has a meaning ‘wife’s sister’. Other kinship terms which can be used as vocatives are *mama* ‘father’, *papa* ‘uncle’, *megora* ‘child’, *taite* ‘grandparent’, and *mabuzu* ‘grandchild’.

### 4.3.3 Personal names

Personal names are unique names of people. Some examples are:

- **Maikajara** ‘Maikajara (male)’
- **Kina** ‘Kina (female)’
- **Ilai** ‘Ilai (male)’
- **Kazuduri** ‘Kazuduri (female)’
4.3.4 Placenames

Placenames are unique names of countries, islands and villages. Some examples are:

Solomoni ‘the Solomon Islands’
Gizo ‘Gizo Island’
Vella La Vella ‘Vella La Vella island’
Sabora ‘Sabora village’

4.3.5 Relational nouns

Relational nouns indicate a spatial orientation. The following are Bilua relational nouns.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keta</td>
<td>‘edge’</td>
<td>sipole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuleto</td>
<td>‘front’</td>
<td>tona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kupele</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
<td>tova</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okate</td>
<td>‘high up’</td>
<td>topi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omele</td>
<td>‘below the surface’</td>
<td>vima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poro</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
<td>zara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rana</td>
<td>‘side’</td>
<td>saka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaila</td>
<td>‘end’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Saka ‘seaside’ is included in the relational noun class, as it refers to the ‘edge’ of an island.

A relational noun occurs as the possessee of an indirect type of possessive NP. In this type of possessive NP, the possessor NP is typically marked with a possessive marker, an encliticised form of a demonstrative. This, however, is often omitted when the possessee is a relational noun. In example (4.7) the underlined NP veatu tona is reduced from veatu=ko tona (door=3SG.F beside) which literally means ‘the door’s beside’. This suggests that relational nouns are becoming postpositions.

(4.7) ...meqora=ka=la ta o ol=a veatu tona...
child=LIG=3SG.M TOP 3SG.M go=PRES entrance beside
‘...the son, he went to beside the entrance...’ (27-3-15)

Svorou (1993) studies twenty-six languages in terms of sources of ‘spatial grams’—grammatical forms of language which express primarily spatial relations’ (1993:31) such as adpositions, affixes, case inflections, and spatial adverbs, and he argues that relational nouns (relational object-part terms, in his terminology), as well as three other kinds of nouns—body parts, environmental landmarks, and abstract spatial notions—may be grammaticalised as adpositions. Furthermore, in the course of this grammaticalisation,
these nouns may go through a stage where they are used in a genitive construction which encodes a part–whole relationship, or where they are used as an adverb. Relational nouns in Bilua are apparently going through the grammaticalisation he describes. As noted above, relational nouns in Bilua are typically used in a possessive NP, and they are becoming like postpositions. Furthermore, two relational nouns sipole ‘near’ and kuleto ‘front’ can also be used as an adverb meaning ‘soon’ and ‘(at) first’ respectively. Tova ‘behind’ can also function as a modifier in a verb phrase, meaning ‘after’ (see §8.6). This is the only noun in the entire noun class, which can be a modifier in a VP.

4.4 Verbs

Verbs can typically be the predicate head of a verbal clause. Verbs in Bilua are broadly divided into two types: intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. In this chapter, verbs are given without the object clitic or a final o, which are normally employed in the citation form of verbs.

As noted in §3.2.1, intransitive verbs and transitive verbs are morphologically distinguished by their ability to take an object clitic: intransitive verbs can never have an object clitic, while transitive verbs obligatorily take an object clitic. For example, nanat and nanae, both of which roughly mean ‘to bite’, are an intransitive and transitive verb respectively. Nanae but not nanat takes an object clitic, as indicated by underlines.

(4.8) Ko=nanat=ala.
   3SG.F=bite=RCP
   ‘It did biting.’

(4.9) Ko=nanae=v=ala.
   3SG.F=bite=3SG.M.O=RCP
   ‘It bit him.’

This morphological difference between intransitive and transitive verbs is a reflection of the semantic difference between them. Both nanato and nanae ko roughly mean ‘to bite’, but the intransitive nanato expresses that one does biting, and so with this verb the identity of the patient or affectedness of the patient is not salient. It is because of this that nanato never takes an object clitic. Accordingly, the intransitive nanato can never occur with a patient expression—it never occurs with an O NP (see §9.3, however, for occurrences of an object with an intransitive verb). On the other hand, the transitive verb nanako expresses that one bites someone, and so with this verb the identity or the affectedness of the patient is salient.

In the above examples, intransitive and transitive verbs have an identical string of segments, nana. Nanat and nanae then can be segmented as nana-t and nana-e, and -t and -e might be regarded as intransitive and transitive markers respectively. As a matter of fact, most verbs in Bilua have both intransitive and transitive forms, sharing an identical string of segments. However, it is not always the case that an intransitive verb and a transitive verb consist of an identical string of segments, plus -t and -e respectively. For example, an intransitive verb roquan ‘to care/love’ and a transitive verb roque 'to
care/love' share an identical string of segments rogu, and each of them additionally has -an and -e respectively. On the other hand, an intransitive verb pazot 'to hit' and a transitive verb paso 'to hit' share an identical string of segments, pazo, but only the intransitive one additionally has -i. It is not predictable which forms intransitive and transitive counterparts manifest.

Each of verbs 'to bite', 'to care/love', and 'to hit' has another intransitive form, nanail 'to bite oneself', roquil 'to care about/love oneself', and pазoil 'to hit oneself' respectively. The il of these verbs can be considered to be a reflexive suffix, but it cannot be claimed that all verbs which have the segment il have a reflexive meaning. For example, a verb sqoil 'to run away' never has a reflexive interpretation. Nor is it the case that all verbs that have a reflexive meaning contain -il. Some verbs contain -zi, for example, lainizi 'to feel (touch) oneself'.

It appears that historically intransitive, both reflexive and non-reflexive, and transitive verbs developed from the same roots, which are described as identical strings of segments above, with each root choosing a particular intransitive, reflexive, and/or transitive suffix, but combinations of a root with an intransitive/reflexive/transitive suffix have subsequently been fully lexicalised. Thus, 'roots' have only historical significance. It is beyond the scope of this work to present a historical analysis of verbal morphology, and all verbs are treated as unanalysed stems. However, the term 'root' is employed to refer to the identical string of segments shared by intransitive and transitive verbs in the description of reduplication and derivational morphology in §2.8 and §6.5. Appendix 1 presents different intransitive, transitive, and reflexive suffixes employed by different roots, in order to demonstrate that the choice of intransitive, transitive, and reflexive suffixes is not predictable from the form or the meaning of the root.

Verbs are cited with an enclitic o, which is glossed as NOM for a nominal derivational enclitic, attached, and citation forms of transitive verb also have an object clitic, which is realised in the default form k (3SG.F.O), for example, nanato 'to bite' and nanaeko 'to bite'. This is how Bilua people cite verbs. An object clitic usually follows the verb, and thus the citation form of a transitive verb usually ends with ko, a combination of k (3SG.F.O) with o (NOM). Since transitive verbs and intransitive verbs are distinguished by the presence/absence of an object clitic in their citation forms, whether they end with ko or not, the distinction between them is not indicated in the gloss. Thus, both an intransitive verb nanato and a transitive verb nanaeko are glossed as 'to bite' and whether each of them is intransitive or transitive is not indicated. There are some exceptions to the above, however. With four verbs, el 'to see', ov 'to get', u 'to eat', and i 'to say', the object clitic precedes the verb, and an enclitic o is directly attached to the verb. Thus, their citation forms are kelo 'to see', kovo 'to get', kuo 'to eat', and kio 'to say' respectively.

There is a small subclass of transitive verbs, which are referred to as ditransitive verbs. A description of these is given in §3.2 and §9.2.

Bilua verbs can be classified into five classes in terms of the lexical semantics of verbs. This is presented in §8.4 in which VPs are described, as the lexical semantics of verbs interact with other VP constituents such as aspectual/modal markers. Verbs can also be distinguished by their valency. See §9.2.
4.5 Adjectives

Bilua adjectives do not directly modify the head; they form modifier phrases with pronominal enclitics, and these function as NP modifiers (see §7.2.1.3.1). For example, in an NP *silo=a=la meqora* (small=LIG=3SG.M child) 'small boy', *silo=a=la* is a modifier phrase and this modifies the head, *meqora*. Adjectives can, however, function as modifiers without forming modifier phrases in an NP headed with the noun *koi* 'place', for example *ileile=a koi* (beautiful=LIG place) 'beautiful place' (see §7.2.2.4). The adjective *kiada* 'all' forms an adjectival phrase with a pronominal proclitic and this means 'by oneself', for example *o=kiada* (3SG.M=all) 'by himself'. A few adjectives can function as a modifier in a VP as well (see §8.6).

There are about 100 adjectives in Bilua, and they can be divided into different semantic groups as shown in Table 4.4 (following Dixon 1977:24 and 1991:78–85).

Adjectives *reko* 'female' and *lasive* 'male' can also function as kinship terms meaning 'wife' and 'husband'. Furthermore, *reko* 'female', but not *lasive* 'male', can also be used as a common noun. As a common noun, *reko* means 'woman'.

In Bilua, names of tribes are categorised as adjectives as well. Like other adjectives, they form a modifier phrase with a pronominal enclitic, for example, *Sabe=a=la maba* (Sabe=LIG=3SG.M person) 'Sabe man'. However, they can modify the noun *toutou* 'tribe' without forming a modifier phrase, for example *Sabe toutou* (Sabe tribe) 'Sabe tribe'.

A few adjectives can function as de-adjectival nouns and these can be the head of an NP. As de-adjectival nouns, they do not take an enclitic. Adjectives *rosi* 'long', *tapata* 'hard', and *tuevo* 'true' mean 'length', 'hardship', and 'truth' respectively as de-adjectival nouns and they are categorised as common nouns. An abstract noun can also be derived from some adjectives, by a nominal derivational enclitic (see §6.3.2).

This concludes the description of open classes. The next chapter presents a description of closed classes.

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18 This *a* here is a ligature. See §5.17 for a description of the ligature.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>silo ‘small’</th>
<th>matu ‘big’</th>
<th>rosí ‘long’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pujů ‘short’</td>
<td>posú ‘fat’</td>
<td>adakiri ‘thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>riro ‘narrow’</td>
<td>sipí ‘slim’</td>
<td>mota ‘thick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>repaso ‘wide’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Property</td>
<td>zokele ‘firm’</td>
<td>dukú ‘heavy’</td>
<td>vairú ‘clean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>olu ‘soft’</td>
<td>laumáde ‘smooth’</td>
<td>aukózo ‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>valalavala ‘hot’</td>
<td>sarosaroro ‘cold’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>sibi ‘black’</td>
<td>tapo ‘white’</td>
<td>diri ‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>luqumu ‘blue’</td>
<td>vaqo ‘yellow’</td>
<td>pagauva ‘green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Propensity</td>
<td>baisi ‘kind’</td>
<td>lekuleku ‘weak’</td>
<td>sarube ‘crazy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meomeo ‘naughty’</td>
<td>muino ‘selfish’</td>
<td>lupalupa ‘lazy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rírizo ‘capable’</td>
<td>ngalopozí ‘cowardly’</td>
<td>ukaka ‘careless’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>udo ‘stupid’</td>
<td>parani ‘brave’</td>
<td>utu ‘idle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>vairú ‘new/young’</td>
<td>gole ‘old’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>uri ‘good’</td>
<td>ruqé ‘bad’</td>
<td>kako ‘strange’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qulepe ‘important’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed</td>
<td>olu ‘slow’</td>
<td>tawka ‘quick’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similarity</td>
<td>edolo ‘different’</td>
<td>ija ‘same’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification and Others</td>
<td>tuvevo ‘true’</td>
<td>sarusaru ‘wrong’</td>
<td>tapata ‘hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>musú ‘ripened’</td>
<td>bule ‘calm/peaceful’</td>
<td>batíro ‘rich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>olu ‘easy/soft’</td>
<td>kaqá ‘dirty’</td>
<td>ívo ‘sharp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaitú ‘future’</td>
<td>sidupú ‘right/straight’</td>
<td>olomoíza ‘quiet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raurá ‘expensive’</td>
<td>lasívé ‘male’</td>
<td>reko ‘female’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kiada ‘all’</td>
<td>ileile ‘beautiful’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 Closed classes

5.1 Introduction

This section presents closed word and morpheme classes. For some classes, only a list of words/morpheme is given, and a full description is given in subsequent chapters.

5.2 Adverbs

There is a small closed class of adverbs in Bilua. They can be divided into two types according to their functions: predicate modifiers and linking adverbials. Predicate modifiers modify predicates. Linking adverbials indicate a semantic link between clauses. In this sense, they are similar to coordinators but they are distinguished from coordinators as they do not link clauses syntactically.

Some words in Bilua occur in a VP functioning as a modifier. One of them, maba 'truly', belongs to the adverb class, and all others belong to the adjective, the noun, or the general modifier class.

Predicate modifiers are divided into four types on semantic grounds: manner adverbs, locational adverbs, temporal adverbs, and circumstantial adverbs. Temporal and locational adverbs present a temporal and locational setting respectively. Manner adverbs give information about the way the situation presented by the verb happens. Circumstantial adverbs are a group of adverbs that are neither temporal nor locational and give surrounding information about the situation presented by the predicate. Table 5.1 presents a list of predicate modifiers.
Table 5.1: Predicate modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner adverbs</th>
<th>deictic adverbs</th>
<th>Locational adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kadaule</em> ‘instantly’</td>
<td><em>koi</em> ‘here’</td>
<td><em>uki</em> ‘somewhere there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kapiavore</em> ‘quickly’</td>
<td><em>sai</em> ‘there’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koaziole</em> ‘straight’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>matuvoile</em> ‘loudly’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngadavole</em> ‘day by day’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>oluavole</em> ‘slowly’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pjuavole</em> ‘making it short’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>takavole</em> ‘quickly’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tutumaziavole</em> ‘straightaway’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal adverbs</th>
<th>Circumstantial adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>lea</em> ‘tomorrow’</td>
<td><em>muli</em> ‘altogether’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ravi</em> ‘yesterday’</td>
<td><em>saita</em> ‘first (this is done first)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vairatu</em> ‘today/now’</td>
<td><em>maba</em> ‘truly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>erisanga</em> ‘at present’</td>
<td><em>esa</em> ‘maybe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>oqotimala</em> ‘the day before yesterday’</td>
<td><em>mata/mati</em> ‘again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>oqotinga</em> ‘the day after tomorrow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lula</em> ‘already’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mainio</em> ‘later’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kuleto</em> ‘first’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sipole</em> ‘soon’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The indefinite locational adverb, *uki* ‘somewhere there’ is distinguished from an indefinite non-specific NP *ka koi* (INDEF place) ‘somewhere’ in the sense that the speaker knows where this somewhere is. That is, it is indefinite specific. It is often used when the speaker cannot name a location straightaway.

(5.1)  
...*qe*zio=you  **uki**  *sigo*  *ale...*

1DU.INC=go=FUT somewhere bush in
‘...we will go there (somewhere), to the bush...’  (15-2-12)
It seems that manner adverbs have originated historically in postpositional phrases. They all end with *le*, which appears to have originated in the cliticised form of a locative postposition *kale* ‘in’. For example, *matuvo*le ‘loudly’ can be segmented into three morphemes: the adjective *matu* ‘big’, the nominal derivational enclitic *vo*, and the postposition *le*.

(5.2) \[ \text{matu}=\text{vo}=\text{le} \]
\[ \text{big=NOM}=\text{in} \]
‘loudly’

There are five linking adverbials in Bilua. They have originated in a combination of two words; an adverb or a noun with a focus marker, or a postpositional phrase that again consists of two words, but they all have been lexicalised. Table 5.2 presents a list of linking adverbials with a description of their original parts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linking adverbials</th>
<th>Original parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>sainio</em> ‘therefore’/‘then’</td>
<td><em>sai</em> <em>inio</em> (there FOC.NONF): two words(^{19})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>soinio</em> ‘accordingly’</td>
<td><em>so</em> <em>inio</em> (that FOC.NONF): two words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>saitainio</em> ‘afterwards’</td>
<td><em>sai</em> <em>tai</em> <em>inio</em> (first FOC.NONF): two words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>saikazo</em> ‘following that’</td>
<td><em>sai</em> <em>kazo</em> (there ABL): PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sole</em> ‘that’s why’</td>
<td><em>so</em> = <em>le</em> (that=in): PP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All predicate modifiers and linking adverbials function as adjuncts. They are described with other kinds of adjuncts in Chapter 10.

### 5.3 General modifiers

General modifiers modify different types of words. Some of them may also modify a verbal predicate. When a general modifier modifies a verbal predicate rather than just a verb, it has a scope over the entire verbal predicate (see §10.10 for illustration with an example). Table 5.3 presents a list of general modifiers and the elements they can modify.

---

\(^{19}\) In a linking adverbial *sainio*, a focus marker *inio* is realised as *nio* since there is no long vowel in Bilua.
### Table 5.3: General modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verbal 'Predicate'</th>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Deictic 'Adverb'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approximative tiniavo 'about'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>numerals</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similative jari 'like'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restrictive pala 'only'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>silo 'small'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compleitive buti 'finished'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sasa 'a'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buti/mock</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensifier matu 'very'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kubo 'many'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General modifiers, which can modify verbs, namely, sasa 'a little' and matu 'very', always precede the element they modify while others always follow it. Matu is also an adjectival meaning 'big'. Unlike adjectives (see §4.5 and §7.2.1.3.1), general modifiers function as NP modifiers without forming modifier phrases with pronominal enclitics. The general modifier matu 'very' can only modify temporal nouns or one relational noun, sipole 'near'; for example, matu raisiraishi (very evening) 'late evening' and matu sipole 'very close'.

The completive buti 'finished' can modify a temporal noun and this indicates that the time the temporal noun indicates has been reached. For example, raisiraishi buti (evening finished) means that it has already become evening. It can also modify a deictic adverb and this indicates a completion of movement to the place referred to. To illustrate, koi buti 'here finished' is used as a request to the addressee to (finish to) move to the speaker; that is, it means 'move here'.

The approximative tiniavo is realised as tiania when it follows the pronoun so 'that'. This combination means 'that's about it'.

Other general modifiers are referred to throughout the book.

#### 5.4 Negation marker

The negation marker pui is in a class of its own. The negation marker may occur with an enclitic accompanied by a preceding ligature a (see §5.17). This results in a sequence of a diphthong and a vowel, pui=a, followed by an enclitic, but this does not conform with the phonotactics of Bilua—it results in a sequence of Vs. Therefore, to avoid such a sequence, the negation marker is realised as puli in this environment. As noted in §3.2.2, the negation marker pui functions as an adjunct: it negates a clause. The negation marker
can also form a modifier phrase with a pronominal enclitic and this functions as an NP modifier, meaning 'no' (see §7.2.1.3.1). Finally, the negation marker forms a complex coordinator with a conjunction melai 'but' (see §13.2.4).

5.5 Pronouns

Pronouns in Bilua can be inflectional or non-inflectional. The former inflect for person, number, and gender, and the latter do not.

5.5.1 Inflectional pronouns

Inflectional pronouns are marked for a three-way person distinction (first, second, and third) and a three-way number distinction (singular, dual, and plural). Non-singular first person has an inclusive versus exclusive distinction. Third person singular has a masculine versus feminine distinction. Note that Bilua lacks grammatical gender in nouns, but a gender can be assigned to an NP by an optional NP constituent (see §7.4).

Inflectional pronouns can be free forms or bound forms. Free inflectional pronouns are demonstratives, independent pronouns, and indefinite pronouns. Demonstratives have deictic and definite marking functions. Bilua demonstratives have a two-way distinction between proximate (near-speaker) and distal (non-near speaker), and accordingly there are two sets of demonstratives, viz. proximate and distal demonstratives. Bilua has only first and second person independent pronouns, and like demonstratives they are all inherently definite. Bilua lacks third person independent pronouns, but their function is filled by demonstratives, which are used as third person independent pronouns. In contrast to demonstratives and independent pronouns, indefinite pronouns mark indefiniteness (see §7.2.1.1 for definiteness and indefiniteness). Bound inflectional pronouns are pronominal proclitics, object clitics, and pronominal enclitics.20

All free inflectional pronouns, demonstratives, independent pronouns, and indefinite pronouns, can be the head of NPs. They can also be optional constituents of NPs filling the slot for determiners.

Pronominal proclitics can be constituents of a VP or an NP and they attach to the left edge of a VP or an NP. That is, they attach to a phrase and thus they are clitics. Pronominal proclitics function as subject markers in VPs, cross-referencing subjects, while they function as possessor markers in NPs. As noted in §4.5, pronominal proclitics can also form an adjectival phrase, PRON=kiada 'by oneself'. Pronominal proclitics here mark the person, gender, and number of NPs they modify.

Object clitics are constituents of VPs and they function as object markers, cross-referencing objects. Object clitics are proclitics on valency-increasing markers—they

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20 Although terms 'clitic', 'enclitic', and 'proclitic' do not refer to a word class, these terms are employed here to distinguish different sets of bound pronouns.
occur in front of valency-increasing markers, attached to valency-increasing markers. With all but four verbs, object clitics are encitics—they occur after verbs, attached to the verb. With four verbs, /k=el=ol/ (3SG.F.O=see=NOM) 'to see', /k=ol=ol/ (3SG.F.O=get=NOM) 'to get', /k=ol=ol/ (3SG.F.O=eat=NOM) 'to eat', and /k=ol=ol/ (3SG.F.O=say=NOM) 'to say', they are proclitics—they occur in front of verbs, attached to verbs. Thus, there are three different positions in VPs where object clitics occur, but they have the same realisations regardless of the position they take. This suggests that they are clitics not affixes. If they were treated as affixes, it would have to be proposed that there are three different sets of object affixes, one which attaches to valency-increasing markers, one which prefixes to verbs, and one which suffixes to verbs, yet they always have the same realisations. This is a rather odd thing to say. Furthermore, they can be attached to all valency-increasing markers and transitive verbs, and there is no arbitrary gap in the set of valency-increasing marker–object clitic combination or in the set of verb–object clitic combination.

Pronominal enclitics can be optional constituents of NPs or the head of modifier phrases (MPs) that are optional NP constituents. Like pronominal proclitics, they attach to a phrase—they attach to the right edge of an NP or an MP and thus they are clitics. In either case, pronominal enclitics mark the person, gender, and number of NPs.

Descriptions of NPs and MPs, and of VPs are presented in §7.2 and §8.2 respectively. The functions of inflectional pronouns are summarised in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>demonstratives</td>
<td>head of NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independent pronouns</td>
<td>determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite pronouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronominal proclitics</td>
<td>subject marker in VPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>possessor marker in NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>person/number/gender marker in NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object clitics</td>
<td>object marker in VPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronominal enclitics</td>
<td>head of MPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>person/number/gender marker in NPs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All pronouns except for indefinite pronouns are listed in Table 5.5 below in order to demonstrate resemblances in forms across different sets of pronouns. Note that a distal–proximate distinction applies only to demonstratives and not to independent pronouns.
Table 5.5: Forms of definite pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Independent pronouns and demonstratives</th>
<th>Proclitics</th>
<th>Object clitics</th>
<th>Enclitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>distal</td>
<td>proximate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>anga</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>lala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ngo</td>
<td>ngo</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>nga (langa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.M</td>
<td>vo</td>
<td>nei</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.F</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>komi</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU.EXC</td>
<td>ege</td>
<td>qe</td>
<td>qel</td>
<td>qela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU.INC</td>
<td>aniqe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>qe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>nioqa</td>
<td>nioqi</td>
<td>qo</td>
<td>k (same as 3SG.F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXC</td>
<td>aninge</td>
<td>nge</td>
<td>ngel</td>
<td>ngela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INC</td>
<td>anime</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>mel</td>
<td>mela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for independent pronouns, the distinction between first person dual (both inclusive and exclusive) and second person dual, and the distinction between first person plural inclusive and second person plural is neutralised.

First and second person forms share the same consonant or the same consonant–vowel combination across different sets of pronouns. For example, second person singular forms all have the consonant ng, while first person plural exclusive forms all have the consonant–vowel combination nge.

The third person plural pronominal enclitic has a different realisation depending on the host. When the host is an indefinite marker ka it is realised as ke (see below); when the host is an interrogative marker la, it is realised as ve (see §5.6), otherwise it is realised as mu.

The second person singular pronominal enclitic is realised as langa when its host is an adjective. Otherwise, it is realised as nga.

When demonstratives and independent pronouns fill the slot for determiners, all but the first person singular independent pronoun anga and the third person dual distal demonstrative nioqa are attached with the ligature a,\(^\text{21}\) which links demonstratives and independent pronouns to the following morpheme (see §5.17 for ligatures). The combination of the singular masculine proximate demonstrative nei and the ligature a is realised as ne in order to avoid a sequence of three vowels.

---

\(^\text{21}\) The ligature is normally realised as ka when it attaches to a morpheme ending with the vowel a, but anga and nioqa do not take this.
Indefinite pronouns are inherently third person and marked for number and gender: kala (INDEF.SG.M), kama (INDEF.SG.F), ka'inioqa (INDEF.DU) and kake (INDEF.PL). These can be segmented into the indefinite marker ka and a third person pronominal enclitic but they are all lexicalised as indefinite pronouns. Their original parts are: ka=la (INDEF=3SG.M), ka=ma (INDEF=3SG.F), ka=inioqa (INDEF=3DU), and ka=ke (INDEF=3PL). The third person plural pronominal enclitic is realised as ke and not as the usual nu when the host is the indefinite marker. The third person pronominal enclitic inioqa is realised as inioqa in the lexicalised form (see also §5.6). As mentioned above, indefinite pronouns can fill the slot for determiners. In this position, indefinite pronouns may not be marked for number and gender; that is, the indefinite marker ka may function as a determiner by itself (see §7.2.1.1.2).

Indefinite pronouns can be preceded by mata 'more', which is in the same form as an adverb mata 'again'. A combination of mata and an indefinite pronoun means 'other'. This is treated as one lexeme, as mata cannot occur without an indefinite pronoun. In the following example mata is followed by an indefinite pronoun kake as underlined. This means 'others'.

(5.3) ...kake ta lasive=a=nu ni mata kake ta
INDEF.PL TOP male=LIQ=3PL and other INDEF.PL TOP
parani poso.
warrior PL.M
'...some were men, and some others were warriors.' (21-9-54)

5.5.2 Non-inflectional pronouns

Non-inflectional pronouns are so 'that', eru 'something like this', and measure pronouns meaning 'one'.

5.5.2.1 So 'that' and eru 'something like this'

Two non-inflectional pronouns, so 'that' and eru 'something like this', have a clause as their antecedent and can be both anaphoric and cataphoric.

In (5.4), so 'that' is anaphoric, while in (5.5) eru 'something like this' is cataphoric. (In the following examples, pronouns so and eru are single-underlined and their antecedent is double-underlined.)

(5.4) Sole o=beta ______ kail=a so ti so ti so
so 3SG.M=CONT go.up=PRES that INT that INT that

\begin{verbatim}

\text{ti vanga azo inio o=ta v=a}
\end{verbatim}

and.then far.away ABL FOC.NONF 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL
k=e=a  o=momo.
3SG.F.O=see=PRES  3SG.M=back
'So, he kept going up, going up, going up, and going up, and from far away, he
saw his back.' (24-5-60-61)

(5.5) ...vo  ta  eri  k=i=o=la.
     3SG.M  TOP  s.th.like.this  3SG.FO=say=3SG.M=PRES
'Megorasaidi  komi  ta  ko  niuniu'.
family  PROX.SG.F  TOP  3SG.F  fish
'...he said something like this. "Family, here is fish."' (24-3-24-25)

Eri 'something like this' commonly refers to the content of speech or event, as in (5.5),
or it can be used to refer to an object within the sight of both speaker and addressee. Eri
can also be employed accompanied with a gesture to show how one does something, as in
(5.6).

(5.6) ...eri  o  i=k=a  ta  vuala-vuala
     s.th.like.this  3SG.M  put=3SG.F.O=PRES  and.then  REDUP-hot
ko=a  suakao.
3SG.F=LIG  basket
'...he did something like this to it, and [he found that] the basket was hot.' (59-3-
21) (more literally ‘...he put it in something like this, and [he found that] the
basket was hot.’)

5.5.2.2 Measure pronouns

Four measure pronouns, *pado* (MESone/MESpiece), *kena* (MESone/MESpiece), *leaza* (MESpiece), and *kobu* (MESpart) can never occur on their own, unlike other pronouns. They always occur with a numeral or a determiner. *Pado* can also be modified by
PRON=kiada 'by oneself'. All four can be translated as 'one', and each measure pronoun
substitutes specific things. *Kena* refers to a whole sweet potato, taro, or yam. It can also
refer to a piece of banana or fish. *Pado* can refer to a whole banana or fish rather than a
piece of banana or fish. Modified by PRON=kiada 'by herself', *pado* refers to a person.
*Pado* can also refer to a piece of a long object, such as a stick. *Leaza* can refer to a
crescent-shaped piece cut from something with an egg/ball shape, such as a betelnut or a
cutnut. *Kobu* can refer to a part of an area. The above is summarised in the following
table.
Table 5.6: Measure pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure pronouns</th>
<th>Whole</th>
<th>Part/piece</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kena</td>
<td>sweet potato/taro/yam</td>
<td>piece of banana/fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaza</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>crescent-shaped piece of betelnut/cutnut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kobu</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>part of an area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pado</td>
<td>house/dog/banana/fish/betelnut/person</td>
<td>piece of a long object</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following example, NPs headed with a measure pronoun are underlined.

(5.7) NP headed with pado

...ko=pa kobue=k=a ko kevu inio
3SG.F=PROS cut=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F bamboo FOC.NONF

ka pado ta Koro-koroqanisi
INDEF MEApiece TOP REDUP-Korokoroqanisi

ko=kati=v=a, ka pado ta ko=ngavi.
3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES INDEF MEApiece TOP 3SG.F=EMPH
‘...she went and cut a bamboo in half, and one, she gave it to Korokoroqanisi, one, [she gave it to] herself.’ (39-6-41)

Pado can also be an optional constituent of an NP (see §7.2.1.4).

5.6 Interrogatives

Each interrogative in Bilua belongs to a certain word class. One of the interrogatives, noni ‘how/what’, corresponds with the pronoun so ‘that’ (see §5.5.2.1). Bilua interrogatives and their classes are provided in Table 5.7 below.

Table 5.7: Interrogatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative</th>
<th>Word Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lai ‘where’</td>
<td>deictic adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>latau ‘how many/how much’</td>
<td>quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noni ‘how/what’</td>
<td>pronoun so ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loma ‘what’</td>
<td>nouns (non-human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lala (who.SG.M) ‘who’</td>
<td>nouns (human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lama (who.SG.F) ‘who’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lainioqa (who.DU) ‘who’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lave (who.PL) ‘who’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'When' is expressed by a PP noni k eru (what TEMP) in Bilua, which is in contrast with a PP so k eru (that TEMP) 'that time'.

Interrogatives meaning 'who' can be segmented into the interrogative marker la and a third person pronominal enclitic: la=la (INTRG=3SG.M), la=ma (INTRG=3SG.F), la=niopa (INTRG=3DU), and la=ve (INTRG=3PL), but they are all lexicalised as interrogatives. With the interrogative marker la as its host, the third person pronominal enclitic is realised as ve, not as the usual mu.

It appears that lai 'where' and latau 'how many/how much' also contain la, the interrogative marker. Lai is considered to consist of la and i. I is shared with deictic adverbs, koi 'here' and sai 'there'. Latau could be segmented into la and tau, but there is no morpheme tau found in any other words in present-day Bilua.

Each interrogative behaves in the same way as other words in the word class it belongs to, or in the case of noni 'how/what', in the same way as the pronoun so 'that'. A phrase containing an interrogative is often marked with a focus marker (see §14.3.2).

5.7 Postpositions

A postposition is the head of a postpositional phrase. Postpositions in Bilua are:

locative kasi and kale comitative sate
vicinity vasi benefactive kage
ablative azo privative pide
temporal keru similative jari

There is also a complex postposition of reason kale avo 'because of'. PPs headed with all but the simulative postposition can function as adjuncts. PPs as adjuncts are described in Chapter 10. PPs headed with the simulative postposition can only be the core: a complement of the verb iko 'to cause' or a non-verbal predicate. Complements and non-verbal predicates are obligatory constituents of clauses and are described in §8.7 and §11 respectively.

5.8 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are a separate class in Bilua. This class includes numerals and kubo 'many'. A quantifier can be an NP modifier or the head of an NP. The numerals up to ten are:

omadeu (madeu) 'one' varimuja (muja) 'six'
omuqa (muqa) 'two' sikeura (keura) 'seven'
zouke (ke) 'three' siotolu (tolu) 'eight'
ariku (ariku) 'four' siakava (kava) 'nine'
sike (ke) 'five' toni (ni) 'ten'
The forms in brackets are old forms which are not used any more. Only some old people remember these forms. According to local people, these are forms which devils or spirits used to use and that is why local people do not use them any more.

The numerals for hundred and thousand are paizana and vuro respectively. Numbers over ten are expressed by a phrase which consists of numerals from one to ten listed above, paizana ‘hundred’, and vuro ‘thousand’, except for karabete ‘twenty’.

(5.8) toni omadeu
     ten one
     ‘eleven’
(5.9) zouke toni
     three ten
     ‘thirty’
(5.10) zouke toni omuqa
     three ten two
     ‘thirty-two’
(5.11) omadeu paizana siakava
     one hundred nine
     ‘one hundred and nine’
(5.12) omadeu vuro siakava paizana ariku
     one thousand nine hundred four
     ‘one thousand, nine hundred and four’

5.9 Collective and plural markers

Collective markers have two forms: the plural form madu (COLL.PL) and the dual form kidi (COLL.DU), and they mark collectiveness. The plural form has another realisation, mu, but this occurs only in the indirect type of a possessive NP headed with the noun maba ‘person’ (see §7.3.2). There is only one plural marker, poso (PL.M). Collective and plural markers are all optional constituents of NPs (see §7.2.1.5).

5.10 Existential markers

Existential markers indicate the existence of an entity. Existential markers are divided into two types—non-specific location existential markers, which indicate the existence of an entity in a non-specific location (glossed as EXT followed by number/gender), and distal existential markers, which indicate the existence of an entity at some distance (glossed as D.EXT followed by number/gender).

Both types of existential markers have four realisations with different number/gender marking. Existential markers can only be the predicate of a non-verbal clause and the number/gender of existential markers agrees with the number/gender of the subject. In the
following example, the existential marker is realised in the singular feminine form ikoana agreeing with the subject matu=ma kea.

(5.13) ...matu=ma kea ta ikoana...
big=3SG.F cave TOP EXT.SG.F
subject predicate
‘...there was a big cave...’ (26-14-81)

The following is the list of both types of existential markers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number/gender</th>
<th>Non-specific</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular masculine</td>
<td>inevoana</td>
<td>une</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular feminine</td>
<td>ikoana</td>
<td>uko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>inioqiana</td>
<td>unioqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>inisiana</td>
<td>uni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appears that historically, existential markers originated in several segments. Non-specific locational existential markers can be segmented into four parts: i, two demonstratives, distal and proximate, and ana. It appears that i and ana form an existential marking discontinuous morpheme i...ana.

i- Proximate demonstrative - Distal demonstrative -ana.

Thus each of non-specific locational existential marker is analysed as:

- existential markers original parts
  - singular masculine: inevoana \(\rightarrow\) i-ne-vo-ana
    - EXT.SG.M EXT-PROX.SG.M-3SG.M-EXT
  - singular feminine: ikoana \(\rightarrow\) i-ko-ana
    - EXT.SG.F EXT-PROX.SG.F-EXT
  - dual: inioqiana \(\rightarrow\) i-nioqi-ana
    - EXT.DU EXT-PROX.DU-EXT
  - plural: inisiana \(\rightarrow\) i-ni-si-ana
    - EXT.PL EXT-PROX.PL-3PL-EXT

With the singular masculine form, the singular masculine proximate demonstrative nei is realised as ne. The singular feminine proximate and distal demonstratives are both ko, and so the singular feminine form has only one of them, which is glossed as PROX.SG.F here. The dual proximate demonstrative is nioqi while the distal one is nioqa. Only the proximate one appears in the dual form. It appears that this is because of their similar forms. The vowel of the plural distal demonstrative se is realised as si, showing an assimilation to the preceding vowel.
Distal existential markers can be segmented into what appears to be a distal existential morpheme *u*- and a demonstrative: the proximate one for singular masculine and plural, and the distal one for singular feminine and dual. Again, the singular masculine proximate demonstrative loses the final *i*. Thus, each of distal existential markers can be analysed as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Masculine:</th>
<th>Existential Marker</th>
<th>Original Parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>u-ne</em> → <em>u-ne (u-nei)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.EXT.SG.M</td>
<td>D.EXT-PROX.SG.M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Feminine:</th>
<th>Existential Marker</th>
<th>Original Parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>uko</em> → <em>u-ko</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.EXT.SG.F</td>
<td>D.EXT-3SG.F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual:</th>
<th>Existential Marker</th>
<th>Original Parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>unioqa</em> → <em>u-nioqa</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.EXT.DU</td>
<td>D.EXT-3.DU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural:</th>
<th>Existential Marker</th>
<th>Original Parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>uni</em> → <em>u-ni</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.EXT.PL</td>
<td>D.EXT-PROX.PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combinations of a distal existential marker *une* or *uko* with a noun *quli* ‘thing’, that is *une quli* and *uko quli*, form an idiom meaning ‘that something’. They are used when the speaker cannot give the name of an entity straightaway in order to fill the gap in his speech.  

(5.14)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Uko} & \quad \text{quli} \quad \text{komi} \quad \text{seqara}=\text{ko} \quad \text{votu} \\
\text{D.EXT.SG.F} & \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{PROX.SG.F} \quad \text{betelnut}=3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{trunk} \\
\text{ke}=\text{k}=\text{ai} & \quad \text{ere}=\text{k}=\text{a} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{mola}. \\
\text{3PL}=3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{VAL} & \quad \text{make}=3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{PRES} \quad 3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{canoe} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘That something, this, with a trunk of a betelnut tree, they made a canoe.’

(34-1.14)

In the above example, the speaker refers to the trunk of a betelnut tree first by *uko quli* ‘that something’ and then by a deictic pronoun, and finally gives its name.

---

22 There is a semantic contradiction here. Distal existential markers indicate an existence of entity in some distance but two of them, singular masculine and plural ones, contain a proximate demonstrative.

23 This is similar to the use of the indefinite locational adverb *uki* ‘somewhere there’. It may be postulated that *u* of *uki* and *u* of *uko* (EXT.SG.F) and *une* (EXT.SG.M) originate in the same morpheme. There is no morpheme *ki*, however, found in present-day Bilua. It appears that *une quli* (EXT.SG.M thing) and *uko quli* (EXT.SG.F thing) originated in a non-verbal clause. Although the basic order of subject and predicate of non-verbal clauses is subject first and then predicate, this order can be reversed. Uneluko and *quli* can be regarded as the predicate and the subject of a non-verbal clause respectively, and this literally means ‘there exists a thing’. Note that the subject of a non-verbal clause is usually marked by a topic marker but when the subject follows predicate, this does not appear.
5.11 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are divided into two types: coordinators and subordinators. Coordinators link constituents of same status. Linked elements can be nouns, phrases, non-verbal predicates, or clauses. Subordinators mark a dependent clause and link it to an independent clause.

**Table 5.9: Conjunctions**

| Coordinators | conjunctive coordinator *ni* ‘and’  
disjunctive coordinator *ma* ‘or’  
adversative coordinator *melai* ‘but’  
sequential coordinator *ini o* ‘sequentially/and then’, which is glossed as SEQ  
causal coordinators *ti* and *ta* ‘and then/consequently’, which are glossed as ‘and then’.  
intensifying coordinator *ti*, which is glossed as INT  
|---|---|
| Subordinators | *puliako* ‘before’  
*maqa* ‘while’  
*palate* ‘while’  
*le* ‘in order to’, which is glossed as PURP  
*tea* ‘if’  
relative clause markers, *ni, ko, ma, and vo* |

The adversative coordinator *melai* ‘but’ also forms a complex coordinator, ‘not...but’, with the negation marker *pui* ‘not’. Causal coordinators *ti* and *ta* have developed from topic markers *ti* and *ta* (see §13.2.6).

The purposive subordinator *le* and relative clause markers are enclitics and attach to the right edge of a VP. Dependent clauses can also be marked with a locative postposition *kale* and a temporal postposition *keru*.

Coordinators and subordinators are described in Chapters 13 and 12 respectively.

5.12 Irrealis marker *tu*

The irrealis marker *tu* always occurs between two clauses. The clause that precedes is always an independent clause, while the clause that follows can be either an independent or a dependent clause. The irrealis marker *tu* denotes that the clause that follows presents an unrealised situation. For a description of the irrealis marker *tu*, see §12.3.2, §12.3.3, and §13.3.
5.13 VP particles

There are three kinds of VP particles: aspectual/modal markers, valency-increasing markers, and a possessor-raising marker, as listed in Table 5.10. These particles are all optional constituents of VPs and never occur without obligatory constituents of VPs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspectual/modal markers</th>
<th>‘situation-change’ marker</th>
<th>ta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>continuity marker</td>
<td>be/beta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prospective marker</td>
<td>pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>implicative marker</td>
<td>be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valency-increasing markers</td>
<td></td>
<td>a, ai, and ati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessor-raising marker</td>
<td></td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The function of valency-increasing markers is to increase the valency by one. They always occur with an object clitic which cross-references one of the arguments. The possessor-raising marker *ta* always co-occurs with a valency-increasing marker. Valency-increasing and possessor-raising markers are described in §9.4 and §9.5 respectively. Aspectual/modal markers are described in §8.5.

5.14 Tense/mood markers

Tense/mood markers in Bilua are enclitics, which are attached to VPs: they are attached to the right edge of a VP. They can attach to a material already containing a clitic—they attach to a transitive verb–object clitic combination. These two factors illustrate that tense/mood markers in Bilua are clitics. In Bilua, there is a five-way tense distinction of present, near future, future, recent past, and remote past, each marked by a different tense marker. In addition to these, there is a historical tense marker. The tense distinctions of Bilua are discussed in §8.3. There is only one set of mood markers; these are imperative mood markers. Imperative mood markers agree with the addressee in number: singular, dual, and plural. The following two tables present the list of tense and imperative mood markers.
Table 5.11: Tense markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense markers</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present tense</td>
<td>a/va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near future tense</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future tense</td>
<td>ou/vou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recent past tense</td>
<td>a/a/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote past tense</td>
<td>e/vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical tense</td>
<td>ake/ke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.12: Imperative mood markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular imperative markers</td>
<td>a/e/vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual imperative markers</td>
<td>oko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural imperative markers</td>
<td>omo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Different realisations of tense/mood markers are dealt with in Appendix 2.

5.15 Topic and focus markers

There are three topic markers ta, ti, and melai, and two focus markers inio and ikio. A constituent marked with a topic marker presents a topic while a constituent marked with a focus marker presents a focus. Topic and focus markers play an important role in pragmatics in Bilua. These are described in §14.2 and §14.3.

5.16 Interjections and tags

The following table presents interjections and tags with their use and/or meaning.

Table 5.13: Interjections and tags

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjections</th>
<th>ee</th>
<th>‘yes’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>to show surprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kio</td>
<td>‘Is that so?’ ‘Really?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ako</td>
<td>‘well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>koe</td>
<td>to get an attention or to show surprise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Tag  | ze  | for confirmation, ‘Is that OK?’ |

A disjunctive coordinator ma ‘or’ can be used as a tag in a polar question.
(5.15) \( \text{Ngo=da} \text{ verep=a} \text{ ma.} \)
\[
2\text{SG=SIT be.sick=PRES or 'Are you sick?'}
\]

5.17 Ligature

The ligature is an enclitic which takes various kinds of words as its host. The ligature has three realisations—\( a \), \( ka \), and \( za \). The ligature is realised as \( za \) when it follows a diphthong \( oi \) or \( ai \). Following the vowel \( a \), it is realised as \( ka \). Elsewhere it is realised as \( a \).

The ligature links the host to certain types of morphemes that follow it. The host and the linked morpheme are always constituents of the same phrase. For example, in (5.16), the host of the ligature is an adjective which functions as a modifier in a VP, and this and the word which is linked by the ligature, the verb, are both constituents of a VP. In (5.17), an adjective \( ileile \) ‘beautiful’ and the third person singular pronominal enclitic \( ma \) (3SG.F) form a modifier phrase. Two morphemes are linked by the ligature, underlined.

(5.16) \( A=da \text{ uri=q} \text{ maqin=a.} \)
\[
1\text{SG=SIT good=LIG full=PRES 'I am nicely full.'}
\]

(5.17) \( ile-ile=q=ma \)
\[
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.F 'beautiful one'
\]

Morphemes which the ligature links are presented in Table 5.14 below.

There are some exceptions to this. Adjectives \( kiada \) ‘all’, \( matu \) ‘big’, \( ukaka \) ‘careless’, \( utu \) ‘idle’, and \( aca \) ‘various’, one numeral \( omuqa \) ‘two’, and relational nouns \( tova \) ‘behind’ and \( rana \) ‘side’, and a placename \( Veala \) never take the ligature. A PP headed with the comitative postposition \( sate \) does not take a ligature either.
Table 5.14: Morphemes which the ligature links

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphemes preceding the ligature</th>
<th>Morphemes following the ligature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Any constituent which functions as an NP modifier:</td>
<td>• pronominal enclitics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• adjectives and AdjPs</td>
<td>• the noun koi ‘place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• deictic adverbs and an adverb lula ‘already’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• placenames</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• kinship terms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• relational nouns and NPs headed with relational nouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• numerals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• the negation marker pui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• interrogatives lai ‘where’ and noni ‘how’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• pronouns so ‘that’, eri ‘something like this’, and padò ‘one’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• PPs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• future verbal clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• demonstrative</td>
<td>Any NP constituent:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• independent pronouns</td>
<td>• quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• adjectives</td>
<td>• NP modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• the quantifier kubo ‘many’</td>
<td>• head of NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• the noun koi ‘place’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.18 Vocatives

There are two kinds of vocative affix in Bilua. A suffix -o can be attached to a personal name or a kinship term; for example, Kina-o (Kina-VOC) ‘Kina’ and niania-o (mother-VOC). All personal names and a few kinship terms can also be used as vocatives without a vocative suffix (see §4.3.2).

There is one set of vocative suffixes which can be attached to second person demonstratives. The choice of the form depends on the number/gender of the addressee: -ila (SG.M), -iza (SG.F), -va (DU and PL). Thus,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2SG-VOC.SG.M</th>
<th>2SG-VOC.SG.F</th>
<th>2DU-VOC.DU</th>
<th>2PL-VOC.DU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngo-ila</td>
<td>ngo-iza</td>
<td>ge-va</td>
<td>me-va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you (male)’</td>
<td>‘you (female)’</td>
<td>‘you two’</td>
<td>‘you many’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This concludes the description of closed classes. The next chapter deals with derivational morphology in Bilua.
6 Derivational morphology

6.1 Introduction

There are four morphological processes which derive a word in Bilua: suffixation, encliticisation, compounding, and reduplication. In this chapter, each of these is dealt with in turn.

In this chapter, verbs are given in their stem forms without final o or an obligatory object clitic on transitive verbs.

6.2 Suffixation

Suffixation can derive verbs from verbs, nouns, and adjectives. There is only one suffix, -kini, which attaches to verbs, while there are several sets of suffixes which attach to nouns and adjectives.

6.2.1 Suffix on verbs, -kini

The suffix -kini has both derivational and valency-decreasing functions. It derives a reciprocal, intransitive verb which has a valency of one from a transitive verb which has a valency of two (see §9.2 for the valency of verbs). With this derivational process, most often both A and O arguments of the transitive verb become the S argument of the derived intransitive verb. Accordingly, the subject is always non-singular. For example, the verb in (6.1) is a transitive verb torae ‘to meet’, and the verb in (6.2) is an intransitive reciprocal verb derived from this by suffixation of -kini, torae-kini (meet-RECP) ‘to meet each other’. The A and O arguments in (6.1) have both become the S argument in (6.2).

(6.1) \( O=torae=k=ala. \)
3SG.M=meet=3SG.F.O=RECP
‘He met her.’

(6.2) \( Qo=torae-kini=ala. \)
3DU=meet-RECP=RECP
‘They (he and she) met each other.’

There is one exception to this in the data. A derived reciprocal verb pazo-kini (hit-RECP) from the verb pazoko ‘to hit’ means ‘to fight’ and the subject of this verb can be
singular, as in (6.3). Although the subject is singular in this example, the verb *pazokinio* 'to fight' implies that the action of hitting is exchanged between two parties—the subject hit someone else as well as being hit himself by this someone else. Thus, the verb still entails a reciprocal meaning.

(6.3)  
\[
\text{Sito ta kala maba} | \text{vo ta} \\
\text{Sito TOP INDEF.SG.M person 3SG.M TOP} \\
o=pazo-ki=ni=e \\
matu kuboa=k o. \\
3SG.M=hit-RECP=RMP very many=LIG place \\
'Sito is a man, he fought at lots of places.' (12-1-2)
\]

Only transitive verbs whose A and O arguments are both human take the suffix -kini. Some other verbs derived by suffixation of -kini are:

(6.4)  
\[\text{bazue 'to tell'} \rightarrow \text{bazue-kini 'to tell each other' or 'to exchange conversation'}\]

(6.5)  
\[\text{vouvae 'to kill} \rightarrow \text{vouvae-kini 'to kill each other'}\]

(6.6)  
\[\text{roque 'to care/love'} \rightarrow \text{roque-kini 'to care/love each other'}\]

(6.7)  
\[\text{besie 'to replace'} \rightarrow \text{besie-kini 'to replace each other'}\]

A ditransitive verb *katiko* 'to give' can also take the suffix -kini. With a Bilua verb *katiko* 'to give', the O argument is the recipient not the theme and thus it is human. With this verb, the suffix -kini is realised as -ekini:

(6.8)  
\[
\text{Se ta ke=kati-ekini=a ko puarao.} \\
\text{3PL TOP 3PL=give-RECP=PRES 3SG.F present} \\
'They exchange a present.'
\]

### 6.2.2 Suffixes on nouns and adjectives

There are four sets of suffixes which attach to adjectives and nouns. One of the sets also attaches to loan words from English, as described below. Each set has two suffixes which derive an intransitive verb, and another suffix which derives a transitive verb. They are: -k, -zi, and -kí, -mat, -mail, and -mu, -put, -pul, and -pue, and -i/o, -il, and -e.

A source noun or adjective may take any of three suffixes, or just one or two of three suffixes. It is not fully predictable which one of these sets is applied to each noun/adjective. Thus, it can be said that derived verbs are all lexicalised.\(^{24}\)

The first two of each set derives an intransitive verb, and derived intransitive verbs by the suffixation of the second suffixes in each set; that is, -zi, -mail, -pul, and -il have a semireflexive meaning 'do something oneself' or a reflexive meaning 'to do something

---

\(^{24}\) Because of this, in the rest of this work, segmentation of these morphemes is not shown.
(to) oneself. For example, an intransitive verb *uri-*zi derived from an adjective *uri* 'good' has a semireflexive meaning, 'to become better by oneself'. Another intransitive verb, *uri-*k, derived from the same adjective also means 'to become better' but does not have a semireflexive meaning.

The suffixes -k, -zi, and -ki are applied to an adjective denoting value, *uri* 'good', and -k and -ki but not -zi are applied to an adjective denoting size, *silo* 'small'. Both -k and -zi derive an intransitive verb, thus adding the meaning 'to become'. -ki derives a transitive verb adding the meaning 'to make'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{silo} & \quad \text{small} & \quad \text{uri} & \quad \text{good} \\
\downarrow & & \downarrow \\
\text{silo-k} & \quad \text{to become small} & \quad \text{uri-k} & \quad \text{to become better} \\
\text{--} & & \text{uri-zi} & \quad \text{to become better by oneself} \\
\text{silo-ki} & \quad \text{to make s.th. small} & \quad \text{uri-ki} & \quad \text{to make s.th. better}
\end{align*}
\]

Here, the subject of the derived intransitive verb corresponds to the object of the derived transitive verb. For example, the subject 'he' in 'he became better' becomes the object in 'she made him better'. In both sentences, the one who became better is 'he'.

-k but not -ki or -zi can also be applied to a few temporal nouns:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rasi} & \quad \text{evening} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{rasi-k} & \quad \text{to become evening} \\
\text{ipu} & \quad \text{night} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{ipu-k} & \quad \text{to become night}
\end{align*}
\]

-mat, -muil, and -mu attach to nouns of one or two syllables. Both -mat and -muil derive an intransitive verb, while -mu derives a transitive verb. Derived verbs express an activity involving the source noun. For example, a derived verb *raro-mat* from a noun *raro* 'pot' means 'to cook in a pot', and a derived verb *lezu-mat* from *lezu* 'head' means 'to study', an activity which involves the use of a head (brain). Here, the S argument of the intransitive verb corresponds to the A argument of the transitive verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{raro} & \quad \text{pot} & \quad \text{lezu} & \quad \text{head} \\
\downarrow & & \downarrow \\
\text{raro-mat} & \quad \text{to cook s.th. in a pot (INTR)} & \quad \text{lezu-mat} & \quad \text{to study s.th. (INTR)} \\
\text{--} & & \text{lezu-muil} & \quad \text{to study by oneself} \\
\text{raro-mu} & \quad \text{to cook s.th. in a pot (TR)} & \quad \text{lezu-mu} & \quad \text{to study s.th. (TR)}
\end{align*}
\]

-put, -puil, and -pue attach to nouns of three syllables or more. They are parallel with the last set: derived verbs express an activity involving the source noun, and the subject of the derived intransitive verb and the subject of the derived transitive verb correspond with each other. It is not understood why nouns of three syllables or more take -put, -puil, and -pue rather than -mat, -muil, and -mu.

---

In §4.4, it was noted that a verb containing a segment -il or -zi may have a reflexive meaning. The fact that derived verbs with suffixes -zi and -il can also have a reflexive meaning suggests that these are reflexive suffixes. Accordingly, -muil and -puil may be segmented into -mu and -il, and -pu and -il respectively. As indicated in §4.4, it is beyond the scope of this work to present a full discussion about verbal morphology.
iruru 'work'  
|↓|  
|↓|
irusi ‘rope’
irusi-put ‘to work’  
irusi-put ‘to make a rope’
irusi-pul ‘to work by oneself’  
irusi-pul ‘to make a rope’
irusi-pu ‘to fix’  
irusi-pu ‘to make a rope’

There is also an example where -put, -pul, and -pue attach to an adjective. They can attach to the adjective tuvevo ‘true’. Here, both tuvevo-put and tuvevo-pue mean ‘to believe (something)’. The intransitive one, tuvevo-put, is usually nominalised by a nominal derivational enclitic (see §6.3.1): tuvevo-put-o meaning ‘belief’.\(^{26}\)

tuvevo ‘true’
|↓|
tuvevo-put ‘to believe s.b./s.th. (INTR)’
tuvevo-pul ‘to believe oneself’
tuvevo-pue ‘to believe s.b./s.th. (TR)’

-tØ, -il, and -e attach to some nouns/adjectives. Both -tØ and -il derive an intransitive verb, while -e derives a transitive verb. There appears to be no semantic regularity here.

tola ‘pain’  
|↓|  
|↓|
vozi ‘to paddle’  
ija ‘equal’
tola-t ‘to feel main’  
ija-t ‘to do pressing’
tola-il ‘to make oneself feel pain’  
ija-il ‘to press oneself’
tola-e ‘to make someone feel pain’  
vozi-e ‘to paddle’  
ija-e ‘to press (TR)’

Here, the subject of the intransitive verb corresponds sometimes with object and at other times with the subject of the transitive verb. For example, the subject in ‘I feel pain’ corresponds with the object in ‘he made me feel pain’, while the subject in ‘I paddle’ corresponds with the subject in ‘I paddled a canoe’.

-per and -pue can also be attached to English verbs. For example,

develop  
|↓|
developu-put ‘to develop (INTR)’
developu-pue ‘to develop (TR)’
create  
|↓|
create-put ‘to create (INTR)’
create-pue ‘to create (TR)’

\(^{26}\) Note that the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs is drawn on morphological grounds, viz. whether a verb has the ability to take an object clitic (see §4.4), but semantically here both intransitive and transitive verbs anticipate the existence of an object.
6.3 Nominal derivational enclitics

Nominal derivational enclitics \( o \) and \( vo \) derive an abstract noun. The derived noun belongs to the common noun class. \( O \) and \( vo \) are in complementary distribution; \( o \) attaches to verbs, while \( vo \) attaches to adjectives and the numeral \( omadeu \) 'one'.

6.3.1 Deriving a noun from a verb

A nominal derivational enclitic \( o \) derives an abstract noun from a verb or a verb accompanied by an object clitic and/or a modifier. \( O \) directly attaches to an intransitive verb or attaches to an object clitic on a transitive verb. Thus, \( o \) can attach to a material already containing a clitic and this indicates that \( o \) is a clitic not an affix.

(6.9) an intransitive verb

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vouvat} &= o \\
\text{kill} &= \text{NOM} \\
& \text{‘killing’}
\end{align*}
\]

(6.10) a transitive verb with an object clitic

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vouvae} &= k = o \\
\text{kill}=3\text{SG.F.O} &= \text{NOM} \\
& \text{‘killing of her’}
\end{align*}
\]

(6.11) an intransitive verb with a modifier

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[uri}=a \quad \text{maqin} &= o \\
\text{good}=\text{LIG} \quad \text{be.full} &= \text{NOM} \\
& \text{‘being nicely full’}
\end{align*}
\]

Example (6.11) cannot be analysed as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uri} &= a \quad \text{[maqin}=o
\end{align*}
\]

since, if this were the case, \( uri \) would be treated as an NP modifier. However, Bilua adjectives cannot function as NP modifiers by themselves—they form modifier phrases with pronominal enclitics and these function as NP modifiers (see §7.2.1.3.1). Thus, in (6.11), \( o \) is attached to a modifier–verb combination, not just to a verb. This is more evidence for \( o \) being a clitic, not an affix.

As the derived word is a noun, this can be the head of an NP. In the following example \( saev=\) is a derived noun. It is the head of an NP modified by an NP \( uri=a=ma \).

(6.12) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{uri} &= a=ma \\
\text{saev} &= o \\
\text{good}=\text{LIG}=3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{survive} &= \text{NOM} \\
& \text{‘good life’}
\end{align*}
\]

When \( o \) attaches to a modifier–verb combination, the derived word does not occur with a modifier as it already contains a modifier. Neither does it occur with any other optional NP constituents, which mark either definiteness or number. This is because the derived noun refers to a state, that is semantically it still behaves like a verb. In (6.11), the derived
noun refers to a state of being full. Because of this, it does not receive a definiteness marking or a number marking: it does not occur with optional NP constituents.

A Bilua nominalised verb can have argument(s) of its own, and an object clitic on a nominalised transitive verb cross-references the object. In (6.10), the object is third person singular feminine and so the object clitic is in the third person singular feminine form. If the object is third person singular masculine, it would have an object clitic $v$ (3SG.M). To illustrate, $vouva=v=o$ (kill=3SG.M.O=NOM) means ‘killing of him’.

When $o$ is attached to a verb ending with $u$ it is realised as zero. For example, the combination of the verb teku ‘to lie’ $o$ is realised as teku. In such a case the gloss is given as verbNOM; for example, lieNOM.

Some more examples of nominalised verbs are:

- $roquan=o$ (care/love=NOM) ‘caring/love’
- $zari=o$ (want=NOM) ‘wish’
- $nianii=o$ (know=NOM) ‘knowledge’
- $pazo-kini=o$ (hit-RECP=NOM) ‘fight’

In the last example, $o$ is attached to a derived stem, derived by a derivational suffix -$kini$ (see 6.2.1)

### 6.3.2 Deriving a noun from an adjective or the numeral omadeu ‘one’

A nominal derivational enclitic $vo$ derives a noun from an adjective or the numeral omadeu ‘one’. $Vo$ is realised as $avo$ when it follows a high vowel $i$ or $u$. It is realised as $vo$ elsewhere.

$$
vo \rightarrow \begin{array}{l}
avo / vowel i, u _
\end{array} 
vo \text{ elsewhere}
$$

There is no evidence that proves that $vo$ is a clitic rather than an affix, but it is treated as a clitic in this work because $o$, another nominal derivational morpheme described in §6.3.1, is a clitic.

In the texts, there are six adjectives recorded which take a nominal derivational enclitic: $olaqu$ ‘suffering’, $edolo$ ‘different’, $aza$ ‘various’, $ija$ ‘equal’, $uri$ ‘good’, and $kiada$ ‘all’.

(6.13) $olaqu$ ‘suffering’ (adjective) $\rightarrow$ $olaqu=avo$ ‘suffering’ (noun)

(6.14) $edolo$ different $\rightarrow$ $edolo=vo$ ‘difference’

(6.15) $aza$ ‘various’ $\rightarrow$ $aza=vo$ ‘variety’

(6.16) $ija$ ‘equal’ $\rightarrow$ $ija=vo$ ‘equality’

(6.17) $uri$ ‘good’ $\rightarrow$ $uri=avo$ ‘goodness (Okay)’

(6.18) $kiada$ ‘all’ $\rightarrow$ $kiada=vo$ ‘everything’
In the following example, a nominal derivational enclitic is attached to an adjective olaqau ‘suffering’. Olaqauvo ‘suffering’ occurs in an object NP and is preceded by a demonstrative, ko (3SG.F). This suggests that the derived noun is a common noun (see §7.4).

(6.19)   Enge ta nge=rove=a tu k=ov=o ko
         1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=can=PRES IRR 3SG.F.O=get=NOM 3SG.F

          olaqau=vo...
failing=NOM
          ‘We can be subjected to suffering...’ (64-3-18)

There are a few examples of vo cliticised to other adjectives in elicitation, and the derived noun can be a complement of the verb iko ‘to cause’. These are described in §8.7.3.

The derived abstract noun omadeu=vo from the numeral omadeu ‘one’ means ‘sameness’. In the following example, omadeu=vo is preceded by a demonstrative which is cliticised with a ligature a. This illustrates that the demonstrative and omadeu=vo form an NP whose head is omadeu=vo (see §5.5.1 and §5.17 for demonstratives and the ligature respectively). Thus the derived word is clearly a noun.

(6.20)   O=vaia=a       keru       mati ko=a       omadeu=vo.
         3SG.M=return=PRES  TEMP        again 3SG.F=LIG one=NOM
          ‘When he returns, again, the same thing (it’s the same).’ (24-4-30)

6.4 Compounding

Compounds in Bilua are all nouns. Sixteen lexicalised compounds were found in the data. Most of them consist of two nouns. Often, the two nouns are in a ‘modifier-modified’ relationship.

(6.21)   vaka-maba (boat-person) ‘white people’
(6.22)   vaka-peuru (boat-village) ‘western country’
(6.23)   ore-mari (tree/stick-taro) ‘cassava’
(6.24)   raro-pade (pot-house) ‘kitchen’
(6.25)   nira-turu (coconut-shell) ‘coconut shell’
(6.26)   kiti-saresare (leg-plain) ‘sole of foot’
(6.27)   ngase-saresare (hand-plain) ‘palm’
(6.28)   alil=mo-nganiu (be.born=NOM-day) ‘birthday’
(6.29)   sinaqau-rusu (unmarried.woman-youth) ‘girl’

Two compounds consist of an adjective and a noun.
(6.30)  *lasive-rusu* (male-youth) ‘boy’
(6.31)  *reko-rusu* (female-youth) ‘girl’

*Sinaqu-rusu* and *reko-rusu* both mean ‘girl’, the former consisting of two nouns and the latter consisting of an adjective and a noun.

In the following five compounds, the two nouns do not show a modifying–modified relationship.

(6.32)  *susu-pait-o* (breast-finish=NOM) ‘last-born child’
(6.33)  *maba-sisu* (person-seed/sweet potato) ‘yam’
(6.34)  *megora-saidi* (child-family) ‘family (with children)’
(6.35)  *ranga-usa* (ember-fire) ‘ember’
(6.36)  *sakare-ju* (coconut.shell.filled.with.water-water) ‘coconut shell filled with water’

The nouns *ranga* and *sakare* themselves mean ‘ember’ and ‘coconut shell filled with water’ respectively, and compounds containing these words *ranga-usaha* (ember-fire) and *sakare-ju* still mean ‘ember’ and ‘coconut shell filled with water’ respectively.

There are four criteria which support the contention that these are compounds and can be considered to be one word. First, stress is applied only to the first syllable of the whole word, and the first syllable of the second part does not have stress. Second, compounds belong to common nouns, and like other common nouns they may form an NP with a distal demonstrative in postverbal position (see §7.4). Third, they can take a determiner. Fourth, no other constituents can intervene between their parts.

The above examples are established, lexicalised compounds, but a new compound can be freely formed for naming. For example, in telling a folktale, my informant referred to (named) a specific village as *matu-peuru* (big-village) ‘Big Village’.

In the rest of this work, lexicalised compounds are written as one word, for example *raropade* ‘kitchen’, not *raro-pade* (pot-house). Non-lexicalised compounds, on the other hand, are written in their parts, for example *matu-peuru* (big-village) ‘Big Village’ not *matupeuru*.

### 6.5 Reduplication

Reduplication can be applied to nouns, verbs, adjectives, and numerals. A reduplicated form has the first two syllables repeated (CVCV reduplication). The formation of a reduplicated form is described in §2.8. Reduplication can be category changing (§6.5.1) or non-category changing (§6.5.2).
6.5.1 Category-changing reduplication

Reduplication of some nouns and verb roots can change the word class. When applied to a noun, it can derive an adjective (§6.5.1.1) or a verb (§6.5.1.2). From a verb, it can derive an adjective (§6.5.1.3) or a noun (§6.5.1.4).

6.5.1.1 Deriving adjectives from nouns

Reduplication of a noun can derive an adjective of physical description as in (6.37), (6.38), and (6.39) or other kind of adjectives as in (6.40).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(6.37) potu ‘wound’</td>
<td>potapotapota ‘having a wound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.38) sisu ‘sweet potato’</td>
<td>sisuisi ‘curly (like stems of sweet potatoes)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.39) toruru ‘egg’</td>
<td>torutoruru ‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.40) puaaro ‘gift’</td>
<td>puaropuaaro ‘generous’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5.1.2 Deriving verbs from nouns

Reduplication of a noun can derive a verb which describes an action involving the entity denoted by the noun. As noted in §6.2.8, derived verbs are fully lexicalised and the form of a derived verb, except for the repeated initial two syllables, is not predictable from the source word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(6.41) iqe ‘knee’</td>
<td>iqeige ‘to kneel down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.42) lenio ‘tongue’</td>
<td>lenileniot ‘to lick (INTR)’, lenilenioe ‘to lick (TR)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.43) pari ‘dust/sand’</td>
<td>paripariti ‘to play with sand (INTR)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6.44) revo ‘seaweed’</td>
<td>revorevot ‘to pick up seaweed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5.1.3 Deriving adjectives from verbs

Reduplication of a verb can derive an adjective which describes the resulting state brought out by the situation described by the verb. As described in §2.8, reduplication of verbs applies to roots, the identical segments shared by intransitive and transitive verbs. For example, an intransitive verb tibur ‘to close’ and a transitive verb tiburi ‘to close’ share the segments tibur, and reduplication applies to the first two syllables of this, tibu.
Verbs
(6.45) tibur ‘to close (INTR)’
       tiburi ‘to close (TR)’

(6.46) zoleil ‘to be happy’
       zole ‘to make happy’

(6.47) niumat ‘to break (INTR)’
       niumanumae ‘to break (TR)’

(6.48) sukati ‘to become full (INTR)’
       sukati ‘to fill (TR)’

(6.49) pisaido ‘to break (INTR)’
       pisae ‘to break (TR)’

(6.50) potas ‘to split (INTR)’
       potasi ‘to split (TR)’

Adjectives
(6.45) tibutiburi ‘closed’

(6.46) zolezole ‘happy/pleasant’

(6.47) niumaniuma ‘broken’

(6.48) sukasuki ‘full’

(6.49) pisapisa ‘cracked’

(6.50) potapotasi ‘split’

Reduplicated forms in (6.49) and (6.50) can also function as a noun meaning ‘crack’ and ‘split’ respectively.

6.5.1.4 Deriving nouns from verbs

Reduplication of a verb can derive a noun which denotes: the instrument of the situation described by the verb (instrumental nominalization) (Comrie & Thompson 1985:353); the result of the situation described by the verb (resultative nominalization); 27 or the object of the verb (object nominalisation). Examples (6.51) to (6.53) are examples of instrumental nominalisation. Examples (6.54) and (6.55) are examples of resultative nominalisation, and examples (6.56) to (6.58) are examples of object nominalisation. There are a few others which do not belong to any of these nominalisation types as in examples (6.59) and (6.60).

Verbs
(6.51) buisiti ‘to chase away flies (INTR)’
       buiste ‘to chase away flies (TR)’

Nouns
(6.51) buisibisi ‘something with which to chase away flies’
       (for example a towel)

(6.52) volo ‘to take copra out of shell (INTR)’
       voloe ‘to take copra out of shell (TR)’

(6.53) papu ‘to sit’
       papue ‘to sit’

(6.54) podet ‘to measure (INTR)’
       podeti ‘to measure (TR)’

Nouns
(6.52) volovolo ‘a device to take copra out of a shell’

(6.53) papupapu ‘chair’

(6.54) podepodeti ‘measurement’

27 Comrie and Thompson (1985:355) refers to this kind of nominalisation as ‘objective nominalization’.
(6.55) *pitasat* ‘to divide into groups (INTR)’  *pitapitasi* ‘division’
*pitas* ‘to divide into groups (TR)’

(6.56) *pauzut* ‘to adopt (INTR)’  *pauczpaauzu* ‘adopted child’
*pauze* ‘to adopt (TR)’

(6.57) *zaiti* ‘to put stones on the top of’  *zaitizaiti* ‘stones which are put on oven’ the top of a stone oven’

(6.58) *bazut* ‘to tell (INTR)’  *bazubazu* ‘stories’
*bazue* ‘to tell (TR)’

(6.59) *purat* ‘to come out’  *purapura* ‘hole’
*purae* ‘to take out’

(6.60) *pait* ‘to finish (INTR)’  *paitopaito* ‘last one/end’
*pai* ‘to finish (TR)’

6.5.2 Non-category changing reduplication

Reduplication can be non-category changing. Some verbs, a few adjectives, a few nouns, and numerals can have a non-category changing reduplicated form. With verbs, nouns, and adjectives most commonly a reduplicated form indicates multiplicity—it indicates repetitive events for verbs and plurality for nouns and adjectives.

Examples of non-category changing duplication with verbs

(6.61) *nanat* ‘to bite (INTR)’  *nanananat* ‘to bite many times (INTR)’
(6.62) *nanae* ‘to bite (TR)’  *nanananae* ‘to bite many times (TR)’
(6.63) *vatut* ‘to move (INTR)’  *vatuvaatu* ‘to move many times (INTR)’
(6.64) *vatue* ‘to move (TR)’  *vatuvautei* ‘to move many times (TR)’

Examples of non-category changing reduplication with nouns

(6.65) *qole* ‘elder’  *qoleqole* ‘elders’
(6.66) *reko* ‘woman’  *rekoreko* ‘women’

Examples of non-category changing reduplication with adjectives

(6.67) *aza* ‘various’  *azaaza* ‘very much in variety’
(6.68) *edo* ‘different’  *edoedo* ‘many different (ones)’

Non-category changing reduplication applies to only two nouns listed above. *Qoleqole* ‘elders’ occurs with a plural marker *poso* in an NP, although plurality is indicated by reduplication itself; for example *qoleqole poso* (elders PL.M). Plurality can also be indicated by a plural marker only, as in *qole poso* (elder PL.M) ‘elders’. The regular plural form of *reko* ‘woman’ is a reduplicated form *rekoreko* ‘women’, and *reko* cannot occur with a plural marker *poso*, thus *reko poso* (woman PL.M) is ungrammatical.
The verb *padoi* 'to gather' is an exception. The reduplicated form of this verb, *padopadoi* does not mean 'to gather many times'. The verb *padoi* 'to gather' itself indicates that the subject is plural, and its reduplicated form denotes that the plural subject has an exhaustive interpretation as in the following example.

(6.69) ...*kiada=mu ta ke=pado-padoi=va*...
      all=3PL TOP 3PL=REDUP-gather=PRES
      '"...everyone [without exception, without leaving anyone], they gathered..."'
(10-9-80)

A reduplicated form may have a superlative meaning. This applies to the reduplicated form of some words to which a notion of order applies. For example, the reduplicated form of *visi* 'younger', *visivisi*, means 'youngest'.

There is one case in which the meaning of the reduplicated form is not predictable from the non-reduplicated one. Here the reduplicated form *sarosaroro* of the adjective *saroro* 'fresh'/water' means 'cold'.

*Sisiusisu*, the reduplicated form of the noun *sisu* 'seed' means 'flower'. This can be attached with *-na*, and *sisiusisu-na* means 'fruit'. The origin of *-na* is not known.

As presented in §6.5.1.4, from a verb root *bazu* 'to tell', a noun *bazubazu* 'story' is derived. This can be attached with *-lao*, and *bazubazu-lao* means 'folktale. Again, the origin of *-lao* is not known.

A reduplicated form of a numeral acquires a meaning 'each'.

Examples of non-category changing reduplication with numerals

(6.70) *omuqa* 'two'
      *omuomuqa* 'two each'
(6.71) *siakava* 'nine'
      *siakasiakava* 'nine each'
(6.72) *omadeu-paizana-siakava* '109'
      *omuaomadeu-paizana-siakava* '109 each'

The following example illustrates how a reduplicated form of a numeral occurs in a sentence.

(6.73) *A=qati=m=ala omu-omugala lebu.*
      1SG=give=3PL.O=RCP REDUP-two mango
      'I gave them two mangoes each.'

In addition to nouns, adjectives, verbs, and numerals, one pronoun, *eri* 'something like this' can have a reduplicated form.

(6.74) *eri* 'something like this'
      *erier* 'something like these'

---

28 *Sisu* also means 'sweet potato'. With this meaning, reduplication becomes category changing as shown in §6.5.1.1
6.6 Summary

In the sections above four types of derivational processes in Bilua were described. Suffixation can derive verbs from nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Encliticisation derives nouns from verbs, adjectives, the numeral *omadeu* ‘one’, and PPs headed with *kale*. Words derived from compounding can only be nouns and they often originate in two nouns. Reduplication can be applied to nouns, adjectives, verbs, and numerals and can be non-category changing. It can also be category changing: from a noun, it can derive an adjective or a verb, while from a verb, it can derive an adjective or a noun. The above is summarised in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Source words</th>
<th>Derived words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suffixation</td>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adjectives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>verbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English verbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encliticisation</td>
<td>verbs</td>
<td>nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adjectives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>omadeu</em> ‘one’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>compounding</td>
<td>often two nouns</td>
<td>nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplication</td>
<td>verbs</td>
<td>verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adjectives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>verbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adjectives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>numerals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This concludes the description of derivational morphology in Bilua. The next chapter presents a description of structures of NPs and their constituents.
7 Noun phrases

7.1 Introduction

A Bilua noun phrase (NP) can be an argument of a verbal predicate as in example (7.1), a subject of a non-verbal clause as in (7.2), a predicate of a non-verbal clause as in (7.3), a complement of a postposition as in (7.4), or an adjunct as in (7.5).

(7.1) \[ o = k i a = v = a \quad vo = a \quad buti. \]
\[ 3 S G . M = p u t . o n = 3 S G . M . O = P R E S \quad 3 S G . M = L I G \quad b o o t \]
‘he put on the boot.’ (16-6-86)

(7.2) \[ V o = k o \quad n g i \quad ta \quad D a v i d \quad V o l o s i . \]
\[ 3 S G . M = 3 S G . F \quad n a m e \quad T O P \quad D a v i d \quad V o l o s i \]
‘His name was David Volosi.’ (23-4-45)

(7.3) \[ K u r o u \quad n i \quad k o b a k a \quad t a \quad u r i = a = m a \quad b a e r e - b a e r e \]
\[ p i g e o n \quad a n d \quad s n a i l \quad T O P \quad g o o d = L I G = 3 S G . F \quad R E D U P - f r i e n d \]
\[ k i d i . \]
\[ C O L L . D U \]
‘Pigeon and Snail were good friends.’ (15-1-2)

(7.4) \[ ... k e = k = a t i \quad k u e = v a \quad k o m i = a \quad u d u \quad a l e . \]
\[ 3 P L = 3 S G . F . O = V A L \quad c o m e = P R E S \quad P R O X . S G . F = L I G \quad i s l a n d \quad i n \]
‘...they came to this island with it.’ (12-11-103)

(7.5) \[ K i a d a = m a \quad t a k u \quad B a r a k o m a = k o \quad v a i l = o \quad a l e \quad i n i o \]
\[ a l l = 3 S G . F \quad t i m e \quad B a r a k o m a = 3 S G . F \quad l o o k = N O M \quad i n \quad F O C . N O N F \]
\[ s e \quad t a \quad k e = e v = a . \]
\[ 3 P L \quad T O P \quad 3 P L = s t a y = P R E S \]
‘All the time, in the care of Barakoma, they lived.’ (10-10-83)

Example (7.2) is distinguished from others in the sense that it presents a possessor–possessee relationship. Such an NP is referred to as a ‘possessive NP’, while an NP which does not present a possessor–possessee relationship is referred to as a ‘basic NP’. Possessive and basic NPs are not only semantically but also syntactically distinguished. In (7.2), vo (3SG.M) is a possessor NP and this is marked with a possessive marker ko (3SG.F).

There is a three-way person distinction in Bilua for human referents: first, second, and third, and a three-way number distinction: singular, dual, and plural. Furthermore, third
person singular has a gender distinction between masculine and feminine. Non-singular first person also has a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. The above is summarised in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number/Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual.inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual.exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural.inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural.exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>singular.masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular.feminine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inflectional pronouns inflect according to these distinctions, but the distinctions may be partially neutralised when pronouns have certain functions (see §7.2.1.3.1 and §7.3.2).

Having a masculine–feminine distinction does not mean that Bilua nouns have grammatical genders. Except for nouns that have a natural gender, Bilua nouns are neutral with respect to gender, but a gender can be assigned to an NP by optional constituents, which inflect for genders (see §7.4).

Non-human referents do not have a gender distinction and they are always third person. They can only have a number distinction between singulative and unspecified number. Singulative and unspecified number non-human referents are expressed by third person singular masculine and third person singular feminine pronouns respectively. For example, demonstratives vo (3SG.M) and ko (3SG.F) may refer to a single pig and pig(s) respectively.

An NP in Bilua is usually marked for person/number/gender according to the above distinctions. In this chapter, first a description of basic NPs is given in §7.2. This is followed by a description of possessive NPs (§7.3). Then, §7.4 discusses the system of person/number/gender marking on NPs in Bilua.

7.2 Basic NPs

The minimum constituent of a basic NP is the head. The NP head can be a noun, a free pronoun, or a quantifier. The head noun can be any noun except for two nouns, male ‘match’ and ngavi ‘self’, which can only be heads of possessive NPs (see §7.3). An NP may have optional constituent(s). The following is the structure of basic NPs with optional constituents. The constituents are listed in the order in which they occur in NPs.

---

29 The term ‘singulative’ is employed in order to distinguish non-human singular from human singular, which has a person/gender distinction as well as a number distinction.
Co-occurrence of heads with optional constituents depends on the kinds of heads. This is described in §7.2.2.

Bilua modifiers take the form of a modifier phrase, a general modifier, or an adjectival phrase, PRON=kiada ‘by oneself’ (see §7.2.1.13). The head of an NP can be ellipsed when it contains a modifier phrase or the adjectival phrase PRON=kiada ‘by oneself’.

In Bilua, a postverbal NP cannot consist only of a noun when the head is a non-locational noun. It usually has one or more of the optional constituents listed above, but when it does not, it obligatorily takes a distal demonstrative preceding the head. That is, an NP may consist of a distal demonstrative and the head, but the demonstrative here is not treated as one of optional NP constituents listed above. Bilua demonstratives can fill the slot for determiners, but in such a case, they are attached with a ligature (see §7.2.1.11). The distal demonstrative here on the other hand is not attached with a ligature and this suggests that the demonstrative is not filling the slot for determiners. It also lacks a deictic function. It appears that a postverbal NP has to be marked for person/number/gender in Bilua, and the demonstrative occurs just for this purpose. This is discussed in §7.4.

In this section, first each of optional NP constituents is described in §7.2.1. Following this, NPs with different kinds of heads are presented in §7.2.2. NPs under discussion are single-underlined while optional constituents under discussion are double-underlined.

7.2.1 Optional NP constituents

7.2.1.1 Determiners

Determiners occur in the NP-initial position. Determiners mark whether a particular referent is identifiable or not in the given discourse. A referent can be considered to be definite when the speaker can assume that the hearer knows and can identify the particular referent the speaker is talking about (Chafe 1976:39). A referent is identifiable when it has already been introduced.
A Bilua determiner takes the form of a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, the indefinite marker *ka* (INDEF), or an indefinite pronoun (see §5.5.1 for the list of demonstratives, independent pronouns, and indefinite pronouns). Demonstratives and independent pronouns mark definiteness, while the indefinite marker and indefinite pronouns mark indefiniteness. There are some exceptions to this, as described in the following subsections: demonstratives and independent pronouns in §7.2.1.1.1 and indefinite marker and pronouns in §7.2.1.1.2. Determiners are optional constituents of NPs, and NPs without a determiner can be definite or indefinite. This is discussed in §7.2.1.1.3.

**7.2.1.1.1 Demonstratives and independent pronouns**

Demonstratives mark definiteness as well as having a deictic function. There are two kinds of demonstratives in Bilua; these are proximate and distal demonstratives, as illustrated by examples (7.6) and (7.7) respectively. Demonstratives are cliticised with a ligature when they fill the slot for a determiner.

(7.6) ...*komi=a* Vella La Vella *udu* ale *ta* *sikeura* PROX.SG.F=LIG Vella La Vella island in TOP seven

* vuro maba ta *ikoana... thousand person TOP EXT.SG.F

'...in this Vella La Vella island, there are seven thousand people...' (64-2-14)

(7.7) ...*le a* *mi nata* vo=a *ore* a=ba tomorrow FOC.NONF again 3SG.M=LIG tree 1SG=PROS

* koi=v=ou... climb=3SG.M.O=FUT

'...tomorrow, again, I will climb that (one) tree...' (2-9-55)

Distal demonstratives may be used without reference to distance. In that case, they just function as definite markers. In the discourse where example (7.8) below appears, the mother and the child are established participants.

(7.8) ...*ko=ta* *kora-korai=va* ko=a *niania* vo=a 3SG.F=SIT REDUP-be.angry=PRES 3SG.F=LIG mother 3SG.M=LIG

* megora melai pui o=zolei=va. NEG child too NEG 3SG.M=be.happy=PRES

'...she became angry, the mother, and the child too, he was not happy.' (24-8-84)

In an NP which presents a topic of a text, a demonstrative can be cataphoric. Such an NP often has a measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) ‘one’ as an optional constituent as well.

(7.9) *Komi=a* *pado* *bazu-bazu* Voululu PROX.SG.F=LIG MESone REDUP-story Voululu

* tou-tou *kale=a=ma* vairutu anga *ta* REDUP-tribe in=LIG=3SG.F now 1SG TOP
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First/second person independent pronouns can also fill the slot for a determiner, but their function here is to specify the person/number of the NP rather than marking definiteness. In the following example, the ligature on the independent pronoun indicates that the pronoun enge (1PL.EXC) does not form an NP of its own but it forms an NP with saidi 'family'; a ligature occurs only between morphemes which belong to the same phrase (see §5.17).

(7.10)  
\[
\text{enge=a } \quad \text{saidi} \\
\text{1PL.EXC=LI G family} \\
\text{we, family}
\]

7.2.1.1.2 Indefinite marker and pronouns

Indefinite marker and pronouns indicate that the hearer is not expected to be able to identify the referent, and generally they also mark specificity. An exception to this is described later in this section. In (7.11) and (7.12), when the speaker utters the words ‘war canoe’ and ‘island’, he has a specific war canoe and island in his mind. In (7.13) the indefinite pronoun kake (INDEF.PL) refers to an indefinite quantity of specific people (people in the village).

(7.11)  
\[
\ldots se \quad ta \quad ke \quad ere\text=\text=v\text=e \quad kala \quad \quad niabar a.
\text{3PL TOP 3PL make=3SG.M.O=RMP INDEF.SG.M war.canoe}
\]
\[
\text{Ne= } \quad \text{niabar a } \quad \text{ta } \quad a\text=\text=daite } \quad \text{Bobe=Vo.}
\text{PROXSG.M=LI G war.canoe TOP 1SG=grand.parent } \quad \text{Bobe=3SG.M}
\text{‘...they made a war canoe. This war canoe was my grandfather Bobe’s.’}
\text{(25-1-6-7)}
\]

(7.12)  
\[
\ldots \text{ke=ke\text=v}\text=e \quad k a \quad \text{pado } \quad \text{udu } \quad \text{ale.}
\text{3PL=go=RMP INDEF MESone island in}
\]
\[
\text{Ko= } \quad \text{udu=ko } \quad \text{ngi } \quad \text{ta } \quad \text{Vawa.}
\text{3SG.F=LIG island=3SG.F name TOP Vawa}
\text{‘...they went to an island. The name of the island was Vawa.’}
\text{(12-2-8-9)}
\]

(7.13)  
\[
\ldots \text{kake } \quad \text{maba } \quad \text{madu } \quad \text{ta } \quad \text{puli= } \quad \text{ma } \quad \text{ko= } \quad \text{a}
\text{INDEF.PL person COLL.PL TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=LIG}
\]
peuru ale.
village in
'...some people are missing in the village.' (26-2-13)

The distribution of the indefinite marker ka and indefinite pronouns is as follows. Ka occurs when the NP does not contain a modifier phrase, while indefinite pronouns occur when it contains one. Both modifier phrases and indefinite pronouns are marked for person, number, and gender, and they show agreement with each other. Compare (7.12) above and (7.14) below. Example (7.14) contains a modifier phrase silo=a=la (small=LIG=3SG.M) and so the NP contains an indefinite pronoun, kala (INDEF.SG.M). In (7.12), there is no modifier phrase and so the NP contains the indefinite marker ka (INDEF).

(7.14)    ...se     ta     ke=ke=ve   kala     silo=a=la   udu   ale.
        3PL     TOP     3PL=go=RMP INDEF.SG.M small=LIG=3SG.M island in
Ne=a       udu=ko   ngi   ta   Inia.
PROX.SG.M=LIG island=3SG.F name TOP Inia
'...they went to one small island. The name of this island was Inia.' (12-2-17-18)

The indefinite marker ka occurs with only certain non-human nouns: udu ‘island’, ipu ‘night’, sabere ‘year’, taku ‘time’, rana ‘side’, and quili ‘thing’, whose referents are all non-human. Ka itself does not say anything about the number but it can be used in combination with a measure pronoun pado (MESone) ‘one’ or a plural marker poso to specify singularity or plurality as in (7.12) above and (7.15) below.

(7.15)    ...esa   ka   poso   sabere   ta   matu=ma   vari=o
        maybe INDEF PL.M year TOP big=3SG.F increase=NOM
ko=ta     el=ou   komi=a   Sabora.
3SG.F=FUT become=FUT PROX.SG.F=LIG Sabora
'maybe, for years [to come, the population of] this village Sabora will show a
big increase.' (23-7-72)

Ipu ‘night’ with the indefinite marker ka is a fixed expression meaning ‘a night for someone’, that is a night event organised for someone as in the following example. To express ‘one night’, a numeral is used: omadeu ipu (one night).

(7.16)    ...se     ta     ke     ere=k=ou   ka   pado   ipu.
        3PL     TOP     3PL  make=3SG.F.O=FUT INDEF MESone night
'...they will make a night [for the chief who died].' (23-3-38)

The indefinite marker ka may also occur in an NP which has a female referent as in (7.17) but it never occurs in an NP which has a male referent. Thus, example (7.18) is ungrammatical. In an indefinite NP which has a male referent, indefiniteness can be marked only by an indefinite pronoun as in (7.19).

(7.17)    ...se     ta     ke=kati=v=ake   ka   pado   reko...
        3PL     TOP     3PL=give=3SG.M.O=HIST INDEF MESone wife
'...they gave him a wife...' (26-25-132)
(7.18) *Ke=kati=k=ake
ka pado lasiverusu.
3PL=give=3SG.F.O=HIST INDEF. MESone boy
'They gave her a boy.'

(7.19) Ke=kati=k=ake
kala lasiverusu.
3PL=give=3SG.F.O=HIST INDEF.SG.M boy
'They gave her a boy.'

It is not understood why an indefinite marker ka can only occur in an NP with a female referent. Moreover, there is a further constraint on this; such an NP may be employed only when the NP is an object of a verb whose object is normally restricted to a non-human referent. In (7.17), a gift, the object of the verb katiko 'to give', is normally restricted to a non-human referent. Otherwise, an indefinite NP contains an indefinite pronoun as a determiner. Kelo 'to see' in the following example does not have a selectional restriction for the type of the object: it can be human or non-human. Therefore, the object NP contains an indefinite pronoun, kama (INDEF.SG.F), not an indefinite marker ka (INDEF).

(7.20) A=q=ea=la
kama sinaqurusu.
1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES INDEF.SG.F girl
'saw a girl.'

Combinations of an indefinite marker/pronoun with a few nouns are used like some English indefinite pronouns, and with these nouns, the NP can only be non-specific: kala quli (INDEF.SG.M thing)/kama quli (INDEF.SG.F thing) 'something' and kala maba (INDEF.SG.M person)/kama maba (INDEF.SG.F person), 'somebody', and kama tako (INDEF.SG.M time)/ka tako (INDEF time) 'sometimes/sometime'.

(7.21) ...kama quli ikio nei o=ta vuat=ala...
INDEF.SG.F thing FOC.F PROX.SG.M 3SG.M=SIT eat=RCP
'...he ate something...'. (43-4-43)

(7.22) ...ngo=q=e=a
kama sinaqurusu ma kama
2SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES INDEF.SG.F girl or INDEF.SG.F
maba.
person
'...did you see a girl or somebody?'. (59-4-35)

(7.23) Ka koi ke=baro=a.
INDEF place 3PL=arrive=PRES
'They arrived somewhere.' (16-3-41)

(7.24) Kama tako inio qe=tauve=I=ou...
INDEF.SG.F time FOC.NONF 2DU=help=1SG.O=FUT
'Sometime, you will help me...'. (27-20-123)

A measure pronoun, in combination with a determiner, means 'one of many' (see also §7.2.1.4). This meaning entails definiteness and thus when an indefinite marker/pronoun co-occurs with a measure pronoun, it is considered not to mark indefiniteness anymore. In
the following example, each underlined NP refers to one of five parts of Vella La Vella island, and thus it is identifiable and definite.

(7.25) **Vella La Vella** _udu_ **ta** _sike_ **kobu.**

Vella La Vella island TOP five MESpart

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
Kala & \underline{kobu} \quad \underline{ta} \quad Biliau, \quad \underline{kala} \quad \underline{kobu} \\
\text{INDEF.SG.M} & \text{MESpart} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{Biliau} \quad \text{INDEF.SG.M} \quad \text{MESpart} \\
ta & Joria, \quad \underline{kala} \quad \underline{kobu} \quad \underline{ta} \quad \underline{Dover}, \\
\text{TOP} & \text{Joria} \quad \text{INDEF.SG.M} \quad \text{MESpart} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{Dover} \\
kala & \underline{kobu} \quad \underline{ta} \quad \text{Silmoi} \quad \underline{ni} \quad \underline{kala} \\
\text{INDEF.SG.M} & \text{MESpart} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{Silmoi} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{INDEF.SG.M} \\
kobu & \underline{ta} \quad \text{Kuri-kuri.} \\
\text{MESpart} & \text{TOP} \quad \text{REDUP-Kuri} \\
\end{array}
\]

Vella La Vella island has five areas. One (of them) is Bilua, one (of them) is Joria, one (of them) is Dover, one (of them) is Silomai, and one (of them) is Kurikuri.’ (9-1-3-4)

A proximate demonstrative and an indefinite pronoun can co-occur when the identity of a referent is not accessible but when its kind or its description is accessible. In the discourse in which (7.26) occurs, the hearer knows that the speaker has killed something, but the hearer does not know what it is exactly.

(7.26) ..._me=ba_ \quad v=el=ou \quad ne=a \quad \underline{kala} \\
\quad 2PL=PROS \quad 3SG.M.O=see=FUT \quad \text{PROX.SG.M=LIG} \quad \text{INDEF.SG.M} \\
\quad _guli_ \quad _anga_ \quad a=vou=ae=\underline{v}=\underline{ala}=ni, \\
\quad \text{thing} \quad 1SG \quad 1SG=kill=3SG.M.O=RCP=REL.NONF \\
\quad ‘...you are going to see this thing which I killed,’ (26-22-117)

There is no example in the data where a distal demonstrative occurs with an indefinite pronoun. Such an example was not found in elicitation either.

7.2.1.1.3 NPs without a determiner

Bilua nominals can be divided into two broad groups: ones which are inherently definite and ones which are not inherently definite. The former are all except common nouns, viz. pronouns, kinship terms, personal names, and locational nouns. Since they are inherently definite, they cannot co-occur with an indefinite marker/pronoun (see last section for exceptions, measure pronouns) and definiteness does not need to be marked by a demonstrative or an independent pronoun. An NP headed with a personal name, a kinship term, or a locational noun optionally contains a demonstrative. An NP headed with a quantifier is always definite as well, and this optionally contains a demonstrative or an independent pronoun but not an indefinite marker/pronoun.

Nominals which are not inherently definite are common nouns. Bilua common nouns are not marked for specificity either. In an NP headed with a common noun, definiteness
and specificity can be marked by a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, or an
indefinite marker/pronoun, but this marking is optional. When an NP is headed with a
common noun and when this does not contain any determiner, it can be definite, indefinite
specific, or indefinite non-specific. In (7.27), the underlined NP is definite and
identifiable, as this is a body part of a current participant. In (7.28), the underlined NP is
indefinite specific. The speaker starts his story about ‘two men’ with this sentence. In
(7.29), the underlined NP refers to a category ‘food’, and thus it is indefinite non-specific.

(7.27) *******omuga kiti ta o=soloe=k=e toupa=le.  
two leg TOP 3SG.M=dangle=3SG.F.O=RMP lake=in
‘[his] two legs, he dangled them into the lake.’ (24-6-63)

(7.28) Omadeu taku nio omuga maba ta qo=ta
one time FOC.NONF two person TOP 3DU=SIT
koiv=a mujor=o=le.
go.up=PRES bonito.fishing=NOM=PURP
‘Once upon a time, two men, they went up to do bonito fishing.’ (47-1-1)

(7.29) ...raisi-raisi ko e=va | sailo
REDUP-evening 3SG.F become=PRES food
qo=k=o=a | qo=saqor=a,
3DU=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3DU=go.down=PRES
‘...it became evening, the two got food, and they went down,’ (24-3-28)

7.2.1.2 Quantifiers

A quantifier can be a numeral or kubo ‘many’.

(7.30) *******kubo maba mahu ta ke=ta mumai=va...
many person COLL.PL TOP 3PL=SIT get.lost=PRES
‘...many people, they have got lost...’ (26-8-46)

(7.31) Nio souke sinaurusu ta ke=ta mutai=va.
SEQ three girl TOP 3PL=SIT hide=PRES
‘And three girls, they hid.’ (39-13-84)

A quantifier kubo itself does not trigger plural agreement even though it refers to a
plural number. It triggers default agreement, signalled by third person singular feminine.
In (7.32) below, the object clitic on the verb, which agrees with the NP kubo reko (many
wives), is in the third person singular feminine form. In (7.30) above, it is a collective
marker mahu and not a quantifier kubo ‘many’ that triggers plural agreement.

(7.32) Enge=ko kal=o ta lekasa ta o=rove=a
IPL.EXC=3SG.F happen=NOM TOP chief TOP 3SG.M=can=PRES
7.2.1.3 Modifiers

A modifier can be a modifier phrase, a general modifier, or an adjectival phrase PRON=kiada ‘by oneself’. It can also be an adjective, but only when the head is a locational noun koi ‘place’ (see §7.2.2.4).

7.2.1.3.1 Modifier Phrase

In Bilua, constituents which function as modifiers, except for general modifiers and the adjectival phrase PRON=kiada ‘by oneself’, cannot function as modifiers on their own. They form a modifier phrase (MP) with a pronominal enclitic. The enclitic is directly attached to the constituent that has a modifying function or is linked to it by a ligature depending on the modifying constituent (see §5.17). Thus, the structure of MPs is as follows (X represents the constituent which has a modifying function):

\[ X (= \text{LIG}) = \text{PRON} \]

The head of an MP is the pronominal enclitic, which refers to the head of the NP. In the following example, the MP silo=a=ma (small=LIG=3SG.F) consists of the adjective silo ‘small’ and the head ma (3SG.F), which refers to the head of the NP, ‘person’.

(7.33)\[ \text{silo}=a=\text{ma} \]

\[ \text{small}=\text{LIG}=3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{person} \]

‘a small woman’

The pronominal enclitic as the head of an MP takes one of third person singular forms: la (3SG.M) and ma (3SG.F). Bilua NP can be headless when it contains an MP, and in a headless NP, the head of an MP can be any third person pronominal enclitic. This is discussed later in this section. The pronominal enclitic here marks the person, number, gender of the NP; la (3SG.M) marks third person singular masculine while ma (3SG.F) marks non-third person singular masculine. Thus, here the person/number/gender distinction of pronominal enclitics is partially neutralised. The distribution of la and ma is summarised in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal enclitic</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la (3SG.M)</td>
<td>third person singular masculine</td>
<td>singulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma (3SG.F)</td>
<td>non-third person singular masculine</td>
<td>unspecified number</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For example, in (7.34), the NP is marked as third person singular masculine by the pronominal enclitic la (3SG.M). In both (7.33) above and (7.35) below, the NP is marked as non-third person singular masculine by the pronominal enclitic ma (3SG.F). Example (7.33) does not contain any constituent that marks dual or plural, and thus it is singular and it is also feminine, as ma is indeed the third person singular feminine form of pronominal enclitic. In (7.35), optional NP constituents, namely the independent pronoun enge (1PL.EXC) and the phrase-final pronominal enclitic ngela (1PL.EXC), mark first person plural exclusive, and thus the NP is first person plural exclusive. Plurality is also marked by the plural marker.

(7.34)  
\[ \text{silo} = a = la \quad maba \]  
\[ \text{silo} = \text{LIG} = \text{3SG.M} \quad \text{person} \]  
\text{‘a small man’}  

(7.35)  
\[ \text{enge} = a \quad \text{Solomoni} = a = ma \quad maba \quad \text{poso} = ngela \]  
\[ \text{1PL.EXC} = \text{LIG} \quad \text{Solomon} = \text{LIG} = \text{3SG.F} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{PL.M} = \text{1PL.EXC} \]  
\text{‘we, Solomon people’}  

There are various constituents which function as modifying constituents. They can be words, phrases, and clauses, and include the following:

- adjectives and adjectival phrases
- kinship term
- placename
- deictic adverbs and an adverb lula ‘already’
- interrogatives lai ‘where’ and noni ‘how’
- pronouns so ‘that’, eri ‘something like this’, and pada ‘one’
- a relational noun or an NP headed with a relational noun
- numerals
- the negation marker pui
- postpositional phrases
- future clauses.

Only some of kinship terms can have a modifying function, and with this function, they have a different meaning (see §4.3.2). For example, kaka means ‘older sibling’ as the head of an NP, but it means ‘older’ as a modifying constituent.

(7.36)  
\[ \text{ko} = a \quad \text{kaka} = ka = ma \quad \text{megora} \]  
\[ \text{3SG.F=} \text{LIG} \quad \text{older=} \text{LIG} = \text{3SG.F} \quad \text{child} \]  
\text{‘the older daughter’}  

Placenames, deictic adverbs, and an interrogative lai ‘where’ as modifying constituents mean ‘(something/somebody) from such and such place’ as in (7.35) above and in (7.37) below. An example with lai ‘where’ is given later below in (7.49).
(7.37) \( \text{koi=} \text{za=} \text{ma} \quad \text{gole} \quad \text{poso} \)
here=LIG=3SG.F elder PL.M
‘elders from here’ (10-10-87)

Lula ‘already’ means ‘past’, as a modifying constituent.

(7.38) \( \text{lula=} \text{ma} \quad \text{taku} \)
already=3SG.F time
‘past time (in the past)’ (23-1-1)

As modifying constituents, pronouns \( \text{so} \) ‘that’, \( \text{eri} \) ‘something like this’, and \( \text{pado} \) ‘one’ mean ‘that kind of’, ‘(things) like these’, and ‘whole’ respectively. The interrogative \( \text{noni} \) ‘how’, which behaves in the same way as the pronoun \( \text{so} \) ‘that’, means ‘what kind of’ as a modifying constituent.

(7.39) \( \text{So=} \text{a=} \text{ma} \quad \text{bazu-bazu} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{ikoana.} \)
that=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-story TOP EXT.SG.F
‘There are those stories (those kinds of stories).’ (10-8-67)

(7.40) \( \text{kida=} \text{a=} \text{eri-eri=} \text{a=} \text{ma} \quad \text{bianga-bianga} \)
all=3SG.F REDUP-s.th.like.this=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-insect
‘all insects like these’

(7.41) \( \text{pado=} \text{a=} \text{ma} \quad \text{nganiu} \)
MESone=LIG=3SG.F day
‘the whole day’

(7.42) \( \text{noni=} \text{a=} \text{ma} \quad \text{saev=} \text{a} \)
how=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM
‘what kind of life’ (64-3-22)

In the data, there are two relational nouns which function as modifying constituents, \( \text{kuleto} \) ‘front’ and \( \text{tova} \) ‘behind’. As modifying constituents, they mean ‘first’ and ‘last’ respectively. The relational noun \( \text{rana} \) ‘side’ is found as the head of a possessive NP which functions as a modifying constituent. In the following example, a possessive NP, \( \text{lasive=} \text{ko} \text{ rana} \), functions as a modifying constituent, forming an MP with a pronominal enclitic. In this example in which the NP is headless, the pronominal enclitic is realised as \( \text{mu} \) (3PL) (see below).

(7.43) \( \text{lasive=} \text{ko} \quad \text{rana=} \text{mu} \)
husband=3SG.F side=3PL
‘those who are from the husband side’ (21-5-25)

As modifying constituents in MPs, numerals except for \( \text{omadeu} \) ‘one’ become ordinals. ‘First’ is expressed by an MP consisting of a relational noun \( \text{kuleto} \) ‘front’ and a pronominal enclitic linked by the ligature \( \text{a} \).

(7.44) \( \text{omua=} \text{ma} \quad \text{taku} \)
two=3SG.F time
‘the second time’ (16-7-91)
(7.45) *kuleto=a=la kobaka*
first=LiG=3SG.M snail
‘the first snail’ (16-7-91)

The negation marker as a modifying constituent means ‘no’.

(7.46) *...puli=a=ma bolo a=dorae=k=a...*
NEG=LiG=3SG.F pig 1SG=meet=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘I encountered no pig...’ (43-3-30)

The following are examples of postpositional phrases and future clauses as modifying constituents. When a future clause functions as a modifying constituent, the distinction between future and near future is neutralised, and it can only take the future tense marker *(v)ou*, which is realised as *(v)o*, attached with the ligature *a*. Thus, in (7.48), the future tense marker *vou* is realised as *vo*. Example (7.48) is a headless NP.

(7.47) *komi=a peuru kale=a=ma maba madu*
PROX.SG.F=LiG village in=LiG=3SG.F person COLL.PL
‘people in this village’ (26-1-4)

(7.48) *Inio ke=ziou=vou ko=a rekorusu=ko peuru*
SEQ 3PL=go=FUT 3SG.F=LiG girl=3SG.F village

*ale. Sai ke=ziou=vou=a=mu ta kake ta*
in there 3PL=go=FUT=LiG=3PL TOP INDEF.PL TOP

*reko-reko...*
REDUP-woman
‘And, they will go to the girl’s village. As for people who will go there, some are women...’ (21-9-53–54)

As noted above, a Bilua NP can be headless; the head of an NP can be ellipsed when it contains an MP. This often happens when the head is the noun *maba* ‘person’. In fact, the ellipsed head is usually regarded as the noun *maba* ‘person’, unless the discourse indicates that it is something else. When the head of an NP is ellipsed, the head of the MP can be any third person pronominal enclitic, and each of third person pronominal enclitics marks the following person, number, and gender.
Table 7.3: Distribution of pronominal enclitics in the modifier phrase in a headless noun phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal enclitic</th>
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<th>Non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>singulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma</em> (3SG.F)</td>
<td>singular except for third person singular masculine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• first person singular</td>
<td>unspecified number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• second person singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• third person singular feminine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nioga</em> (3DU)</td>
<td>dual of any person</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mu</em> (3PL)</td>
<td>plural of any person</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A person distinction can be marked by an additional first/second person pronominal enclitic, which takes the phrase-final position (see §7.2.1.6), and if an NP does not contain this, it is third person by default. In (7.48), the head of the MP is the third person plural pronominal enclitic *mu* (3PL) and the NP does not contain a first/second person pronominal enclitic, and consequently the NP is considered to be third person plural. In example (7.49) the head of an MP is *mu* (3PL) but this is attached with the second person plural pronominal enclitic and so it is second person plural.

(7.49)  ...*laiz*a=muel me.  
where=LIG=3PL=2PL FOC.NONF 2PL  
‘...you are people from where?’ (9-3-16)

The following are two more examples of headless NPs. None of these examples contains a first/second person pronominal enclitic, and thus they are both third person.

(7.50)  “Koe *visi=a=mu* ta, pui kapiavole  
INTJ younger=LIG=3PL TOP NEG quickly  
ke=rorot=a=ni...”  
3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF  
“‘Younger ones, they are not ones who quickly marry...’” (27-18-113)

(7.51)  ...*niiqi=a omuqa maba ta Kutakabai tou-tou  
PROX.DU=LIG two person TOP Kutakabai REDUP-tribe  
kale=a=niiqa.  
in=LIG=3DU  
‘...the two people were people from the Kutakai tribe.’ (47-1-3)

As illustrated by (7.49), a Bilua NP that has a first or second person referent contains a first/second person pronominal enclitic in the phrase-final position. In present Bilua, the head pronominal enclitic of the MP is freely ellipsed when the head of a first/second person NP is ellipsed. In the data, it is often ellipsed as in example (7.52); the pronominal
enclitic *mu* (3PL) is ellipsed, but there are examples in which it is not ellipsed as in example (7.49) above.

(7.52)  **Enge ta pui koi=za-ngela.**
1PL.EXC TOP NEG here=LIG=1PL.EXC

‘We are not people from here,’ (25-1-2)

Furthermore, the head of an MP can be ellipsed when all of the following four conditions are fulfilled—[1] the head of the NP is ellipsed, [2] the referent of the NP is non-human, [3] the NP is a non-verbal predicate, and [4] the modifying constituent is an adjective.

(7.53)  **Komi=a siele ta silo.**
PROX.SG.F=LIG dog TOP small

‘This dog is a small one.’

It might be considered that *silo* ‘small’ in this example directly functions as a non-verbal predicate. That is, an adjective can be a non-verbal predicate. However, *silo* ‘small’ is instead treated as a headless MP for two reasons. First, the lack of a pronominal enclitic is possible only when the referent of the NP is non-human. It is rather odd to say that an adjective can be a non-verbal predicate only when the referent is non-human. Second, *silo* ‘small’ can also occur with a pronominal enclitic, forming an MP, and indeed in the data, an adjective usually occurs with a pronominal enclitic and there are only a few examples in which the head of an MP, a pronominal enclitic, is ellipsed.

An MP that consists of a kinship term and a pronominal enclitic linked by a ligature can be treated as one lexeme functioning as a personal name (see §7.4), and this can be the head of an NP. In (7.54), the MP *mama=ka=la* (father=LIG=3SG.M) is treated as a personal name; the referent is named as ‘father’. This is the head of an NP which contains a determiner realised as *vo* (3SG.M) attached with a ligature.

(7.54)  **...vo=a mama=ka=la vo ta so**
3SG.M=LIG father=LIG=3SG.M 3SG.M TOP that

*k=i=o=vou.

3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=FUT

‘...the father (one), he will say so.’ (21-2-8)

An MP commonly takes pre-head position, but the data contains a few examples in which an MP headed with a common noun or a kinship term takes a post-head position.

(7.55)  **Ko=vijari=v=kala meqora lasive=a=la.**
3SG.F=deliver=3SG.M.O=PRESE INDEF.SG.M child male=LIG=3SG.M

‘She gave a birth to a male child,’ (27-2-10)

It might be postulated that *kala meqora lasiveala* is a juxtaposition of two appositional NPs, *kala meqora* and *lasiveala*. However, *kala meqora lasiveala* forms one intonation unit and it is best to treat it as forming a single NP. *Lasiveala* here can be moved to a pre-head position without resulting ungrammaticality or change of meaning. It is not understood what may trigger an MP to take a post-head position.
7.2.1.3.2 General modifiers

There are four general modifiers which can function as NP modifiers: \textit{sasa} ‘mock / a bit’, the restrictive \textit{pala} ‘only’, the approximative \textit{tiniavo} ‘about’, or completive \textit{buti} ‘finished’. The first one can occur only in pre-head position, while the latter three can occur only in post-head position.

(7.56) \ldots\textit{sasa} \textit{mola} ke \textit{ere}=k=a...  
mock canoe 3PL make=3SG.F.O=PRES  
‘...they made a mock canoe...’ (34-1-14)

(7.57) \ldots\textit{kaboka} \textit{pala} ikio sai.  
only FOC.F there  
‘...only snails were there.’ (38-1-6)

(7.58) \ldots\textit{enge} \textit{tiniavo} \textit{komi}=a \textit{bolo}...  
1PL.INC about PROX.SG.F=LIG pig  
‘...this pig is about [the size] of us...’ (67-4-44)

(7.59) \textit{raisi-raisi} \textit{buti}  
REDUP-evening finished  
‘already evening (evening finished)’ (67-2-16)


(7.60) \textit{siotolu} \textit{koloko} \textit{tiniavo}  
eight clock about  
‘about eight o’clock’ (43-4-37)

7.2.1.3.3 \textit{PRON}=\textit{kiada} ‘by oneself’

\textit{PRON}=\textit{kiada} ‘by oneself’, which consists of a proclitic and an adjective \textit{kiada} ‘all’\textsuperscript{31} usually follows the head as in the following example, but when it modifies a locational noun \textit{koi} ‘place’ or a measure pronoun \textit{pado} (MESone) ‘one’, it precedes the head (see §7.2.2.4 and §7.2.2.5.3).

(7.61) \textit{Noni sole inio me ta bita ko}=\textit{kiada}  
how that’s why FOC.NONF 2PL TOP string.bag 3SG.F=all  
me=q=ati \textit{vait}=a...”  
2PL=3SG.F.O=VAL return=PRES  
‘“Why did you return with a string bag alone...”’ (22-3-13)

\textsuperscript{31} Thus, \textit{kiada} is glossed as ‘all’ in the examples. It is preceded by a proclitic which encodes person, number and gender.
An NP modified by PRON=kiada can be headless. In the following example, the first underlined NP is headless, while in the second one the head kaka 'elder sibling' is retained.

(7.62) ...ko=kiada inio ko=vaita kaka=ka=ma ko=kiada
   3SG.F=all FOC.NONF 3SG.F=return older=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=all
   inio ko=vaita.
   FOC.NONF 3SG.F=return=PRES
   '...the older sister returned by herself, she returned by herself.' (27-23-145)

7.2.1.4 Measure pronoun pado 'one'

A measure pronoun pado (MESone) can be an optional constituent of an NP. This is usually accompanied with a determinant, and the measure pronoun means 'one of many'.

(7.63) Vowat=o ta kama pado matu ruqe=a=ma quili.
   kill=NOM TOP INDEF.SG.F MESOne very bad=LIG=3SG.F thing
   'Killing is one very bad thing, one of many very bad things.' (12-8-83)

(7.64) Komi=a pado rorot=o=ko keve ta matu
   PROX.SG.F=LIG MESOne marry=NOM=3SG.F way TOP very
   ruqe=a=ma.
   bad=LIG=3SG.F
   'This way of marriage is a very bad one (among three ways of marriage).'
   (21-6-33)

7.2.1.5 Collective markers and the plural marker

Collective markers mada (COLL.PL) and kidi (COLL.DU) mark collectiveness. The former is the plural form and the latter is the dual form.

(7.65) ...maba mada ta ke=mamaz=a koi ko=a
   person COLL.PL TOP 3PL=rest=PRES here 3SG.F=LIG
   zae ale.
   area in
   '...people, they rest here, in that area.' (26-12-68)

(7.66) ...komi=ko mama ni niania kidi
   PROX.SG.F=3SG.F father and mother COLL.DU
   qe=ba opie=k=ou...
   1DU.EXC=PROS visit=3DU.O=FUT
   '...we are going to visit her father and mother...' (27-17-108)

In (7.66), the head of the NP is coordinated nouns mama ni niania 'father and mother', and thus the number is two. Because of this, the collective marker has the dual form kidi.
A collective marker also functions to mark that the NP has a human referent. That is, an NP which contains a collective marker always has a human referent, regardless of whether the head is inherently human or non-human. In (7.67), the head of the NP is non-human: *kana* (war), but the NP itself is human: ‘those warriors’. In (7.68), the head of each of two underlined NPs is a numeral, which is inherently neither human nor non-human, but the NPs are human.

(7.67) \[ \text{% } \text{Ni=}a \underline{\text{kana}} \text{ madu ta ke=}ta \text{ baro=}a. \]
\[ 3SG.M=LIG \text{ war COLL.PL TOP 3PL=SIT arrive=PRES} \]
‘Those warriors arrived.’ (25-2-19)

(7.68) \[ \underline{\text{Siakava}} \text{ madu ke=soroe=}m=a. \text{ Omuga} \text{ kidi ta} \]
\[ \text{nine COLL.PL 3PL=send=3PL.O=PRES two COLL.DU TOP} \]
\[ \underline{\text{qo}}=\text{bori=}k=a \text{ ko=}a \text{ podala ore...} \]
\[ \text{3DU=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG podala tree} \]
‘They sent (a collection of) nine people. (A pair of) two people carried the podala tree...’ (22-5-21-22)

An NP which contains the plural marker *poso* can be either human or non-human. The plural marker is optional when the NP has other constituents which mark/imply plurality. This is illustrated by (7.69-a) and (7.69-b).

(7.69-a) \[ \text{% } \text{Ni erisanga ta} \underline{\text{matu}} \underline{\text{kubo}} \text{ maba poso ta inisiana} \]
\[ \text{and today TOP very many person PL.M TOP EXT.PL} \]
\[ \text{Sabora.} \]
\[ \text{Sabora} \]
‘And today, many people live in Sabora.’ (10-15-127)

(7.69-b) \[ \underline{\text{...matu}} \underline{\text{kubo}} \text{ maba ta ko el=}ou \text{ komi=}a \]
\[ \text{very many person TOP 3SG.F stay=FUT PROX.SG.F=LIG} \]
\[ \underline{\text{peuru ale.}} \]
\[ \text{village in} \]
‘...many people will stay in this village.’ (64-2-15)

(7.70) \[ \text{% } \text{Ni ke=vouvat=e aza-aza=}ma \underline{\text{zae poso}} \text{ kale.} \]
\[ \text{and 3PL=kil=}RMP REDUP-various=3SG.F area PL.M in} \]
‘And they killed at various places.’ (10-2-21)

In (7.69-b) the pronominal proclitic which cross-references with the underlined NP is in the third person singular feminine form, as the quantifier *kubo* ‘many’ cannot trigger plural agreement (see §7.2.1.2).

7.2.1.6 Pronominal enclitics

An NP which has a first or second person referent obligatorily takes a first/second pronominal enclitic in phrase-final position. The function of this pronominal enclitic is to
mark first or second person. In (7.35) repeated below, the head of an NP is maba ‘person’. The first person is marked by the final pronominal enclitic ngela (1PL.EXC) as well as the initial independent pronoun enge (1PL.EXC).

(7.35') enge=a Solomon=ma maba poso=ngela
1PL.EXC=LIG Solomon=LIG=3SG.F person PL.M=1PL.EXC
‘we, Solomon people’

Without the final pronominal enclitic and the independent pronoun, that is as Solomoniam a maba poso, this would be interpreted as third person plural meaning ‘Solomon people’. This is because a common noun is third person by default (see §7.4).

The following is another example. In this example, there is a slight pause between anga (1SG) and ore=lala (tree=1SG), and this suggests that each of anga and ore=lala forms an NP. That is, one NP is filled with two NPs in apposition. The first NP is realised as an independent pronoun and the second as a common noun marked with a pronominal enclitic marking the first person. These two NPs have the same referent and the first person is already marked by the pronoun in the first NP, but the second NP still requires a pronominal enclitic because of an obligatory marking of first or second person.

(7.71) [anga] [ore=lala]
1SG tree=1SG
‘I, [who am] a tree’ (67-1.7)

Note that in example (7.35) above, enge=a (1PL.EXC=LIG) does not form an NP of its own. It forms an NP with the rest, as clearly indicated by the ligature a, which occurs in order to link constituents in the same phrase (see §5.17 for the ligature).

7.2.2 Heads of NPs

7.2.2.1 Common nouns

An NP headed with a common noun can have any kind of optional NP constituents. As mentioned in §4.5 and §6.3.1, de-adjectival nouns and nominalised verbs belong to the common noun class. In examples (7.73) and (7.74), the head is a nominalised verb and de-adjectival noun respectively. In this section, the head of an NP in issue is double-underlined and the NP itself is single-underlined.

(7.72) ...kake maba poso inio ke ol=a,
INDEF.PL person PL.M FOC.NONF 3PL go=PRES
‘...some people went.’ (25-7-50)

(7.73) ...enge ta nge=q=ai zari=a tu
1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES IRR
k=ov=o kama uri=a=ma saev=a...
3SG.F.O=get=NOM INDEF.SG.F good=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM
‘...we want to get a good life...’ (64-1-6)
(7.74) ...nge=q=e=ala \[komi=a\ tapata...\]
        1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=see=RCP     PROX.SG.F=LIG     hardship
    ‘...we saw this hardship...’ (26-9-49)

7.2.2.2 Kinship terms

An NP headed with a kinship term can have any optional NP constituents, except for indefinite markers. This is because kinship terms are inherently definite.

(7.75) reko=a=ma \[kaka\]
        female=LIG=3SG.F     older.sibling
    ‘older sister’

(7.76) ege=a \[mama ni niania ki di=qela\]
        1DU.EXC=LIG     father and mother COLL.DU=1DU.EXC
    ‘we the father and mother’ (21-2-14)

7.2.2.3 Personal names

An NP headed with a personal name may have a demonstrative and/or a modifier, and it is always definite.

(Demonstrative) (Modifier) Personal name

(7.77) ...ka \[pado\ ta\ Koro-koroganisi\]
        INDEF    MESpiece    TOP    REDUP-Korokoroanisi
    ko=kati=v=a... 3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES
    ‘...one, she gave it to Korokoroanisi...’ (39-6-41)

(7.78) piza=ka=la \[Volosi\]
        strong=LIG=3SG.M     Volosi
    ‘strong Volosi’

7.2.2.4 Locational nouns

An NP headed with a locational noun, a placename, a relational noun, or the noun koi ‘place’, may have a demonstrative and/or a modifier.

(Demonstrative) (Modifier) Locational Noun
(7.79) ...enge=ko udu, komi=a Bilua  
1PL.EXC=3SG.F island PROX.SG.F=LIG Bilua  
’...our islands, this Bilua (island).’ (10-3-32)

(7.80) ile-ile=a=ma Vella La Vella  
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.F Vella La Vella  
‘beautiful Vella La Vella’

(7.81) ...okate nio o=baro=a...  
up.high FOC.NONF 3SG.M=arrive=PRES  
’...he arrived up high...’ (43-2-16)

(7.82) ...ko=ta v=a pusae=k=a ko=a  
3SG.F=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL wash=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG  
pora...  
inside  
’...she washed the inside of his [mouth]...’ (39-5-36)  
(more literally, ‘she washed the inside of him...’)

An NP headed with koi ‘place’ cannot have a person/number/gender specification. Because of this, koi ‘place’ cannot be modified by a modifier phrase, as this contains a pronominal enclitic, which is marked for person/number/gender. It can, instead, directly be modified by an adjective.

(7.83) ileile=a koi  
beautiful=LIG place  
‘beautiful place’

However, koi ‘place’ can be modified by PRON=kiada (PRON=all), although this is marked for person/number/gender. PRON=kiada normally means ‘by oneself’, but a combination of PRON=kiada with koi ‘place’ means ‘all parts of one’s body’. A pronominal clitic preceding kiada here marks the person/number/gender of ‘one’s’. For example,

(7.84) ...o=saqae=v=a o=kiada koi...  
3SG.M=brush=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M=all place  
’...he brushed all parts of his body...’ (39-9-54)

The noun koi ‘place’ can also co-occur with quantifiers kubo ‘many’ and omadeu ‘one’. When kubo ‘many’ modifies the noun koi ‘place’, it takes a ligature: kubo=a koi (many=LIG place) ‘many places’. Omadeu koi (one place) means ‘one (same) place’.
7.2.2.5 Free pronouns

7.2.2.5.1 Inflectional pronouns

Inflectional free pronouns: independent pronouns, demonstratives and indefinite pronouns, can be the head of NPs. They all typically form NPs on their own, but they may optionally have a post-head general modifier, *tiniavo* ‘about’ or *pala* ‘only’.

(7.85) Independent pronoun

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Anga} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad \text{koi…} & \\
1\text{SG} & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad \text{here} & \\
\text{‘I am here…’} & & & (2.5-28)
\end{align*}
\]

(7.86) Distal demonstrative

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Se} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad \text{pui} & \quad \text{ke=\text{\textalpha}} & \quad \text{\textalpha} & \\
3\text{PL} & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad 3\text{PL}=3\text{SG.M.O}=\text{see}=\text{PRES} & \quad 3\text{SG.M} & \\
\text{‘They did not see him.’} & & & (12.4-32)
\end{align*}
\]

(7.87) Proximate demonstrative

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{“Meqorasaidi} & \quad \text{koni} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad \text{ko} & \quad \text{niuniu…”} & \\
\text{family} & \quad \text{PROX.SG.F} & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad 3\text{SG.F} & \quad \text{fish} & \\
\text{“‘Family, here is fish…’”} & & & (24.3-25)
\end{align*}
\]

(7.88) Indefinite pronoun

\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots\text{kiada=} & \quad \text{ma} & \quad \text{maba} & \quad \text{ko=} & \quad \text{vuat=} & \quad \text{a}, & \quad \text{pui} & \quad \text{kake} & \quad \text{pala}; \\
\text{all}=3\text{SG.F} & \quad \text{person} & \quad 3\text{SG.F}=\text{eat}=\text{PRES} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{INDEF.PL} & \quad \text{only} & \\
\text{‘…everyone ate, not only some.’} & & & (28.7-73)
\end{align*}
\]

7.2.2.5.2 So ‘that’, and *eri* ‘something like this’

So ‘that’ or *eri* ‘something like this’ typically forms an NP on its own but it may optionally have a general modifier *tiniavo* ‘about’.

(7.89) Pronoun so ‘that’

\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots\text{vo} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad \text{so} & \quad k=\text{i=\textalpha}=\text{vo}, & \\
3\text{SG.M} & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad \text{that} & \quad 3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{say}=3\text{SG.M}=\text{FUT} & \\
\text{‘…he will say that.’} & & & (21.2-8)
\end{align*}
\]

(7.90) Pronoun *eri* ‘something like this’

\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots\text{eri} & \quad \text{tiniavo} & \quad \text{ke=} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad \text{vou=} & \quad \text{va}, & \quad \text{s.th. like this} & \quad \text{about} & \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{SIT} & \quad \text{die}=\text{PRES} & \\
\text{‘…something like approximately this [many people] died,’} & & & (26.5-30)
\end{align*}
\]

7.2.2.5.3 Measure pronouns

One group of pronouns, measure pronouns, cannot form an NP on their own. They always have to be accompanied by a determiner or a numeral. Measure pronouns are all translated as ‘one’.
Noun phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Determiner/Numeral</th>
<th>Measure pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...omadeu pado ikio vo=ko epa. one MEAone FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F fruit ‘...there was one fruit of [the betelnut tree].’ (more literally ‘...its fruit was one piece.’) (59-1-8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pado (MESone) ‘one’ can also be accompanied by PRON=kiada ‘by oneself’.

| Ko=kiada pado ko=beta kue=va... 3SG.F=all MEAone 3SG.F=CONT come=PRES |
| She was coming by herself...’ (27-8-46) (more literally ‘By herself one came...’) |

7.2.2.6 Quantifiers

An NP headed with a quantifier can only have an optional demonstrative or independent pronoun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(demonstrative/independent pronoun) quantifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Se=a megora poso ta omuga ta reko, zouke ta lasive. female three TOP male ‘As for those children, two are female, and three are male.’ (23-3-31)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>...se=a zouke ta ke=ta nga=va... three TOP 3PL=SIT be.frightened=PRES ‘...those three, they were frightened...’ (48-4-30)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

One might consider treating these NPs as headless NPs in which quantifiers function as modifiers, but this cannot be true. This contention is supported by the following evidence. Biluha have two focus markers, ikio (FOC.F) and inio (FOC.NONF), which can mark an NP, and these two forms are distributed according to the person, number, and gender of the NP—ikio (FOC.F) for third person singular feminine NPs and inio (FOC.NONF) for non-third person singular feminine NPs (see §14.3.2 for focus markers). Now, consider example (7.95).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>...vo ta omuga ikio vo=ko megora 3SG.M TOP two FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
sole.
that's why
'...because he has two children.' (27-4-20)
(more literally '...as for him, his children were two, that's why."

In this example, the NP marked with a focus marker is third person dual but a focus marker is realised as *ikio* (FOC.F), which contradicts the above distribution. It is postulated that the above distribution does not apply to an NP headed with a quantifier, and such an NP can only be marked by *ikio* (FOC.F). Indeed, this is the case—no NP headed with a quantifier can be marked by *ino* (FOC.NONF) and this illustrates that the NPs analysed in this section are not headless NPs but NPs headed with quantifiers.

One might, on the other hand, consider that the NPs presented in this section are all headless NPs, and headless NPs can only be marked by *ikio* (FOC.F), not by *ino* (FOC.NONF). This however again proves not to be true, as illustrated by example (7.96).

In this example, the underlined predicate NP is a headless NP but it is marked with the focus marker *ino* (FOC.NONF) not *ikio* (FOC.F). The predicate NP here consists of a modifier phrase *matu siloala* 'very big' and this is accompanied with a pronominal enclitic *ng a* (2SG) agreeing with the subject NP in person, number, and gender. Thus, this NP is encoded as second person singular, and is marked with *ino* (FOC.NONF) following the distribution of focus markers outlined above. Thus, one cannot say that all headless NPs are marked by *ikio* (FOC.F), and again this proves that the NPs analysed in this section are not headless NPs but NPs headed with quantifiers.

(7.96) 
...ngo ta *matu silo=ala=nga* *ino*...

2SG TOP very small=3SG.M=2SG FOC.NONF

'...you are a very small one...' (59-4-29)

7.3 Possessive NPs

Possessive NPs present a possessor–possessee relationship. Formally there are two possessive NPs in Bilua, which are distinguished on syntactic grounds: direct type, of which the possessor is directly marked on the possessee noun; and indirect type, of which the possessor is not directly marked on the possessee noun.

The two types of possessive NPs are distinguished on semantic grounds as well; they express different semantic relationships between the possessor and the possessee. With the direct type, the relationship is always inalienable, and accordingly the possessee noun in the direct type of possessive NP can only be an inalienable noun (see §4.3). On the other hand, with the indirect type, the relationship may be either inalienable or alienable. The possessee noun in the indirect type of possessive NP can be any noun except for *ngavi* 'self' and *male* 'match', regardless of whether the possessor and the possessee are in an inalienable or alienable relationship. *Ngavi* 'self' and *male* 'match' can only be possessee nouns in the direct type of possessive NP (see example (7.101) and (7.102) below).

In both types of possessive NP, the possessee noun is the head of a possessive NP, as clearly shown by cross-referencing on the VP. Examples (7.97) and (7.98) are direct and
indirect types of possessive NPs respectively. In both (7.97) and (7.98), the possessive NP is the subject, and the double-underlined pronominal proclitic on the VP, the subject marker, agrees in person, number, and gender, with the possessee *mama* 'father'. In this section, possessive NPs are single-underlined.

(7.97) ...*ke=mama* *ta* *q=ta* *vouv=a.*
3PL=father TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=PRES
‘...their father died.’ (59-1-1)

(7.98) ...*nioqa=vo* *mama* *ta* *pui* *q=baro=a.*
3DU=3SG.M father TOP NEG 3SG.M=arrive=PRES
‘...their father did not arrive.’ (24-4-36)

### 7.3.1 Direct type

Minimum constituents of the direct type of possessive NP are a pronominal proclitic and the head noun, referring to the possessor and the possessee respectively. The pronominal proclitics are attached to the head noun.\(^{32}\) That is, the possessor here is directly marked on the possessee noun. In addition to these, this type of possessive NP may also have a collective marker or the plural marker but no other constituents of basic NPs.\(^{33}\) This means that the pronominal proclitic is cliticised to the head first and to this, a collective or a plural marker may be added. Thus, the structure of direct possessive NPs is schematised as:

$$[[\text{Pronominal Proclitic}_{\text{possessor}} \ Noun_{\text{possessee}}] \ (\text{COLL/PL})] \ \text{possessive NP}$$

Some examples are:

(7.99) ...*o=baize=m=a* \hspace{1cm} *o=baerebaere* *poso.*
3SG.M=tell=3PL.O=PRES 3SG.M=friend PL.M
‘...he told his friends.’ (15-2-15)

(7.100) ...*o=baize=k=a* \hspace{1cm} *o=kaka* \hspace{1cm} *kidi.*
3SG.M=tell=3DU.O=PRES 3SG.M=elder.sibling COLL.DU
‘...he told his two brothers.’ (59-3-22)

\(^{32}\) Pronominal proclitics that refer to possessor always attach to a noun and this might suggest that they are prefixes rather than proclitics. However, remember that these morphemes also occur in VPs, cross-referencing subjects. In such a case, they may be attached to an object clitic, an aspectual/modal marker, the possessor-raising marker, a modifier, or a verb. That is, they can be attached to various kinds of words and this indicates that they are clitics.

\(^{33}\) If a possessive NP is to have a modifier, the possessive NP has to be an indirect type of possessive NP.
When the head is *male* ‘match’ or *ngavi* ‘self’, the NP cannot have a plural or collective marker.

(7.101) \( ko=ngavi \) \( nio \) \( ko=ta \) \( ol=a. \)
3SG.F=EMPH FOC.NONF 3SG.F=SIT go=PRES
‘...she herself went.’ (27-22-141)

(7.102) \( anga \) \( inio \) \( ko=male... \)
1SG FOC.NONF 3SG.F=match
‘...it's me who is her [good] match...’ (67-2-18)

PRON=*

‘one’s match’ can only be the predicate of a non-verbal clause (see §12.3.3 for more examples).

### 7.3.2 Indirect type

The indirect type of possessive NP has several functions in addition to presenting a possessor–possessee relationship. This section presents the structure of the indirect type of possessive NP first, and then its functions are described.

The indirect type of possessive NP contains an embedded NP, a possessor NP. The possessor NP has a basic NP structure but this never contains a measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) or a general modifier. The possessor NP is attached with a possessive marker, which is an encliticised form of a third person singular distal demonstrative, *vo* (3SG.M) or *ko* (3SG.F). These pronouns mark the person/number/gender of NPs in the same way as pronominal enclitics in modifier phrases do: *vo* (3SG.M) marks third person singular masculine while *ko* (3SG.F) marks non-third person singular masculine.

**Table 7.4:** Distribution of distal demonstratives as possessive markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Vo</em> (3SG.M)</td>
<td>third person singular masculine</td>
<td>singulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ko</em> (3SG.F)</td>
<td>non-third person singular masculine</td>
<td>unspecified number</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possessor NP attached with a possessive marker usually precedes the possessee noun, and the minimum constituent of a possessive NP is the possessor NP attached with a possessive marker and the possessee noun. Thus, the minimum structure of the simple possessive NP is:

- **Possessor NP**=Marker  **Possessee N**

Examples (7.103), (7.104), and (7.105) are examples of an indirect type of possessive NP. In (7.103), the distal demonstrative, which functions as a possessive marker, is realised as *vo* for a third person singular masculine referent, while in both (7.104) and (7.105) it is realised as *ko* for a non-third person singular masculine referent. Example
(7.105) contains a plural marker so the NP is plural and means ‘that man’s children’, while example (7.104) lacks a plural marker and so the NP is singular and means ‘that man’s daughter’, as ko is indeed the third person singular feminine form of distal demonstrative. In this section, the head of a possessive NP is double-underlined, and the possessor NP is marked with square brackets.

(7.103) \[vo=a\] maba={vo} megora
3SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F child
‘that man’s son’

(7.104) \[vo=a\] maba={ko} megora
3SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F child
‘that man’s daughter’

(7.105) \[vo=a\] maba={ko} megora poso
3SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F child PL.M
‘that man’s children’

The indirect type of possessive NP can have any optional constituents of basic NPs: a determiner, a quantifier, a modifier phrase, a collective marker, a plural marker, a pronominal enclitic, but not a general modifier or an adjectival phrase PRON=kiada ‘by oneself’, and the head can only be a noun. The head of the possessor NP is often a demonstrative or an independent pronoun but it can also be a non-locational noun. Examples with different kinds of heads are presented later below.

The position of the possessor NP within the possessive NP depends on the head of the possessor NP. When it is not a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, or a nominalised verb, it takes the NP-initial position, and this can never be followed by a determiner, as no determiner in Bilua can occur in a position other than the NP-initial position, and other NP constituents follow this, taking the position they do in basic NPs.

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Possessor NP= Marker (QANT) (MOD) Possessee N (COLL/PL) (PRON)
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In (7.106), the head of the possessor NP is a personal name, Ilai.

(7.106) \[Ilai]=ko matu=ma pade
Ilai=3SG.F big=3SG.F house
‘Ilai’s big house’

Example (7.107) is not grammatical as the head of the possessor NP is followed by a determiner.

(7.107) *[maba vo=a] ko pade
person 3SG.M=LIG 3SG.F house
‘that person’s house’
When the head of the possessor NP is a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, or a nominalised verb, the possessor attached with a possessive marker immediately precedes the head, and other pre-head NP constituents precede this.

(DEM) (QANT) (MOD) Possessor NP=Marker Possessee N (COLL/PL) (=PRON)

In both examples below, the possessor NP is a demonstrative. Constituents preceding this cannot be regarded as parts of the possessor NP—they are constituents of the possessee NP in which the possessor NP is embedded. This is because an NP headed with a demonstrative can have neither determiner nor modifier phrase as described in §7.2.2.5.1.

(7.108)  
ko=a  
reko=a=ma  
[se]=ko  
ravaza  
3SG.F=LIG female=LIG=3SGF 3PL=3SG.F in-law  
‘their mother-in-law’ (167-100)  

(7.109)  
kake  
[vol]=ko  
yaki-yaking  
INDEF.PL 3SG.M=3SG.F REDUP-troop  
‘his troops’

In (7.110), the possessor NP is a nominalised verb pazokinio ‘fight’. Similar to (7.108) and (7.109) constituents preceding komia matuma are not constituents of the possessor NP, but constituents of the possessive NP. The nominalised verb here presents the purpose that the possessive NP head is used for, and in such a case it cannot co-occur with optional NP constituents.

(7.110)  
komi=a  
matu=ma  
[pazo-kinio]=ko  
yaka  
PROX.SG.F=LIG big=3SG.F hit-RECP=NOM=3SG.F ship  
‘this big warship (this big ship for war)’

A determiner in a possessive NP is optional. A possessive NP is typically definite regardless of whether it contains a determiner or not. However, a possessive NP can be indefinite when it does not contain a determiner. The interpretation depends on the discourse. The discourse in which example (7.111) below occurs indicates that this is indefinite.

(7.111)  
matu=ma  
[pazo-kinio]=ko  
yaka  
big=3SG.F hit-RECP=NOM=3SG.F ship  
‘a big warship (a big ship for war)’ (124-37)

The possessor NP can be a direct type of possessive NP headed with ngavi ‘self’. PRON=ngavi here means ‘one’s own’. This behaves in the same way as a possessor NP headed with non-demonstrative, non-independent pronoun, or non-nominalised verb. Thus, the possessor NP takes the NP-initial position like example (7.106) above.
Noun phrases

(7.112) [ke=ngavi]=ko lekasa madu
3PL=EMPH=3SG.F chief COLL.PL
‘their own chiefs’ (12-11-106)

The plural collective marker is realised as an enclitic mu in an indirect type of a possessive NP headed with the noun maba ‘person’, as in example (7.113) below. In other cases, it is always realised as madu (COLL.PL) as in (7.112) above. In (7.113), the possessor NP is headed with a common noun and so the demonstrative preceding it is a constituent of the possessor NP.

(7.113) [ko=a sinaqurusu]=ko maba=mu
3SG.F=LIG girl=3SG.F person=COLL.PL
‘the girl’s people’ (21-10-60)

The head of an indirect type of possessive NP can be ellipsed. Ellipsis may occur when the head is identifiable from the discourse. In (7.114), anga=ko (1SG=3SG.F) is a headless possessive NP, and the head of the possessive NP is expressed in the preceding NP, koa rekoama taite ‘the grandmother’. It is not the case that in (7.114) anga=ko is a postponed possessive modifier NP and koa rekoama taite and anga form a possessive NP. Angako koa rekoama taite would be ungrammatical because of the position of the determiner, koa.

(7.114) ...ke=k=ati kail=a, ko=a reko=a=ma
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL go.up=PRES 3SG.F=LIG female=LIG=3SG.F
taite [anga]=ko...
g:parent 1SG=3SG.F
‘...they took her up, the grandmother, [who is] mine...’ (25-7-56)

In (7.115), ko=ngavi=ko (3SG.F =EMPH=3SG.F) is a headless possessive NP. The sentence preceding this tells that she threw out her son’s food, and (7.115) tells what she did with her own food.

(7.115) [Ko=ngavi]=ko ta ko=tukie=k=a tuto kale.
3SG.F=self=3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=keep=3SG.F.O=PRES coconut.container in
‘As for her own [food], she kept it in a coconut container.’ (27-3-17)

The following are some examples with different kinds of heads. The heads of both possessor NPs and possessive NPs are double-underlined.

(7.116) [enge]=ko visi=nga
1PL.EXC=3SG.F younger.sibling=2SG
‘you who are our younger sister’ (59-8-64)

(7.117) [anga]=vo Pare
1SG=3SG.M Pare
‘my Pare’
(7.118) [engel=ko] Solomon Aiadi
    1PL.EXC=3SG.F Solomon Islands
    ‘our Solomon Islands’

(7.119) [ege=a] mama ni niania kidi=gela=ko
    1DU.EXC=LIG father and mother COLL.DU=1DU.EXC=3SG.F
    matu=ma zari=o
    big=3SG.F want=NOM
    ‘we, who are the father and mother’s big wish’ (21-2-14)

(7.120) [supera]=ko yina
    floor=3SG.F underneath
    ‘underneath the floor’ (16-5-62)

An indirect type of possessive NP has one of five different functions: it indicates a possessor–possesse relationship as in (7.121), it indicates a whole–part relationship as in (7.122), it functions as a temporal adjunct as in (7.123), it forms a nominalised complement as in (7.124), or its possessor NP presents a purpose as in (7.125).

(7.121) Possessor–possesse relationship
    [sel]=ko zaloni
    3PL=3SG.F ornament
    ‘their ornaments’ (67-5-50)

(7.122) Whole–part relationship
    ...[və]=ko zau zauu melai ko=ta kajorio=ke...
    3SG.M=3SG.F REDUP-beard too 3SG.F=SIT come.off=HIST
    ‘...his beard too came off...’ (26-17-96)

(7.123) Temporal adjunct
    [Omuq sabere]=ko tova inio ko ta
    two year=3SG.F behind FOC.NONF 3SG.F TOP
    ko=rove=a tu kil=0 koi Vella La Vella.
    3SG.F=can=PRES IRR come=NOM here Vella La Vella
    ‘After two years, it could come to this Vella La Vella island.’ (10-7-59)

(7.124) Nominalised complement
    A=qe=a [və]=ko vouvat=a...
    1SG=F.O=see=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F kill=NOM
    ‘I see his murder...’ (12-13-113)

(7.125) Purpose
    ...ko=bara=a [sailao]=ko taku...
    3SG.F=arrive=PRES food=3SG.F time
    ‘...the time for food (eating) arrived...’ (27-3-16)

The first two are conventional functions of possessive NPs and do not need any explanation here. Possessive NPs as temporal adjuncts and as nominalised complement
clauses are described in §10.4.2 and §12.3.4 respectively. Here, only the last one, the 'purpose' function is described.

The possessor NP may refer to a purpose, what the possessor noun is (used) for. In such a case, both head of the possessor NP and possessee noun can only be common nouns. Often the head of the possessor NP is a nominalised verb as in (7.110) repeated below, while the possessee noun is a noun *taku* 'time' as in (7.125) above and (7.126) below. A nominalised verb as the head of the possessor NP always presents a purpose.

(7.110) \[\text{komi} = a \quad \text{matu} = \text{ma} \quad [\text{pazo-}\text{kin}i = o] = \text{ko} \quad \text{vaka}\]
PROX.SG.F=LIG big=3SG.F hit-RECP=NOM=3SG.F ship
‘this big warship (this big ship for war)’

(7.126) \[\text{k}o = \text{baro} = a \quad [\text{bolo} = \text{ko} \quad \text{padoe} = k = o] = \text{ko} \quad \text{taku}\]
3SG.F=arrive=PRES pig=3SG.F gather=3SG.F.O=NOM=3SG.F time
‘the time for gathering pigs arrived...’ (67-3-38)

In example (7.126), *bolo=ko padoe=k=o* ‘gathering pigs’ itself is a possessive NP; *boloko* is a possessor NP, which forms a possessive NP with a nominalised verb *padoeko*, and this possessive NP, *bolo=ko padoe=k=o*, itself functions as a possessor NP and thus is attached with *ko*. The head of the entire NP is *taku* ‘time’.

### 7.4 Person, number, and gender marking

In the last two sections, two types of NPs in Bilua, basic and possessive NPs, are described. Bilua NPs are usually marked for person/number/gender. Exceptions to this are categorical and generic NPs. For example, in (7.127) the underlined NP refers to a category of ‘food’ and this is not marked for person/number/gender. When such an NP is cross-referenced on the verb, it is realised in the default form, the third person singular feminine form. Thus, in (7.127) the object clitic which cross-references the NP *sailao* ‘food’ is realised as *k* (3SG.F.O).

(7.127) \[\ldots \text{niania}=\text{ka} = \text{ma} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{sailao} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{ere} = k = a\ldots\]
mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP food 3SG.F make=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘the mother, she did food-making...’ (27-3-15)

An NP which refers to a category thus can consist of the head on its own. It may, however, contain a modifier phrase, and this refers to a subcategory. In the following example, *uriama pade* ‘good house’ is a subcategory of a category *pade* ‘house’.

(7.128) \[\ldots n\text{ge} = q = a \quad \text{zari} = a \quad k = ov = o\]
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES 3SG.F.O=get=NOM

\[\text{uri} = a = \text{ma} \quad \text{pade}\ldots\]
good=LIG=3SG.F house
‘...we want to get good houses...’ (64-3-23)

In Bilua, common nouns, kinship terms, locational nouns, personal names, quantifiers, non-inflectional pronouns, and quantifiers have default interpretation as third person, and
first/second person can be marked by a first/second person pronominal enclitic in the NP-final position. Personal names and a few kinship terms are marked for gender as well. Some kinship terms can be used as vocatives. This is then interpreted as second person. In an NP whose head is not marked for gender, gender can be specified by an optional NP constituent; a demonstrative, which fills the slot for a determiner, a pronominal enclitic in a modifier phrase, and/or a demonstrative which functions as a possessor marker in a possessor NP. These are all pronouns which inflect for gender.

(7.129) \textit{vo}=a \quad \textit{sil}_o=a=\textit{la} \quad \textit{megora} \\
3SG.M=LIG \quad \textit{small}=LIG=3SG.M \quad \text{child} \\
\quad \textit{the small boy'}

(7.130) \textit{ko}=ko \quad \textit{megora} \\
3SG.F=3SG.F \quad \text{child} \\
\quad \textit{her daughter'}

The above applies only when the NP is third person singular: Bilua has a gender distinction only for third person singular, as shown in Table 7.1.

The direct type of possessive NP can have neither determiner nor modifier phrase, and consequently, the direct type of possessive NP cannot be marked for gender.

(7.131) \textit{a}=\textit{megora} \\
1SG=child \\
\quad \textit{my child (male or female)}’ (43-5-56)

In such a case, gender can be found only from the discourse. However, in a direct type of possessive NP headed with \textit{ngavi} ‘self’, PRON=\textit{ngavi} ‘oneself’, the pronominal proclitic specifies the gender.

(7.132) \textit{a}=\textit{ngavi} \\
3SG.M=self \\
\quad \textit{himself}’ (27-24-153)

Number can be specified by a quantifier and/or a collective/plural marker.

(7.133) \textit{matu} \quad \textit{kub}_o \quad \textit{maba} \quad \textit{madu} \quad \text{very many person COLL.PL} \\
\quad \textit{(a group of) a large number of people}’ (12-1-5)

An NP can also be interrogative ‘who’. The interrogative ‘who’ has default interpretation as third person, but similar to NPs headed with a common noun or a kinship term, it can take a first/second person pronominal enclitic for a first/second person marking.

(7.134) \textit{“Ngo}=\textit{daite} \quad \textit{ta} \quad \textit{lala}?” \\
2SG=g-parent \quad \textit{TOP} \quad \text{who}3SG.M \\
\quad \textit{“Who is your grandfather?”’ (39-9-56)}
(7.135) "Lala=nga inio ngo?"
whoSG.M=2SG FOC.NONF 2SG
"Who are you?" (39-9-55)

In Bilua, generally first/second person NPs cannot have a gender specification. When
the head of an NP is the interrogative 'who', however, a first/second person NP can have
a gender specification, as the interrogative word 'who' itself has a gender specification. In
(7.135), the interrogative word 'who' is in the singular masculine form and this is marked
with a second person singular pronominial enclitic. Thus, the referent is second person
singular masculine. If the interrogative is in the singular feminine form, the referent is
second person singular feminine.

It is illustrated above that person, number, and gender of NPs can be marked by
optional NP constituent(s) and NPs often contain optional NP constituent(s). A postverbal
NP headed with a non-locational noun in Bilua can never consist of the head on its own.
That is, there is a slot to be filled. Non-locational nouns are, as set out in §4.3, common
nouns, kinship terms, and personal names. The slot is generally filled by one of the
optional NP constituents, but if not, it is filled by a distal demonstrative by default. The
demonstrative here cannot be treated as a determiner, as it is not attached with a ligature.
For example,

(7.136) Ni ke=v=e=ake vo Sito.
    and 3PL=3SG.M.O=RMP=HIST 3SG.M Sito
    "And they saw Sito." (12-7-63)

Thus, the lack of the ligature indicates that vo (3SG.M) does not function as a
determiner. It might be postulated that each of vo and Sito forms an NP of its own and vo
and Sito are two appositive NPs. However, such a demonstrative and the head always
form one intonation unit and so it is best to treat them as forming a single NP, and vo
occurs just to fill the slot. Furthermore, such an NP can be a categorical/generic NP as
illustrated by examples (7.139) and (7.140) later in this section, and this illustrates that the
demonstrative here does not function as a determiner: it does not have a definiteness-
marking function or a deictic function.

As illustrated above, NPs are usually marked for person, number, and gender by
optional constituents, while demonstratives, which may precede the head, are marked for
person, number, and gender as well. This raises the contention that it is obligatory for a
postverbal NP to be marked for person, number, and gender by a non-head constituent.
This contention is supported by the fact that even personal names, which are always third
person singular and which also have an inherent gender marking, cannot form an NP on
their own in postverbal position, and the distal demonstrative, which is neither the head
nor a determiner, occurs for an obligatory person, number, and gender marking.

The distal demonstrative which precedes the head can only be the third person singular
one. This is because when a referent is not third person singular, an NP would have an
optional constituent. The demonstrative is realised as vo (3SG.M) or ko (3SG.F)
depending on the gender for a human referent and depending on the number for a non-
human referent.
Table 7.5: Distribution of third person singular distal demonstratives as a person/number/gender marker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstratives</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>vo</em></td>
<td>third person singular masculine</td>
<td>singulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ko</em></td>
<td>third person singular feminine</td>
<td>unspecified number</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following is an example with a kinship term.

(7.137) ...*k=i=ɔ=la*  
*vo*  meqora.  
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M child  
‘...said the son.’ (27-17-109)

As noted in §7.2.1.3.1, a combination of a kinship term and a pronominal enclitic is used like a personal name and this is treated as one lexeme. The following example clearly illustrates this. In this example, a kinship term cliticised with a pronominal enclitic is preceded by a demonstrative without a ligature.

(7.138) ...*ko=baru=ɔ*  
*ko*  niania=ka=ma...  
3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F mother=LIG=3SG.F  
‘...the mother arrived...’ (27-8-47)

As noted above, a categorical/generic NP is not generally marked for a person/number/gender. This kind of NP still however has to contain a demonstrative in postverbal position. Similarly to (7.127), the underlined NP in (7.139) refers to a category of ‘food’, but it contains a demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F). Example (7.140) expresses to what category the thing she saw belongs; the object NP *vo siloilo* ‘firefly’ refers to a category. Since she saw only one firefly, this is coded as singulative, as indicated by the singulative form of object clitics in the VP, *v* (3SG.M), and so the demonstrative is realised in the singulative form as well agreeing with this.

(7.139) ...*ke=ngavi nio*  
*ke*  ere=k=α  
3PL=selF FOC.NONF 3PL make=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F food  
‘...they made food themselves...’ (59-1-5)

(7.140) ...*ko=v=e=a*  
*kala*  bianga-bianga  
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES INDEF.SG.M REDUP-insect  
*silo=a=la*  
inpu  ale, uza ta ngase topi *ko=a*  
small=LIG=3SG.M night in fire TOP hand on 3SG.F=LIG  
*reko, inio*  
*ko=v=e=a*  
*vo*  siloilo...  
woman  SEQ 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES 3SG.M firefly  
‘...she saw one small animal in the darkness, with a fire on her hand, the woman, she saw one firefly.’ (39-4-30-31)

(more literally ‘...she saw one small animal in the night, a fire was on her hand, the woman, and she saw one firefly...')
It appears that the obligatory person/number/gender marking in (7.139) and (7.140) is because of the object clitic in the preceding VP. That is, the object clitic, which itself is marked for person/number/gender, requires the NP which follows and which is coreferential with this object clitic to show agreement. For example, in (7.139) the object clitic $k$ (3SG.F) requires that the NP be third person singular feminine, and so the NP contains the demonstrative $ko$ (3SG.F). Similarly, in (7.140), the object clitic $v$ (3SG.M) requires the NP to be third person singular masculine and so the NP contains the demonstrative $vo$ (3SG.M). When the NP precedes the VP as in (7.127), however, there is no such a requirement, and the object clitic in the VP takes the default form, the third person singular feminine form.

Unlike non-locational nouns, locational nouns do not require such a demonstrative.

(7.141) $Qo=bara=i \quad Roviana\ldots$
3DU=arrive=RMP Roviana

‘The two arrived at Roviana’ (10-6-53)

This concludes the description of NPs in Bilua. The next chapter deals with verb phrases and complement phrases.
8 Verb phrases and complement phrases

8.1 Introduction

As noted in §3.2.2, the ‘heart’ of a Bilua verbal clause is the predicate, which is a verb phrase (VP). A Bilua verb phrase, except for when it is headed with one of two verbs, elo ‘to become’ and iko ‘to put/cause’, can form a clause on its own. A VP headed with one of these two verbs always requires a complement. A complement is expressed by a complement phrase, which can be a noun phrase, a postpositional phrase, an adjectival phrase, or any locational phrase (see §10.3 for locational phrases). In this chapter, first a description of VPs is presented and then a description of complement phrases is presented.

8.2 Verb phrases

8.2.1 Introduction

The defining feature of the VP in Bilua is that the head can only be a verb and it usually contains a pronominal proclitic, which functions as a subject marker, and a tense/mood marker. In the following example, the underline marks the VP.

(8.1) \[ ...a=koi\l=a...\]
     \[ 3SG.M=climb=PRES\]
     ‘...he climbed...’ (2-4-19)

8.2.2 Constituents of VPs

Generally, a Bilua VP minimally contains a pronominal proclitic, the head (a verb with or without an accompanying object clitic, see §8.2.3), and a tense/mood marker. A VP may also have optional constituents. Except for when the head (verb) is kio ‘to say’ or tu...keu ‘to be long’, the three minimum constituents occur in the order of pronominal proclitic, head, and tense/mood marker, and optional VP constituents occur between the pronominal proclitic and the head. Constituents of VPs are (in order of their occurrence):
Pronominal proclitic

(Aspectual/Modal marker)
(Possessor-raising marker)
(Object clitic)
(Valency-increasing marker)
(Modifier)

Head = verb (with or without an accompanying object clitic)
Tense/mood marker

The first five of these constituents—pronominal proclitic, aspectual/modal marker, possessor-raising marker, object clitic, and valency-increasing marker—form a preverbal complex, which has a template structure. A template structure consists of a sequence of morpheme slots (Simpson & Withgott 1986). Each of these slots can be filled with a certain type of morpheme. It is not necessary to fill all slots, but an occurrence of one morpheme in one slot may require a co-occurrence of another morpheme in another slot, or block an occurrence of another morpheme.

In the Bilua preverbal complex, the slot for aspectual/modal markers may be filled by two aspectual/modal markers (see §8.5.6). When the slot for valency-increasing markers is filled, the slot for object clitics has to be filled as well, while when the slot for the possessor-raising marker is filled, the slot for valency-increasing markers must be filled. Furthermore, in certain circumstances, an occurrence of a valency-increasing marker a requires the co-occurrence of the possessor-raising marker (see §9.4.4). On the other hand, the situation-change marker ta prohibits an occurrence of the possessor-raising marker and valency-increasing markers. Thus, the situation-change marker never co-occurs with the possessor-raising marker or a valency-increasing marker.

The head, a verb with or without an accompanying object clitic, and a tense/mood marker also form a template structure. Here, there are three slots: one for verbs, one for object clitics, and one for tense/mood markers. When the slot for verbs is filled, this requires the slot for tense/mood markers to be filled. Furthermore, when the slot for verbs is filled by a transitive verb, this requires the slot for object clitics to be filled. In texts, however, there are a few examples in which an object clitic and a tense/mood marker are ellipsed together, but there is no example in which only one of them is ellipsed.

A VP whose head is kio ‘to say’ or tu...keu ‘to be long’ has a different structure. With the verb kio ‘to say’, the pronominal proclitic is realised as an enclitic\(^3\)—it always follows

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\(^3\) It is rather odd to say that a proclitic is realised as an enclitic, and it might be better to replace the term ‘pronominal proclitic’ with the term ‘pronominal clitic’. However, there are two other sets of pronominal clitics in Bilua, which are referred to as pronominal enclitics and object clitics, and the term ‘pronominal proclitic’ is employed in this work in order to make a distinction from these two sets of clitics.
its host, the verb. Furthermore, this verb takes an object clitic as a proclitic. The verb kio 'to say' cannot co-occur with aspectual/modal markers or the possessor-raising marker. Furthermore, with this verb, the pronominal proclitic and the valency-increasing marker do not form a preverbal complex either. This is because the pronominal proclitic does not take the usual VP-initial position, but follows the verb. The following is an example of a VP with the verb kio 'to say'. (In the following examples, VPs are underlined.)

(8.2) \( \text{se ta eri} \quad y=\text{ati} \quad k=i=\text{ke}=\text{la}. \)

3PL TOP s.th.like.this 3SG.M.O=VAL 3SG.F.O=say=3PL=PRES

'...they, they said to him something like this.' (25-7-50)

With tu...keu 'be long', the preverbal complex occurs between tu and keu.

(8.3) \( \text{Tu a=da keu=vou} \quad \text{Gizo}. \)

be.long 1SG=SIT be.long=FUT Gizo

'I will be in Gizo for a long time.'

(8.4) \( \text{puliako tukeu inio ke=mama ta o=ta} \)

before be.longNOM FOC.NONF 3PL=father TOP 3SG.M=SIT

vou=va.

die=PRES

'...before long, their father died.' (59-1-1)

In example (8.4), the verb tu...keu, which is realised as tukeu, occurs in a non-finite temporal clause that is marked with a subordinator puliako. A VP which follows a subordinator puliako 'before' always consists of a verb and the nominal derivational enclitic o only (see §12.4.1). In example (8.4) the combination of the verb tu...keu with the nominal derivational enclitic o is realised as tukeu—the combination of the verb final u with the enclitic o is realised as u (see Appendix 2). This illustrates that tu and keu form one lexeme.

In the following, all VP constituents except valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker are described. Valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker are described in the next chapter on valency and transitivity. The present chapter also includes a classification of verbs in terms of lexical semantics, as semantic of verbs may contribute to interpretation of aspectual/modal markers as described in §8.5.

---

35 The basic position of an S/A NP and an O NP for all verbs except kio 'to say' is preverbal and postverbal position respectively. This order corresponds to the order of the pronominal proclitic that cross-references the S/A argument, the verb, and the object clitic in the VP. With the verb kio 'to say', the basic position of A and O NPs are postverbal and preverbal respectively. This order again corresponds to the order of the object marker, the verb, and the pronominal in the VP. There are three other verbs that take an object marker as a proclitic, but with these verbs, the subject marker precedes the head. It is not understood why kio 'to say' is different from other verbs with this regard.
8.2.3 VP head

Only a verb can be the head of a VP. Bilua verbs can be divided into two types depending on the obligatory presence/absence of an object clitic (see §4.4). Transitive verbs are obligatorily cliticised with an object clitic while intransitive verbs can never be cliticised with an object clitic. Since the object clitic is obligatory for transitive verbs, this can be regarded as a part of the head. In the following examples, underlines mark the VP head.

(8.5) Intransitive verb

\[ O=ta \quad \underline{lezumat}=a. \]
\[ 3SG.M=\text{SIT} \quad \text{study}=\text{PRES} \]
\[ '\text{He is studying}.' \]

(8.6) Transitive verb

\[ O=\underline{tatabarae}=k=ala. \]
\[ 3SG.M=\text{buy}=3SG.F.O=\text{RCP} \]
\[ '\text{He bought it}.' \]

The type of verbs indicates the number of core arguments cross-referenced on the VP. Intransitive and transitive verbs have one and two core arguments respectively cross-referenced on the verb, as illustrated by the above examples. However, when the VP has a valency-increasing marker, these numbers are increased by one, as a valency-increasing marker obligatorily occurs with an object clitic (see next chapter).

8.2.4 Pronominal proclitics and object clitics

There are two kinds of pronouns which can be constituents of a VP: pronominal proclitics and object clitics. Lists of pronominal proclitics and object clitics are repeated below from §5.5.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>[ a ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>[ ngo ]</td>
<td>[ qe ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>[ o ]</td>
<td>[ ko ]</td>
<td>[ go ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8.2: Object clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>qei</td>
<td>mel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pronominal proclitics take the VP-initial position and they function as subject markers. Object clitics obligatorily occur with transitive verbs and valency-increasing markers, and they function as object markers. In (8.7), the object clitic on the verb k (3SG.F.O) expresses the direct object, ‘food’, while the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker v (3SG.M.O) expresses the added object, ‘him’ (see §9.4 for added objects).

(8.7) \[ Ke=y=a \quad ina-inae=k=e... \]
3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL REDUP-get.ready=3SG.F.O=RMP
‘They got food ready for him...’ (26-22-121)

8.3 Tense/mood markers

The last slot of a VP is filled with a tense or mood marker, which is an enclitic. The second final slot in the VP is always filled with the head. Thus, tense/mood markers are always cliticised to the head: an intransitive verb or a transitive verb with its object clitic. In a non-finite clause, the slot for a tense/mood marker is filled with the nominal derivational enclitic, which marks non-finiteness (see §12.3.3) instead of a tense/mood marker.

There is a five-way tense distinction in Bilua, each tense indicated by a different tense marker: recent past, remote past, future, near future, and present. The list of five types of tense markers is presented at the end of this section.

Tense locates a situation with regard to a reference time. Normally, the reference time coincides with the speech time, and speakers locate a situation with regard to the speech time. This tense system, where the speech time is the reference time, is called absolute tense. The reference time, however, can be some other time than the speech time, and this is called relative tense. In Bilua, when a situation occurs prior to the reference time, that is when the tense is absolute or relative past, the VP contains a recent or remote past tense marker. Recent past extends to around two days prior to the reference time. When a situation occurs after the reference time, that is when the tense is absolute or relative future, the VP contains a future or near future tense marker. In general, when the tense is future, this is indicated by the future tense marker, but the speaker may use the near future tense marker instead when he/she feels that event is going to happen in the near future, in the next two days or so, or when he/she feels that the situation is definitely going to happen. The speaker may also employ the near future tense marker when he/she is
making a request to the hearer. When a situation occurs at the reference time, when the
tense is absolute or relative present, the VP has a present tense marker.

Relative present tense is in fact regarded as historical present tense where the past
time is looked upon as present. In the historical present tense, situations that happened in
the past are described as if they are happening at the speech time. Historical present tense can
be employed once the time of the story is established in the past. This is done by the
historical tense marker. For example, in (8.8), first the historical tense marker ke (HIST)
establishes the time as past. After this, the present tense marker a (PRES) is employed in
order to indicate the historical present tense. In the last clause, the VP has the near future
tense marker o (NRFUT), as the event described in this clause occurs posterior to the
reference time.

(8.8)  

\[ \text{Omadeu taku sike tamania ke=beta e=ke.} \]
\[ \text{one time five brother\&sister 3PL=CONT stay=HIST} \]
\[ Ke=beta e=ke inio omadeu ta reko=a=ma} \]
\[ 3PL=CONT stay=HIST and.then one TOP female=3SG.F \]
\[ se=ko visi ta reko=a=ma. Nio kama \]
\[ 3PL=3SG.F younger.sibling TOP female=3SG.F SEQ INDEF.SG.F \]
\[ taku ko=baro=a nio ni=a sike tamania \]
\[ time 3SG.F=arrive=PRES SEQ PROX.PL=3SG five brother\&sister \]
\[ ta “me=ba mujor=a” k=i=ke=la. \]
\[ TOP 1PL.INC=PROS fish.bonito=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3PL=PRES \]

‘Once upon a time, there were five brothers and sisters living. They were living,
and one was a female one, their younger one was a female one. And then, [one
day], these five brothers and sister, they said, “we will go and fish bonitos.”’

(48-1-1-3)

The historical tense marker may also occur within a text. The speaker may use the
historical tense marker from time to time in order to reassure the hearer that the time is set
in the past. Occasionally, the remote past tense marker occurs in a text in which the
historical present tense is employed. In the following example in which the historical
tense is employed, the first, second, and third clauses have the present tense, the historical
tense, and the remote tense markers respectively.

(8.9)  

\[ \text{Ni ko=ko tova se ta ke=v=ati ol=q} \]
\[ \text{and 3SG.F=3SG.F behind 3PL TOP 3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL go=PRES} \]
\[ Fiji. Ni Fiji se ta ke=va=va=va=ake vo. \]
\[ Fiji and Fiji 3PL TOP 3PL=leave=3SG.M.O=HIST 3SG.M \]
\[ Ni vo ta o=v=vi sai Fiji. \]
\[ \text{and 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=die=RMP there Fiji} \]
\[ ‘And, after that, they took him to Fiji. And they left him. And he died there in} 
\[ \text{Fiji.’} \]

(12-8-78-80)
The historical tense marker can be employed only when the tense is relative present tense. It cannot be employed when the tense is relative future or relative past. Example (8.10) occurs in the discourse when someone who belongs to United Church arrived at Guadalcanal, this person found that Anglican Church had already arrived there. That is, the reference time here is in the past, the time he arrived at Guadalcanal, and the event of Anglican Church’s arrival occurred in the past relative to this reference time. Thus the tense here is relative past, and accordingly the remote tense marker is employed. This cannot be replaced by the historical tense marker or the present tense marker.

(8.10) Anglican ta lula ko=ta baro=i Guadalcanal.
Anglican TOP already 3SG.F=SIT arrive=RMP Guadalcanal
‘Anglican church had already arrived at Guadalcanal.’ (10-6-49)

There is only one type of mood marker in Bilua—the imperative mood marker. The lack of an imperative mood marker results in a declarative or interrogative mood. When a VP has an imperative mood marker, the pronominal proclitic understood as the second person can be ellipsed.

(8.11) Melai kue=mo, tu pa k=e=mo saita.
but come=IMP.PL IRR PROS 3SG.F.O=see=IMP.PL first
‘But come, come and see it first.’ (26-24-127)

Imperative mood markers agree with the addressee in number. In the above example, the number of addressees is plural and thus the imperative mood marker is in the plural form.

The following two tables repeated from §5.14 present a list of all tense and imperative mood markers. The distribution of different realisations of these morphemes is described in Appendix 2.

**Table 5.11: Tense markers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense markers</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present tense</td>
<td>a/va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near future tense</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future tense</td>
<td>ou/vou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recent past tense</td>
<td>a/la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote past tense</td>
<td>e/vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical tense</td>
<td>ake/ke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.12: Imperative mood markers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular imperative markers</td>
<td>a/e/vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual imperative markers</td>
<td>oko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural imperative markers</td>
<td>omo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.4 Classification of verbs in terms of lexical semantics

Aspectual/modal markers may express different meanings interacting with the lexical semantics of verbs. Thus it is necessary to examine the lexical semantics of verbs before a description of aspectual/modal markers is presented.

Verbs can be classified in terms of lexical semantics, that is in terms of the kinds of situations they represent. The classification of verbs presented here is a modification of Sasse’s classification of ‘states of affairs’ (Sasse 1990). In this work, the term ‘situation’ is used instead of state of affairs.

Every situation, in principle, has a beginning point and an end point, and between these two points lies the duration over which the situation is true. This is schematised as follows. The duration between the beginning point and the end point is referred to as the ‘in-situation’.

![Diagram of in-situation](image)

**Figure 8.1:** Internal structure of situation

The beginning point, the in-situation, and the end point are not equally conceivable for all situations. For example, a situation may be conceived as having only the in-situation without the beginning and the end points. Accordingly, situations can be classified in terms of which of these two points and in-situation they involve.

Verbs in Bilua can be divided into five classes in terms of the kinds of situations they represent: ‘stative’, ‘durative’, ‘gradually terminative’, ‘totally terminative’, and ‘terminative-inchoative’.

Stative verbs represent situations which involve only the in-situation. With stative verbs such as elo ‘to stay’, there is no inherent beginning or end point.

Situations represented by durative verbs involve the beginning and end points as well as the in-situation. Most activity verbs, such as iruruputo ‘to work’ and rere ‘to run’ are durative verbs.

Situations represented by gradually terminative verbs also involve the beginning and end points as well as the in-situation. However, with this class of verbs, the beginning point and the end point do not have equal status; the end point is more salient than the beginning point. Unless the end point is reached, one cannot say the situation occurred. For example, with a verb zio ‘to go’, unless one reaches the destination, one cannot say one went (to such and such a place). On the other hand, with a durative verb iruruputo ‘to work’, one can say one worked as soon as one started working.$^{36}$

---

$^{36}$ Durative verbs and gradually terminative verbs correspond to telic and atelic by Comrie (1976:44–48).
Situations represented by totally terminative verbs involve the beginning point and the end point which overlap with each other, and they do not involve an in-situation. The situations are instantaneous ones. For example, *pazoto* 'to hit' represents an instantaneous situation.

Terminative-inchoative verbs are a combination of totally terminative verbs and stative verbs. They represent one situation in which the beginning point and the end point overlap with each other and the following situation which was brought out by this situation and which involves only the in-situation. For example, a verb *lojo* 'to stand (up)' represents the situation of standing up as well as the following situation, a state of standing.

Situations represented by each of these classes of verbs are schematised as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Diagram</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>[----------------]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative</td>
<td>[--------------]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradually terminative</td>
<td>[---------------]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally terminative</td>
<td>[---]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminative-inchoative</td>
<td>[--------]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 8.2:** Situations represented by different classes of verbs

The following are some examples of verbs in each class.

---

37 This is parallel to the inchoative-stative state of affairs in Sasse’s (1990) classification of states of affairs, which has the beginning point and the following in-situation (in-situation is situation in his term), but no end point.

inchoative-stative [----------------]

Sasse treats the beginning point as an entering phase, and the beginning point and the following in-situation form as one situation. In the classification presented in this work, however, the entering phase and the in-situation are treated as two separate situations, and two situations are encoded on one verb.
Table 8.3: Examples of verbs in different verb classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stative verbs</td>
<td>elo ‘to stay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zario ‘to want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nianii ‘to know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maqino ‘to be full (to be not hungry)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dudeo ‘to be sleepy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative verbs</td>
<td>iruruputo ‘to work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rere ‘to run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>siusiuto ‘to swim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vuato ‘to eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lezumato ‘to study’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abuabuto ‘to fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradually terminative verbs</td>
<td>zio ‘to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>saqoro ‘to go down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kailo ‘to go up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>keju ‘to cook (ITR)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vaito ‘to return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totally terminative verbs</td>
<td>pazoto ‘to hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tupario ‘to kick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pialo ‘to drop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminative-inchoative verbs</td>
<td>teku ‘to lie down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>papu ‘to sit down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lojo ‘to stand up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>barolo ‘to arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vou ‘to die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kilo ‘to come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>elo ‘to become’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.5 Aspectual/modal markers

8.5.1 Introduction

There are four kinds of aspectual/modal markers in Bilua:
- the ‘situation-change’ marker *ta*
- the continuity marker which is realised as *be* or *beta*
- the implicative marker *be*
- the prospective marker *pa*
The term ‘aspectual/modal marker’ is used in a broad sense here. Among aspectual/modal markers in Bilua, all but the prospective marker *pa* have both aspectual and modal implications, but only one of them, the continuity marker, can be said to be a purely aspectual marker. ‘Aspect is a grammaticalised mechanism for describing certain [situations] in terms of stativity...and terminativity’ (Sasse 1990:37). Stativity is indicated by the imperfective aspect, which selects the in-situation, while terminativity is indicated by the perfective aspect, which selects the boundary, the end point of the situation. The prospective marker *pa* does not make any reference to stativity/terminativity of the situation.

The continuity marker in Bilua always selects the in-situation, and thus it can be said that it is an imperfective aspect marker. The situation-change marker *ta* selects the in-situation and the beginning of the situation when the tense is absolute present and future tense respectively, but it selects neither in-situation nor beginning/end points in past and future tenses. The implicative marker also selects neither in-situation nor beginning/end points, but it implies that the end point was reached.

In Bilua, terminativity is usually indicated by the lack of an aspectual/modal marker. A VP may not have any aspectual/modal marker and this presents a situation as a whole. Example (8.14) below without an aspectual/modal marker presents a situation as a whole. On the other hand, examples (8.12) and (8.13) with the situation-change marker and the continuity marker respectively present the situation without reference to the beginning nor the end point. The difference between (8.12) and (8.13) is that (8.13) has a ‘continuity’ reading. The verb *iruruputo* ‘to work’ in the following examples is a durative verb. VPs are underlined in this section.

(8.12)  
\[ O=\text{**ta**} \quad \text{iruruput}=a. \]  
3SG.M=SIT work=PRES  
‘He is working.’

(8.13)  
\[ O=\text{**beta**} \quad \text{iruruput}=a. \]  
3SG.M=CONT work=PRES  
‘He’s been working (and will continue to work).’

(8.14)  
\[ O=\text{**iruruput**}=ala. \]  
3SG.M=work=RCP  
‘He worked.’

In this section, a description of VPs without aspectual/modal markers is first presented in §8.5.2. This is followed by a description of each aspectual/modal marker: the situation-change marker *ta* in §8.5.3, the continuity marker *belbeta* in §8.5.4, the implicative marker *be* in §8.5.5, and the prospective marker *pa* in §8.5.6. Section §8.5.7 then presents a summary in which a diachronic analysis of the situation-change marker *ta*, the continuity marker *belbeta*, and the implicative marker *be* is presented. It proposes a hypothesis that a continuity marker *beta* in fact consists of two morphemes: the continuity marker *be* and the situation-change marker *ta*. It also proposes that the continuity marker developed from the implicative marker. Occurrences of aspectual/modal markers are very restricted in dependent clauses. See Chapter 12.
8.5.2 VP without aspectual/modal markers

As noted above, the lack of aspectual/modal markers results in presenting a situation as a whole. This is regardless of the tense or the class of verbs. However, when a tense is absolute present, the VP cannot lack an aspectual/modal marker. This is because the present tense refers to the speech time, which is a point rather than a period of time. It is impossible to present a situation as a whole when there is no period during which this can occur. A situation represented by a totally terminative verb is an instantaneous one, and so one expects that it is possible to present it without an aspectual/modal marker as the situation is realised. Contrary to the expectation however, this is expressed by a VP with the situation-change marker ta, as illustrated by (8.21) in the next section.

In Error! Reference source not found. above and (8.15) and (8.16) below, the underlined VP presents a situation as a whole: an event of eating from the beginning point to the end point in Error! Reference source not found., an event of going from one place down to another in (8.15), and an instant event of falling in (8.16).

(8.15) Historical present tense/Gradually terminative verb

\[ ...a = sagor = a \]
\[ inio \quad o = lokie = k = a \]
\[ ko = a \]
\[ 3SG.M = go.down = PRES \quad SEQ \quad 3SG.M = coil = 3SG.F.O = PRES \quad 3SG.F = LIG \]

quini.

rope

‘...he went down and he coiled the rope.’ (2-9-52)

(8.16) Future tense/Totally terminative verb

\[ Ko = pial = oy. \]
\[ 3SG.F = fall = FUT \]

‘It will fall.’

With terminative-inchoative verbs, which involve two situations—a totally terminative situation and a stative situation—the lack of aspectual/modal markers presents both situations. In (8.17), \( o = teku = a \) ‘he lay down’ expresses the event of his taking a lying position as well as the resultative state of his lying. The resultative state does not have an inherent end point. Therefore, in (8.17) the state of his lying is continuing while he is watching the mother’s path. With stative verbs, a VP without an aspectual/modal marker presents a state going over an unspecified period as in (8.18).

(8.17) Historical tense/Terminative-inchoative verb

\[ ...veetu \quad tona \quad inio \quad o = teku = a \quad saitainio, \]
entrance beside FOC.NONF 3SG.M = lie = PRES afterwards

\[ o = k = ati \quad vail = a \quad niania = ko \quad keve \quad koi \quad vasi. \]
3SG.M = 3SG.F.O = VAL look = PRES mother = 3SG.F way here around

‘...he lay beside the entrance, and he watched the mother’s paths nearby.’

(27-7-43)

(8.18) Historical tense/Stative verb
Chapter 8

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\begin{align*}
\text{Ne} = & a \quad \text{matu-peuru} \, \text{ta} \quad \text{matu} \quad \text{kubo} \quad \text{maba} \quad \text{madu} \\
\text{PROX.SG.M=LIG} \quad \text{big-village} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{many} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{COLL.PL}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{ke ev=a} & \quad \text{koi...} \\
3\text{PL} & \quad \text{stay=PRES} \quad \text{here}
\end{align*}

'As for this big village, a large number of people stayed here...' (26-1-2)

The end of a state can be indicated by an adjunct. In (8.19), an adjunct \textit{zouke ma ariku sade} 'three or four weeks' presents a boundary of the state.

(8.19) Historical present tense/Stative verb

\begin{align*}
\ldots & \text{kama} \quad \text{taku ta} \quad \text{zouke} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{ariku} \quad \text{sade} \quad \text{ke ev=a}.
\end{align*}

\text{INDEF.S.G.F} \quad \text{time} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{three or four} \quad \text{Sunday} \quad \text{3PL} \quad \text{stay=PRES}

'...sometimes, they stayed for three or four weeks.' (23-1-5)

8.5.3 Situation-change marker \textit{ta}

The situation-change marker \textit{ta}, generally speaking, introduces a new situation or a change of situation.

(8.20) \begin{align*}
\ldots & \text{ke=lilit=a} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{maba} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{lula} \quad \text{ko=m=ai}
\end{align*}

\text{3PL=look.back=PRES} \quad \text{and.then} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{already} \quad \text{3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL}

\begin{align*}
\text{kasate=a.} \quad \text{Inio} \quad \text{se ta} \quad \text{ke=ta} \quad \text{sogoi=va}
\end{align*}

\text{attack=PRES} \quad \text{SEQ} \quad \text{3PL} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{3PL=SIT} \quad \text{run.away=PRES}

\begin{align*}
\text{se=a} \quad \text{zouke} \quad \text{saidi.}
\end{align*}

\text{3PL=LIG} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{family}

'...they looked back, and the [head-hunters] had already attacked them. And the family of three, they ran away.' (25-3-22-23)

In this example, the situation-change marker \textit{ta} selects the beginning point of a situation and introduces a new situation of their running away. The situation-change marker \textit{ta} occurs with intransitive verbs but not with transitive verbs. This is discussed later in this section.

The situation-change marker \textit{ta} expresses different meanings depending on the tense. With the future tense, the situation-change marker indicates a prospect that a situation-change will happen, and this is further divided depending on the person of the subject—an intention for first person as in (8.21), a request for second person as in (8.22), and a supposition for third person as in (8.23).

(8.21) Intention (first person)

\begin{align*}
\ldots & \text{koi} \quad \text{ngo} \quad \text{kasi} \quad a=da \quad \text{ranoe=vou.}
\end{align*}

\text{here} \quad \text{2SG} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{1SG=SIT} \quad \text{sleep.overnight=FUT}

'...here, at your place, I am going (intend) to sleep overnight.' (59-11-90)

(8.22) Request (second person)
"Ngo=baizie=k=a sole ngo=da sagol=o."
2SG=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES that’s why 2SG=SIT go.down=NRFUR
nio k=i=a=la. "Ee" k=i=o=la.
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES yes 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
"‘You finished so you come down (I request you to come down),’ I said. ‘Yes,’ said he.’ (2-8-50-51)

(8.23) Supposition (third person)
...koe ako so ta o=ta vou=vou inio
INTJ INTJ that TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=FUT FOC.NONF
anga=vo meqora.
child=3SG.M 1SG=3SG.M
‘...Oh, [if it went on like this] he, my child, will die.’ (27-5-27)
(more literally, ‘Oh, if so, he will die, my child.’)

In example (8.23) a pronoun so ‘that’ refers to the situation in which the son does not eat.

Without the situation-change marker, the underlined VPs in (8.21), (8.22), and (8.23) would simply present a situation in the future: they would mean ‘I will stay overnight’, ‘you will go down’, and ‘he will die’ respectively without any prospective reading.

In §8.5.6 below, a description of the prospective marker pa is presented. Pa indicates a prospect, and in addition to this, it indicates a movement. In (8.21) above, an adverb koi ‘here’ implies that the situation is going to be realised without any change of location; that is, without the subject’s movement. Because of this lack of movement, pa, an indicator of a movement, cannot replace ta (da) in (8.21); only ta (da) can occur in this example.

With the past tense, the situation-change marker indicates that a situation in the past has some relevance to the current situation. In other words, because of this situation in the past, the situation changed and the current situation exists. This is similar to the function of the English present perfect as in the following example.

(8.24) "Ki meqora nei ta kama quili ikio
INTJ child PROX.SG.M TOP INDEF.SG.F thing FOC.F
nei o=ta vuat=ala..."
PROX.SG.M 3SG.M=SIT eat=RCP
"‘Child, he has eaten something...’" (43-4-43)

The above example occurs in the discourse in which the mother (speaker) and the child see a devil coming down, and she suspects that her husband has eaten something and this caused the devil’s coming.

Another example is:

(8.15) ...me ta me=ba kati=l=ou ko vozi-vozi
2PL TOP 2PL=PROS give=1SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F REDUP-propeller
vaka=ko, ko=ta pia=vi sole.
ship=3SG.F 3SG.F=SIT fall=RMP that’s why
'...[I request that] you will give me a propeller for a ship, because it has fallen
[and so there is no propeller].' (10-11-93)

In the above example, *ta* indicates a resultative state as well as present relevance: there is no propeller and this has relevance to the current situation in that the speaker needs a propeller.

Without the situation-change marker, the underlined VPs in Error! Reference source not found. and (8.15) simply present a situation in the past as a whole and would mean 'he ate' and 'it fell' respectively.

In future and past tenses, *ta* indicates the same meaning regardless of the semantic class of the verb. On the other hand, in absolute present and historical present tenses, lexical semantics of verbs contribute to the meaning expressed by *ta*. In other words, it expresses different meanings depending upon how it interacts with the lexical semantics of each verb.

In the absolute present tense, *ta* indicates the in-situation, but not the beginning or the end point, and this interacts with the lexical semantics of verbs expressing different meanings. With stative verbs, *ta* expresses a present state. Example (8.16) with a stative verb expresses a state of being full at the time of speech.

(8.16) Stative verb

\[
A=da \quad maquin=a. \quad \text{38}
\]

\[
1SG=SIT \quad \text{be.full=PRES}
\]

'I am full.'

With durative verbs, it indicates the situation is ongoing. Example (8.17) expresses that an event of his working is on-going at the time of speech.

(8.17) Durative verb

\[
O=ta \quad iiruput=a.
\]

\[
3SG.M=SIT \quad \text{work=PRES}
\]

'He is working.'

With gradually terminative verbs, *ta* indicates the phase towards the end point. Example (8.18) expresses that the subject, 'I', is in the process of getting to Hilda.

(8.18) Gradually terminative verb

\[
A=da \quad ol=a \quad \text{Hilda kasi.}
\]

\[
1SG=SIT \quad \text{go=PRES} \quad \text{Hilda at}
\]

'I am going to (on the way to) Hilda’s place.'

---

38 The beginning point can be selected by the verb *elo* 'to become'. In the following example the verb *maquin* 'to be full', combined with a modifier *uri* 'good', is nominalised and this is a complement of the verb *elo* 'to become' (see §8.7.2)

\[
...maba \quad uri=a \quad maquin=a \quad o=ta \quad ev=a...\]

\[
\text{truly good=LG} \quad \text{be.full=NOM} \quad 3SG.M=SIT \quad \text{become=PRES}
\]

'...truly, he became nicely full...' (43-3-27)
Example (8.19) is another example with the verb *zio* ‘to go’. Notice that here the speaker assumes that the subject ‘he’ has not reached her yet and he is still on the way.

\[(8.19)\]
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
O=\text{ta} & \text{ol}=\text{a} & \text{Nerida} \quad \text{kasi}.\\
3SG.M=SIT & \text{go}=\text{PRES} & \text{Nerida} \quad \text{at} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He has gone to Nerida (and probably has not reached her yet).’

If the speaker assumes that he has already reached her, he might say:

\[(8.20)\]
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
O=\text{ta} & \text{ol}=\text{ala} & \text{Nerida} \quad \text{kasi}.\\
3SG.M=SIT & \text{go}=\text{RCP} & \text{Nerida} \quad \text{at} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He has gone to Nerida (and so he is not here).’\(^{39}\)

Totally terminative verbs do not involve the in-situation and so *ta* cannot select the in-situation. *Ta* however can still occur with totally terminative verbs. It selects the point just after the end point, and this means that the situation just happened. Example (8.21) expresses that the event of hitting just happened.

\[(8.21)\] Totally terminative verb

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
O=\text{ta} & \text{pazot}=\text{a}.\\
3SG.M=SIT & \text{hit}=\text{PRES} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He (just) hit.’

With terminative-inchoative verbs, *ta* selects the in-situation which follows the end point. In fact, it selects the point just after the end point. Thus, *ta* indicates a resultative state as well as indicating that the event which brought about this state just happened. Example (8.22) expresses that he just stood up, and as a result he is standing.

\[(8.22)\] Terminative-inchoative verb

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
O=\text{ta} & \text{lojo}=\text{a}.\\
3SG.M=SIT & \text{stand.up}=\text{PRES} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He has just stood up (and is standing).’

The meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the absolute tense are summarised in the following table.

**Table 8.4:** Meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the absolute present tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes of verbs</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>static</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durative</td>
<td>on-going situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gradually terminative</td>
<td>phase towards the end point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totally terminative</td>
<td>recent past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terminative-inchoative</td>
<td>resultative state (and recent past)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{39}\) In the data, the verb *zio* ‘to go’ in the past tense most often occurs with the situation-change marker *ta*. There may be a grammatical or a pragmatic reason for this, which is not known.
With one gradually terminative verb *vaito* 'to return', *ta* picks up the in-situation, as it does with other gradually terminative verbs, but it also has an exceptional use—it may also indicate that the end point has just been reached.

(8.23) \[ A=da \quad \text{vaito}=a. \]
\[ 1SG=SIT \quad \text{return}=PRES \]
'I am returning (I am on the way to go home).'
'I just returned (and I am here).'

The interpretation of (8.23) depends on the context. When one utters it, walking home, it has the first interpretation 'I am returning', but when one utters it on arrival at home, it has the second interpretation 'I just returned'.

With the historical present tense, the situation-change marker *ta* selects the beginning of a situation; that is, it indicates an arrival of a new situation or a change of situation. Note that the situation-change marker does not mention anything about the end point being reached or not. This does not mean the end point was never reached. Whether the end point was reached or not becomes clear from the discourse. In (8.24) with a durative verb and in (8.25) with a gradually terminative verb, the end of the situation is indicated by the verb *paiko* 'to finish' and is implied by the verb *barolo* 'to arrive' respectively in the following clause.

(8.24) Durative verb
\[ O=\text{baro}=a \quad \text{sai}=t \quad \text{nioqa}=ta \quad \text{go}=ta \]
\[ 3SG.M=\text{arrive}=PRES \quad \text{there} \quad \text{and.then} \quad 3DU \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3DU=SIT \]
\[ \text{koazat}=a... \quad \text{go}=\text{pai}=k=a \quad \text{saila}=\text{saila}=o \]
\[ \text{take}=PRES \quad 3DU=\text{finish}=3SG.F.O=\text{PRES} \quad \text{REDUP}=\text{collect.food}=\text{NOM} \]
\[ \text{ti} \quad \text{ke}=ta \quad \text{saqor}=a. \]
and.then \quad 3PL=SIT \quad \text{go.down}=PRES
'He arrived there and the two, they got food...the two finished getting food and they went down.' (27-12-73–74)

(8.25) Gradually terminative verb
\[ \text{Saikazo}=a \quad \text{go}=ta \quad \text{ol}=a, \quad \text{ino}=ko=a \]
\[ \text{following.that} \quad 3DU=\text{SIT} \quad \text{go}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{SEQ} \quad 3SG.F=LIG \]
\[ \text{kata} \quad \text{kasi}=\text{baro}=a. \]
\[ \text{branch} \quad \text{at} \quad 3SG.M=\text{arrive}=\text{PRES} \]
'Following that, they left, and they arrived at the branch.' (15-4-33)

With stative verbs, which do not have an inherent beginning point, *ta* presents a state that is true at some point, that is at a reference time. Example (8.26) expresses the state of being hungry at some point in the past.

(8.26) Stative verb
\[ O=ta \quad \text{luap}=ake. \]
\[ 3SG.M=SIT \quad \text{be.hungry}=\text{HIST} \]
'He was hungry.' (47-2-9)
With totally terminative verbs and terminative-inchoative verbs with which the beginning point and the end point overlap, *ta* indicates both the beginning and end points as well as indicating that the situation has a relevance to another situation.

(8.27) Totally terminative verb

```
Ivere ale o=ta podak=a. Sai nio
```

3SG.M=SIT come.out=PRES there FOC.NONF

```
ke=niae=v=a...
```

3PL=feed=3SG.M.O=PRES

‘He had come out into the sea. It was there, they fed him...’ (34-3-29-30)

(8.28) Terminative-inchoative verb

```
Ke=mama ta o=ta vou=va inio se=ko
```

3PL=father TOP 3SG=M=SIT die=PRES FOC.NONF 3PL=3SG.F

```
niania ni se=a zouke megora inio sai
```

mother and 3PL=LIG three child FOC.NONF there

```
ke=beta ev=a.
```

3PL=CONT stay=PRES

‘Their father had died, and it was their mother and those three children who kept living there.’ (59-1-2)

Example (8.27) expresses that the event of his coming out into the sea has relevance to the situation of their feeding him there at the sea. Example (8.28) expresses that the event of the father’s dying has relevance to the situation of only the mother and the children living there.

The following table summarises the meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the historical present tense.

**Table 8.5: Meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the historical present tense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes of verbs</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durative</td>
<td>beginning of situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gradually terminative</td>
<td>beginning of situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totally terminative</td>
<td>relevance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terminative-inchoative</td>
<td>relevance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following two tables summarise meanings expressed by the situation-change marker *ta* in different tenses and with different classes of verbs.
Table 8.6: Meanings of *ta* in past and future tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past tense</th>
<th>Future tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>current relevance</td>
<td>prospect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intention</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>request</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supposition</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.7: Meanings of *ta* in absolute present and historical present tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes of verbs</th>
<th>Absolute present tense (ta is obligatory)</th>
<th>Historical present tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in-situation</td>
<td>state</td>
<td>change of situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on-going situation</td>
<td>state</td>
<td>change of situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phase towards end</td>
<td>beginning of situation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recent past</td>
<td>beginning of situation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resultative state</td>
<td>relevance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(and recent past)</td>
<td>relevance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.7 above shows that *ta* functions like an imperfective aspect marker in absolute present and historical present tenses: in the absolute tense, it selects the in-situation, while in the historical present tense, it picks up the beginning of the situation but does not make any reference to the end point. Because of this, *ta* indicates different meanings according to how it interacts with the lexical semantics of verbs. When *ta* occurs in the future tense, it functions as just a modal marker, and it does not make any reference to stativity or terminativity. When it occurs in the past tense, it implies a completion of the situation since the current situation is dependent on the completion of another situation. However, it is not the function of *ta* to indicate terminativity since it does not select the end point.

Thus, *ta* may function like an imperfective aspect marker. Perhaps because of this characteristic, *ta* can only occur with intransitive verbs—according to Hopper and Thompson (1980), there is a correlation between imperfective aspect and low transitivity.

The situation-change marker *ta* does not occur in a clause that presents a habitual/generic situation or a condition, or in negated clauses.

(8.29)  

\[ \ldots nia\text{nia}=ka=ma \quad ko \quad o=la=q \quad kiaro \quad kasi, \quad vo \quad ta \quad \text{mother}=LIG=3SG.F \quad 3SG.F \quad go=PRES \quad \text{garden at} \quad 3SG.M \quad \text{TOP} \]
\[ o=lulue=k=a \quad o=baro=a \quad kiaro \quad kale \quad \text{inio} \quad 3SG.M \quad \text{follow}=3SG.F.O=PRES \quad 3SG.M \quad \text{arrive}=PRES \quad \text{garden in} \quad \text{SEQ} \]
\[ vo \quad ta \quad o=marong=a \quad juli=k=ko \quad \text{raki} \quad \text{ale.} \quad 3SG.M \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3SG.M \quad \text{sleep}=PRES \quad \text{banana.tree}=3SG.F \quad \text{root on} \]
\[ \ldots \text{the mother went to the garden, as for him, he followed her, he arrived at the garden, and then he slept on the root of a banana tree.} \]
(8.30) \( Ko=lupao=va \), \( ti \) \( ko=noqoe=k=ou \) \( ko \) \( ore \) \( ma \) 3SG.F=dislike=PRES and.then 3SG.F=hold=3SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F tree or tataikili \( ma \) \( esa \) kama pata-pata. trunk or maybe INDEF.SG.F REDUP-stump

‘If she dislikes it, she will hold a tree, a trunk, or maybe a stump.’ (21-1-57)

(8.31) \( ...pu=q=o=vait=a. \) 3SG.M=return=PRES

‘...he didn’t return.’ (16-2-26)

Example (8.29) describes habitual situations: it describes what the mother and the son do every day. In example (8.30), the underlined clause presents the condition under which the situation described by the next clause occurs. Example (8.31) is a negated clause.

A conditional clause presents a background situation against which another situation occurs. Because of this, the situation described by a conditional clause needs to be presented as a whole, since unless the end point of this background situation is reached, another situation does not occur. Therefore, a conditional clause cannot have a morpheme that may function as an imperfective aspect marker. \( Ta \) functions as an imperfective aspect marker in the absolute present or historical present tense, and thus if a conditional clause is in the absolute present or historical tense, \( ta \) cannot occur. In (8.30), the tense is the historical tense. \( Ta \) does not occur when a conditional clause is in the future or past tense either. As described above, \( ta \) indicates a prospective situation and relevance in future and past tenses respectively, but one would not be concerned whether there is a prospect that a background situation happens or not, or whether a background situation has a relevance to the current situation. Thus, \( ta \) never occurs in a conditional clause.

A negated clause expresses that a situation-change does not happen and thus, the situation-change marker does not occur in a negative clause. In presenting a habitual/generic situation, the situation is presented as a whole and this can be expressed without any aspectual/modal markers (see §8.5.2).\(^{40}\)

### 8.5.4 Continuity marker \( be/beta \)

The continuity marker \( be/beta \) indicates continuity of a situation at a reference time as schematised below.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{be/beta} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{situation}
\end{array}
\]

\(^{40}\) A clause that presents a habitual situation may have a prospective marker \( pa \), which would indicate a movement or a continuity marker \( beta \) with its sequential use.
(8.32) *Ke=beta irurupat=a.*
  3PL=CONT work=RCP
  ‘They were working.’

As described in §8.5.2, a VP without an aspectual/modal marker presents a situation as a whole. Example (8.32) without *beta* would mean ‘they worked’.

Two forms *be* and *beta* are in complementary distribution. *Be* occurs with transitive verbs and *beta* occurs with intransitive verbs. An analysis of this distribution of *be* and *beta* is presented in §8.5.7 below. The above is an example with an intransitive verb. An example with a transitive verb is:

(8.33) *...sainio ke=be vijar=tv=v=a ko=a votu ale.*
  therefore 3PL=CONT keep=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG container in
  ‘...therefore, they continued to keep him in the container.’ (34-2-19)

As mentioned in the last section, there is a correlation between imperfective aspect and low transitivity. There is also a correlation between perfective aspect and high transitivity. Although the continuity marker can co-occur with transitive verbs, this rarely happens, since the continuity marker is an imperfective aspect marker.

There are two uses of the continuity marker: a ‘continuous’ use and a ‘sequential’ use, both having the semantic core ‘continuity’. The choice depends on the tense and lexical semantics of verbs as well as discourse. In the following, first, two uses of the continuity marker are described, and then its relationships with tense and lexical semantics of verbs are presented.

The continuity marker with the continuous use indicates the continuity of a situation, as illustrated by (8.32) and (8.33) above. Another example is:

(8.34) *...niunu o=beta koazat=a...*  
  fish  3SG.M=CONT get=PRES
  ‘... he has been getting fish...’ (24-7-78)

In §8.5.3, it was shown that the situation-change marker *ta* in the absolute present tense selects the in-situation. When the continuity marker has the continuous use, it also selects the in-situation. The difference between them is the ‘continuity’ reading of the continuity marker.

(8.35-a) *A=beta ev=a koi.*
  1SG=SIT stay=PRES here
  ‘I’ve been living here (and will continue to live here).’

(8.35-b) *A=ta ev=a koi.*
  1SG=SIT stay=PRES here
  ‘I live here.

(8.36-a) *O=beta vuat=a.*
  3SG.M=CONT eat=PRES
  ‘He’s been eating (and will continue to eat).’
(8.36-b)  
\[ \text{O=ta} \quad \text{vuat=a.} \]  
\[ \text{3SG.M=SIT} \quad \text{eat=PRES} \]  
'He is eating.'

The continuous use can be interpreted as conveying a sense of continuative. Continuative 'specifies that the agent of the action is deliberately keeping the action going. Continuative is the meaning of “keep on doing” or “continue doing”’ (Bybee 1994:127).

(8.37)  
\[ \text{O=kail=a} \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{o=kail=a} \quad \text{ti} \]  
\[ \text{3SG.M=go.up=PRES} \quad \text{INT} \quad \text{3SG.M=go.up=PRES} \quad \text{INT} \]  
\[ \text{andra} \]  
\[ \text{o=ol=a.} \quad \text{Melai} \quad \text{pui} \quad \text{o=v=e=a.} \quad \text{Sole} \]  
\[ \text{3SG.M go=PRES} \quad \text{but NEG} \quad \text{3SG.M=3SG.M.O=see=PRES} \quad \text{that's why} \]  
\[ \text{o=beta} \quad \text{ol=a.} \]  
\[ \text{3SG.M=CONT} \quad \text{go=PRES} \]  
'He went up and went up and went up and went high up. But he didn't see him. So he kept going.' (24-5:58-60)

In (8.37), he (the son), is going up, and this event would have stopped if he had seen him (his father), but since the son didn't see him, the son kept going up. Thus, with the continuative use there could be a point where the situation is temporarily stopped and again the same situation continues.

The sequential use of the continuity marker occurs only in coordinated clauses. The sequential use indicates that one situation follows another. For example,

(8.38)  
\[ \text{ke=pa} \quad \text{k=o=a} \]  
\[ \text{3PL=PROS} \quad \text{3SG.F.O=get=PRES} \quad \text{3PL=axe and.then} \]  
\[ \text{ke=be} \quad \text{youve=v=a...} \]  
\[ \text{3PL=CONT} \quad \text{kill=3SG.M.O=PRES} \]  
'They went and took their axes and then went on to kill him...' (59-14:125)

In this example, the situation of getting an axe is followed by another situation, their killing him. The second situation is continuous to another situation. Two situations form one superordinate situation. This is schematised as:

\[ \text{be/beta} \]  
\[ \downarrow \]
\[ \text{situation 1} \quad [\ldots] \quad \text{situation 2} \]  
\[ \text{superordinate situation} \]

As illustrated above, \text{be/beta} marks the beginning point of situation 2 but this also indicates the continuity of the superordinate situation. Thus, with the sequential use as
well, the continuity marker indicates the continuity of a situation. The clause that contains a continuity marker with the sequential use is usually connected to the preceding clause by a causal coordinator \textit{ti} (see §13.2.6) as in (8.38).

When the first situation is one without an inherent end point, the two situations may overlap. In the following example, both \textit{teku} ‘to lie down’ and \textit{imado} ‘to shut eyes’ are terminative-inchoative verbs, and the situation of his lying overlaps with the situation of his closing his eyes.

\begin{equation}
\begin{aligned}
\text{\ldots o=teku=a} & \quad \text{\textit{ti}} & \quad \text{\textit{o=beta}} & \quad \text{\textit{imad=a}} \\
\text{3SG.M=lie.down=PRES} & \quad \text{and.then} & \quad \text{3SG.M=CONT close.eyes=PRES} \\
\text{\textit{inio.}} & \quad \text{} & \quad \text{} \\
\text{FOC.NONF} & \quad \text{} & \quad \text{'...he lay down and he closed his eyes.' (27-8-45)}
\end{aligned}
\end{equation}

The above example is schematised as:

\begin{verbatim}
be/beta
\downarrow
[ ]
\hline
\underbrace{[ ]}_{\text{situation 2}}
\hline
[ ]
\hline
\underbrace{[ ]}_{\text{situation 1}}
\hline
\underbrace{[ ]}_{\text{superordinate situation}}
\end{verbatim}

Two uses of the continuity marker are distributed to different tenses and semantic classes of verbs. In the future tense, both absolute and relative, the continuity marker has the sequential use only. This, however, does not occur with stative verbs since this use of the continuity marker selects the beginning point of a situation, whereas stative verbs do not have a beginning point. The following is an example with a durative verb.

\begin{equation}
\begin{aligned}
\text{An} & \quad \text{g} & \quad a=\text{lapo}=\text{va} & \quad k=i=\text{ko}=\text{you} & \quad \text{\textit{ti}} \\
\text{1SG} & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad \text{1SG=dislike=PRES} & \quad \text{3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=FUT} & \quad \text{and.then} \\
\text{\textit{ko=beta}} & \quad \text{\textit{zial=ou}} & \text{\textit{inio.}} & \quad \text{3SG.F=CONT} & \quad \text{cry=FUT} & \text{FOC.NONF} \\
\text{'She will say "I dislike (you)," and she will go on to cry.' (21-7-39-40)}
\end{aligned}
\end{equation}

In the absolute present tense, the continuity marker has the continuous use only. This, however, does not occur with totally terminative verbs since the continuity marker selects the in-situation, but this class of verbs does not involve an in-situation. Interestingly, this also does not occur with gradually terminative verbs even though they involve the in-situation. Instead, the in-situation can be indicated by the situation-change marker \textit{ta}.

\begin{equation}
\begin{aligned}
\text{\textit{A=da}} & \quad \text{\textit{ol=a}} & \text{\textit{Maravari.}} \\
\text{1SG=SIT} & \quad \text{go=PRES} & \text{Maravari} \\
\text{‘I am going to \textit{Maravari} (I am on the way to \textit{Maravari}).'}
\end{aligned}
\end{equation}
(8.42) *A=beta  ol=a  Maravari.
1SG=CONT go=PRES Maravari
'I am going to Maravari (I am on the way to Maravari).'

In contrast to this, in the past and historical present tenses, the continuity marker has the continuous use with gradually terminative verbs. In the example below, the tense is the historical tense.

(8.43) Lai nio se ta ke=beta kail=ake.
where FOC.NONF 3PL TOP 3PL=CONT go.up=HIST
'Where are they going up to?' (26-23-122)

In absolute and relative past, and historical present tenses, the continuity marker may have both uses. However, since the sequential use indicates the beginning of a situation, this does not occur with stative verbs, which do not have a beginning point. In the following example with a stative verb, the continuity marker beta can only be considered to have the continuous use.

(8.44) Omadeu tudo kake zouke saidi ke=beta ev=a.
one time INDEF.PL three family 3PL=CONT stay=PRES
'Once upon a time, there was a family of three living.' (43-1-1)

Moreover, with totally terminative verbs, the continuity marker has only the sequential use because these verbs do not involve the in-situation.

(8.45) ...ne=a seqara ta o=musuk=a ti
PROX.SG.M=1IG betelnut TOP 3SG.M=ripen=PRES and.then
o=beta pi=a...
3SG.M=CONT fall=PRES
'...this betelnut ripened and fell...' (59-1-10)

With other classes of verbs, the continuity marker has both uses, continuous and sequential. The following are examples with gradually terminative verbs.

(8.46) "...k=e=a komi, ko=beta sagor=a
3SG.F.O=see=IMP.SG PROX.SG.F 3SG.F=CONT go.down=PRES
ziolo ikio ko."
devil FOC.F 3SG.F
'...look at her, she is coming down,\(^4\) she is a devil.' (43-4-43)

(8.47) ...saiio ko=k=o=a ti go=beta
food 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=get=PRES TOP 3DU=CONT

\(^4\) To be precise, the verb *sagolo* 'to go down' indicates a downward movement. This is usually interpreted as 'to go down' but in this example, the subject is moving towards the speaker and thus it is interpreted as 'to come down'.
sagor=a inio...
go.down=PRES FOC.NONF
'...she got food and they went down...' (27-3-14)

Example (8.46) is uttered when the speaker finds that something, a devil, is coming down, and so the continuity marker has the continuous use. In (8.47), the event of getting food is followed by going down and thus it has the sequential use.

The choice between two uses of the continuity marker here depends on the discourse. The continuous use of the continuity marker can also be predicted from a subordinator keru ‘when’. When beta occurs with this, it has the continuous use only.

(8.48) \( O=\beta eta \)  peka=va keru inio lekasa ta
\[ \text{3SG.M=CONT dance=PRES TEMP FOC.NONF chief TOP} \]
eri \( k=i=a=la. \)
s.th.like.this  \[ \text{3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES} \]
'When he was dancing, the chief said something like this.' (26-19-106)

The following table summarises the relationship between different tenses, verb classes, and the two uses of the continuity marker. N/A indicates that use of the continuity marker here is not possible as described above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes of verbs</th>
<th>Absolute future</th>
<th>Absolute present</th>
<th>Absolute past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relative future</td>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>static</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durative</td>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gradually terminative</td>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totally terminative</td>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terminative-inchoative</td>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>continuous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The continuity marker be/beta does not occur in negative clauses. This is because when the situation is not realised, one cannot talk about its continuity.

### 8.5.5 Implicative marker be

The implicative marker be indicates an expectation that there is a successive situation to follow. It has an implication ‘what happens next/what situation this will bring out’.
In the discourse where the above example appears, she, the mother, did not know that these people who arrived were going to come, and she wonders what happens next or why they came, and this leads her to utter the question ‘What does he want?’ (she is talking to her daughter whose husband is the leader of this group of people).

Note that the situation expressed by a VP containing the implicative marker is a completed one. Completion of this situation brings out the feeling that something happens next. The function of the implicative marker, however, is a modal one and not an aspectual one, since it does not select boundaries.

Since stative verbs do not have an end point, the implicative marker does not occur with them. In the data, the implicative marker occurs only in the absolute present tense or the historical present tense. The above is an example in the historical present tense. An example in the absolute present tense is:

(8.50) \( O=be \quad baro=a. \)
3SG.M=IMPL arrive=PRES
‘He’s arrived (what did he come for?)’.

The implicative marker occurs with both intransitive and transitive verbs. An example with a transitive verb is:

(8.51) \( Nio \quad ke=kuimae=v=a \quad “Lai \quad ta \quad juke \quad ngo=be \)
and.then 3PL=ask=3SG.M.O=PRES where TOP light 2SG=IMPL
\( k=e=a”? \)
3SG.F.O=see=PRES
‘And then they asked him “Where did you see the light?”’ (16-4-51)

The above example occurs in the discourse where they, some children, were left in the bush by their father and they didn’t know how to get home or which way to go. One of them climbed a tree and saw a light. In asking this question, they were expecting that some situation, probably a good situation, would rise.

The implicative marker be does not occur in negative clauses. This is because if a situation does not eventuate, there would not be an expected situation to follow.
8.5.6 Prospective marker pa

The prospective marker *pa*, generally speaking, indicates a movement towards the realization of a prospect, a prospective situation. It may also imply a purpose. *Pa* is a modal marker and so there is no correlation between *pa* and verb classes.

(8.52) \[ "A=ba\quad vac=m=a\quad k=i=o=la. \]
      1SG=PROS leave=3PL.O=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
      \"I went and left [children],\" he said. \(16-2-24\)

In example (8.52), the prospective marker *pa* indicates that the subject went somewhere for the realization of a prospective situation, viz. ‘to leave them’; the subject planned to abandon the children and so he took them somewhere and left them. Without *pa*, the sentence simply means ‘I left them’ and it does not imply that the speaker planned to leave them or he went somewhere in order to do that.

The use and meaning of the prospective marker *pa* differs depending on tenses and affirmation. In the historical present and past tenses, the prospective marker *pa* indicates movement towards a realization of a prospective situation. The above is an example in the historical present tense. Below is an example in the past tense.

(8.53) \[ ...ke=pa\quad vouvae=m=e\quad ne=a \]
      3PL=PROS kill=3PL.O=RMP PROX.SG.M=LIG
      vakamaba=ko  meqorasa\_di.
      white.person=3SG.F family
      \"...they went and killed the family of this white man.\" \(12-3-19\)

With the future tense, the prospective marker *pa* has a different interpretation depending on the person of the subject: intention for first person, request for second person, and supposition for third person. With all persons, *pa* also indicates a movement.

(8.54) Intention (first person)
      \[ ...me=bd^{42}\quad vairi=k=o. \]
      1PL.INC=PROS look.for=3SG.F.O=NRFUT
      \"...we are going and looking for her.\" \(48-3-24\)

(8.55) Request (second person)
      \[ Ngo=ba\quad nokae=k=ou\quad ko\quad bolo. \]
      2SG=PROS call=3SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F pig
      \"You go and call out for pigs.\" \(67-3-40\)

(8.56) Supposition (third person)
      \[ ...o=kil=ou\quad ti\quad o=pa\quad bori=ng=ou\quad inio. \]
      3SG.M=come=FUT and.then 3SG.M=PROS carry=2SG.O=FUT FOC.F
      \"...he will come, and he will come and carry you.\" \(48-1-6\)

---

42 The bilabial stop /p/ of *pa* is realized as [b] when it follows certain pronominal proclitics, as in this example (see §2.7).
As in (8.56), the movement can be one towards the point where the speaker is, and this is interpreted as 'to come'. The movement can be one from this point to somewhere else as in other examples, and this is interpreted as 'to go'.

The prospective marker pa does not occur in the absolute present tense where the situation is still ongoing. To express that the subject is on the move to achieve something, the verb zio 'to go' and a purposive dependent clause marked with le are used.\(^{43}\)

\[(8.57)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
A &= da & \text{ol} &= a & \text{Sabora} & \text{ko} &= 3SG.FO \text{see} = \text{NOM} = \text{PURP} \\
1SG &= \text{SIT} & \text{go} &= \text{PRES} & \text{Sabora} & 3SG &= \text{PURP} \\
\text{ko} & \text{Hilda.} \\
3SG.F & \text{Hilda} \\
\text{I am going to Sabora in order to see Hilda.'}
\end{align*}
\]

In positive clauses, pa is not obligatory. The lack of pa simply results in the lack of movement towards a realisation of a prospective situation.

In negative clauses, the prospective marker does not indicate a movement. This is because there is no movement to be considered when the situation itself is not expected to happen. In the future tense, the interpretation of pa differs depending on the person of the subject: negative intention for first person, negative request for second person, and negative supposition for third person.

\[(8.58)\] Negative intention (first person)
\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots & \text{pui} & a &= ba & \text{lulue} &= \text{ng} &= \text{ou} & \text{saka.} \\
\text{NEG} & 1SG &= \text{PROS} & \text{follow} &= 2SG.O = \text{FUT} & \text{seaside} \\
\ldots & \text{I am not going to follow you to the seaside.'} & (39-6-40)
\end{align*}
\]

\[(8.59)\] Negative request (second person)
\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots & \text{pui} & \text{ge} &= pa & \text{ranoe} &= \text{vou} ... \\
\text{NEG} & 2DU &= \text{PROS} & \text{sleep.overnight} &= \text{FUT} \\
\ldots & \text{you are not going to sleep overnight...} & (27-10-109)
\end{align*}
\]

\[(8.60)\] Negative supposition (third person)
\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots & \text{pui} & \text{ko} &= pa & k &= a & \text{zario} &= \text{vou} \\
\text{NEG} & 3SG.F &= \text{PROS} & 3SG.FO &= \text{VAL} & \text{want} &= \text{FUT} \\
\ldots & \text{she will not like it.'} & (27-4-22)
\end{align*}
\]

Pa is not obligatory in negative future clauses. VPs without the prospective marker simply express that situations will not be realised. Or, they imply the speaker's strong feeling that this situation should not be realised. Consequently, this can be interpreted as a strong negative request to the second person as in (8.61).

---

\(^{43}\) The prospective marker can be regarded as a purposive marker in affirmative clauses in the future or past tense. It could be said that it indicates a movement for the purpose of realisation of the situation. However, as shown below, in negative clauses, when pa makes a contribution to the meaning of the clause, it indicates a non-prospect rather than a purpose. Therefore, pa is categorised as the prospective marker rather than the purposive marker.
(8.61) Pui ge=raneo=vou sai.
NEG 2DU=sleep.overnight=FUT there
‘You must not sleep overnight there.’ (27-18-110)

(8.62) ...enge ta pui nge alili=k=ou matu kubo megora...
IPL.EXC TOP NEG IPL.EXC give.birth=3SG.F.O=FUT very many
child
‘...we will not give birth to many children...’ (64-2-15)

(8.63) ...so keru ke=rapuk=ou keru ta pui ke utu el=ou.
that TEMP 3PL=grow.up=FUT TEMP TOP NEG 3PL idle
stay=FUT
‘...that time when they grow up, they will not live idly.’ (70-3-24)

In the past tense, the prospective marker is obligatory when a clause is a negative one. The prospective marker here does not make any contribution to the meaning of the clause. There seems to be no explanation for why the prospective marker is obligatory in a negative past clause.

(8.64) Pui o=pa vait=e vo Sito.
NEG 3SG.M=PROS return=RMP 3SG.M Sito
‘Sito didn’t return.’ (12-8-81)

(8.65) Pui a=ba ol=ala.
NEG 1SG=PROS go=RCP
‘I didn’t go.’

In absolute present and historical present tenses, the prospective marker never occurs when a clause is a negative one.

(8.66) ...pui o=lulue=k=a kiaro kasi.
NEG 3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES garden at
‘...he didn’t follow her to the garden.’ (27-9-55)

There is a restriction on the co-occurrence of the prospective marker with verbs which indicate a situation involving motion. Verbs zio ‘to go’, kilo ‘to come’, and saqoro ‘to go down’ are such verbs. The prospective marker cannot occur with these verbs when the tense is past or historical present and when the clause is an affirmative one. This restriction is due to the fact that verbs themselves indicate movement. In the future tense, the prospective marker may occur with these verbs only when the subject is the third person.

(8.67) Ko=pa kil=ou.
3SG.F=PROS come=FUT
‘She will come (I think she will come).’
This expresses the speaker's supposition. In §8.5.3, it was shown that the speaker's intention can be expressed by using the situation-change marker ta. With verbs of motion, the speaker's intention can be expressed by using this situation-change marker ta as in (8.68). The speaker's request to the second person with verbs of motion can be expressed by only a simple VP without an aspectual/modal marker as in (8.69).

(8.68) \[ ...o=bazue=k=a \quad vo=ko \quad niania \quad o=bazue, \]
\[ 3SG.M=tel\=l=3SG.F.O=PRES \quad 3SG.M=3SG.F \quad mother \quad 3SG.M=tel\]
\[ \text{"Ege} \quad ta \quad ge=ta \quad \_ \quad \_ \quad zio=vou \quad \text{komi}=ko \]
\[ 1DU.EXC \quad \text{TOP} \quad 1DU.EXC=SIT \quad \text{go}=\text{FUT} \quad \text{PROX.SG.F}=3SG.F \]
\[ niania=ko \quad \text{mabasisu} \quad qe=pa \quad tauve=k=o \]
\[ \text{mother}=3SG.F \quad \text{yam} \quad 1DU.EXC=\text{PROS} \quad \text{help}=3SG.F.O=\text{NRFUT} \]
\[ \text{papat}=o... \]
\[ \quad \text{plant}=\text{NOM} \]
\[ \quad \ldots \text{he told his mother, he told her, "We, we will go, we will go and help to plant her mother's yams, so, we will go to the big village..." (27-20-127) \]

(8.69) \[ ...kama \quad taku \quad ge=\text{ki}l=\text{ou} \quad nio \quad qe=\text{tau}v=\text{e}=l=\text{ou} \]
\[ \text{INDEF.SG.F} \quad \text{time} \quad 2DU=\text{come}=\text{FUT} \quad \text{SEQ} \quad 2DU=\text{help}=1SG.O=\text{FUT} \]
\[ \text{papat}=o \quad ko \quad \text{mabasisu".} \]
\[ \quad \text{plant}=\text{NOM} \quad 3SG.F \quad \text{yam} \]
\[ \quad \ldots \text{ sometime, you will come and help me to do yam-planting".} \text{ (27-19-120) } \]

The restriction presented above does not, however, apply when the clause is a negative one because in negative clauses pa does not indicate a movement.

(8.70) \[ \text{Pui} \quad q=ba \quad \_ \quad \_ \quad zio=vou. \]
\[ \text{NEG} \quad 1SG=\text{PROS} \quad \text{go}=\text{FUT} \]
\[ \quad \text{I am not going.} \]

Aspectual/modal markers do not co-occur except for the situation-change marker ta and the prospective marker pa, which can occur together. They can co-occur when the subject is first person and the tense is future. Both aspectual/modal markers here indicate a prospect, and their co-occurrence indicates a strong intention but no movement.

(8.71) \[ ...a=ba \quad \_ \quad ta \quad kurol=\text{o}, \]
\[ 1SG=\text{PROS} \quad \text{SIT} \quad \text{fish.with.bamboo}=\text{NRFUT} \]
\[ \quad \ldots \text{I am going to fish with a bamboo rod,} \quad \text{ (38-1-2) } \]

(8.72) \[ ...me=ba \quad \_ \quad \_ \quad talio=vou, \]
\[ 1PL=\text{PROS} \quad \text{SIT} \quad \text{walk}=\text{FUT} \]
\[ \quad \ldots \text{we are going for a walk.} \quad \text{ (22-6-27) } \]

(For the realisation of pa as ba see §2.7.)

It was described above that verbs that inherently indicate movement do not co-occur with pa. When pa is combined with ta, however, this restriction does not apply, as this combination does not indicate movement. This is illustrated by example (8.72) in which
the verb \textit{talio} ‘to walk’, which indicates movement, occurs with a combination of \textit{pa} with \textit{ta}.

\textit{Pa} and \textit{ta} can also co-occur when the tense is past. Here, \textit{ta} indicates a current relevance. Example (8.73) occurs in a story in which a man’s eating (of a devil) brought about the situation of the devil’s coming down.

(8.73) \[ ...\underline{o=pa} \quad \underline{ta} \quad \underline{vuat=ala}. \]
\[ \text{3SG.M=PROS} \quad \text{SIT} \quad \text{eat=RCP} \]
‘...he went and ate.’ (43-4-43)

With the verb \textit{roveo} ‘can’, when the tense is future, \textit{pa} indicates the speaker’s prospect no matter whether it occurs in a negative or positive clause, and no matter what the person of the subject is.

(8.74) \[ ...\underline{enge} \quad \underline{ta} \quad \underline{pui} \quad \underline{nge=ba} \quad \underline{roveo=vou} \]
\[ \text{1PL.EXC} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{1PL.EXC=PROS} \quad \text{can=FUT} \]
\[ \text{bori}=k=o. \]
\[ \text{carry}=3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{NOM} \]
‘...we will not be able to carry it.’ (67-3-32)

(8.75) \[ \underline{A=ba} \quad \underline{roveo=vou} \quad \underline{ziro}. \]
\[ \text{1SG}=\text{PROS} \quad \text{can=FUT} \quad \text{go}\text{NOM} \]
‘I will be able to go.’

(8.76) \[ ...\underline{puli=a=la} \quad \underline{\underline{o=pa}} \quad \underline{roveo=vou} \quad \underline{sai} \quad \underline{ziro} \]
\[ \text{NEG}=\text{LIG}=3\text{SG.M} \quad \text{3SG.M}=\text{PROS} \quad \text{can=FUT} \quad \text{there} \quad \text{go}\text{NOM} \]
\[ k=ov=o=le. \]
\[ 3\text{SG.F.O}=get=\text{NOM}=\text{PURP} \]
‘Nobody will be able to go there to get it.’ (22-10-38)

Functions of the prospective marker \textit{pa} are summarised in the following two tables.

\begin{center}
\textbf{Table 8.9: Functions of \textit{pa} in positive clauses}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|p{2cm}|p{4cm}|p{4cm}|p{4cm}|}
\hline
Tense & first person & second person & third person \\
\hline
future & movement towards a realisation of prospective situation & & \\
\hline
\hline
past & intention & request & supposition \\
\hline
historical present & movement towards a realisation of prospective situation & & \\
\hline
absolute present & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
Table 8.10: Functions of pa in negative clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>first person</th>
<th>second person</th>
<th>third person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>negative intention</td>
<td>negative request</td>
<td>negative supposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolute present</td>
<td>no function but pa is obligatory</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical present</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.5.7 Summary and diachronic analysis of aspectual/modal markers

In the sections above, a description of aspectual/modal markers has been presented. Aspectual/modal markers are optional constituents of VPs, but the prospective marker pa is obligatory in the negative past tense. Pa here however does not have any aspectual/modal implication. It simply expresses that a situation did not occur. The prospective marker pa is the only aspectual/modal marker which can occur in negative clauses, negative future or negative past. Aspectual/modal markers generally do not co-occur but the prospective marker pa and the situation-change marker ta can co-occur in particular circumstances.

One of the aspectual markers, the situation-change marker ta, occurs only with intransitive verbs. There are two forms of the continuity marker be and beta. They are in complementary distribution: be occurs with transitive verbs and beta with intransitive verbs. These suggest that beta can be segmented into two morphemes: the continuity marker be and the situation-change marker ta. Now, another aspectual/modal marker, the implicative marker, also has the form be, and this always occurs in this form no matter whether the verb is a transitive or intransitive one. Thus, the form be may occur with an intransitive verb, but there are two pieces of evidence which illustrate that be, when it occurs with an intransitive verb, can only be treated as an implicative marker but not a continuative marker. First, in all examples where be occurs with an intransitive verb, it is not pragmatically possible to interpret it as a continuative marker. Second, beta can never be replaced with be.

There appears to be a diachronic relationship among three aspectual markers—the continuity marker, the situation-change marker, and the implicative marker. The rest of this section presents a hypothesis about this relationship—the continuity marker be (beta) developed from the implicative marker be.

First, the sequential use of the continuity marker probably developed from the implicative marker. This is plausible because with both implicative and sequential, two situations occur one after another (with the implicative marker the second situation is only implied but is not overtly expressed; see §8.5.5). In the course of this development, ta, the situation-change marker, was added when the verb was an intransitive one. This would be plausible because the sequential use of the continuity marker introduces a new situation;
that is, it indicates a change of situation, while the situation-change marker introduces a change of situation.\textsuperscript{44}

As mentioned in §8.5.4, the sequential use indicates continuity of a superordinate situation consisting of two situations. This meaning 'continuity' was applied to a single situation, and thus the continuous use of the continuity marker evolved.

Thus, the two morphemes \textit{be} and \textit{ta} became one morpheme \textit{beta} in the course of the above development, and because of the origin of \textit{ta} as the situation-change marker, \textit{beta} only occurs with intransitive verbs.

The implicative marker is not realised as \textit{beta} even with intransitive verbs, and this leads to a contention that the implicative marker and the continuous marker became independent of each other: they are different morphemes. That is, \textit{be} and \textit{beta} are lexicalised as continuity markers and are distinguished from the implicative marker \textit{be}. The above hypothesis is summarised in the following figure.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure8.3.png}
\caption{Development of continuity marker \textit{bel/beta} from implicative marker \textit{be}}
\end{figure}

8.6 Modifiers

There are a small number of words that can function as modifiers in VPs. Each of these words also belongs to a different word class, adjective, adverb, general modifier, or noun class:

\textsuperscript{44} This does not mean that \textit{beta} covers all meanings expressed by \textit{ta}.
uri ‘good’, ruqe ‘bad’, ukaka ‘careless’, and utu ‘idle’ (adjectives);
maba ‘truly’ (an adverb);
matu ‘very’ and sasa ‘a bit’ (general modifiers);
tova ‘behind’ (a relational noun).

Some examples follow. Modifiers are underlined.

(8.77) Uri ‘good’
...ko  uri=a⁴⁵  v=e=a,
 3SG.F  good=LIG  3SG.M.O=see=PRES
  ‘...she saw him well,’ (39-5-34)

(8.78) Maba ‘truly’
...a=be  maba  vouvae=v=a  inio.
 3SG.M=CONT  truly  kill=3SG.M.O=PRES  FOC.NONF
  ‘...he truly killed him.’ (43-5-53)

(8.79) Matu ‘very’
...o=ta  matu  kora-korai=va.
 3SG.M=SIT  very  REDUP-be.angry=PRES
  ‘...he became very angry.’ (15-5-40)

(8.80) Tova ‘behind’
...pui  a=ba  tova  kail=ou.
  NEG  1SG=PROS  behind  go.up=FUT
  ‘...I am not going to go up behind [you].’ (26-9-54)

Adjectives, as modifiers in VPs, are semantically regarded as manner adverbs. There are some manner adverbs which appear to have originated as adjectives, but these occur outside of VPs and function as adjuncts (see §5.2 and §10.6).

8.7 Complement phrases

8.7.1 Introduction

Two verbs in Bilua, elo ‘to become’ and iko ‘to put/cause’, require a complement. A complement phrase (CompP) always precedes the VP.

(8.81) ...[va=a  maba]  ta  [dole]  inio  [o=beta]
  3SG.M=LIG  person  TOP  snake  FOC.NONF  3SG.M=CONT
  Subject NP  CompP  VP

ev=a]
become=PRES
  ‘...the man, he became a snake...’ (24-11-97)

⁴⁵ An adjective preceding a verb takes a ligature (see §5.17).
(8.82) *...tutoi ale [ko i=k=a]...*
    coconut.container in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES
    CompP VP
    *'...she put [her food] in a coconut container...'*(27-12-75)

A complement phrase cannot be marked with a topic marker, but it can be marked with a focus marker. This indicates that the complement is not a part of the VP.

A complement phrase cannot trigger cross-referencing on the VP as this is not a core argument (see §3.2.1 for core arguments). This is illustrated by (8.81)—‘snake’ is not cross-referenced on the VP.

Like any other VPs, VPs headed with *elo* ‘to become’ and *iko* ‘to put/cause’ can have aspectual/modal markers, the possessor-raising marker, and valency-increasing markers, but they cannot have a modifier. The VP in (8.81) has an aspectual/modal marker, the continuity marker *beta* with the sequential use. The following example has a valency-increasing marker *ai*.

(8.83) *Kasa ko=m=ai* 
    sight 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
    *'[The devil] showed it to them.'*(12-6-59)
    (more literally *'[The devil] caused it to become a sight.').

Complement phrases of verbs *elo* ‘to become’ and *iko* ‘to put/cause’ are described in §8.7.2 and §8.7.3 respectively.

### 8.7.2 With *elo* ‘to become’

The verb *elo* ‘become’ expresses a change of state. The complement phrase with this verb can only be an NP, and this expresses the thing the subject becomes. Example (8.84) expresses a change of state from being a blood stain into being a shark—the subject became a shark.

---

46 There are two realisation of focus markers, *inio* (FOC.NONF) and *ikio* (FOC.F) and it is *inio* (FOC.NONF) that is the default form of focus markers, and thus in this example when the NP *dole* ‘snake’ has a generic reading, the focus marker is realised in its default form *inio* (FOC.NONF). See §14.3.2 for focus markers.

47 The verb *elo* ‘to become’ also forms a complex predicate with an adjective of emotion. The adjective immediately precedes the VP. In the following example, a combination of *elo* ‘to become’ and *agasiile* ‘surprising’ means ‘to become surprised’

    *Agasiile a=da ev=a.*
    surprising 1SG=SIT become=PRES
    *'I became surprised.'*

    *Agasiile* ‘surprising’ is not a complement as it cannot be marked with a focus marker. The verb *elo* also has a homonym ‘to stay’ and this does not require a complement.
(8.84) 
...[rosi=a=ma vaiza] [ko=ta ev=a]...
long=LIG=3SG.F shark 3SG.F=SIT become=PRES
Complement NP VP
‘...[the blood stain] became a long shark...’ (34-2-17)

A complement NP can be a headless NP when it contains a modifier phrase. In such a case, the head of a modifier phrase, a pronominal enclitic, is always realised in the second person singular form, nga (2SG). It is not understood why this form is chosen. According to informants, however, this can be replaced with one whose person/number/gender agrees with the subject NP. For example, in (8.85), nga (2SG) can be replaced with ma (3SG.F) which agrees with the person/number/gender of the subject NP, ko=a muni (3SG.F=LIG blood.stain) ‘the blood stain’.

(8.85) 
...[ko=a muni] ta [tou sa=nga] [ko=ta]
3SG.F=LIG blood.stain TOP hair COM=2SG 3SG.F=SIT
Subject NP Complement NP VP
ev=a]...
become=PRES
‘...the blood stain became one which has hair (the blood stain got hair)...’
(34-1-12)

VPs with elo ‘to become’ as their head cannot include a modifier. However, such a modifier can occur in a complement phrase instead. In (8.86) below, the complement is an NP with a nominalised verb as its head, and this has a modifier uri (good).

(8.86) 
...[uri=a maquin=o] [o=ta ev=a]...
good=LIG be.full=NOM 3SG.M=SIT become=PRES
Complement NP VP
‘...he became nicely full...’ (43-3-27)

A complement NP may consist of a nominalised verb with a pronoun eri (s.th.like.this) preceding it. This kind of complement NP and the VP form an idiom meaning ‘as soon as someone does something’. In the following example, eri is glossed as ‘as soon as’.

(8.87) 
...[eri=a rauve=k=o] inio
as.soon.as=LIG put.hand.in=3SG.F.O=NOM FOC.NONF
Complement NP
[o=be ev=a] o=vesa, o=k=e=a
3SG.M=CONT become=PRES 3SG.M=basket 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES
VP
ko kobaka...
3SG.F snail
‘...as soon as he put his hands in the basket, he saw a snail...’ (38-3-17)

A clause which contains this idiom cannot be regarded as a dependent clause although its meaning suggests that it can. This is because a dependent clause cannot have a constituent marked with a focus marker, and also because there is a restriction on
occurrences of aspectual/modal markers in dependent clauses (see Chapter 12). In (8.87), the complement phrase is marked with a focus marker and the VP has an aspectual marker beta, the continuity marker.

In (8.87), o=vesa ‘his basket’ is not an argument of the verb elo ‘to become’, but the argument of the nominalised verb rauveko ‘to put hand in something’, which is the head of a complement NP.

There are a few examples where the complement is onomatopoeic. Po in (8.88) is a sound created when someone hits water.

\[(8.88)\]
\[O=joupar=a\]
\[ti ivere kolo tiamia\]
\[3SG.M=jump.off=PRES\]
and.then sea ocean middle
\[po\]
\[o ev=a\].
po 3SG.M become=PRES
Complement NP VP
‘He jumped off, and he hit the sea, ocean, marking the sound po!’ (27-17-95)

Note that a complement NP cannot be one that refers to a profession, for example titisa ‘teacher’. In fact, there is no way to express ‘someone becomes [profession]’ in Bilua.\(^{48}\)

\[8.7.3\] With iko ‘to put/cause’

A transitive verb iko has two meanings ‘to put’ and ‘to cause (cause someone/something to become)’. Regardless of its meanings, it requires a complement.

When iko has the meaning ‘to put’, it requires a locational phrase as its complement, and this presents a goal (see §10.3 for locational phrases). A PP bita kale ‘in a string bag’ in (8.89) and an NP headed with a relational noun votonioama vele topi ‘on the front edge of the canoe’ in (8.90) are both complements. They are not adjuncts, since without these, the clauses become ungrammatical.

\[(8.89)\]
\[Ti\]
\[ko ina-inae=k=a\]
\[ko mau,\]
and.then 3SG.F REDUP-get.ready=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F taro

\[\text{[bita=}le]\]
\[\text{[ko } i=k=a\],\]
string.bag=in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES
Complement PP VP
‘And then she got taros ready, she put them in a string bag.’ (27-13-081)

\(^{48}\) There is a verb lekasapuo, which originates in a noun lekasa ‘chief’. This verb can be glossed as ‘to become a chief’ but rather means ‘to be proclaimed as a chief’. Few speakers accept dokitapuo ‘to become a doctor’, which originates in dokita ‘doctor’, but most find it strange since this would mean ‘to be proclaimed as a doctor’.
(8.90) ...ko=vo  mama=ko  lezu  ta  [votonio=a=ma]  
             3SG.F=3SG.M  father=3SG.F  head  TOP  front.of.canoe=LIG=3SG.F  
Complement NP

        vele   topi]  [ke  i=k=a]...
edge.of.canoe  on  3PL  put=3SG.F.O=PRES  
VP

'...as for the head of her father, they put it on the front edge of the canoe...'
(25-4-32)

When *iko* has the meaning 'to cause (cause someone/something to become)', it takes an NP, an AdjP, or a PP headed with the similitative *jari* as its complement. *Iko* 'to cause' and its complement form a syntactic causative structure, and this is the only syntactic causative structure in Bilua.

(8.91) ...[kasa]  [ko=m=ai]  i=k=a]...
sight  3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL  cause=3SG.F.O=PRES  
Complement NP  VP

'...they showed it to them...' (12-6-59)  
(more literally '...they caused it to become a sight to them...')

(8.92) [Ngo]  ta  [kako]  inio  [ngo=da]  l=a  
2SG  TOP  strange  FOC.NONF  2SG.POSS  1SG.O=VAL  
Subject NP  Complement AdjP  VP  
i=v=ala].
cause=3SG.M.O=RCP  
'You caused [my brother] to become strange.' (39-4-28)

(8.93) ...[mola  jari]  [ke  i=k=a]...
canoe  SIM  3PL  put=3SG.F.O=PRES  
Complement PP  VP

'...they made a canoe-like thing...' (34-1-14)  
(more literally '...they made it to become canoe-like...')

In all the examples above, the subject is a causer for the object to change its state: in (8.91) to be seen, in (8.92) to become strange, and in (8.93) 'to become a canoe-like thing'. In (8.91), the VP has a valency-increasing marker, which promotes an allative argument to a core argument. This is the goal of the object *kasa* 'sight'. Example (8.92) illustrates that a complement can take a focus marker.

Notice that *iko* 'to cause (to cause someone/something to become)' is semantically a transitive counterpart of *elo* 'to become', both sharing the meaning 'to become'. The

---

49 The clause here is in the possessor-raising construction (see §9.5), and the referent of the object clitic *I* (1SG) 'I' has possessor relation to the referent of the object clitic *v* (3SG.M), 'him', who is in fact the brother of the referent of 'I'. Thus it is translated as 'my brother'.
subject of elo ‘to become’ corresponds with the object of iko ‘to cause’. Similar to the verb elo ‘to become’, with the verb iko ‘to put/cause’, a complement NP cannot be one which presents a profession.  

The head of a complement NP of the verb iko ‘to put/cause’ cannot normally be a concrete common noun. In (8.91) above, it is an abstract noun. In (8.94) and (8.95) below, the head of a complement NP is an abstract noun derived from an adjective kiada ‘all’ and a pronoun eri ‘something like this’ respectively.

\[
\text{(8.94) } \quad \text{all=NOM 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG} \\
\text{Complement NP} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{Object NP} \\
\text{segara=} \text{ko} \quad \text{ore} \ldots \\
\text{betelnut=} \text{3SG.F} \quad \text{tree} \\
\text{‘...he did everything to the betelnut tree...’ (5-14-120)} \\
\text{(more literally, ‘he caused the betelnut tree to become everything...’)}
\]

\[
\text{(8.95) } \quad \text{[Eri]} \quad \text{nio} \quad \text{[ke} \quad \text{i=k=a]} \\
\text{s.th.like.this FOC.NONF 3PL cause=3SG.F.O=PRES} \\
\text{Complement NP} \quad \text{VP} \\
\text{[ko} \quad \text{mola].} \\
\text{3SG.F canoe} \\
\text{Object NP} \\
\text{‘They cause a canoe to become something like this (They cause a canoe to go through a process like this, in making a canoe).’}
\]

Example (8.94) occurs in a text where his wife climbed a betelnut tree and as soon as she touched the leaf of the betelnut tree she became a betelnut, and he did everything to the betelnut tree so that she would become a human being again. Example (8.95) was uttered when the author saw a half-made canoe. The speaker was showing the author what state a log undergoes before a canoe is made out of it.

Like the verb elo ‘to become’, there are a few examples where the complement is an onomatopoeic expression. Viu in (8.96) is the sound a fishing rod makes when it is thrown. Po ‘in (8.97) is the sound the house makes when it is hit.

\[
\text{(8.96) } \quad \text{[viu} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{i=k=a} \ldots \\
\text{viu 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES} \\
\text{‘...he threw the fishing rod making the sound viu...’ (28-5-38)} \\
\text{(more literally ‘...he caused the fishing rod to make the sound viu...’)}
\]

---

50 It might be the case that iko has only one meaning, with ‘to put’ paraphrased as ‘to cause to be in location X’. However, as the subject of elo ‘to become’ cannot correspond with the object of iko as ‘to put’, two different meanings are recognised.
(8.97) \[Po\ ko=v=ati\ i=k=a\ ko=a\ pade,\]
\[\text{po! 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL cause=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG house}\]
\[\text{‘She hit the house [where he was lying inside], making the sound po,’ (43-5-53)}\]
\[\text{(more literally ‘She caused the house with him to make the sound po,’)}\]

The following is an idiom with \textit{pato} ‘nail’. A combination of \textit{pato} ‘nail’ with \textit{iko} ‘to cause’ means ‘to snatch’.

(8.98) \[\textit{Pato o i=k=a}.\]
\[\text{nail 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES}\]
\[\text{‘He snatched it.’}\]

As noted above, an AdjP can become a complement. For some adjectives both the adjectives themselves and abstract nouns derived from these adjectives can be heads of complement phrases.

(8.99) \[\textit{Puj} o i=k=a.\]
\[\text{short 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES}\]
\[\text{‘He caused it (a rope) to become short. (He made it short).’}\]

(8.100) \[\textit{Puj}=\textit{avo} o i=k=a.\]
\[\text{short=NOM 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES}\]
\[\text{‘He made it (a speech) short (he made a short speech).’}\]

(8.101) \[\textit{Olu} o i=k=a.\]
\[\text{cheap 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES}\]
\[\text{‘He caused it (a canoe) to become cheap. (He made it cheap).’}\]

(8.102) \[\textit{Olu}=\textit{avo} o i=k=a.\]
\[\text{easy=NOM 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES}\]
\[\text{‘He made it (exam) easy.’}\]

These examples show that when the head of a complement phrase is an adjective, the object is a concrete noun. On the other hand, when it is an abstract noun derived from an adjective, the object is also an abstract noun.

This chapter presented a description of verb phrases and complement phrases. Two kinds of VP constituents, valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker, were not described here. Their descriptions are included in the next chapter, which deals with valency and transitivity in Bilua.
Valency and transitivity

9.1 Introduction

A Bilua verb may have a valency of one, two, or three, and the valency of each verb is lexically determined. The valency of a verb, however, may be changed morphologically or syntactically. It may be decreased by a valency-decreasing suffix on the verb, or it may be increased by the valency-increasing construction. The valency-decreasing suffix -kini is described in §6.2.1. In this chapter, valency of verbs is described in §9.2. Then §9.3 discusses occurrences of objects with intransitive verbs in Bilua. This section includes a discussion of transitivity. Following this, §9.4 presents a description of the valency-increasing construction. Then, §9.5 presents a description of the possessor-raising construction, which also involves valency increase. Section 9.6 presents a summary.

9.2 Valency of verbs

Bilua verbs can be divided morphologically into two types: intransitive verbs, which can never be bound by an object clitic, and transitive verbs, which are obligatorily bound by an object clitic. They are also semantically distinguished (see §4.4 and §9.3 below). Transitive verbs have two core arguments, while intransitive verbs have one core argument. These are the number of valencies each of these types of verbs have. That is, valency here refers to the number of core arguments a verb may have.

Bilua core arguments are defined as those which are cross-referenced on the VP by bound pronouns (see §3.2.1). With an intransitive verb, only one core argument, subject, is cross-referenced on the VP, while with a transitive verb, two core arguments, subject and object, are cross-referenced on the VP. Subject and object are cross-referenced by a pronominal proclitic and an object clitic respectively. This is illustrated by examples (9.1) and (9.2) below respectively. The VP in (9.1) contains an intransitive verb and only one argument is cross-referenced on the VP, while the VP in (9.2) contains a transitive verb and two core arguments are cross-referenced on the VP.

\[
(9.1) \quad [O=ta \quad zi=ala]_{VP} \\
3SG.M=SIT \quad cry=RCP \\
\text{‘He cried.’}
\]

\[
(9.2) \quad [Ko=pago=v=ala]_{VP} \\
3SG.F=hit=3SG.M.O=RCP \\
\text{‘She hit him.’}
\]
There is a small group of ditransitive verbs in Bilua. Morphologically, this is a subclass of transitive verbs—they are obligatorily bound by an object clitic. Each ditransitive verb has three core arguments of subject, direct object, and second object, and thus they have a valency of three. However, only two of these three core arguments are cross-referenced on the VP—second object is not cross-referenced on the VP and it can only be expressed by an optional NP. Thus, the definition of core arguments given above does not apply to second object. Still, however, the third argument, second object, is treated as a core argument (see §3.2). In example (9.3), the second object is expressed by an NP, ko lebu ‘mangos’, and this is not cross-referenced on the VP.

(9.3)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Anga} & \text{inio} & [a=qati=v=ala]_{\text{VP}} & \text{ko} & \text{lebu} & a=\text{megora}.\\
1SG & \text{FOC.NONF} & 1SG=give=3SG.M.O=RCP & 3SG.F & \text{mango} & 1SG=\text{child}\\
\text{subject} & \text{second object} & \text{direct object} & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

'I gave mangos to my son.'

Bilua ditransitive verbs are katiko 'to give', tabariko 'to pay', niaeko 'to feed', and tauveko 'to help'. With verbs katiko 'to give', tabariko 'to pay', and niaeko 'to feed', the second object has the semantic role of gift, as illustrated by (9.3). With the verb tauveko 'to help' the second object has the semantic role of concern.\(^{51}\) In the following example, papat=o=ko mabasisu (plant=NOM=3SG.F yam), which is in a possessive NP structure, forms one lexeme meaning 'yam for planting'. It literally means 'yam for planting'. This is the second object and has the semantic role of concern.

(9.4)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{...[qe=pa} & \text{tauve}=l=\text{ou}]_{\text{VP}} & \text{papat}=o=\text{ko} & \text{mabasisu}...\\
2DU=\text{PROS} & \text{help}=1SG.O=FUT & \text{plant}=\text{NOM}=3SG.F & \text{yam} & & & \\
\text{...you will come and help me with yam tubers...} & (27-19-120) & \\
\end{array}
\]

In Bilua there are two environments where a transitive verb does not occur. First, a transitive verb does not co-occur with the situation-change marker ta (§8.5.3). Second, a transitive verb does not occur in the VP of a temporal clause marked with keru when this VP includes the continuity marker (§12.4.1). In these two environments, an intransitive verb may replace a transitive verb, and this can occur with an NP that expresses an object, as illustrated by examples (9.5) and (9.6). In both of these examples, the VP head is an intransitive verb, koito 'to climb' in (9.5) and kozato 'to get' in (9.6), and this is accompanied by an object NP.

(9.5)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{...[rupe]}_{\text{NP}} & \text{ikio} & o=\text{ta} & \text{koit}=\text{ala}. & \text{Rupe} & \\
\text{cutnut} & \text{FOC.F} & 3SG.M=\text{ST}\text{ climb}=\text{RCP} & \text{cutnut} & & & \\
o=\text{koit}=k=a. & 3SG.M=\text{climb}=3SG.F.O=\text{PRES} & & & & \\
\text{...a cutnut tree, he climbed. He climbed a cutnut tree.'} & (39-8-49-50) & \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^{51}\) As stated by Andrews, '[n]o presently known system of semantic role comprehensively applied in a convincing manner' (Andrews 1985:70), and so the author introduced her own term, such as the semantic role of concern, in this work.
(9.6) Se sai ke=beta koazat=a keri [komi=a bube]_TO.NP
3PL there 3PL=CONT get=PRES TEMP PROX.SG.F=LIG pollen
kake reko-reko uki Kutakabai=mu ta
INDEF.PL REDUP-women somewhere there Kutakabai=3PL TOP
lula kiaro kale.
already garden in
'When they were getting this pollen, some women were there, Kutakabai people, were already in the garden.' (22-2-11)

In (9.5), the speaker first tells what tree he climbed, and thus the sentence contains an object NP rupe 'cutnut'. Then, the situation-change marker ta is employed in order to indicate a change of situation. Because of this, the verb cannot be a transitive one and so an intransitive one, koito 'to climb', is employed, resulting in a co-occurrence of an object NP and an intransitive verb. The second clause in (9.5) presents the same information as in the first clause. Since the change of the situation has already been indicated by the first clause, in the second clause the situation-change marker is not employed. Consequently, the verb can now be a transitive one, koiko 'to climb'.

In (9.6), the first clause is a temporal clause marked with keri and it contains the continuity marker beta. Consequently, the verb in this clause can only be an intransitive verb and this is accompanied by an object NP komia bube 'this pollen'.

Examples (9.5) and (9.6) are different from a combination of an intransitive verb with an object described in the next section. In (9.5) and (9.6), clearly the object NP is not combined with the verb, as it is separated from the verb by a focus marker in (9.5) and it is a full NP in (9.6).

9.3 Intransitive verbs with objects

In Bilua, an intransitive verb may occur with an object. For example,

(9.7) ...ko ta ko=nabul=a ko____risu...
3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=bake=PRES 3SG.F coconut.crab
'...as for her, she coconut crab-baked...' (48-1-8)

The combination of the verb with the object is treated as one unit here, expressing a unitary concept 'coconut crab-bake', and this functions as an intransitive predicate.

In the discourse in which example (9.7) occurs, what is the issue is whether she performs an activity of coconut crab-baking or not, as her brothers have told her not to do this. Her brothers were afraid that if she bakes, the smell of baking might attract a giant. Thus, what is salient in example (9.7) is the activity of baking, of which the object 'coconut crab' is simply an incidental part.

Since an object which occurs with an intransitive verb is an incidental part, this is non-referential, non-individuated, and so the object is expressed by a generic NP. Such an NP usually consists of the head on its own as in example (9.8) below. In example (9.7) the object NP, which is a generic NP, contains a distal demonstrative ko (3SG.F) because of
its position—a postverbal NP cannot be the head on its own in Bilua (see §7.4). The lack of the ligature on the demonstrative here indicates that ko is not a determiner.

The object normally occurs in postverbal position, but it can also be pre-posed, as in example (9.8) below. The object and the intransitive verb still however form a unit. Example (9.8) occurs in the discourse where the father had not come back from fishing, and so the mother asked her son to go and look for him. The son found him fishing and came home by himself. When the son came home, he told the mother that he saw the father and the mother asked what the father was undertaking. Then, the son utters example (9.8). The son describes the activity the father was engaged in, that is, fish-getting (fishing). When the son utters (9.8), however, his mind is occupied with fish, as the discourse following this indicates: the son tells the mother that the fish which the father gets are caught by the wound on his father’s leg, not with a fishing rod, and these are the fish the father gives to the son and the mother. It is because of this that the object is stated first, that is, it is pre-posed.

(9.8)  
  ...niuniu  o=beta  koazat=a,  
  fish  3SG.M=CONT  get=PRES  
  object

  ‘...he has been fish-getting (fishing),’ (24-7-78)

A similar phenomenon where an intransitive verb occurs with an object has been recorded in a number of languages including some languages in Oceania, and often this is treated as an example of object incorporation (Sugita 1973, Lichtenberk 1982, Mithun 1984, Dixon 1988, and Hill 1992, among others).

The term ‘incorporation’ is generally used to refer to a particular type of compounding in which a V and N combine to form a new V—as patients, location, or instrument [...]. The activity or quality designated by the NV compound is viewed as a recognisable, unitary concept. (Mithun 1984:848)

This description of object incorporation accords with the combining of intransitive verbs with objects in Bilua. Mithun (1984:850) further says ‘since incorporated objects are non-referential, and thus non-individuated, [constructions which involve an incorporated object] generally describe activities or events whose patients are neither specific nor countable—e.g. habitual, ongoing, or projected activities’. This is also the case in Bilua. An object combined to an intransitive verb is non-referential, as illustrated by examples (9.7) and (9.8). A combination of an intransitive verb with an object may express an on-going situation as in (9.8), or a habitual activity as in (9.9). In this example, an intransitive verb papato ‘to plant’ is accompanied by object NPs.

(9.9)  
  Niania=ka=ma  ta  ko  iruruput=a  ko=papat=a  
  mother=LIG=3SG.F  TOP  3SG.F  work=PRES  3SG.F=plant=PRES  
  ko  sisu,  ko=papat=a  ko  mau...
  3SG.F  sweet.potato  3SG.F=plant=PRES  3SG.F  taro  
  object  object

  ‘The mother used to work, she used to do sweet potato planting, she used to do taro planting...’ (27-3-14)
According to Mithun, it is an N that is combined with a V. This may go against examples in Bilua, as in Bilua this can be an NP. This is always true when the object occurs postverbally as explained above with example (9.7). In preverbal position, however, it can be expressed by a noun on its own, and there is no criterion to determine whether this is treated as just a noun or an NP. Whichever the case, however, it is not only in Bilua that an NP can be combined with a verb. Dixon (1988:226–229) demonstrates that an incorporated object in Boumaa Fijian can be expressed by either a noun or an NP.

There is however one problem in treating combinations of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua as object incorporation—the object can occur either preverbally or postverbally in Bilua, whereas object incorporation is a type of compound, and in compounds, the order of combined words is fixed. In conclusion, a combination of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua can be semantically treated as a case of object incorporation, but syntactically it is questionable. The treatment of combinations of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua requires further research.

It was demonstrated above that an intransitive verb may occur with an object. A transitive verb can naturally occur with an object, and this highlights the affectedness of the object. The intransitive verb nabulo ‘to bake’ seen above has a transitive counterpart, naboliko ‘to bake’, and nabol and naboliko are in an S=A relationship since the S argument of nabol and the A argument of naboliko coincide. In example (9.10) where the transitive verb naboliko ‘to bake’ occurs, the affectedness of the object is salient since food needs to be baked before it can be served to people.

(9.10) ...uri=avo tu o=m=a nabuli=k=o

good=NOM IRR 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL bake=3SG.F.O=NRFUT

ko sailao...

3SG.F food

‘...it will be good that he will bake food for them...’ (67-3-28)

On the other hand, as demonstrated above, when an object occurs with an intransitive verb, the affectedness of the object is out of scope. This is also the case when there is no object combined with an intransitive verb. In example (9.11) below, what is salient is the

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52 Sugita (1973) refers to intransitive verbs which occur with an object as ‘semi-transitive verbs’, verbs which are morphologically intransitive but which can be followed by an object. This term can be applied to intransitive verbs which can occur with an object in Bilua. However, since the occurrence of an object with an intransitive verb could be explained in terms of object incorporation/compound, it is not necessary to adopt this term in describing intransitive verbs with objects in Bilua.

53 In her description of valency and transitivity in Saliba, an Oceanic language spoken in Papua New Guinea, Margetts (1999) explains occurrences of intransitive verbs with an object in terms of a difference between transitivity at word level and at clause level. This may be applied to the case of Bilua. An intransitive verb itself has a valency of one but a clause (a VP) which has an intransitive verb may have a valency of two.
activity of baking. The sentence implies that there is an object, the thing she baked, but the affectedness of the object is out of scope. Thus, when the affectedness of the object is within the scope of the speaker's interest, the VP has a transitive verb, while when it is not within the scope, it has an intransitive verb, as in the following example, *nabulo* 'to bake' is an intransitive counterpart of *nabuliko* 'to bake'.

(9.11) \[ Ko=ta \quad nabul=a. \]
\[ 3SG.F=SIT \quad bake=PRES \]
‘She baked.’

Furthermore, when the verb is an intransitive verb, the identity of the object is not important. Consequently, in a question asked in order to identify an object, an intransitive verb cannot be used. Only a transitive verb can be used as in example (9.12), while example (9.13) is ungrammatical.\(^{54}\) On the other hand, in a question asked to identify an agent, the object is not important and so an intransitive verb is used. Example (9.14) is a question to identify an agent.

(9.12) \[ "Koe \quad loma \quad qui \quad ikio \quad ngo=nabuli=k=a?\]
\[ INTJ \quad what \quad thing \quad FOC.NONF \quad 2SG=bake=3SG.F.O=PRES \]
\[ k=i=a=la... \]
\[ 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES \]
‘“Oh, what are you baking?” said he...’ (48-1-11)

(9.13) \[ *Loma \quad qui \quad ikio \quad ngo=nabul=a? \]
\[ what \quad thing \quad FOC.F \quad 2SG=bake=PRES \]
‘What are you baking?’

(9.14) \[ Lama \quad ikio \quad ko \quad ko=pazot=ala=ma? \]
\[ who.3SG.F \quad FOC.F \quad 3SG.F \quad 3SG.F=hit=RCP=REL.F \]
‘Who hit?’

In example (9.14), if an intransitive verb *pazoto* 'to hit' is replaced with a transitive verb *pazoko* 'to hit', it would mean ‘who did she hit?’ because the object, the one who is affected, becomes salient.

Until now, the term transitivity has been used to refer to the number of core arguments a verb has. Hopper and Thompson (1980) describe transitivity as a scalar phenomenon. According to their scale, intransitive verbs with accompanying objects in Bilua are less transitive than transitive verbs. This is not only because of the transitivity of verbs themselves, but also because of the status of non-individuated object, and also the types of on-going situations and habitual activities they express. When a situation is presented as

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\(^{54}\) An interjection *koe* or the verb *kio* 'to say' in (9.12) do not have anything to do with the contrast between grammatical example (9.12) and ungrammatical example (9.13). An elicited version without these two words can be presented in (9.12) instead so that the two examples would differ only in verbs. However, the author prefers to present an example from the data rather than the elicitation, and that is why an elicited version is not given in (9.12).
an on-going one, it does not make any reference to the end point. Hopper and Thompson (1980:252) categorise a sentence that presents such a situation as an atelic one. A habitual activity is not a specific event and thus it can be treated as an irrealis event. Non-individuated objects, atelic situations, and irrealis are all indications of low transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980). These are all features of intransitive verbs with objects in Bilua and thus they are lower in transitivity.

9.4 Valency-increasing construction

As described in §9.2, Bilua intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs have a valency of one, two, and three respectively. These numbers can be increased by the valency-increasing construction. This section presents a description of the valency-increasing construction in Bilua.

The valency-increasing construction consists of a valency-increasing marker, a, ai, or ati, and an object clitic attached to it. This construction introduces a new core argument, which is coded as an object: it is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker or by the object clitic attached to the verb.

The verb barolo 'to arrive' is an intransitive verb and this usually has only one core argument, the subject, which has the semantic role of experiencer as in the following example.

(9.15)  
\[ Qo=\text{baro}=a. \]
\[ 3DU=\text{arrive}=\text{PRES} \]
'The two arrived.' (15-3-30)

In example (9.16-a) below, which contains the same verb, however, the valency of the verb is increased by the valency-increasing construction; the VP contains a valency-increasing marker ai bound by an object clitic m (3PL). Consequently, there are two core arguments: the original argument, the subject 'the head hunters', and the introduced argument, the object 'the father and his daughters'. The introduced argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic m (3PL). This object clitic is attached to the valency-increasing marker, unlike the object clitic that cross-references with the original object of a transitive verb, which attaches to the verb.

(9.16-a)  
\[ ...\text{so} \quad \text{keru} \quad \text{inio} \quad ke=m=ai \quad \text{baro}=a, \]
\[ \text{that} \quad \text{TEMP} \quad \text{FOC.NONF} \quad 3PL=3PL.O=\text{VAL} \quad \text{arrive}=\text{PRES} \]
\[ ke=\text{nọqoe}=m=a. \]
\[ 3PL=\text{hold}=3PL.O=\text{PRES} \]
'...that time, [head-hunters] reached [the father and his daughters], and held them.' (25-3-25)

The introduced argument here has the semantic role of goal, which is indicated by the valency-increasing marker ai. Semantic roles indicated by each of three valency-increasing markers, a, ai, and ati, are described in §9.4.1 to §9.4.4.
Valency increase in Bilua can be divided into two types: argument promotion and argument addition. They are similar in the sense that they both introduce a new core argument, but they are different from each other. Argument promotion promotes an argument: it promotes a non-core argument to a core argument, while argument addition simply adds an argument which otherwise cannot be included. Both operations, however, are performed by one and the same valency-increasing construction. Indeed, the term valency-increasing construction covers the two different uses of the term ‘applicative’, which are described as argument promotion and argument addition above: for some linguists, applicative is an operation that promotes a non-core argument (oblique argument) to a core argument, while for others it is an operation that adds an argument. Argument promotion and argument addition are also pragmatically distinguished. This is described later in this section.

Example (9.16-a) above is an example of argument promotion. Without the valency-increasing construction, (9.16-a) would be like (9.16-b), in which ‘the father and his daughters’ is not a core argument but an adjunct expressed by a postpositional phrase, and therefore it is not cross-referenced on the VP by any bound pronoun.55

(9.16-b) Ke=bara=a  se  kasi.
3PL=arrive=PRES  3PL at
‘[The head-hunters] arrived at [the father and his daughters].’

The following is an example of argument addition.

(9.17-a) ...ke=k=ai  bazu-bazu-kini=a  komi.
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL. REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES PROX.SG.F
‘...they were telling this to each other,’ (26-3-20)

(9.17-b) Ke=bazu-bazu-kini=a.
3PL=REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES
‘They were telling each other.’

Example (9.17-a) contains the valency-increasing marker ai, which introduces an argument with the semantic role of ‘topic of speech’, komi (PROX.SG.F) ‘this’. This argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic, k (3SG.F), attached to the valency-increasing marker. This argument can by no means be included in a clause like (9.17-b) without the valency-increasing construction; there is no way to express it in a clause without the valency-increasing construction.

Argument promotion and argument addition are illustrated by the following.

argument promotion

non-core argument → core argument

55 As discussed in §3.2.1, although the verb barolo ‘to arrive’ is subcategorised for a participant with the semantic role of goal, this is not treated as a core argument but as a non-core argument.
argument addition

\( \emptyset \rightarrow \text{core argument} \)

In both (9.16-a) and (9.17-a), the verb is an intransitive one, and the introduced argument is cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker, and thus the introduced argument is an object. The other argument, the original core argument, is a subject. This is the same without the valency-increasing construction; in both (9.16-b) and (9.17-b), the original core argument is the subject.

When the verb is a transitive verb as well, the argument introduced by the valency-increasing marker is cross-referenced by an object clitic. This object clitic which cross-references with the introduced argument is sometimes attached to the valency-increasing marker and other times attached to the verb. In (9.18-a), the introduced argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic, \( v \) (3SG.M), attached to the valency-increasing marker.

(9.18-a) "Kama quli puli=a=ma" k=i=o=la
INDEF.SG.F thing NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
mati o=v=ai podaki=k=a.
again 3SG.M=3SG.M.O=VAL make.s.th.appear.to=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He_1 said "something is missing", and again, he_2 presented it to him_1.' (39-11-67)
(more literally 'He_1 said "something is missing", and again, he_2 made it appear to him_1'.)

(9.18-b) O=podaki=k=a
3SG.M=make.s.th.appear.to=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M 3SG.M
'He presented it to him.'
(more literally 'He made it appear to him'.)

Here, there are two objects, one which is an original core argument and the other which is introduced by the valency increase, and both objects are cross-referenced on the VP by object clitics. Thus, the two objects are not syntactically distinguished in the valency-increasing construction. However, since the introduced argument cannot be an argument without the valency-increasing construction, the original object is treated as 'normal', that is, 'direct object', and the introduced object is treated as 'added object'.

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56 Examples given above may suggest that two objects, an original object and introduced object, are syntactically distinguished: the former is the object of the verb, while the latter is the object of the verbal complex in the valency-increasing construction, and accordingly they are cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the verb and an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker respectively. This is however not always the case. As described below, what motivates for an argument being cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker is affectedness, not the fact of being the introduced argument. This contention is supported by example (9.27-a) below in which the affected argument is the original object and is cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. In this example, the introduced argument, which is not the affected argument, is cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the verb.
The object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker cross-references the argument affected by the event described (see below), and this can be the original object or the introduced object, and the object clitic attached to the verb cross-references whichever is left between the original object and the introduced object.57

The promoted or added argument can be either definite or indefinite. When it is definite, it does not need to be expressed by an NP. In (9.19) below, the promoted argument is definite, and so it is not expressed by an NP in the second clause.

(9.19)  \(Ni\) \(ke=nqo=\nu=a\) \(vo\) \(Sito.\) \(Maravari\)
\(3\text{PL}=\text{capture}=3\text{SG.M.O}=\text{PRES} \ 3\text{SG.M} \ Sito \ Maravari\)
\(ke=\nu=\text{a}\text{-t}\)
\(3\text{PL}=3\text{SG.M.O}=\text{VAL} \ \text{go.down}=\text{PRES}\)

‘And then, they captured Sito. They took him down to Maravari.’ (12-8-72-73)

When the argument is indefinite, it has to be expressed by an NP. In (9.20), the added argument ‘a story’ is indefinite and so it is expressed by an NP kala bazubazulao.

(9.20)  \(Vairatu \ \text{now}\) \(ta\) \(anga\) \(ta\) \(a=\nu=\text{ai}\) \(bazu-bazu=t=\text{o}\)
\(TOP \ 1\text{SG} \ TOP \ 1\text{SG} \ 3\text{SG.M.O}=\text{VAL} \ \text{REDUP-tell}=\text{NRFUT}\)
\(kala\ \ \text{INDEF.SG.M} \ \text{REDUP-story}\)
‘Now, I am going to tell a story.’ (24-1-1)

Argument addition does not have any pragmatic effect. Its function is solely to add an argument which cannot be expressed otherwise. Argument promotion, on the other hand, carries a pragmatic effect—the valency-increasing construction focuses upon the affectedness of the introduced argument. Argument promotion however may also be employed without this pragmatic function, as described later in this section.

The affected argument is most often the introduced argument and the affected argument is always cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. Example (9.16-a) above highlights the affectedness of the introduced argument, ‘the father and his daughters’, whom the head hunters reached and captured, as expressed by the clause which follows: ‘[they] held them’. Example (9.16-a) has an intransitive verb, while example (9.18-a) has a transitive verb. In (9.18-a), the valency-increasing construction is employed in order to highlight that the affectedness of the introduced argument ‘him’: he was presented with what he wanted and thus benefited from the described event.

In contrast to the valency-increasing construction which highlights the affectedness of the introduced argument, transitive verbs without the valency-increasing construction highlight the affectedness of (direct) object (see §9.3 above). Compare (9.21-a) to

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57 This is similar to Mandarin examples discussed in Andrews (1985), with ‘the Patient in whose fate one is more interested occupying the ba-marked preverbal position, the less interesting “accessory” Patient the post verbal position’ (1985:121). Andrews then tentatively suggests that Mandarin may be a language with two ‘direct object’ relations.
(9.21-b). Example (9.21-a) with the valency-increasing construction highlights the affectedness of the introduced argument, ‘their son’. This example occurs in a discourse in which the son finds a girl he wants to marry, and so his parents make plans to ask the parents of this girl on his behalf. The son is thus the affected argument. In (9.21-b) without the valency-increasing construction, the affected argument is ‘the parents of the girl’.

(9.21-a)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{Nio} & \quad qo=vato-vatol=ou \quad \text{tu} \quad qo=v=a \\
\text{SEQ} & \quad 3DU=REDUP-plan=FUT \quad \text{IRR} \quad 3DU=3SG.M.O=VAL \\
pase=k=o & \quad \text{nioqa}=vo \quad \text{megora}... \\
\text{ask}=3DU.O=NRFUT & \quad 3DU=3SG.M \quad \text{child} \\
\text{‘And then, they will plan to ask [the parents of the girl] on behalf of their son...’} \\
\text{(21-1-4)} & \end{align*} \]

(9.21-b)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{Qo}=vato-vatol=ou \quad \text{tu} \quad qo=pase=k=o \quad \text{nioqa}=vo \\
3DU=REDUP-plan=FUT & \quad \text{IRR} \quad 3DU=ask=3DU.O=NRFUT \quad 3DU=3SG.M \\
\text{megora kage} & \quad \text{BEN} \\
\text{child} & \end{align*} \]

‘They will plan to ask [the parents of the girl] for him.’

The object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker normally has a human referent, as the affected argument is expected to be a human referent. This can also be a non-human referent, but in such a case it is implied that there is a human referent associated with this non-human referent, and indeed the affected argument is this human referent. In example (9.22) the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker k (3SG.F) is co-referential with koa kolu ‘the smoke’, and thus it is non-human, but ‘smoke’ implies that there is someone who is making this smoke, and the affected argument is this person, not the smoke.

(9.22)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\ldots \text{ko}=a & \quad \text{kolu} \quad o=ulu=k=a & \quad \text{ti} \\
3SG.F=LIG & \quad \text{smoke} \quad 3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES & \quad \text{and.then} \\
o=k=ai & \quad \text{saqor}=a & \quad \text{ti} & \quad o=k=ai \\
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL & \quad \text{go.down}=PRES & \quad \text{and.then} \quad 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL \\
\text{baro}=a, & \text{arrive}=PRES \\
\text{‘...he followed the smoke, and he went down to the smoke, and he arrived where the smoke (the girl) is.’} & (59-10-91) \\
\end{align*} \]

An argument can be affected favourably or adversely depending on the event or discourse. In (9.18-a) and (9.21-a) above, an argument is affected favourably. In example (9.23) below, an argument is affected adversely.

(9.23)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\ldots \text{ko}=be & \quad v=ai \quad \text{sipe-sipeit}=a... \\
3SG.F=CONT & \quad 3SG.M.O=VAL \quad \text{REDUP-pass.faeces}=PRES \\
\text{‘...he passed faeces on him...’} & (43-5-53) \\
\end{align*} \]
As discussed above, the valency-increasing construction generally introduces a new core argument, and when the valency-increasing construction promotes a non-argument to a core argument, it usually does this in order to highlight the affectedness of an argument. However, the valency-increasing construction may also be employed so that a non-human referent can be expressed by a pronoun. In such a case, the valency-increasing construction does not carry a function of highlighting affectedness.

In Bilua, when a referent is an active, definite one, it can be expressed by a pronoun. An active human referent can be expressed by a free or bound pronoun. In example (9.24), the pronominal enclitic o (3SG.M) and the demonstrative ko (3SG.F), which is marked with a comitative postposition sate, have definite referents.

\[(9.24) \quad ...sainio \quad g=beta \quad ev=a \quad ko \quad sate.\]
\[
\text{therefore} \quad 3SG.M=\text{CONT} \quad \text{stay}=\text{PRES} \quad 3SG.F \quad \text{COM}
\]
\[\quad \ldots \text{therefore he stayed with her there.} \quad (59-11-94)\]

There are examples in the data in which a non-human referent is expressed by a free pronoun, but not a free pronoun marked with a postposition. A postpositional phrase functions as an adjunct, and thus a non-human referent cannot be expressed by a free pronoun as an adjunct. Such a referent however can be promoted to a core argument by valency increase, and then it can be expressed by a bound pronoun. In the discourse where example (9.25) occurs, ‘the magic stick’, is an active referent. This has a semantic role of accompaniment in the second clause and is expressed by a bound pronoun, an object clitic k (3SG.F.O), attached to the valency-increasing marker. This cannot be expressed by a free pronoun marked with a postposition as it is non-human. If a postpositional phrase is employed to express this, ‘the magic stick’ has to be expressed by a full NP, koa sikiti ‘the magic stick’ not by a pronoun, which results in a repetition of the same NP. To avoid this, the valency-increasing construction is employed and this allows ‘the magic stick’, which is an adjunct, to be expressed by a pronoun. In example (9.26), ko (3SG.F) is marked with a comitative postposition sate ‘with’ and this can only be human.

\[(9.25) \quad ...ko=pa \quad teli=k=a \quad ko=a \quad sikiti, \quad ti \]
\[
3SG.F=\text{PROS} \quad \text{dig}=3SG.F.O=\text{PRES} \quad 3SG.F=\text{LIG} \quad \text{magic.stick} \quad \text{and.then}
\]
\[
k=\text{ati} \quad o=\text{la...} \]
\[
3SG.F=3SG.F.O=\text{VAL} \quad \text{go}=\text{PRES}
\]
\[
\quad \ldots \text{she went and dug the magic stick, and then she went with it...} \quad (22-9-37)
\]

\[(9.26) \quad Ko \quad o=\text{la} \quad ko \quad sate.\]
\[
3SG.F \quad \text{go}=\text{PRES} \quad 3SG.F \quad \text{COM}
\]
\[\quad \text{‘She went with her.’}\]

In (9.25), although a non-argument is promoted to an argument by the valency-increasing construction, it does not highlight the affectedness of any argument. As discussed above, it occurs only for the non-human referent to be expressed by a pronoun. Example (9.25) contains an intransitive verb. Below is such an example with a transitive
verb. ‘This story’ in (9.27-a) is an active referent and is expressed by the object clitic attached to the verb k (3SG.F).

(9.27-a)  ...komi=a  bazu-bazulao ta pui matu
          PROX.SG.F=3SG REDUP-folk tale TOP NEG very
          tuvevo=a=ma  melai silo-silo=a=mu  ke=m=ai
          true=3SG.F but REDUP-small=LIG=3PL 3PL=3PL.O=VAL

          ibue=k=a,
          make.quiet=3SG.F.O=PRES

          ‘...this folktale, it is not very true, but [people] make children quiet with [this story],’ (27-1-1)

Compare now (9.27-b) to (9.27-a).

(9.27-b)  Ke  ibue=m=o  silo-silo=a=mu  ko=a
          3PL make.quiet=3PL=NRFUT REDUP-small=LIG=3PL 3SG.F=LIG

          bazu-bazulao  kale.
          REDUP-folk tale with

          ‘They will make the children quiet with this story.’

In both (9.27-a) and (9.27-b), ‘children’ is a core argument. In (9.27-b) this is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the verb. In (9.27-a) it is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. This is because ‘children’ is the affected argument in both examples—in (9.27-a) it is not ‘the story’ that is the affected argument. Both examples highlight the affectedness of the object, ‘children’, and there is no pragmatic difference between (9.27-a) and (9.27-b). Thus, in (9.27-a) the valency-increasing construction is not employed for the purpose of highlighting the affectedness on the ‘children’, as this is already done by the verb, a transitive verb, itself. Similarly to (9.25), the valency-increasing construction here is employed only in order that ‘this story’ can be expressed by a pronoun.

As illustrated above the introduced argument by the valency-increasing marker is always coded as an object, and the increase of the number of core arguments is indicated by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker.58 This object clitic takes the preverbal position. Object clitics attached to verbs, on the other hand, usually take a postverbal position—they immediately follow the verb, but there are exceptions to this. Four verbs, kelo ‘to see’, kovo ‘to get’, kuo ‘to eat’, and kio ‘to say’, take an object clitic preverbally, but in this case, they are attached to the verb, not to the valency-increasing marker. Thus there are two different preverbal slots for object clitics and these are clearly distinguished from each other. Object clitics attached to the verb are obligatory for the

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58 As noted above, the introduced argument is not always cross-referenced with the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker, and so one can say only that this slot for an object clitic indicates an increase of the valency, and not that this slot is the slot for the added object (introduced argument).
occurrence of the verb, while object clitics attached to the valency-increasing marker are not. These aforementioned four verbs may occur with the valency-increasing construction (see §9.4.1 and §9.4.3).

Each of three valency-increasing markers, *a*, *ai*, and *ati* indicates different semantic roles of an introduced argument as shown in the following table. In other words, the speaker selects one of three valency-increasing markers, *a*, *ai*, and *ati*, depending on what semantic role he/she wants to assign to the introduced argument. The table below also shows whether the introduced argument is a promoted or added one.

Table 9.1: Semantic roles of introduced arguments by valency-increasing markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Markers</th>
<th>Semantic roles</th>
<th>Promotion or addition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td>beneficiary (benefactive)</td>
<td>promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>source (ablative)</td>
<td>promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>topic of quotation</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ati</em></td>
<td>instrument (comitative)</td>
<td>promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goal (allative)</td>
<td>promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gift</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>topic of speech</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>name</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cause/reason</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>experiencer</td>
<td>addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ati</em></td>
<td>accompaniment (comitative)</td>
<td>promotion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Topic' of speech means what the subject of the sentence is talking about, while 'topic' of quotation means what the subject of the sentence is quoting about.

In the subsequent sections, the semantic roles which each valency-increasing marker indicates are examined: *a* in §9.4.1, *ai* in §9.4.2, and *ati* as in §9.4.3. The valency-increasing marker *a* can also add an argument with the semantic role of cause/reason or a source, but this requires the co-occurrence of the possessor-raising marker. This is described in §9.4.4. Furthermore, the valency-increasing marker *a* may also promote an argument with the semantic role of possessor in the possessor-raising construction. This is described in §9.5.

### 9.4.1 Valency-increasing marker *a*

The valency-increasing marker *a* refers to semantic roles of beneficiary, source, and topic of quotation. The first two are examples of argument promotion while the last one is

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59 In (9.18-a), the introduced argument is a goal, in other words a recipient. This argument can be interpreted as a beneficiary as he benefits from receiving something.
an example of argument addition. The valency-increasing marker $a$ promotes an ablative argument in combination with a transitive motion verb\(^{60}\) and it can add an argument with the semantic role of topic of quotation in combination with the verb *kio* ‘to say’. In combination with other verbs than these, $a$ promotes a benefactive argument.

**Table 9.2:** Semantic roles of arguments introduced by a valency-increasing marker $a$ and verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic roles</th>
<th>Kinds of verbs</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beneficiary</td>
<td>verbs other than below</td>
<td><em>erekō</em> ‘to make’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(benefactive)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>paseko</em> ‘to ask’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>rabuto</em> ‘to weed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>source</td>
<td>transitive motion verbs</td>
<td><em>votutiko</em> ‘to move’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ablative)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>soqoeko</em> ‘to chase’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topic of quotation</td>
<td>only one verb</td>
<td><em>kio</em> ‘to say’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that $a$ promotes a benefactive and an ablative argument.

(9.28-a) Benefactive

$A=\nu=a$

A=$\nu=\nu$

1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL  weed=RCP

'I weeded for him.'

(9.28-b) $A=rabut=ala$

Joni  kage.

1SG=weed=RCP  John  BEN

'I weeded for John.'

(9.29-a) Ablative

$Ko=m=a$

vatutii=k=ala.

3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL  move=3SG.F.O=RCP

'She moved it from them (she moved it away from them).'</n

(9.29-b) $Ko=vatutii=k=ala$

se  kasi  azo.

3SG.F.move=3SG.F.O=RCP  3PL  at  ABL

'She moved it from them (she moved it away from them).'</n

The verb *kio* ‘to say’ is a direct speech verb, and the actual words of an utterance are expressed by a juxtaposed independent clause. For example,

(9.30)  

"Ura   k=i=ko=la.

good  3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

"'Good," she said.' (16-1-3)
With this verb kio ‘to say’, the valency-increasing marker a introduces an argument which presents the topic of a quotation. When a occurs with kio ‘to say’, the verb is always marked with a relative clause marker, and this forms a headless relative clause. Both the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker and the relative clause marker agree with the topic argument. The quotation is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the verb.

\[(9.31)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{lllllllll}
Nio & "Nei" & ta & ngo=da & v=a \\
\text{SEQ} & \text{PROX.SG.M} & \text{TOP} & 2\text{SG}=\text{SIT} & 3\text{SG}.M.O=\text{VAL} \\
\text{lupa} & \text{vo}=ni, & "a=da & v=a \\
\text{refuse}=\text{RMP}=\text{REL}.\text{NONF} & 1\text{SG}=\text{POSS} & 3\text{SG}.M=\text{VAL} \\
\text{lupa} & \text{va} & \text{vo} & \text{siele}" \\
\text{refuse}=\text{PRES} & 3\text{SG}.M & \text{dog} \\
\text{v}=a & k=i=n\text{go}=ve=ni & \text{nio}" \\
3\text{SG}.M=\text{VAL} & 3\text{SG}.F.O=\text{say}=2\text{SG}=\text{RMP}=\text{REL}.\text{NONF} & \text{FOC}.\text{NONF} \\
k=i=ko=la. & 3\text{SG}.F.O=\text{say}=3\text{SG}.F=\text{PRES} \\
\text{She said, "this is the one you refused, you said, "I refuse a dog" talking about him."} (27-18-114) \\
\text{(more literally, 'She said, "this is the one you refused, him about whom you said, "I refuse a dog.'"')} \\
\end{array}
\]

As described in §8.2.2, the verb kio ‘to say’ morphologically behaves in a different way from other verbs—a pronominal enclitic which cross-references with the subject follows the verb instead of taking a VP-initial position. Thus, in this example, ngo (2SG) cross-references with the subject.

The valency-increasing marker a can also occur with a few transitive verbs, kelo ‘to see’, kovo ‘to get’, and kuo ‘to eat’, which take object clitics as proclitics. Bilua object clitics have either a C or CVC structure, and when the object clitic which cross-references the direct object has a CVC structure, VPs headed with the aforementioned verbs obligatorily employ the valency-increasing construction, but the valency-increasing construction here neither promotes nor adds an argument. That is, the number of core arguments does not increase and stays two. The slot for an object clitic preceding the valency-increasing marker is filled by the object clitic in a CVC structure, which cross-references with the direct object. The slot for an object clitic on the verb is always filled with the first person singular object clitic l, but this does not have any referent. In the following example, there are three bound pronouns, a pronominal enclitic a (1SG), an object clitic qel (2DU.O) attached to the valency-increasing marker a, and another object clitic l (1SG.O) attached to the verb, as underlined. However, there are only two arguments involved: ‘I’, the subject, and ‘you’, the direct object, which are cross-referenced on the VP by a (1SG) and qel (2DU.O) respectively, and there is no referent of the object clitic l (1SG.O). Note that l (1SG.O) here has nothing to do with the subject ‘I’—this stays as l even when the subject is non-first person singular.
(9.32-a) \(a=ba\) \(gel=a\) \(l=el=0\)
1SG=PROS 2DU.O=VAL 1SG.O=see=NRFUT
‘...I am going to see you...’ (21-2-9)

Example (9.32-a) cannot be paraphrased as example (9.32-b), which does not employ
the valency-increasing construction. Example (9.32-b) is not grammatical.

(9.32-b) \(*A=ba\) \(gel=el=0\).
1SG=PROS 2DU.O=see=NRFUT
‘I am going to see you.’

When the object clitic that cross-references with the direct object has a C structure, the
valency-increasing construction is never employed.

(9.33) \(A=ba\) \(k=el=0\).
1SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=see=NRFUT
‘I am going to see her.’

It is not well understood why the valency-increasing construction has to be employed
under the above environment. It may be hypothesised that the valency-increasing
construction is employed so that the stress falls on the verb. In Bilua, stress falls on the
first syllable of phonological words. Thus, in (9.32-a) in which an object clitic in a CVC
structure is attached to a valency-increasing marker, the stress falls on the verb, but in
(9.32-b), in which the same object clitic is attached to the verb and which is
ungrammatical, it would fall on the object clitic.\(^{61}\)

(9.32'-a) \(\ldots a=ba\) \(gel=a\) \(l=el=0\)
1SG=PROS 2DU.O=VAL 1SG.O=see=NRFUT
‘...I am going to see you...’ (21-2-9)

(b) \(*A=ba\) \(gel=el=0\).
1SG=PROS 2DU.O=see=NRFUT
‘I am going to see you.’

9.4.2 Valency-increasing marker ai

The valency-increasing marker ai refers to the semantic roles of instrument, goal, topic
of speech, cause/reason, gift, name, and stimulus. The first two are examples of argument
promotion while the rest are argument addition. In combination with a verb which
describes an action, ai promotes an instrumental argument, while in combination with a

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\(^{61}\) This hypothesis itself is based on the assumption that object clitics affect the stress on their
host, unlike pronominal proclitics, which do not. Pronominal proclitics, which have either a
CV or V structure, do not affect the stress on their host verbs (see §2.6). There is no evidence
however that proves this assumption is true, but one may further postulate that a proclitic in a
CVC structure, but not a CV or a V structure, may affect stress on the host.
motion verb, it promotes an allative argument. A1 adds arguments with semantic roles of topic of speech and cause/reason, combined with verbs of speech and emotion verbs respectively. A1 adds arguments with semantic roles of gift, name, and stimulus combined with verbs listed in the following table. A1 is often elided to a, especially when it occurs with verbs zario ‘to want/need’ and niannio ‘to know’. Whether a is in fact a or an elided form of a1 can be decided from the kind of the verb or from the context.

Table 9.3: Semantic roles of arguments introduced by a valency-increasing marker a1 and verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic roles</th>
<th>Kinds of verbs</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>instrument</td>
<td>verbs which express an action</td>
<td>erekato/ereko ‘to make’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(instrumental)</td>
<td></td>
<td>pazoto/pazoko ‘to hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>roeto/roeko ‘to cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tauvezio ‘to help oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tauvezato/tauveko ‘to help’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goal</td>
<td>motion verbs</td>
<td>zio ‘to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(allative)</td>
<td></td>
<td>kilo ‘to come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vatuto/vatutiko ‘to move’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topic of speech</td>
<td>verbs of speech</td>
<td>pesio ‘to speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bazuto ‘to tell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bazubazeginio ‘to tell each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cause/reason</td>
<td>emotion verbs</td>
<td>zialo ‘to cry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aqasiele + elo ‘to become surprised’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>duki + elo ‘to become sad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gift</td>
<td>two verbs</td>
<td>besiekinio ‘replace each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tatabarao ‘to trade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>two verbs</td>
<td>nokaeko ‘to call’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>katiko ‘to give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stimulus</td>
<td>two verbs</td>
<td>zario ‘to want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>niannio ‘to know’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The valency-increasing marker a1 is also employed to mark a strong negation with the verb roveo ‘can’. In the following example, there are two bound pronouns, a (1SG) and k (3SG.F.O), but there is only one argument, ‘I’, involved, and thus there is no referent of the object clitic k (3SG.F.O) attached to the valency-increasing marker. It is not transparent what syntactic/semantic motivation lies behind this use of the valency-increasing marker a1.

(9.34) Pui a=ba k=ai rove=a zio.
NEG 1SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL can=PRES go-NOM
‘I (definitely) cannot go.’
The following two pairs of examples illustrate that ai promotes arguments with the semantic roles of instrument and goal.

(9.35-a) Instrumental
\[ Ko=v=ai \quad saqae=k=ala \quad ko \quad suma. \]
\[ 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL \quad brush=3SG.F.O=RCP \quad 3SG.F \quad cloth \]
'She brushed (cleaned) him with a cloth.'

(9.35-b) \[ Ko=saqae=v=ala \quad suma \quad kale. \]
\[ 3SG.F=brush=3SG.M.O=RCP \quad cloth \quad with \]
'She brushed (cleaned) him with a cloth.'

(9.36-a) Allative
\[ Ke=ngel=ai \quad kue=vi \quad enge. \]
\[ 3PL.=1PL.EXC.O=VAL \quad come=RMP \quad 1PL.EXC \]
'They came to us.'

(9.36-b) \[ ...ege \quad ta \quad ge=kue=va \quad koi \quad ngo \quad kasi. \]
\[ 1DU.EXC \quad TOP \quad 1DU.EXC=come=PRES \quad here \quad 2SG \quad at \]
'...we came here to you.' (26-8-44)

*Ai* may add an argument with a semantic role of gift, something which is transferred from one person to another. In the data, there are two verbs which occur with this semantic role as listed above. In fact, combinations of *ai* with these two verbs are considered to form one lexical entry.

(9.37-a) Gift
\[ Nge=q=ai \quad tatabaraov=ou \quad maketi \quad kale. \]
\[ 1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL \quad pay=FUT \quad market \quad in \]
'We will sell it in a market.'

(9.37-b) \[ Nge=databaraov=ou. \]
\[ 1PL.EXC=pay=FUT \]
'We will pay.'

(9.38-a) Gift
\[ Melai \quad ko=a \quad sailao \quad ikio \quad ke=k=ai \]
\[ but \quad 3SG.F=LIG \quad food \quad FOC.F \quad 3PL.=3SG.F.O=VAL \]
\[ besi-besie-kini=ou. \]
\[ REDUP-replace-RECP=FUT \]
'But they will exchange the food between them.' (21-4-23)

(9.38-b) \[ ...kubo \quad missionary \quad poso \quad ta \quad ke=basi-besie-kini=a \]
\[ many \quad missionary \quad PL.M \quad TOP \quad 3PL.=REDUP-replace-RECP=PRES \]
*Sabora.*

Sabora
'...many missionaries replaced each other in Sabora.' (10-14-117)
In the above two pairs of examples, the meaning of the verb used with the valency-increasing marker is not so transparent. Unlike other examples given above, there is a modification of the meaning of the verb. In (9.37-b), the verb *tatabaraao* means ‘to pay’ but when this occurs with *ai* as in (9.37-a), this means ‘to sell’. In (9.38-b), *besiekinio* means ‘to replace each other’ and when this verb occurs with *ai* as in (9.38-a), it means ‘to exchange between them’. Thus, it could be said that *ai* *tatabaraao* and *ai* *besiekinio* form one lexical entry.

With two verbs listed above, *ai* adds an argument with the semantic role of name.

(9.39-a) Name

\[
A=v=ai \\
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL \quad kati=k=ala \quad [ko \quad ngi]_{NP} \quad [vo \quad John]_{NP}
\]

‘I gave him the name “John”.’

(9.39-b) \(A=qati=v=ala\) \(ko\) \(ngi\).

\[
1SG=give=3SG.M.O=RCP \quad 3SG.F \quad name \quad 3SG.M \quad John \\
\text{second object} \quad \text{added object}
\]

‘I gave him a name (I named him).’

The verb *katiko* ‘to give’ is a ditransitive verb and so example (9.39-a) has a valency of four. The subject, direct object, and the added object are cross-referenced by the pronominal clitic *a* (1SG), the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker *v* (3SG.M.O), and the object clitic *k* (3SG.F.O) attached to the verb respectively. The argument ‘the name’ is the second object and is not cross-referenced on the VP. In this example, both second and added objects are further expressed by NPs. Among three ditransitive verbs in Bilua, only *katiko* ‘to give’ can occur with the valency-increasing construction.

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *ai* adds arguments with semantic roles of topic of speech and a cause/reason.

(9.40-a) Topic of speech

\[
Komi=a \quad taku \quad kale \quad anga \quad ta \quad a=q=a \\
PROX.SG.F=LIG \quad time \quad in \quad 1SG \quad TOP \quad 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL
\]

\[
zari=a \quad k=ai \quad pesi=o \quad ko=paloas=a=ko \quad taku \\
\text{want=PRES} \quad 3SG.F.O=VAL \quad speak=NOM \quad 3SG.F=pass=PRES=3SG.F \quad time
\]

\[
keru=a=ma \quad saev=o. \quad \text{TEMP=LIG=3SG.F} \quad \text{survive=NOM}
\]

‘I want to speak about the life in the past.’ (64-1-1)

(9.40-b) \(Vo=a\) \(beku\) \(inho\) \(o=ta\) \(pesi=a...\)

\[
3SG.M=LIG \quad idol \quad FOC.NONF \quad 3SG.M=SIT \quad speak=PRES
\]

‘It was the idol that spoke...’ (39-8-52)

---

62 They do however share some meaning—‘to sell’ and ‘to pay’ share the meaning ‘trading’. 
(9.41-a) Cause/reason

\[ A=v=ai \quad zia=la. \]
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL  cry=RCP
‘I cried because of him (for example, because my father went away and I am sad).’

(9.41-b) \[ O=ta \quad zi=a. \]
3SG.M=SIT  cry=PRES
‘He is crying.’

Note that with a few emotion verbs, a cause or a reason is introduced by a combination of a valency-increasing marker \( a \) and the possessor-raising marker \( ta \). See §9.4.4 below.

Two intransitive verbs \( zario \) ‘to want/need’ and \( nianii\) ‘to know’ never occur without \( ai \), and thus \( ai \) plus \( zario \) ‘to want/need’ or \( nianii\) ‘to know’ each form one lexical entry. With these verbs, \( ai \) signals the presence of an argument with the semantic role of stimulus.

(9.42) \[ ...ke=v=ai \quad matu \quad zari=a \quad rorot=o \quad vo \]
3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL  very  want=PRES  marry=NOM  3SG.M
Koro-korokanisi.
REDUP-Korokoro宽isini
‘...they wanted to marry Korokoro宽isini very much.’ (39.12-82)

(9.43) \[ A=v=ai \quad nianii=a. \]
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL  know=PRES
‘I know him.’

### 9.4.3 Valency-increasing marker \( ati \)

The valency-increasing marker \( ati \) indicates the semantic role of accompaniment or addressee, the person someone is speaking with.\(^63\) It always promotes a comitative argument.

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\(^63\) An observant reader may wonder whether the valency-increasing marker \( ati \) is related to a verb \( katiko \) ‘to give’. There is no evidence however to support this contention. The verb initial \( k \) of \( katiko \) is a part of the verb and not the default form of an object clitic \( k \) (3SG.F.O)—\( katiko \) is segmented as \( kati=k=\) (give=3SG.F.O=NOM) not \( *k=ati=k=\) (3SG.F.O=give=3SG.F.O=NOM).
Table 9.4: Semantic role of arguments introduced by the valency-increasing marker ati and verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic roles</th>
<th>Kinds of verbs</th>
<th>Examples of verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>accompaniment</td>
<td>any kinds</td>
<td>vinaeko ‘to tie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>addressee</td>
<td></td>
<td>rokasiko ‘to tear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(comitative)</td>
<td></td>
<td>kailo ‘to go up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zulao ‘to play’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kio ‘to say’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that ati promotes a comitative argument.

(9.44-a) Comitative (accompaniment)

... o=k=ati
saqor=a.
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL go.down=PRES
‘... he went down with her (he took her down).’ (48-4-37)

(9.44-b) Ke=saqor=a
vo sate.
3PL=go.down=PRES 3SG.M COM
‘They went down with him.’

(9.45-a) Comitative (accompaniment)

... ko=v=ati
roka-rokasi=k=a...
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL REDUP-tear=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘... [the devil] tore [the house] with him in it...’ (43-5-53)

(9.45-b) Ko=roka-rokasi=k=a
vo sate.
3SG.F=REDUP-tear=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M COM
‘[The devil] torn [the house] with him.’

In (9.45-b), in which the comitative argument is expressed by a postpositional phrase, it would be unclear, without a context, whether ‘he’ accompanies ‘the devil’ or ‘the house’.

Two motion verbs zio ‘to go’ and kilo ‘to come’, in combination with ati, can be translated as ‘to take’ and ‘to bring’ respectively.

(9.46) ...se ta ke=v=ati
ol=a Fiji.
3PL TOP 3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL go=PRES Fiji
‘... they took him to Fiji.’ (12-8-78)

(9.47) Kama rekorusu ta ke=k=ati
kue=la.
INDEF.SG.F girl TOP 3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL come=RCP
‘They brought a girl.’ (25-7-51)

With the verb kio to ‘say’, the promoted argument can be treated as having the semantic role of addressee—the person who the subject is speaking with can be treated as an addressee.
(9.48-a) Comitative (addressee)
...nio se ta eri v=ati
and then 3PL TOP s.th.like.this 3SG.M.O=VAL
k=i=ke=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3PL=PRES
...and then they say to him something like this.’ (25-7-50)

(9.48-b) Ni omadeu taku kurou ta eri
and one time pigeon TOP s.th.like.this
k=i=o=la kobaka kasi.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES snail at
‘And, once (one day), the pigeon told the snail something like this.’
(15-1-3)

A combination of the verb jouro ‘to jump’ and ati has an unpredictable meaning, ‘to follow’.

9.4.4 Valency-increasing marker a with ta

The valency-increasing marker a can promote an argument with the semantic role of source in combination with an intransitive motion verb, while it adds an argument with a semantic role of cause/reason with some verbs of cognition. However this requires a co-occurrence of the possessor-raising marker ta.

Table 9.5: Semantic roles of arguments introduced by the valency-increasing marker a in combination with ta and verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic roles</th>
<th>Kinds of verbs</th>
<th>Examples of verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>source</td>
<td>intransitive motion verbs</td>
<td>soqoilo ‘to run away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zio ‘to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kilo ‘to come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cause/reason</td>
<td>some verbs of cognition</td>
<td>ngalo ‘to be frightened’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>including emotion verbs</td>
<td>lupao ‘to refuse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ukaka + elo ‘to be careless’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example,

(9.49-a) Source
Me=da v=a soqoilo=ou.
1PL.INC=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL run.away=FUT
‘We will run away from him.’
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(9.49-b) Me=sogoil=ou vo kasi azo
1PL.INC=run.away=FUT 3SG.M at ABL
'We will run away from him.'

(9.50-a) Cause/reason
...o=ta v=a nga=va vo qilli...
3SG.M=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL be.frightened=PRES 3SG.M giant
'...he is frightened of the giant...' (48-3-28)

(9.50-b) O=ta nga=va.
3SG.M=SIT be.frightened=PRES
'He is frightened.'

Note that ta here cannot be treated as the situation-change marker. This is because the situation-change marker ta cannot occur with a valency-increasing marker (see §9.6). This is further demonstrated by the fact that such a sentence can have the negation marker. The situation-change marker never occurs with the negation marker (see §8.5.3), but the possessor-raising marker can.

(9.51) Pui o=ta k=a soqoi=va.
NEG 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL run.away=PRES
'He didn't run away from her.'

(9.52) Pui a=da k=a nga=va.
NEG 1SG=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL be.frightened=PRES
'I am not frightened by her.'

Thus ta here is the possessor-raising marker. The possessor-raising marker usually indicates that one of the arguments has a possessor relation to another argument (see §9.5). The possessor-raising marker here however does not have such a function. For example, (9.49-a) does not mean that 'we' and 'him' are in a possessor–possessee relationship. An occurrence of the possessor-raising marker here is simply due to the fact that the valency-increasing marker a requires the slot for the possessor-raising marker to be filled. As discussed in §8.2.1, both the possessor-raising and valency-increasing markers are constituents of a preverbal complex. This complex contains five slots which can be filled with certain kinds of morphemes. Valency-increasing markers always require the slot for object clitics to be filled, and when the valency-increasing marker a occurs with the function described in this section, it also requires another slot, one which precedes the slot for object clitics, to be filled. This is the slot for the possessor-raising marker. It is because of this that ta, the possessor-raising marker, occurs here.

9.5 Possessor-raising construction

A possessor-raising construction is defined as:
[a] construction in which a semantic Possessor-possessed relation is expressed via coding the Possessor as a core grammatical relation of the verb, regardless of whether it is expressed as subject, direct object, or indirect object. (Payne 1997:395)

A Bilua possessor-raising construction consists of the possessor-raising marker ta and one of the valency-increasing markers attached with an object clitic. The valency-increasing marker here always promotes an argument. This argument is viewed as being in a possessor–possessee relationship, and the person/number/gender of the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker agrees with the person/number/gender of the possessor. Pragmatically, the possessor-raising construction indicates that the possessor is affected by an event involved with the possessee. Accordingly, the possessee can only be in an inalienable relationship with the possessor (see §4.3 for nouns which can be inalienably possessed).

Example (9.53-b) has two core arguments, ‘they’ and ‘trees’, which are cross-referenced on the VP by ke (3PL) and k (3SG.F.O) respectively. In this example, ‘his chainsaw’ is not an argument, as clearly indicated by a comitative postposition marking the NP vo=ko chainsaw (3SG.M=3sg chainsaw), and it is not cross-referenced on the VP. In (9.53-a) ‘his chainsaw’ is promoted to a core argument by the valency-increasing marker ai. The object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker agrees with the possessor ‘his’, rather than with the promoted argument itself ‘his chainsaw’, and is thus realised as v (3SG.M). The possessee alone is expressed by the NP ko=a chainsaw (3SG.F=LIG chainsaw). Thus, in (9.53-a) the argument ‘his chainsaw’ is expressed by a combination of the object clitic and the NP. This example expresses that the possessor ‘his’ is affected by an event of their cutting trees with the chainsaw, which belongs to him. Note that a chainsaw has a special significance for Vella La Vella island people and thus can be an inalienably possessed noun.

(9.53-a) Ke=ta y=ai kobue=k=ala ko=a  
3PL=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL cut=3SG.F.O=RCP 3SG.F=LIG

chainsaw,
chainsaw
‘They cut [trees] with his chainsaw.’

(9.53-b) Ke=kobue=k=ala vo=ko chainsaw kale,  
3PL=cut=3SG.F.O=RCP 3SG.M=3SG.F chainsaw with
‘They cut [trees] with his chainsaw.’

In (9.53-a), the possessor ‘his’ and the possessee ‘chainsaw’ cannot be treated as separate arguments. If that were the case, it would mean that there are four arguments in this example, ‘they’, ‘trees’, ‘his’, and ‘chainsaw’ and accordingly there should be four bound pronouns, agreeing with each of these four arguments. However, there are only three bound pronouns indicating there are only three arguments, which are ‘they’, ‘tree’, and ‘his chainsaw’.

In (9.53-a), the valency-increasing marker ai introduces an argument with the semantic role of instrument. In combination with the possessor-raising marker, the valency-increasing marker a always introduces an argument with the semantic role of possessor.
The comparison between (9.54-a) and (9.54-b) illustrates that in (9.54-a) the ‘his’ alone is the introduced argument, and ‘all rubbish’ is the original object. These two arguments are in a possessor-possessee relationship. Notice that unlike in (9.53-a), in (9.54-a) the possessor and the possessee do not form a single argument. Thus, there are three core arguments in (9.54-a): the subject, ‘she’, the object, ‘all rubbish’, and the added object ‘he/his’. In this example, the possessee ‘all rubbish’ is treated as a body part of the possessor, as the rubbish is in the mouth of the possessor—the brother-in-law of the possessor put the rubbish in his mouth and sealed the mouth.

(9.54-a) \[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ko} & = & \text{ta} & \ \\
\text{y} & = & \text{a} & \ \\
\text{ngamu} & = & \text{k} & = & \text{a} & \ \\
\text{kiada} & = & \text{ma} & \ \\
3SG.F=POSS & 3SG.M.O=VAL & \text{throw.away}=3SG.F.O=PRES & \text{all}=3SG.F &
\end{array}
\]
\begin{itemize}
\item REDUP-rubbish
\item ‘...she threw away all his rubbish...’ (39-5-36)
\end{itemize}

(9.54-b) \[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Ko} & = & \text{ngamu} & = & \text{k} & = & \text{a} & \ \\
\text{kiada} & = & \text{ma} & \ \\
3SG.F=\text{throw.away}=3SG.F.O=PRES & \text{all}=3SG.F & \text{REDUP-rubbish}
\end{array}
\]
\begin{itemize}
\item ‘She threw away all rubbish.’
\end{itemize}

The following is another example in which the introduced argument has the semantic role of possessor and the possessor and the possessee do not constitute one argument. In this example, the verb is intransitive, but there are two core arguments—’my’ and ‘the son’—because of the valency increase. Example (9.55-a) expresses that the possessor, the mother, will be distressed if the possessee, the son, dies.

(9.55-a) \[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{Koe} & = & \text{o} & = & \text{ta} & \ \\
\text{l} & = & \text{a} & \ \\
\text{vouv} & = & \text{ou} & \ \\
\text{vo} & = & \text{a} & \ \\
\text{megora} & = & \text{INTJ} & 3SG.M=POSS & 1SG.O=VAL & \text{die}=\text{FUT} & 3SG.M=LIG & \text{child}
\end{array}
\]
\begin{itemize}
\item ‘Oh, my son will die on me.’” (27-9-56)
\end{itemize}

(9.55-b) \[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{O} & = & \text{vouv} & = & \text{ou} & \ \\
\text{vo} & = & \text{a} & \ \\
\text{megora} & = & \text{3SG.M}=\text{die}=\text{FUT} & 3SG.M=LIG & \text{child}
\end{array}
\]
\begin{itemize}
\item ‘The son will die.’”
\end{itemize}

The possessor-raising marker \text{ta} can occur with any valency-increasing markers. The following is an example with \text{ati}. In example (9.56), there are two core arguments, the original argument, the subject, ‘they’, and the introduced argument, the object, ‘his boot’, with the semantic role of accompaniment. The object clitic agrees with the possessor ‘his’.

(9.56) \[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{...} & = & \text{ta} & \ \\
\text{y} & = & \text{ati} & \ \\
\text{sogoi} & = & \text{va} & \ \\
3PL.=\text{POSS} & 3SG.M.O=\text{VAL} & \text{run.away}=\text{PRES}
\end{array}
\]
\begin{itemize}
\item ‘...they ran away with his [boots].’ (16-6-77)
\end{itemize}

With a possessor-raising construction, ‘the Possessor may or may not be simultaneously expressed by a pronoun, clitic, or affix internal to the NP which contains the possessed item’ (Payne 1997:395). In example (9.57), the possessor is expressed by a bound pronoun, a possessor marker, in the NP \text{o}=\text{loilo} (3SG.M=\text{face}) ‘his face’, in which
‘face’ is the possessee. This NP is a direct type of a possessive NP (see §7.3 for structures of possessive NPs).

(9.57) ...ko=ta v=ai sivoez=a a=loilo...
3SG.F=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL urinate=PRES 3SG.M=face
‘...she urinated on his face...’ (43-5-53)

9.6 Summary

In the sections above, the valency of verbs and valency-changing mechanisms in Bilua were described. The valency-increasing construction functions to introduce a new core argument. With argument promotion, affectedness of one of the arguments, often the introduced argument, is highlighted, and the affected argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. The valency-increasing construction may also be employed so that a non-human referent can be expressed by a pronoun. Here, it promotes a non-argument to a core argument but it does not function to highlight the affectedness of an argument.

Valency-increasing markers do not occur with the situation-change marker ta (see §8.5.3. This is because ta highlights the change of situation instead of the affectedness of an argument. One clause cannot highlight both. That is, there is complementary distribution here; the situation-change marker ta highlights the change of situation, while valency-increasing markers highlight the affectedness of an argument. Example (9.58) below highlights the new situation that the war is here, and thus it has the situation-change marker.

(9.58) ...ko=a kana ta lula ko=ta amaqe=la anime
3SG.F=LIG war TOP already 3SG.F=SIT enter=RCP 1PL.INC

kasi...
at
‘...the war has already entered into our area...’ (22-7-30)

When the sentence is one that highlights the affectedness of an argument, it will be one in the valency-increasing construction.

(9.59) Ko=a kana ta lula ko=m=ai amaqe=a.
3SG.F=LIG war TOP already 3SG.F=1PL.O=VAL enter=PRES
‘The war has already entered into our area (the war has already come to us).’

Transitive verbs on their own highlight the affectedness of an argument with the semantic role of patient, while intransitive/transitive verbs accompanied by a valency-increasing marker can highlight the affectedness of an argument with various other kinds of semantic role. A valency-increasing marker may co-occur with the possessor-raising marker, and this highlights the affectedness of a participant with the semantic role of possessor.

This concludes the description of valency and transitivity in Bilua. The next chapter deals with adjuncts.
10 Adjuncts

10.1 Postpositional phrases

This chapter presents a description of adjuncts, but first a brief description of postpositional phrases (PPs) is presented, as PPs typically function as adjuncts and there is no chapter/section which deals with a description of PPs elsewhere in this work.

The head of a postpositional phrase is a postposition, and this governs an NP or a locational/temporal phrase (see below). Postpositions in Bilua are as follows, repeated from §5.7. There is also a complex postposition of reason *kale avo* ‘because of’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>locative</th>
<th>kasi and kale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vicinity</td>
<td>vasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>azo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>keru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>sate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td>kage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privative</td>
<td>pide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simulative</td>
<td>jari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two locative postpositions, *kasi* and *kale*, are also realised as *asi* and *ale*. In the data *asi* occurs only when it follows a noun *pade* ‘house’ or a pronominal enclitic *mu*, but *kasi* can also follow these. Therefore, *kasi* is considered to be the basic form. Both *kale* and *ale*, on the other hand, occur with any nouns. Furthermore, *kale/ale* may also be realised as a clitic *le* when the preceding word ends with *a* or when it follows a nominalised verb.

(10.1) ...a=qaka=ko lezu melai ikoana ko=a
1SG=elder.sibling=3SG.F head too EXT.SG.F 3SG.F=LIG

*mola=le*,
cano=in
‘...my older sister’s head too was on the canoe.’ (25-5-36)

It is not the case, however, that *le* is always chosen after a word ending with *a* or a nominalised verb. Sometimes when the preceding word ends with *a*, *kale* is used, but never *ale*, or when the preceding word is a nominalised verb, both *kale* and *ale* can be used. There appears to be no criterion which determines which of *kale* and *ale* is the basic form. However, since *kasi* is considered to be the basic form between *kasi* and *asi*, one might say that between *kale* and *ale*, *kale* is the basic form.

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The ablative postposition azo and the postposition of vicinity vasi are distinguished from all other postposition, which can only govern NPs. Azo can govern any temporal and locational phrase, while vasi can govern any locational phrase. Temporal and locational phrases can be a PP headed with a locative postposition, a temporal/locational adverb, or a temporal/locational NP (see §10.3 and §10.4). A PP headed with vasi itself is also a locational phrase.

PPs headed with all postpositions except simulative jari ‘like’ can function as adjuncts, as described below. PPs headed with jari can function as complements of the verb iko ‘to cause’ (see §8.7.3) or a non-verbal predicate (see §11.2). The word jari can also function as a general modifier (see §10.10 below). A PP may also function as an NP modifier (see §7.2.1.3.1).

10.2 Introduction

As defined in §3.2.2, adjuncts are peripheral components of clauses, and they take the form of an NP, a PP, an adverb, the negation marker, a general modifier, or an adverbial clause. This chapter presents a description of NPs, PPs, adverbs, and general modifiers as adjuncts. The negation marker is described in §3.2.2 and §11.5. Adverbial clauses are described in §12.4.

Bilua adjuncts can be divided into different semantic types. The following table sets out different semantic types of adjuncts in Bilua and constituents which can function as each semantic type.

---

64 It may be postulated that the morpheme jari is categorised as just a general modifier, and not as a postposition as well. The following example, however, illustrates that jari can govern an NP and can also be a postposition. In this example, jari governs an NP ngo=ko zaloni ‘your ornament’, and the postpositional phrase ngo=ko zaloni jari ‘your ornament-like’ functions as a modifier in a modifier phrase. This modifier phrase modifies the head of the NP zaloni ‘ornament’.

\[(ngo=ko \ zaloni)_{NP} \ jari_{PP}=a=ma \ zaloni\]
\[2SG=3SG.F \ ornament \ SIM=LIG=3SG.F \ ornament\]
‘ornaments like your ornaments’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic types of adjuncts</th>
<th>Constituents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| locational                | • locational adverbs  
                          • NPs headed with a locational noun  
                          • PPs headed with kasi, kale, or vasi                                                                                                        |
| temporal                  | • NPs headed with a temporal noun  
                          • PPs headed with kale, kera  
                          • temporal adverbs                                                                                                                          |
| ablative                  | • PPs headed with azo  
                          • manner adverbs                                                                                                                             |
| manner                    | • linking adverbials                                                                                                                          |
| linking                   | • circumstantial adverbs                                                                                                                      |
| circumstantial            | • general modifier pala ‘only’                                                                                                                 |
| restrictive               | • general modifier jari ‘something like’                                                                                                       |
| simulative                | • PPs headed with kale                                                                                                                        |
| simultaneous             | • PPs headed with kale                                                                                                                        |
| instrumental             | • PPs headed with sate                                                                                                                         |
| comitative                | • PPs headed with pide                                                                                                                         |
| privative                 | • PPs headed with kaghe                                                                                                                         |
| benefactive               | • PPs headed with kale avo                                                                                                                     |
| reason                    |                                                                                                                                               |

Each semantic type of adjuncts is described below. One clause may have more than two adjuncts, and these occur in a certain order. The order of adjuncts is also described below.

### 10.3 Locational

Locational adjuncts can be a locational adverb, an NP headed with a locational noun, or a PP headed with a postposition kasi ‘at’, kale ‘in’, or vasi ‘adjacent to’. These constituents are referred to as locational phrases, and they can all be the predicate of a locational clause as well (see §11.3).

As set out in §4.3, open subclasses of nouns are divided into two types: locational nouns and non-locational nouns. An NP headed with a locational noun can function as a locational adjunct by itself, while an NP headed with a non-locational noun requires a postposition in order to function as a locational adjunct.
10.3.1 Locational adverbs

Locational adverbs, two deictic adverbs koi ‘here’ and sai ‘there’, and an indefinite locational adverb uki ‘somewhere there’, and a distance adverb vanga ‘far’, function as locational adjuncts.

(10.2) Se ta ke=pazo-kini=e sai.
3PL TOP 3PL=hit-RECP=RMP there
‘They fought there.’ (12-9-85)

(10.3) “Uki nio ngo=ba tare=k=ou...
somewhere.the FOC.NONF 2SG=PROS wait=3SG.F.O=FUT
‘somewhere there you will go and wait...’ (2-5-31)

(10.4) Qo=ta ol=a vanga...
3DU=SIT go=PRES far
‘The two went far...’ (59-6-47)

The word koi also functions as a locational noun meaning ‘place’ (see next section). Unlike koi ‘place’ as a noun, koi ‘here’ as a deictic adverb cannot be the head of an NP and forms a phrase on its own. Thus, unlike a noun koi ‘place’ it cannot co-occur with an optional constituent of NPs. In example (10.5) koi can only be treated as a noun, ‘place’, as it is modified by a modifier phrase. Koi in example (10.6) on the other hand can only be treated as an adverb ‘here’ — treating it as a noun results in a semantic idiosyncrasy.

(10.5) ...sai ta ile-ile=a koi...
there TOP REDUP-beautiful=LIG place
‘...that was a beautiful place...’(26-12-68)
‘*...that was a beautiful here...’

(10.6) Anga ta koi.
1SG TOP here
‘I am here.’
‘*I am place.’

10.3.2 Locational NPs

An NP headed with a locational noun, that is a placename, a relational noun, or the noun koi ‘place’, can function as a locational adjunct.

(10.7) NP headed with a placename
...vo ta o=vou=vi sai Fiji.
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=die=RMP there Fiji
‘...he, he died there in Fiji.’ (12-8-80)
(10.8) NP headed with a relational noun
\[ ...o=koi=ta \quad ko=a \quad okate. \]
3SG.M=climb=PRES 3SG.F=LIG high
'...he climbed that high (high up on the tree).' (48-3-26)

(10.9) NP headed with koi 'place'
\[ ...se \quad ta \quad ke=vaek=ak= \quad kiada=ma \quad piza \quad omadeu \]
3PL TOP 3PL=leave=3SG.M.O=HIST all=3SG.F bone one
koi, place
'...they left all bones at one place.' (26-24-131)

10.3.3 Locational PPs

A PP headed with a postposition, kasi, kale, or vasi functions as a locational adjunct. Kasi and kale are locative postpositions, and vasi is a postposition of vicinity. Kale can mark not only a spatial location but also a temporal location. Thus, a PP headed with kale can also function as a temporal adjunct (see §10.4.3). It can also function as an adjunct which presents a simultaneous situation, or as an instrumental adjunct (see §10.11 and §10.12).\(^{65}\)

Kasi and kale only govern an NP headed with a non-locational noun. Vasi 'adjacent to', on the other hand, governs any locational phrase—a PP headed with kasi or kale, a locational NP, or a locational adverb.

10.3.3.1 Kasi 'at' and kale 'in'

Each of kasi 'at' and kale 'in' governs NPs headed with certain kinds of non-locational nouns. Kasi can govern an NP headed with a personal name, a kinship term, an independent pronoun, a demonstrative, or a human common noun. That is, it governs an NP which has a human referent. Kasi can also govern an NP headed with a concrete common noun such as kitu 'leg' and ore 'tree'.

(10.10) Personal name
\[ \text{Hilda} \quad kasi \quad a \quad ev=e. \]
Hilda at 1SG stay=RMP
'I stayed at Hilda's.'

(10.11) Kinship term
\[ \text{Anige} \quad ta \quad lea \quad ta \quad qe=pa \quad barol=o \]
1DU.INC TOP tomorrow TOP 1DU.INC=PROS arrive=NRFUT

\(^{65}\) Manner adverbs appear to have originated in postpositional phrases headed with le, a contracted form of kale. This is discussed in §5.2.
anga=ko mama ni niania kasi saita.
1SG=3SG.F father and mother at first
'We, tomorrow, we will reach my father and mother, first.' (27-17-104)

(10.12) Independent pronoun
...koi ngo kasi a=da raneo=vou.
here 2SG at 1SG=SIT sleep.overnight=FUT
'...here at your place I will sleep overnight.' (59-11-90)

(10.13) Demonstrative
A=da rane=la vo kasi.
1SG=SIT sleep.overnight=RCP 3SG.M at
'I slept overnight at his place.'

(10.14) Human common noun
...pui qe=rurukao=vou maba madu kasi...
NEG 3DU=relax=FUT person COLL.PL at
'...you will not relax at/with people...' (27-21-131)

(10.15) Non-spatial common noun
...ko=ku=va ko niuniu vo=ko potu=a=ma
3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F fish 3SG.M=3SG.F wound=3LG=3SG.F
kiti kasi.
leg at
'...fish came to his wounded leg.' (24-6-69)

Kale can govern an NP which has a large area as a referent; that is, an NP whose head is peuru 'village/home town', udu 'island', toupa 'lake', or siqo 'bush'. It can also be an NP whose head is an abstract noun such as kerukeru 'thought'. An abstract noun can be a de-adjectival noun such as tapata 'hardship' and duki 'sad', or a nominalised verb such as pazokino 'fight' and saevo 'life'.

(10.16) Common noun of large area
Vo ta o=beta papu=a toupa kale...
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES lake in
'He was sitting in a lake...' (24-5-62)

(10.17) Abstract common noun
Ango=ko keru-keru kale anga ta
1SG=3SG.F REDUP-thought in 1SG TOP
a=geru-kerue=k=a.
1SG=REDUP-think=3SG.F.O=PRES
'In my thinking, I thought about it.' (12-9-86)

(10.18) Abstract common noun (de-adjectival noun)
Vo ta o=va=e=m=ake duki kale
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=leave=3PL.O=HIST sadness in
3SG.M=REDUP-tribe and 3SG.M=family
‘He left his tribe and his family in sadness.’ (23-3-35)

(10.19) Abstract common noun (nominalised verb)

\[\text{Nge} \quad \text{elo}=u \quad \text{enge}=ko \quad \text{saev}=o \quad \text{kale}.\]

1PL.EXC stay=FUT 1PL.EXC=3SG.F survive=NOM in
‘We will stay in our life.’ (64-4-24)

In examples (10.11) and (10.15) above and also (10.22) and (10.23) below, the entity marked with a locative postposition is a goal. This interpretation is due to the semantics of their respective verbs; goals are part of the semantic representation of verbs.

NPs headed with a noun which refers to a small area, such as kiaro ‘garden’ or a three dimensional space (a building or a container), such as pade ‘house’ and sope ‘shrine’, can be the object of both kasi and kale.

(10.20) Common noun of three dimensional place (building) with kasi ‘at’

\[\ldots \text{go}=\text{baro}=a \quad \text{ke}=\text{pade} \quad \text{kasi} \ldots\]

3DU=arrive=PRES 3PL=house at
‘...they arrived at their house...’ (24-4-35)

(10.21) Common noun of three dimensional place (building) with kale ‘in’

\[\ldots \text{o}=\text{beta} \quad \text{butai}=\text{va} \quad \text{inio} \quad \text{pade} \quad \text{kale} \ldots\]

3SG.M=CONT hide=PRES FOC.NONF house in
‘...he kept hiding in the house...’ (59-6-45)

(10.22) Common noun of small area with kasi ‘at’

\[\ldots \text{niania}=\text{ka}=\text{ma} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{ol}=a \quad \text{kiaro} \quad \text{kasi} \ldots\]

mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F go=PRES garden at
‘...the mother went to the garden...’ (27-2-13)

(10.23) Common noun of small area with kale ‘in’

\[\ldots \text{anige} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{qe} \quad \text{ol}=a \quad \text{kiaro} \quad \text{ale}.\]

1DU.INC TOP 1DU.INC go=PRES garden in
‘...we went to the garden,’ (39-1-4)

Notice that in (10.22) and (10.23), an NP headed with kiaro ‘garden’ is marked with kasi ‘at’ and kale ‘in’ respectively, and it expresses a goal of the same verb zio ‘to go’ in both examples. Example (10.23) does not mean that the subject went ‘into’ the garden. The postpositional phrase simply indicates a goal.66

The distributions of kasi and kale are summarised in the following table.

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66 There may be a subtle semantic difference here, but the author has not been able to find it from the data or elicitation.
### Table 10.2: Distribution of *kasi* and *kale*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of head of NP</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Type I | • person names  
• kinship terms  
• demonstratives  
• human common nouns  
• non-spatial concrete common nouns | *kasi* |
| Type II | • common nouns of large area  
• abstract common nouns  
(including de-adjectival nouns and nominalised verbs) | *kale* |
| Type III | • common nouns of small area  
• common nouns of three dimensional place  
(buildings and containers) | *kasi* and  

With speech verbs, a locative PP headed with *kasi* ‘at’ presents an addressee. Thus, *kasi* can also mark an entity with the semantic role of addressee.

(10.24) “*qe=kil=ou nio qe=tauve=l=ou*”  
2DU=come=FUT SEQ 2DU=help=1SG=FUT  
k=i=i=k=ve ko=ko megora *kasi*.  
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP 3SG.F=3SG.F child at  
‘You will come and help me’, she said to her daughter.’ (27-20-122)

When the predicate implies an entry, *kale* can be interpreted as ‘into’, as in the following example.

(10.25) ...*o=p*a raibi=k=a ko=a duruo *kale*.  
3SG.M=PROS pour=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG string.bag in  
‘...he went and poured them into a string bag.’ (2-4-22)

*Kale* can also mean ‘on (top of)’ or indicate physical contact, and *kale* can then co-occur with nouns of Type I as well as of Type II.

(10.26) *Kale* ‘on’ with a non-spatial common noun (Type I)  
...*o=turoe=k=a o=lezu *kale*...  
3SG.M=strike=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=head on  
‘...he struck it against his head...’ (59-2-20)  
(more literally ‘...he struck it on his head...’)

(10.27) *Kale* ‘on’ with a common noun of large area (Type II)  

*Miduku* _kale ko=papu=vou..._  
ground on 3SG.F=sit=FUT  
‘It will sit on the ground...’ (2-6-33)
With common nouns of three dimensional place (Type III), kale can only mean ‘in’, and a relational noun topo ‘on’ is used instead of kale for ‘on’ or a physical engagement.\(^{57}\) Note that relational nouns are becoming postpositions and may follow an NP in present Bilua (see §4.3.5). This is the case in the following example.

(10.28) \(Ke=papue=v=e\) \(komi=a\) \(jari\) \(topi.\)
\(3PL=sit=3SG.M.O=RMP\) PROX.SG.F=LIG copra.house on
They sat him on this copra house.’ (43-2-19)

As mentioned above, toupa ‘lake’ belongs to Type II and can occur only with kale ‘in’. There is no expression for ‘to be at the lake’, but instead one can say ‘to be at water’, using an NP headed with ju ‘water’. Ju means ‘water’ in general, and it can refer to a river, a stream, a lake etc. Ju ‘water’ belongs to Type III, and an NP headed with ju ‘water’ can be marked by both kasi ‘at’ and kale ‘in’.

(10.29) \(...ko=baro=a\) \(sai\) \(ju\) \(kasi...\)
\(3SG.F=arrive=PRES\) there water at
‘...she arrived there at the water...’ (27-22-142)

(10.30) \(Vo\) \(ta\) \(ju\) \(kale\) \(a=vae=k=a.\)
\(3SG.M\) TOP water in \(3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES\)
‘He left it in the water.’ (2-1-4)

An NP headed with a non-locational noun is obligatorily marked with a locative postposition when it is used with a locational sense. This applies even when an NP is marked with another postposition, such as the postposition of vicinity vasi ‘adjacent to’ or the ablative postposition azo ‘from’. Thus, vasi and azo can govern a locative PP (see §10.3.3.2 and §10.5).

10.3.3.2 Vasi ‘adjacent to’

As noted above, vasi ‘adjacent to’ can govern any kind of locational phrase. A PP headed with vasi ‘adjacent to’ refers to the vicinity of the area described by the governed phrase. The following is an example of vasi governing an NP headed with a locational noun.

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\(^{57}\) When topo ‘on’ indicates physical contact, it can also follow an NP headed with a non-spatial common noun. That is, with an NP headed with a non-spatial common noun, physical contact can be indicated by either the postposition kale or the relational noun topo. In the following example, topo ‘on’ indicates physical contact between an axe and a hand.

\(...puli=a=ma\) \(maja\) \(enge=ko\) \(ngase\) \(topi...\)
\(NEG=LIG=3SG.F\) axe \(1PL.EXC=3SG.F\) hand on
‘...there is no axe on our hand...’

Topi is a relational noun, not a postposition. Like other relational nouns, it occurs as the possessee of an indirect type of possessive NP (see §4.3.5 for relational nouns).
In the example above, the area referred to is not right behind him but the area surrounding it. The following diagram illustrates the area tova vasi ‘the area adjacent to behind him’ refers to. In diagrams given in this section, the dotted line indicates the area covered by a governed constituent and between the dotted line and the bold line is the area covered by a PP headed with vasi ‘adjacent to’. For example in the following diagram, the dotted line indicates the area covered by tova ‘behind’, while the area between the dotted line and the bold line marks the area covered by a PP tova vasi ‘the area adjacent to behind him’.

The following is an example of vasi governing a PP headed with a locative postposition.

(10.32) Ke=ta ol=ala Gizo udu kale vasi.
3PL=SIT go=RCP Gizo island in adjacent.to
‘They went to the area adjacent to Gizo island.’

In (10.33), vasi governs a deictic adverb sai ‘there’. Sai ‘there’ and vasi ‘adjacent to’ are contracted into savasi.

(10.33) ...vo ta sa-vasi kuleto.
3SG.M TOP there-adjacent.to first
‘...he was around there (that place) first.’ (15-4-37)
Vasi 'adjacent to' does not govern an NP which can be marked with a locative postposition kasi 'at', as kasi refers to immediate vicinity itself as well as the area expressed by the governed NP. For example, pade kasi 'at the house' indicates the area within the bold line in the following diagram. The dotted line indicates the area of the house.68

10.4 Temporal

A temporal adverb, an NP headed with a temporal noun or a relational noun tova 'behind', or a PP headed with a postposition kale or keru can function as a temporal adjunct. These are categorised as temporal phrases.

NPs headed with all temporal nouns except for taku 'time' function as a temporal adjunct without postpositionally marked. An NP headed with a temporal noun taku 'time' may optionally be marked with a postposition.

10.4.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs function as temporal adjuncts. The list of temporal adverbs is given in §5.2. All temporal adverbs except for lula 'already', mainio 'later', and sipole 'soon'

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68 Vasi and kasi are similar in their forms and they both mean something like 'the vicinity'. It may be postulated then that they are different realisations of a postposition of vicinity. Incidentally, the first consonants of each of vasi and kasi, v and k, are identical with third person singular masculine and feminine object clitics respectively, and this might suggest that vasi and kasi are masculine and feminine forms respectively. However, there appears to be no syntactic motivation why there should be different forms for only this type of postposition. Furthermore, if vasi and kasi were masculine and feminine forms, it is expected that they would agree in gender with the governed NP, but this proves to be not true. Kasi is always the form that marks a personal name regardless of whether it is a male or female name.
can occur either before or after the predicate. The aforementioned temporal adverbs
always occur before the predicate.

(10.34) ...vwiru \( ngod=\text{die}=k=a \) \( anga=ko \) pesi-pesi...
now 2SG=listen=3SG.F.O=PRES 1SG=3SG.F REDUP-story
'...now you are listening to my story...' (10-18:151)

(10.35) ...qo=pa \( \nu=\text{el}=ou \) lea...
3DU=PROS 3SG.M.O=see=PRES tomorrow
'...the two will go and see him tomorrow...' (26-6:34)

(10.36) lula \( \alpha=\text{ta} \) vou=la...
already 3SG.M=SIT die=PRES
'He has already died...' (16-6:83)

10.4.2 Temporal NPs

NPs headed with a temporal noun or a relational noun tova ‘behind’ can function as
temporal adjuncts. The following are examples of an NP headed with a temporal noun.

(10.37) ...so \( \text{ino} \) niqoa=ko saev=o kiada=ma taku.
that FOC.NONF 3DU=3SG.F survive=NOM all=3SG.F time
'...that was the life of the two all the time.' (27-3:18)

(10.38) ...qo=ta \( marong=a \) kubo \( \text{nganiu} \).
3SG.M=SIT sleep=PRES many day
'...he slept for many days...' (27-4:24)

It is mentioned in the next section that the NPs koa taku ‘that time’ and komia taku
‘this time’ may be marked with a postposition kale or keru. Other NPs headed with taku,
for example kiadama taku ‘all the time’ as in (10.37), cannot be marked with any
postposition.

In (10.39) below, the head of the underlined temporal NP is taku ‘time’. This is
modified by a modifier phrase, kevadomo koama ‘one (the time) which they planned’ (see
§7.2.1.3.1 for modifier phrases), in which the modifying constituent is a future clause and
the future tense marker ou is realised as o. Note that here the future tense marker, not a
past tense marker, is employed even though the situation of planning occurred in the past.
This is because the time set up by the plan itself is situated in the future.

(10.39) Ko=barol=ou \( ko=a \) taku
3SG.F=arrive=FUT 3SG.F=LIG time

\( ke=\text{vadomo}=k=\text{oo}=a=ma \) \( ino \) \( ke=k=ati \)
3PL=plan=3SG.F.O=FUT=LIG=3SG.F FOC.NONF 3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL
Adjuncts 189

$padoil=ou$ ko sailao.
gather=FUT 3SG.F food
'It is when the time they have planned (to have a wedding) arrives that they will
gather with food.' (21-4-24)

When a temporal NP is headed with tova 'behind', it is always a possessive NP. A
possessive NP headed with tova 'behind' means 'after such and such time', where 'such
and such time' is expressed by a possessor NP (see §7.3.2). It may be said that a
relational noun tova 'behind' is becoming a postposition meaning 'after'.

(10.40) $Se=ko$ tova inio ko ta ko=ta
3PL=3SG.F behind FOC.NONF 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=SIT
$nabul=a$ ko risu.
bake=PRES 3SG.F crab
'It was after them (after they went), she baked a crab.' (48-1-8)

10.4.3 Temporal PPs

A PP headed with keru or kale can function as a temporal adjunct. Keru can govern an
NP headed with a numeral referring to a year and the pronoun so 'that', or an NP koa taku
'that time' or lulama taku 'past'. Keru is optional when its governed NP is headed with
taku 'time', and the NP by itself can function as a temporal adjunct. Keru can also mark a
clause, functioning as a subordinator (§12.4.1).

(10.41) ...$kiada=ma$ quli ti ikoana ko=a taku keru.
all=3SG.F thing TOP EXT.SG.F 3SG.F=LIG time TEMP
'...there was everything at that time.' (64-1-5)

(10.42) $Omadeu$ vuro siotolu paizana keru ta
one thousand eight hundred TEMP TOP
$komia$ udu kale ta puli=a=ma
PROX.SG.F=LIG island in TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F
$pazo-kini=o$.
hit-RECP=NOM
'In 1800, there was no fighting in this island.' (12-9-88)

Kale can govern only NPs koa taku 'that time' and komia taku 'this time', but like keru
described above this kale is optional, and these NPs by themselves can function as
temporal adjuncts (see §10.4.2 above).

(10.43) $Komi=a$ taku kale ta kubo quli ta ikoana
PROX.SG.F=LIG time in TOP many thing TOP EXT.SG.F
$komia$ Solomon aitadi.
PROX.SG.F=LIG Solomon island
'In this time, there are many things in the Solomon Islands.' (64-2-8)
According to informants, when the governed NP is *koa taku* ‘that time’, the two postpositions *keru* and *kale* are interchangeable, and it appears that there is no semantic difference between *koa taku keru* and *koa taku kale*.

The distribution of *keru* and *kale* is summarised in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of NP</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numerals referring to a year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koa taku</em> ‘that time’</td>
<td><em>keru</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the pronoun <em>so</em> ‘that’ which refers to a clause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lula=ma taku</em> (already=3SG.F time) ‘past’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koa taku</em> ‘that time’</td>
<td><em>kale</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>komia taku</em> ‘this time’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Kale* can also mark a possessive NP *ko=ko rane=o* (3SG.F=3SG.F sleep.overnight=NOM), forming an idiom *koko raneo kale*. This means ‘the next day’.

(10.44) \[...ko=ko \quad rane=o \quad kale \quad ti \quad nioga \quad ta\]
        \[3SG.F=3SG.F \quad sleep.overnight=NOM \quad in \quad TOP \quad 3DU \quad TOP\]
        \[go=koi=va.\]
        \[3DU=go.up=PRES\]
        ‘...the next day, they went up.’ (59-4-32)

*Keru* forms an idiom with an adjective *kiada* ‘all’; for example, *kiada keru* ‘always/all the time’.

(10.45) \[...kiada \quad keru \quad anige \quad ta \quad qe \quad ol=a \quad kiaro \quad ale...\]
        \[all \quad TEMP \quad 1PL.EXC \quad TOP \quad 1PL.EXC \quad go=PRES \quad garden \quad in\]
        ‘...always, we, we go to the garden...’ (24-8-83)

### 10.5 Ablative

The ablative postposition *azo* ‘from’ governs a locational phrase, a temporal phrase, or an NP headed with a demonstrative. In addition to these, *azo* can also govern an interrogative *lai* ‘where’.

*Azo* marks a source/origin when it governs a locational phrase or an interrogative *lai* ‘where’.

(10.46) \[Pujuavole \quad anga \quad ta \quad a=q=ai \quad bazut=a\]
        \[making.it \quad short \quad 1SG \quad TOP \quad 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL \quad tell=PRES\]
ko=kue=vi=ma vakapeuru ale azo...
3SG.F=come=RMP=REL.F western.country in ABL ‘Making it short, I am going to tell a story which came from a western country...’ (10-14-121)

(10.47) Koi kazo ke=rora=va.
here ABL 3PL=travel.through.bush=PRES ‘From here they travelled through a bush.’ (10-10-85)

(10.48) Lai kazo inio ko=kue=va.
where ABL FOC.NONF 3SG.F=come=PRES ‘Where did she come from?’ (59-3-25)

Azo marks a starting point of extension of time, when it governs a temporal phrase.

(10.49) So keru azo inio kiada=mu ta ke=kue=vi
That TEMP ABL FOC.NONF all=3PL TOP 3PL=come=RMP Vonunu.
Vonunu ‘From that time, everyone came to Vonunu.’ (12-5-49)

Note that in (10.46) and (10.49), azo follows other postpositions. These postpositions cannot be omitted. Azo is the only postposition which can co-occur with another postposition.

The postposition azo is interpreted as ‘of’ when the demonstrative it governs refers to a group of people and when this ablative PP is followed by an indefinite pronoun.

(10.50) Ege azo kala inio koi o el=ou.
1DU.EXC ABL INDEF.SG.M FOC.NONF here 3SG.M stay=FUT ‘One from/of us will stay here.’ (59-4-30)

10.6 Manner

There are several manner adverbs in Bilua as listed in §5.2. A manner adverb can be modified by an intensifier matu ‘very’. A manner adverb can occur either before or after the predicate.

(10.51) ...taukavole ko=ta aer=a.
quickly 3SG.F=SIT separate=PRES ‘...it would separate quickly.’ (34-1-9)

(10.52) O=nokae=v=a matuvole.
3SG.M=call=3SG.M.O=PRES loudly ‘He called him loudly.’ (12-7-71)
10.7 Linking

As noted in §5.2, linking adverbials indicate the successional relationship between one situation presented by the clause in which a linking adverbial occurs and another situation presented by the clause which precedes or follows this. They link two clauses semantically but not syntactically because they do not necessarily occur in a sentence consisting of two or more clauses. Thus, they are treated as a constituent of the clause and not as coordinators. The following is a list of linking adverbials repeated from §5.2.

sainio  ‘therefore/then’
soinio  ‘accordingly’
saitainio ‘afterwards’
saikazo ‘following that’
sole   ‘that’s why’

Except for sole ‘that’s why’, linking adverbials all occur only before the predicate.

(10.53) “Ki esa inio ko=beta siusut=at inio, INTJ maybe FOC.NONF 3SG.F=CONT swim=PRES FOC.NONF
soinio pui ko=kue=va” k=i=ko=la. accordingly NEG 3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
“‘Maybe, she is still swimming, accordingly, she hasn’t come,’” said she.’
(27-23-151)

Sole ‘that’s why’ can occur either before and or the predicate.

(10.54) Sito ta matu piza=ka=la maba. Sole pui
Sito TOP very strong=LIG=3SG.M person that’s why NEG
ke=rove=a noqoe=v=o.
3PL=can=PRES capture=3SG.M.O=NOM
‘Sito was a very strong person. Because of that, they could not capture him.’
(12-7-64/65)

(10.55) ...se ta ke=ziaroli=oke, ako se=ko
3PL TOP 3PL=mourn=HIS INTJ 3PL=3SG.F
maba=mu=ko piza se ta ke=k=e=ake
person=COLL.PL=3SG.F bone 3PL TOP 3PL=3SG.F.O=see=HIST
sole.
that’s why
‘They, they mourned, because they saw their people’s bones.’ (26-24-129)

Two linking adverbials sainio ‘therefore’ and soinio ‘accordingly’ may be used to mark significant points in the speaker’s argumentation. In such a case, they take strong intonational stress. The speaker gives strong stress to a linking adverbial in order to warn the hearer that he/she is going to present a significant point of argumentation.
10.8 Circumstantial

As set out in §5.2, circumstantial adverbs are a group of adverbs, which give
surrounding information about the situation presented by the predicate and which are
neither temporal nor locational. The following is a list of circumstantial adverbs repeated
from §5.2:

- *muli* ‘altogether’
- *saita* ‘first’ (this is done first)
- *maba* ‘truly’
- *esa* ‘maybe’
- *lula* ‘already’
- *mainio* ‘later’
- *kuleto* ‘first’
- *sipole* ‘soon’
- *mata/mati* ‘again’

Among circumstantial adverbs, some occur only before the predicate and others occur
only after the predicate. An exception to this is *mata/mati* ‘again’, which can occur before
or after the predicate.
(10.57) Kiada keru ti ko iki se=a saidi=ko saev=ô.
all TEMP TOP 3SG.F FOC.F 3PL=LIG family=3SG.F survive=NOM

Nioqa ti qo ol=a kiaro kale...
3DU TOP 3DU go=PRES garden in

Nioqa=vo mama mati o ol=a ju kale niñiu
3DU=3SG.M father again 3SG.M go=PRES water in fish

vali=k=o=le.
look.for=3SG.F.O=NOM=PURP

‘All the time, that was their life. The two went to the garden... As for the father of the two, he went to the water (lake) again in order to look for fish.’ (24-3-27-30)

(10.58) Ni vo ta o=ta ke=ve mata abu=le.
and 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=SIT go=RMP again fish=NOM=PURP

‘And, he went fishing as usual.’ (24-3-34)

Esa ‘maybe’, lula ‘already’, mainio ‘later’, kuleto ‘first’, and maba ‘truly’ occur only before the predicate.

(10.59) ...maba uri=a maqin=o o=ta ev=a...

‘truly good=LIG be.full=NOM 3SG.M=SIT become=PRES

‘...truly he became nicely full...’ (43-3-27)

Muli ‘altogether’ and saita ‘first’ occur only after the predicate.

(10.60) Erisanga ta kiada=mu ta ke ev=a
today TOP all=3PL TOP 3PL stay=PRES

keta=le muli kiada=mu Vella La Vella maba poso.
edge=in altogether all=3PL Vella La Vella person PL

‘Today, everyone stays together at the coast, every one, Vella La Vella people.’

(9-6-42)

Matal/mati means ‘again’ as in (10.61) below but this can be interpreted as ‘as expected/as usual’. This is the case in example (10.58) above, in which it is suggested that this kind of situation customarily/repeatedly occurs. In (10.61), the context tells that the same situation occurred before, and thus matal/mati is simply interpreted as ‘again’.

(10.61) ...o=pekao=va,
o=dokol=a mati
3SG.M=dance=PRES 3SG.M=stop=PRES again

o=pekao=va...
3SG.M=dance=PRES

‘...he danced, he stopped, and then again he danced...’ (26-12-67)
10.9 Restrictive

The general modifier *pala* ‘only’ has scope over the clause and thus functions as a restrictive adjunct. *Pala* ‘only’ can occur only after the predicate.

(10.62) ...me=q=ati vail=ou *pala.*
1PL.INC=3SG.F.O=VAL look=FUT only
‘...we will only look after her.’ (59-9-74)

10.10 Similative

The general modifier *jari* ‘like’ has scope over the verbal predicate and thus functions as a simulative adjunct. *Jari* ‘like’ can occur only after the predicate.

(10.63) ...ke=ta kule=a *jari* se=ko zaloni kale.
3PL=SIT be.first=PRES SIML 3PL=3SG.F ornament in
‘It was like they won with their ornaments.’ (67-5-50)
(more literally ‘...It was like they were the first in their ornaments.’)

The above example occurs in a discourse where different groups of people decorated with ornaments got together for a feast, and one group of people was wearing such beautiful ornaments that other people felt as if there was an ornament competition, and the beautifully ornamented group of people won the competition.

10.11 Simultaneous

A PP headed with locative *kale* can present a simultaneous situation. When a PP presents a simultaneous situation, the governed NP can have only a nominalised verb as its head, and *kale* is often contracted to *le* and cliticised to the preceding nominalised verb.

(10.64) ...o=pekao=va vo=ko *tali=o kale...*
3SG.M=dance=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F walk=NOM in
‘...he danced in his walk (he danced walking)...’ (26-12-65)

(10.65) *Ko* ta *siu=le* ju kale.
3SG.F TOP swimNOM=in water in
‘She was in water, in swimming (she was swimming).’ (59-7-57)

*Siule* ‘in swimming’ and *ju kale* ‘in water’ in example (10.65) may be analysed as one postpositional phrase filled by two postpositional phrases in apposition. If so, both postpositional phrases refer to one and the same situation, not two different situations occurring simultaneously. There is no evidence which determines whether this is the case or not, and here it is treated as separate PPs.
10.12 Instrumental

The locative postposition *kale* can govern an NP which has a semantic role of instrument. This use is an extension of its locative marking function.

(10.66)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
Ko=a & niuniu & ta & pui & tali & kale & inio \\
3SG.F=LIG & fish & TOP & NEG & fishing.rod & with & FOC.NONF \\
o=k=o=a... \\
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES \\
\end{array}
\]

‘As for the fish, it wasn’t with a fishing rod he got them...’ (24-6-65)

(10.67)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
...ke=vinae=k=a & ausini & kale... \\
3PL=tighten=3SG.F.O=PRES & rope & with \\
\end{array}
\]

‘...they tightened it with a rope...’ (28-2-16)

10.13 Comitative

A PP headed with the comitative postposition *sate* ‘with’ presents a referent, either animate or inanimate, which accompanies some other referent.

(10.68)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
Melai & koi=za=mu & ta & ke & ev=a & Barakoma & se=vo \\
but & here=LIG=3PL & TOP & 3PL & stay=PRES & Barakoma & 3PL=3SG.M \\
lekasa & sate. & \\
chief & COM \\
\end{array}
\]

‘But, people from here, they stayed in Barakoma with their chief.’ (23-1-2)

(10.69)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
...ko=a & niania=ka=ma & ta & kora-korail=o & sate \\
3SG.F=LIG & mother=LIG=3SG.F & TOP & REDUP-angry=NOM & COM \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
inio & eri & k=i=ko=la. \\
FOC.NONF & s.th.like.this & 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES \\
\end{array}
\]

‘...the mother said something like this in anger.’ (24-9-88)

10.14 Privative

The privative postposition *pide* is the opposite of *sate* presented in the last section: a PP headed with *pide* presents a referent which does not accompany another referent.

(10.70)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
Ko & ol=ala & zari-zari & pide. \\
3SG.F & go=RCP & REDUP-baggage & PRIV \\
\end{array}
\]

‘She went without baggage.’

(10.71)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
Ko=vait=ala & megora & pide. \\
3SG.F=return=RCP & child & PRIV \\
\end{array}
\]

‘She returned without [her] child.’
10.15 Benefactive

A PP headed with the benefactive postposition *kage* presents a beneficiary.\(^{69}\)

(10.72)  \[ A \ ere=k=ala \ ko \ mola \ vo \ kage. \]
1SG make=3SG.F.O=RCP 3SG.F canoe 3SG.M BEN
'I made a canoe for him.'

(10.73)  \[ A=m=ati \ vail=ala \ megora \ poso \ titisa \ kage. \]
1SG=3PL.O=VAL look=RCP child PL teacher BEN
'I looked after the children for the teacher.'

10.16 Reason

A PP headed with a complex postposition *kale avo* presents a reason. *Kale avo* governs an NP headed with *kio* 'saying/words' or a pronoun *so* 'that'.

(10.74)  \[ Ngo \ ta \ gospel=ko \ k=i=o \ kale \ avo \ inio \]
2SG TOP Gospel=3SG.F 3SG.F.O=say=NOM because.of FOC.NONF

koi vairutu...
here now

'You are here now because of the word of the Gospel...' (10-18-151)

(10.75)  \[ Alil=ko \ melai \ matu \ kubo \ se \ ta \ ke \ alil=a \]
be.born=NOM also very many 3PL TOP 3PL be.born=PRES

ni enge=ko atatai melai matu kubo komi=a
and 1PL.EXC=3SG.F count also very many PROX.SG.F=LIG

\[ taku \ so \ kale \ avo \ inio \ anga \ ta \ eri \]
time that because.of FOC.NONF 1SG TOP s.th.like.this

k=i=a=la...
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES

'The birth rate is also very high, [babies] are born, and our population is also very high this time; because of that I say something like this...' (64-3-22)

\(^{69}\) An expression like 'this is for you' is expressed by a (headless) possessive NP.

\[ Komi \ ta \ ngo=ko. \]
PROX.SG.F TOP 2SG=3SG.F
'This is yours. (This is for you.)'

In the above example, there is ellipsis of the possessee noun.
10.17 Order of adjuncts

A clause may have two unmarked adjuncts, unmarked by a topic or a focus marker, on the same side of the predicate. When this happens, they occur in a certain order according to their types. Different semantic types of adjuncts are divided into four groups according to the positions they take: manner/simulative adjuncts, locational/temporal/ablative adjuncts, linking adjuncts, and other adjuncts.

When two adjuncts occur after the predicate, they occur in the order of: a manner/simulative, locational/temporal/ablative, other, and linking adjuncts. When they both occur before the predicate, the order is reversed. That is, the distance between the predicate and each group of adjuncts is the same regardless of whether they occur before or after the predicate. This order reflects the semantic function of each type of adjunct. Adjuncts which present information more concerned about the situation presented by the predicate occur closer to the predicate. Manner/simulative adjuncts present information about the predicate head and so they occur closest to the predicate, while linking adjuncts do not give any information about the predicate and so they occur furthest from the predicate. In (10.76), a locational adjunct precedes a circumstantial adjunct.

(10.76) ...kiada=ma maba madu se ta ke=soqoi=va.
all=3SG.F person COLL.PL 3PL TOP 3PL=run.away=PRES

Ni ke=kue=va Vonunu muli.
and 3PL=come=PRES Vonunu altogether

locational adjunct circumstantial adjunct

'...everyone, they ran away. And came to Vonunu altogether.' (12-5-42-43)

One circumstantial adverb, mata/mati 'again', is an exception. It occurs in any position. In (10.77), mata 'again' precedes a locational adjunct and takes a closer position than the locational adjunct.

(10.77) ...ko=ta koiv=a mata segara topl...
3SG.F=SIT climb=PRES again betelnut on

circumstantial adjunct locational adjunct

'...she climbed to a top of the betelnut tree again...' (59-2-17)

In (10.78) mata 'again' occurs further from the predicate than the locational adjunct.

(10.78) ...se ta mata sai ke=ta ev=e...
3PL TOP again there 3PL=SIT stay=RMP

circumstantial adjunct locational adjunct

'...they stayed there as usual...' (27-24-154)

This concludes the description of adjuncts. In the next chapter, different types of non-verbal clauses are described.
11 Equational, locational, and existential clauses

11.1 Introduction

As introduced in §3.3, the minimum constituents of non-verbal clauses are a subject NP marked with a topic marker and a predicate. The following is an example of a non-verbal clause.

(11.1) 
\[ \text{Anga} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{titisa}=\text{lala} \]

\[ \text{ISG} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{teacher}=\text{ISG} \]

\[ \text{subject NP} \quad \text{predicate NP} \]

'I am a teacher.'

This shows that a non-verbal clause typically has a topic-comment structure (see §14.2.2). A topic is what the sentence is about. The predicate of a non-verbal clause gives some information about the subject. Therefore, it is plausible that the subject is marked with a topic marker.

The subject NP or the predicate of a non-verbal clause can be a focus, marked by a focus marker. In such a case, the subject NP is not marked with a topic marker (see example (11.9) below). Furthermore, the predicate may be fronted and may precede the subject NP. In this case too, the subject NP is not marked with a topic marker (see example (11.12) below).

A non-verbal clause can have an optional constituent which functions as an adjunct, and this occurs clause-initially or -finally. Non-verbal clauses cannot have a grammatical specification of tense, but time can be specified by a temporal adjunct. A temporal adjunct is often marked with a topic or focus marker, as illustrated by the following example.

(11.2) 
\[ \text{Puliko} \quad \text{omadeu} \quad \text{vuro} \quad \text{siotolu} \quad \text{paizana} \quad \text{keru} \]

\[ \text{before} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{thousand} \quad \text{eight} \quad \text{hundred} \quad \text{TEMP} \]

\[ \text{temporal adjunct} \]

\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{komi}=\text{a} \quad \text{udu} \quad \text{kale} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{pul}=\text{a}=\text{ma} \]

\[ \text{TOP} \quad \text{PROX.SG.F=LG} \quad \text{island} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{NEG=LG=3SG.F} \]

\[ \text{subject NP} \quad \text{predicate NP} \]
"pazok-ini=e."
hit-RECP=NOM

'Before 1800, in this island, there was no fighting.' (12-9-88)

Non-verbal clauses can be divided into three types on syntactic and semantic grounds: equational (§11.2), locational (§11.3), and existential (§11.4). Each type of non-verbal clause has a different type of phrase as its predicate. The syntactic distinction between the three types of non-verbal clauses is neutralised in negative clauses. This is described in §11.5.

11.2 Equational clauses

The predicate of an equational clause can be an NP. The head of an NP can be any non-locational noun as in (11.3). Equational clauses express what the subject is.

(11.3) vgo ta siele...
3SG.M TOP dog
subject NP predicate NP

'...he is a dog...' (27-7-48)

The predicate of an equational clause can also be a PP headed with the similitative jari 'like'.

(11.4) Komi ta pui muni jari...
PROX.SG.F TOP NEG blood.stain SIM
subject NP predicate NP

'This is not like a blood stain...' (34-1-10)

The predicate NP always agrees with the subject NP in person. Thus, in example (11.5), in which the subject NP is first person, the predicate NP is marked as first person, and also singular, by a pronominal enclitic lala (1SG). In example (11.6), the subject NP is third person, and there is no occurrence of a pronominal enclitic since a common noun dokita 'doctor' is third person by default and does not require a special marking for the third person (see §7.4). Notice that in both examples, the predicate NP is non-referential as it denotes a category. Thus, in (11.5) the predicate NP is syntactically encoded as first person singular but semantically it is neutral to person, number, and gender distinction as it refers to a category.\(^70\)

\(^70\) Also, as described §7.2.1.6, first/second person marking is obligatory in first/second person NP. In the following example, the predicate NP is co-referential with the subject NP and thus it is second person, and this triggers a second person marking by a pronominal enclitic on the predicate NP.

Ngo ta matu=la lasiversu=nga.
2SG TOP big=3SG.M boy=2SG
subject NP predicate NP

'You are a big boy.'
(11.5) \textit{Anga ta dokita=lala.} \\
1SG TOP doctor=1SG \\
'I am a doctor.'

(11.6) \textit{Vo ta dokita.} \\
3SG.M TOP doctor \\
'He is a doctor.'

This pronominal enclitic is omitted when the predicate NP is a headless possessive NP, as illustrated by (11.7).

(11.7) \textit{...ngo ta enge=ko...} \\
2SG TOP 1PL.EXC=3SG.F \\
subject NP predicate NP \\
'...you are ours (our person)...' (59-9-64)

As illustrated by examples given above, the predicate of an equational clause is always an NP. In §7.2.1.3.1, an example was presented in which the predicate is just an adjective, but this is a result of ellipsis of the head of an NP as well as the head of an MP. The following example is repeated from §7.2.1.3.1.

(11.8) \textit{Komi=a siele ta silo.} \\
PROX.SG.F=LIG dog TOP small \\
'This dog is a small one.'

In this example, the predicate is realised as \textit{siloi} 'small' as a result of ellipsis of the head of an NP, \textit{siele} 'dog', and ellipsis of the head of an MP, a pronominal enclitic \textit{ma} (3SG.F), which modifies the head of an NP. Thus the full realisation of this predicate is \textit{siloi=a=ma siele} (small=LIG=3SG.F dog) 'a small dog'. In this example, the head of an NP \textit{siele} 'dog' is ellipsed first, as the head is recoverable from the subject NP \textit{komi=a siele} 'this dog'. Then, the head of an MP is further ellipsed. In the data, there are not many examples in which the head of an MP is ellipsed and the predicate of an equational clause is realised as an adjective only.

### 11.3 Locational clauses

The predicate of locational clauses can be any locational phrase (see §10.3 for locational phrases). Locational non-verbal clauses describe the location of the subject NP.

(11.9) \textit{...ko=ko diwu ikio sai...} \\
3SG.F=3SG.F smoke FOC.F there \\
subject NP predicate AdvP \\
'...it was her smoke that was there.' (59-10-81)
11.4 Existential clauses

Existential clauses describe an existence of an entity described by the subject NP. The predicate of an existential clause is always an existential marker. There are two types of existential markers: non-specific location existential markers which indicate the existence of an entity in a non-specific location, and distal existential markers which indicate the existence of an entity at some distance. Both types of existential marker inflect for number and gender. The following are the forms of each type of existential markers repeated from §5.10.

Table 5.8: Existential markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number/gender</th>
<th>Non-specific</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular masculine</td>
<td>inevoana</td>
<td>une</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular feminine</td>
<td>ikoana</td>
<td>uko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>inioqiana</td>
<td>unioqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>inisiana</td>
<td>uni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (11.11) and (11.12) have a non-specific location existential marker and distal existential marker respectively.

(11.11) \[So=a=ma \quad bazu-bazu \quad ta \quad ikoana.\]
subject NP predicate
'there was that kind of story.' (10-8-67)

(11.12) \[...o=koi=k=a, \quad uko \quad bare=ko \quad epa,\]
3SG.M=climb=3SG.F.O=PRES D.EXT.SG.F bare=3SG.F fruit predicate subject NP

\[a=luap=ake \quad sole.\]
3SG.M=be.hungry=HIST because
'...he climbed, fruits of bare tree were there, he was hungry, that was why [he climbed].' (47-2-9)

There are two factors which distinguish existential clauses from other types of non-verbal clauses. First, the subject can only be third person. Second, its predicate, the existential marker, shows agreement with the subject NP.
Existential clauses often contain a locational adjunct which presents the location of an existing entity.

(11.13)  *Kala maba ta ineyoa nga kasi.*
          INDEF.SG.M  person TOP  EXT.SG.M  ISG  at
          subject NP  predicate locative PP

'There is a man with me.' (59-11-97)

When the existing entity is clear from the discourse, the subject NP, the NP referring to the existing entity, may be omitted.

(11.14)  ...*inyoana | o=bet a teku=a.*
          EXT.SG.M  3SG.M=CONT  lie=PRES
          predicate

'...he is there, he is lying.' (26-21-116)

(11.15)  ...*ke=pa lelepi=k=a ta | ikona sai.*
          3PL=PROS  shake=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then  EXT.SG.F  there
          predicate

'...they shook it and there was food there.' (59-3-27)

Example (11.14) occurs in a discourse where people are talking about him, the existing entity. In the preceding discourse of (11.15) one day they found there was some food in their baskets when they returned from fishing. Next day, when they came back from fishing, they shook the basket to see whether there was some food in the basket again. Example (11.15) appears then. It is understood from the discourse that what exists is food.

The semantic distinction between existential clauses and locational clauses presented in the last section is not clear-cut. A locational clause inherently tells the existence of an entity by telling its location. On the other hand, an existential clause implies that there is a location where an entity exists, and so it often contains a locational adjunct. The fundamental difference between them is that in locational clauses the subject is talked about in terms of its location, while in existential clauses, it is talked about in terms of its existence. This difference is reflected on the type of the predicate in each type of clause.

11.5 Summary

Different types of non-verbal clauses are described above. They all have the same clause structure but their predicates are different, as summarised in the following table.
Table 11.1: Predicates of non-verbal clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of clause</th>
<th>Predicates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>equational</td>
<td>NPs headed with a non-locational noun or a pronominal enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PPs headed with the similitative jari ‘like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locational</td>
<td>locational phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>existential</td>
<td>existential markers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negative non-verbal clauses are all treated as equational clauses in terms of their predicate type; they always have an NP or a PP headed with jari as their predicates. However, there is a distinction between equational clauses on the one hand and locational and existential clauses on the other. In the first case, an equational clause can be negated by placing the negation marker pui between the topic marker and the predicate. The negation marker functions as an adjunct.

(11.16) ...komi=a buz-azulao ta pui matu
        PROX.SG.F=LIG REDUP-folk tale TOP NEG very

        tuvevo=a=ma...
        true=LIG=3SG.F

        ‘...this folktale is not a very true one...’ (27-1-1)

In the second case, in a negative locational or equational clause, the predicate is realised as a headless NP which contains a modifier phrase consisting of the negation marker and a pronominal enclitic. Example (11.17) expresses that the referent of subject NP does not exist in the location presented by a locational adjunct, and thus it is a negative locational clause, while (11.18) expresses non-existence of an entity and thus it is a negative existential clause.

(11.17) ...kake maba madu ta puli=a=ma ko=a
        INDEF.PL person COLL.PL TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=LIG

        peuru kale,
        village in,
        ‘...some people were missing in the village,’ (26-2-13)

(11.18) Vo=ko taka ta lula puli=a=ma...
        3SG.M=3SG.F claw TOP already NEG=LIG=3SG.F

        ‘His claws were already gone...’ (26-23-125)

This concludes the description of different types of non-verbal clauses. The next chapter describes different types of dependent clauses.
12 Dependent clauses

12.1 Introduction

Dependent clauses are clauses which cannot stand on their own. Their occurrence is dependent on a main clause, an independent clause. Following Thompson and Longacre (1985:172), Bilua dependent clauses can be divided into three types: relative clauses which function as an NP modifier, complement clauses which function as an argument, and adverbial clauses which function as a modifier of a VP or an entire proposition.

In Bilua dependent clauses, no constituent can be marked with a topic or a focus marker. Occurrences of aspectual/modal markers are very restricted in the VPs of dependent clauses. These two factors distinguish dependent clauses from independent clauses. Furthermore, an independent clause is always finite, while a dependent clause can be either finite or non-finite. In a non-finite dependent clause, the verb is bound by a nominal derivational enclitic o, which marks non-finiteness.

Each type of Bilua dependent clause is described below: relative clauses (§12.2), complement clauses (§12.3), and adverbial clauses (§12.4). §12.5 presents a summary.

12.2 Relative clauses

12.2.1 Introduction

A relative clause in Bilua is marked with a relative clause marker on the VP. This relative clause may be embedded into an NP, modifying the head of that NP (headed relative clause; see §12.2.3). In example (12.1) below, two relative clauses modify the head maba 'person'. In this section relative clauses (RCs) and NPs which contain a relative clause are both marked by square brackets. The underline indicates the constituent which is modified by a relative clause. This constituent is referred to as 'object of relativisation'.

(12.1) \[ Kala \quad \text{maba} \quad [o=liliios=vi=ni]_{\text{NP}} \quad [\text{vo}]_{\text{3SG.M=convert=RMP=REL.NONF 3SG.M}} \]

71 This excludes pa which obligatorily occurs in a negated past clause (see §8.5.6). There is no restriction on this pa in dependent clauses.

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Example (12.1) is analysed as one relative clause filled by two relative clauses in apposition since both relative clauses have maba 'person' as their head.

The relative clause may also form an NP on its own (headless relative clause, see §12.2.4) as in example (12.2). In a headless relative clause, there is no overt object of relativisation, but a bound pronoun in the relative clause, that is, a pronominal proclitic or an object clitic, indicates the absent but understood referent by agreeing in person, number, and gender with it. In (12.2), this is indicated by the double underlined object clitic k (3SG.F).

(12.2)  
\[ A=q=ea=la \]  
\[ [o=pazo=k=ala=ma]_{RCONP} \]  
\[ 1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES \]  
\[ 3SG.M=hit=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F \]  
'I saw [the woman] whom he hit.'

A relative clause can be non-restrictive or restrictive. A non-restrictive relative clause presents additional information about an already identifiable referent. Headless relative clauses in Bilua, except for ones marked with a relative clause marker vi (REL), are always non-restrictive. A restrictive relative clause gives information essential to the identification of the referent of an NP. Without this information, the hearer would not be able to identify the referent. The first restrictive relative clause in example (12.1) above is a restrictive one. If the speaker just says kala maba 'one man', the hearer would not be able to identify which man the speaker is talking about. A headed relative clause can also be non-restrictive. In example (12.4) in the next section, the headed relative clause is non-restrictive, and the demonstrative vo (3SG.M) identifies the referent.

The tense of relative clauses in Bilua can only be present or past. A future clause forms a modifier phrase with a pronominal enclitic and this functions as an NP modifier (see §7.2.1.3.1). In the following example the NP is headless, and it contains a modifier phrase which consists of the future clause marked with a dotted underline, the pronominal enclitic mu (3PL), and the ligator a which links the future clause to the enclitic.

(12.3)  
\[ S_{ai\ldots ke^{zi\ldots :vo=mu}}_{NP} \]  
\[ ta \]  
\[ kake \]  
\[ ta \]  
\[ reko-reko... \]  
'there 3PL=go=FUT=LIQ=3PL TOP INDEF.PL TOP REDUP-woman'  
'As for people who will go there, some are women...' (21-9-54)

The main clause and the relative clause share a common argument. In (12.1), the common argument is 'man', and this is the subject of both main and relative clauses. In (12.2), the common argument is 'her', and this is the object of both main and relative clauses. Functions of common arguments are discussed in §12.2.5.
12.2.2 Structure of relative clauses

There are four relative clause markers: \textit{ko} (REL.F), \textit{ma} (REL.F), \textit{ni} (REL.NONF), and \textit{vi} (REL), which are enclitics and which attach to the right edge of the VP in relative clauses. \textit{Vi} is used with a limited set of verbs and is described later in this section. \textit{Ko}, \textit{ma}, and \textit{ni} are distributed according to the person/number/gender of an NP containing a relative clause and also according to the tense marker in the VP of a relative clause. \textit{Ni} can be used only when the NP is not third person singular feminine. In a third person singular feminine NP, \textit{ko} is used when the relative clause contains the present tense marker, while \textit{ma} is used when it contains the recent/remote past tense marker. The distribution of \textit{ko}, \textit{ma}, and \textit{ni} is summarised in the following table.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
Person/number/gender of NPs & Tense markers & \hspace{1cm} \\
\hline
third singular feminine & \textit{ko} (REL.F) & \textit{ma} (REL.F) \\
non-third singular feminine & \textit{ni} (REL.NONF) & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Distribution of relative clause markers}
\end{table}

Above is the distribution for human referents. With non-human referents, either \textit{ko} or \textit{ma} is chosen depending on the tense marker in the relative clause.

It appears that these four relative clause markers historically have the same origin as some of Bilua inflectional pronouns. \textit{Ko}, \textit{ma}, \textit{ni}, and \textit{vo} are the third person singular feminine distal demonstrative, the third person singular feminine pronominal enclitic, the third person plural proximate demonstrative, and the third person singular masculine distal demonstrative respectively. Their distributions, however, show some differences: \textit{ni}, as a pronoun, is third person plural, but as a relative clause marker, it is non-third person singular feminine. In §7.2.1.3.1, we saw that third person singular masculine and feminine forms of pronominal enclitics show a third person singular masculine vs. non-third person singular masculine distribution when they are the head of MPs. This distribution of the two third person singular forms also applies to demonstratives on possessor NPs (§7.3.2). Thus, with pronominal enclitics in MPs and demonstratives in possessor NPs, two third person singular forms are chosen and distributed. On the other hand, with relative clause markers, it is the third person singular feminine and third person plural forms that are in distribution, and they show a third person singular feminine vs. non-third person singular feminine distribution. It is not all that clear why \textit{vo}, which is the third person singular masculine distal demonstrative, is used with a limited set of verbs as a relative clause marker.

In example (12.4) the referent of the NP containing a relative clause is third person singular masculine, as indicated by the demonstrative \textit{vo} (3SG.M), and so the VP of the

\footnote{This distribution is in fact the same distribution as focus markers (§14.3.2), but focus markers are not pronouns.}
relative clause is marked with *ni* (REL.NONF), which is the form employed for non-third person singular feminine. Example (12.5) contains two relative clauses. In the first instance, the referent of the NP containing a relative clause is third person singular feminine, as indicated by the demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F), and the verb in the relative clause has the present tense marker, and accordingly the relative clause is marked with *ko* (REL.F). This NP is the subject of a non-verbal clause and its predicate is expressed by the second relative clause, which is a headless relative clause. The subject NP and the predicate NP in this example are co-referential and so the predicate NP, which is realised as a headless relative clause, is also third person singular feminine. This relative clause contains a remote past tense marker, unlike the first relative clause. Accordingly, the relative clause is marked with *ma* (REL.F).

(12.4)  
Pujuo inio \[vo=a maba ko=a niabara\]  
Pujuo FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG person 3SG.F=LIG war.canoe  
\[o=k=ati ke=ve=ni[RC]_{NP}\]  
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL go=RMP=REL.NONF  
'It was Pujuo, the man who went with the canoe.' (25-1-8)  

(12.5)  
\[komni=a maba [anga=ko pesi-pesi ko=ta\]  
PROX.SG.F person 1SG=3SG.F REDUP-speech 3SG.F=POSS  
l=a k=o=a=ko[RC]_{NP} ta \[ko=kue=vi=ma\]  
1SG.O=VAL 3SG.F=get=PRES=REL.F TOP 3SG.F=come=RMP=REL.F  
Japani azo[RCNP]_{RCNP}  
Japan ABL  
'...this person, who is taking my story, is one who came from Japan.' (10-17-142)  

The VP of a relative clause cannot contain aspectual/modal markers, but there is one exception to this. The VP of a headless relative clause may take the situation-change marker *ta* (see §12.2.4). Since the continuous marker cannot occur in a relative clause, a relative clause cannot present an on-going situation.  

Similar to an independent clause, a relative clause can be negated by placing a negation marker in front of the predicate, as in example (12.6). An NP modified by a relative clause itself can be negated when this is a non-verbal predicate, as in (12.7).  

(12.6)  
\[komi ta \[ko=a uma pui a=ba\]  
PROX.SG.F TOP 3SG.F=LIG cloth NEG 1SG=PROS  
tatabarae=k=ala=ma ravi[RC]_{NP}  
buy=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F yesterday  
'This is the cloth which I didn’t buy yesterday.'

---

73 To express a situation in which one saw someone doing something, two juxtaposed clauses are used, and the VP of the second clause takes the continuous marker (see §13.3).
(12.7) \( Komi \quad ta \quad pui \quad [ko=a \quad suma \quad [a=ba \quad \text{PROX.SG.F} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{NEG} \quad 3SG.F=\text{LIG} \quad \text{cloth} \quad 1SG=\text{PROS} \quad \text{tatabareae=k=ala=ma} \quad \text{ravi}]_{\text{NP}} \quad \text{buy}=3SG.F.O=RCP=\text{REL.F} \quad \text{yesterday} \quad 'This is not the cloth I bought yesterday.' \)

Notice that the VP of the relative clauses in both (12.6) and (12.7) contains the prospective marker \( pa \). The prospective marker \( pa \) is obligatory in any negated clause in past tense, yet \( pa \) here does not carry any aspectual/modal function. In (12.7), even though the relative clause itself is not negated, since its head is negated, the VP of the relative clause contains the prospective marker.

\( Vo \) (3SG.M) as a relative clause marker can attach to only a few verbs: \( viqo \) ‘to hear’, \( ereiIlo \) ‘to happen’, and \( kalo \) ‘to occur’. Relative clauses of this kind are always headless relative clauses and consist of the VP on its own. They always represent a story or an event—they mean ‘something one heard’, ‘something which happened’, and ‘something which occurred’.

(12.8) \( ...[a=q=ai \quad viq=e=vo]_{\text{RCNP}} \quad komi=a \quad bazu-bazu \quad 1SG=3SG.F.O=\text{VAL} \quad \text{hear}=\text{RMP}=\text{REL} \quad \text{PROX.SG.F}=\text{LIG} \quad \text{REDUP-story} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{eri} \quad \text{nio}. \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{s.th.like.this} \quad \text{FOC.NONF} \quad \text{...something I heard, this story is something like this. (22-1-2)} \)

(12.9) \( ...ko \quad pui \quad [ka=pa \quad erei=vo]_{\text{RCNP}} \quad ni \quad pui \quad 3SG.F \quad \text{NEG} \quad 3SG.F=\text{PROS} \quad \text{happen}=\text{RMP}=\text{REL} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{NEG} \quad [ka=pa \quad ka=e=vo]_{\text{RCNP}} \quad 3SG.F=\text{PROS} \quad \text{occur}=\text{RMP}=\text{REL} \quad '...it is not something which happened or which occurred.' (27-1-1) \)

12.2.3 Headed relative clauses

A headed relative clause may precede or follow the head it modifies. The position of the headed relative clause depends on whether the NP contains a determiner or not. When it does not contain a determiner, the relative clause precedes the head. In example (12.10), there is no determiner and the relative clause precedes the head.

(12.10) \( [[\text{Ivugana} \quad ke=k=ai \quad ere=k=a=ko]_{\text{RC}} \quad \text{hook} \quad 3PL=3SG.F.O=\text{VAL} \quad \text{make}=3SG.F.O=\text{PRES}=\text{REL.F} \quad \text{quu}l]_{\text{NP}} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{kile}. \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{shell} \quad 'The thing with which they made a hook was a shell.' (28-1-7) \)

When the NP contains a determiner, the relative clause follows the head. This NP can also have other optional NP constituents, and all optional NP constituents including the
determiner occupy the position they normally do. Determiners always take the NP initial position, as in examples (12.1), (12.4), (12.6) and (12.7), while a modifier may precede or follow the head. In example (12.11), a modifier kiadama ‘all’ follows the head and the relative clause follows this.

(12.11) ...ke=bori=k=a
[ko=a ore] 3PL=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.F
[kiadama=ma] 3PL=leave=3SG.F.O=RMP=REL.F
3PL all=3SG.F

[se ke=va=ke=ma]_NP
3PL 3PL...they, carried all the trees they left.’ (22-5-19)

When the head of a relative clause is a temporal noun or a locational noun koi ‘here’, the relative clause always precedes the head. When a relative clause modifies the head koi ‘place’ it is never marked with a pronoun, as in example (12.13). This is because a modifier of koi ‘place’ cannot have a morpheme that has a reference to a person/number/gender (see §7.2.2.4). The clause here is regarded as a relative clause because of its modifying function.

(12.12) [[Ko=kue=va=ko]_RC taku]_NP ta enge Vella La Vella
3SG.F=come=PRES=REL.F time TOP 1PL.EXC Vella La Vella

udu kale=a=ma maba poso=ngela ta
island in=LIG=3SG.F person PL.M=1PL.EXC TOP

tapata nge=da el=ou,
hard 1PL.EXC=SIT become=FUT

‘In the time which is [just] coming, [the lives of] we Vella La Vella island people will become hard.’ (64-3-16)

(12.13) Kasa ko=m=ai i=k=a
[sight] 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL cause=3SG.F.O=PRES 3PL 3PL=hide=PRES

[koi]_NP place

‘[The spirit] showed the place theyi were hiding to themj.’ (12-6-59)

The referent of an NP which contains a headed relative clause can only be third person, and its number/gender can be specified by a determiner. In (12.4), (12.5), (12.6), (12.7), and (12.11) it is specified by a demonstrative. In (12.1) it is specified by an indefinite pronoun.

12.2.4 Headless relative clauses

As noted above, in a headless relative clause, there is no overt object of relativisation. A headless relative clause may form an NP on its own and a bound pronoun in the relative clause indicates the person/number/gender of the NP. This bound pronoun can be
an object clitic as in examples (12.2) and (12.8) or a pronominal proclitic as in examples (12.9) and (12.14) below.

The referent of a headless relative clause may be identified only from the discourse. In the discourse where the following example occurs, there is no mention of ‘story’ at all.

(12.14) Anga ta a=q=a buz–buz=atu a
1SG TOP 1SG=F.O=VAL REDUP-tell=HAB
[ka=kue=vi=ma vazapeuru kale azo]RCNP.
3SG=F=come=RMP=REL.F western.country in ABL
‘I am telling the story which came from a western country.’ (10-14-121)
(more literally ‘I am telling it which came from white people’s village.’)

The NP which consists of a headless relative clause (hereafter, headless relative clause) can be any person. In examples (12.2), (12.8), (12.9), and (12.14), it is third person. It is second person in (12.15) and it is first person in (12.16) and (12.17) below.

As described in §7.2.1.6, a Bilua NP which has a first or second person referent obligatorily contains a pronominal enclitic phrase-finally. With a headless relative clause, this pronominal enclitic is attached to the relative clause marker. Thus, in (12.15) the second person singular pronominal enclitic nga is attached to the pronoun ni (3PL).

(12.15) A=ng=e=ala [nga ol=ala=ni=nga Gizo]RCNP.
1SG=2SG.O=see=RCP 2SG go=RCP=REL.NONF=2SG Gizo
‘I saw you [the one] who went to Gizo.’

Moreover, the predicate NP of a non-verbal equational clause in Bilua agrees with the subject NP in person (§11.2). Thus, in (12.16) and (12.17), the subject NP is first person, and the predicate NP is expressed by a headless relative clause, and first person is marked by a pronominal enclitic attached to the relative clause marker. Notice that in these examples, the predicate tells what category of people/things the subject belongs to and thus the predicate NP is non-referential,74 but it is still coded as first person because of the agreement between subject and predicate NPs.

(12.16) Enge=a saidi ta [(puli=a=ma niiniu
1PL.EXC=LIG family TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F fish
ngg=q=u=a=ni]RC=ngela]NP.
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=eat=PRES=REL.NONF=1PL.EXC
‘We, [members of] our family are ones who eat no fish.’ (24-2-19)

(12.17) ...anga ta [(a=zaula=va=ni]RC=lala]NP...
1SG TOP 1SG=hunt=PRES=REL.NONF=1SG
‘...I am one who hunts (a hunter)...’ (59-10-87)

---

74 Notice however, the relative clause is non-restrictive; although it has no referent, one can identify the category.
A headless relative clause functioning as a non-verbal predicate can also be referential, but this requires the situation-change marker ta. As noted in §8.5.3, the situation-change marker ta occurs only in a clause which presents a non-habitual/generic situation. This is the only environment where an aspectual/modal marker can occur in a relative clause.

\[(12.18) \quad Vo=a \quad meqora \quad ta \quad [g=ta \quad ke=ve=ni\]

3SG.M=LIG child TOP 3SG.M=SIT go=RMP=REL.NONF

\[Australia]_{RCNP,}

Australia

‘That child is the one who went to Australia.’

12.2.5 Functions of common arguments

A relative clause shares a common argument with the main clause. The common argument can be any of S/A/O arguments of the relative clause. It is more frequently the S/O argument than the A argument. In (12.2), (12.6), (12.7), (12.8), and (12.11) it is the O argument, and in (12.1), (12.9), (12.14), (12.15), (12.17), and (12.18), it is the S argument. In (12.4) and (12.16), it is the A argument. In (12.5), the first one is A argument and the second one is the S argument.

The common argument can also be a second object of the headed relative clause, as in the following example.\(^75\)

\[(12.19) \quad A=q=ea=la \quad \left[\begin{array}{c}
k=\text{chainsaw} \\
3SG=3SG.F.O=see=RCP \\
3SG.F=LIG \\
[ke=kati=v=e=ma]_{RC,} \\
3PL=give=3SG.M.O=RMP=REL.F
\end{array}\right.]

‘I saw the chainsaw which they gave to him.’

Keenan and Comrie (1977) present a hierarchy for the functions of the common argument in the relative clause as follows: Subject > Direct object > Indirect object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparison.

In Bilua case, a subject (S/A) or a direct object (O) of the relative clause can be a common argument. An oblique can be realised as an added object (see §9.4 for added objects) in the valency-increasing construction, and this then can be a common argument, as illustrated by example (12.20) below. Note that it was stated in §3.2.1 that there is no category of oblique core arguments in Bilua. Oblique here is interpreted as non-arguments which are realised as core arguments in added object relation in the valency-increasing construction, and this includes arguments with the semantic role of possessor.

\(^75\) In Bilua, the argument with the semantic role of recipient is in direct object relation, while the argument with the semantic role of gift is in second object relation (see §3.2.1), although the English translation suggests that the relations are the other way around.
Thus, Bilua fits in the hierarchy presented by Keenan and Comrie—any argument on the left side of Genitive can be relativised. Bilua has no specific expression for comparisons.

The common argument *maba* 'person' in example (12.20) below has the semantic role of possessor, and this is realised as an added object by valency increase: *maba* 'person' in (12.20) cross-references on the VP by the object clitic *v* (3SG.M.O) on the valency-increasing marker. The relative clause in (12.4) is another example. In this relative clause, the common argument has the semantic role of accompaniment and this is realised as an added object.

(12.20) \[ Vo=\text{a} \quad maba \quad ko=\text{ta} \quad v=\text{a} \quad vou=\text{vi}=\text{ni} \]
\[ 3SG.M=LIG \quad \text{person} \quad 3SG.F=\text{POSS} \quad 3SG.M.O=\text{VAL} \quad \text{die=RMP=REL.NONF} \]
\[ o=\text{raho}_{\text{rc}} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{matu} \quad \text{duki} \quad o=\text{ta} \quad ev=\text{a}. \]
\[ 3SG.M=\text{wife} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{very sad} \quad 3SG.M=\text{SIT} \quad \text{become=PRES} \]

'The man whose wife died became very sad.'

12.3 Complementation

12.3.1 Introduction

Complementation is defined as 'the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate' (Noonan 1985:42). In his complement types, Noonan includes nominalised complements (an NP whose head is a nominalised verb) as one type of complement. 'Nominalised complements are predications with the headless structure of noun phrases', and 'the argument [in nominalised complements] may assume associative (genitival) relationships with the predicate' (1985:60).

Formally, Bilua complement clauses can be divided into three types:

- finite complement clauses
- non-finite complement clauses
- nominalised complement

The structure of finite and non-finite complement clauses is the same as that of independent clauses, but in finite and non-finite complement clauses, the VP always takes clause-initial position and optional constituents follow this. Furthermore, finite and non-finite complement clauses are distinguished from independent clauses in terms of the VP structure/constituents as described below. Finite and non-finite complement clauses can be the object of a verbal clause or the subject of a non-verbal clause.

Bilua nominalised complements have a basic or a possessive NP structure, and they can take any role. They can be the subject or the object of a verbal clause as well as the subject or the predicate of a non-verbal clause.

In both non-finite complement clauses and nominalised complements, the verb is bound by a nominal derivational enclitic *o* for a non-finite marking, but they are distinguished from each other in terms of the expression of arguments. In a nominalised
complement, an argument is expressed by an embedded possessor NP, and this and the
nominalised verb form a possessive NP. This fits with the description of nominalised
complements by Noonan above. On the other hand, in a non-finite complement clause,
an argument is expressed by a non-embedded, independent NP, just as in independent
clauses.

When a complement clause is an object, it always follows the main clause. This is the
basic position of O NPs. Like O NPs, O complement clauses are cross-referenced on the
VP by an object clitic. The object clitic here is realised in the default form, the third
person singular feminine form. This is because clauses are not specified for
person/number/gender (see Corbett 1991:203–212 for a discussion about the selection of
a particular form for agreement with clauses). Only a small group of verbs can take a
finite/non-finite complement clause or a nominalised complement as the O argument.
This is discussed in §12.3.5, after a description of each of the three types of complement
clauses: finite complement clauses in §12.3.2; non-finite complement clauses in §12.3.3;
and nominalised complements in §12.3.4.77

12.3.2 Finite complement clauses

The VP of a finite complement clause is distinguished from the VP of an independent
clause by restrictions for tense markers and the non-occurrence of modifiers. The tense
of a Bilua finite complement clause can be future only, and hence its VP contains either
the near future tense marker or the future tense marker. The situation described by a
finite complement clause is thus always an unrealised one, and because of this, the finite
complement clause is always preceded by the irrealis marker tu. The complement clause,
preceded by tu, immediately follows the VP of the main clause. The complement clause
has the VP clause initially and other constituents follow this. The subject of the main
clause and the subject of the finite complement clause can be co-referential or not co-
referential. The following are some examples. In this section, underlines mark
complement clauses.

(12.21) ...o=k=a  zari=a  tu  ko=k=ai
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES IRR 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL
zroman=o  se  sate...
join=NRFUT 3PL COM
'...he wanted her to join it with them...' (67-2-21)

(12.22) Enge  ta  nge=madoe=k=a  tu  nge=jisil=ou
1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=PRES IRR 1PL.EXC=dive=FUT

76 However, when a nominalised complement has two arguments, one of the arguments is
expressed by a non-embedded NP (see §12.3.4).

77 There is no interrogative complement clause in Bilua. An English sentence like 'I don't know
where he went' is expressed by two juxtaposed independent clauses (see §13.3).
Tu is not a complementiser but rather a morpheme which indicates that the clause which follows presents an unrealised situation. This contention is supported by the fact that it can occur between two independent clauses as well (see §13.3).

It was previously stated that the subject of the main clause and the subject of the finite complement clause can be co-referential or not co-referential, and this is illustrated by examples above. A finite complement clause may contain aspectual/modal markers except for the implicative marker be, but this is limited to when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are not co-referential.

(12.23) \[A=v=ai\] \[zari=a\] \[tu\] \[q=pa\] \[iruruput=ou\].

1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL want=PRES IRR 3SG.M=PROS work=FUT

'I want him to go and work.'

In the examples above, complement clauses are objects. A finite complement clause can also be the subject of a non-verbal clause. In a non-verbal clause whose subject is a complement clause, the order of subject and predicate is reversed; the predicate precedes the subject, and the subject—which is a complement clause—is preceded by the irrealis marker tu. The predicate can only be an adjective. Thus,

| Adjective | Irrealis marker | Complement clause |

When a finite complement clause is the subject of a non-verbal clause, it may contain an aspectual marker, the prospective marker pa, but not other aspectual markers. For example,

(12.24) \[...uri\] \[tu\] \[a=ba\] \[mumae=m=ou\] \[sigo\] \[kale\].

good IRR 1SG=PROS have=lost=3PL.O=FUT bush in

'...[it will be] good for me to go and get them lost in the bush.' (16-1-12)

12.3.3 Non-finite complement clauses

The VP of non-finite complement clauses shows many differences from the VP of independent clauses. It lacks a phrase-final tense marker and instead it takes a nominal derivational enclitic o. It also lacks a pronominal proclitic and it can never contain an aspectual/modal marker or a modifier. An exception to this is when it is the subject of a non-verbal clause and when the predicate of this clause is an NP headed with male 'match'; it may contain a pronominal proclitic. Furthermore, in such a case, the complement clause may take an optional NP in preverbal position (see below).

When a non-finite complement clause is an object, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the non-finite complement clause are always co-referential, and so in the non-finite complement clause the subject is never expressed.
(12.25) ...vo ta o=tanie=k=a vairizat=o ko
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=begin=3SG.F.O=PRES look.for=NOM 3SG.F
niuniu.
fish
...he began to look for fish.' (24-2-21)

A non-finite complement clause can present either an unrealised situation or a realised situation. In example (12.25), the main verb is tanieko 'to begin', which points at the beginning of an event, and the complement clause presents a realised situation, since as soon as an event starts, this event becomes realsi. In the following example, the non-finite complement clause presents an unrealised situation. The verb zario 'to want' expresses the subject's wish that a situation will/would be accomplished, and thus it presents an unrealised situation. When a non-finite complement clause presents an unrealised situation, it can optionally be preceded by the irrealis marker tu.

(12.26) ...a=q=a zario=a tu k=ai bazut=o...
1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES IRR 3SG.F.O=VAL tell=NOM
'...I want to tell a story...' (12-1-1)

The structure of example (12.26) is very similar to the structure of example (12.21), which is an example of a finite complement clause. The difference here is that there is no occurrence of a pronominal proclitic in (12.26) as this is a non-finite complement clause, while there is an occurrence of a pronominal proclitic in (12.21) as a finite complement clause requires this.

It might be considered that indeed there is only one type of complement clause that covers both finite and non-finite complement clauses. That is, there is only one type of complement clause, either finite or non-finite. It is not possible to treat all complement clauses as non-finite since there are examples in which complement clauses are definitely finite—examples (12.22), (12.23), and (12.24). Now suppose they are all finite and what is treated as a nominal derivational enclitic o in a non-finite complement clause is in fact a near future tense marker, this would result in some semantic contradiction. For example, in example (12.41) below, suppose the complement clause is finite, o on the verb nabulo 'to bake' then should be treated as the near future tense marker. This is semantically problematic as the situation described by the complement clause here is a realised one—she finished baking, which means she already baked. Thus, it is not possible to treat all complement clauses as finite either, and two types of complement clauses, finite and non-finite complement clauses, should be distinguished.

A non-finite complement clause can also be the subject of a non-verbal clause, and this takes the sentence structure presented in the last section; the predicate precedes the subject and the irrealis marker tu occurs between them.

(12.27) "Uri tu niae=v=o ko sailao saita.
good IRR feed=3SG.M.O=NOM 3SG.F food first
"'[It will be] good to feed him some food first,' (26-22-119)
When the predicate of a non-verbal clause is an NP headed with the noun male 'match', there is no occurrence of the irrealis marker, and the VP of the complement clause may contain a pronominal proclitic which expresses the subject. In example (12.28), the pronominal enclitic o (3SG.M) expresses the subject and this is further expressed by an NP omadeu maba 'one man'.

(12.28) ...
pui [ko=male] omadeu maba o=bori=k=o...
NEG 3SG.F=match one person 3SG.M=carry=3SG.F.O=NOM
predicate subject
'[the huge string bag] was not equal to one person’s carrying it.’ (67-3-30)
(more literally ‘...one man’s carrying it was not a match...’)

The noun male 'match' obligatorily occurs with a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references the subject. This pronoun does not necessarily have a referent. In (12.28), ko does not have any referent. In (12.29a) below, it has a referent.

(12.29-a) Pui [ke=male] bori=k=o.
NEG 3PL=match carry=3SG.F.O=NOM
predicate subject
'They were not equal to carrying [the huge string bag].'
(more literally 'Carrying it wasn’t their match. ‘)

The pronoun ke here in fact indicates the subject of the nominalised verb. Ke can be shifted onto the nominalised verb, and male is then bound by ko (3SG.F), the default form. Example (12.29a) can be paraphrased as:

(12.29-b) Pui ko=male [ke=bori=k=o].
NEG 3SG.F=match 3PL=carry=3SG.F.O=NOM
'[The huge string bag] was not equal to their carrying it.'
(more literally 'Their carrying it was not a match. ‘)

12.3.4 Nominalised complement

A nominalised complement in Bilua is an NP headed with a nominalised verb. In the following example, the nominalised verb saev=o means 'life'.

(12.30) ...
uri=a=ma saev=o qo=k=o=e.
good=1G=3SG.F survive=NOM 3DU=3SG.F.O=get=RMP
'...the two had a good life.’ (43-6-70)

In the above example, the NP is a basic NP. A nominalised complement may be realised as an indirect type of possessive NP as well (see §7.3.2), and the embedded possessor NP presents the subject or the object of the nominalised verb. In example (12.31), the demonstrative vo (3SG.M) forms the possessor NP and this presents the subject of the nominalised verb, while in example (12.32), the noun mego 'bonito' forms the possessor NP and this presents the object of the nominalised verb.
A nominalised complement may have two arguments. In such a case, the subject is expressed by a possessor NP and the object is expressed by a non-embedded NP. The possessive NP which includes the subject expression always precedes the NP which expresses the object. In example (12.33), a possessor NP vo (3SG.M) and an NP ko=a maba (3SG.F=LIG person) present the subject and the object respectively. As noted in §6.5.1.4, the object clitic on a nominalised verb cross-references the object. In (12.33), this is ‘the person (the woman)’. 

A nominalised complement thus, except for when the object is expressed by an independent basic NP, takes the form of a regular NP, and therefore it can contain a modifier phrase as in (12.30), or a determiner as in (12.34), and also it can have any function: they are objects in (12.30) and (12.31), the predicate of a non-verbal clause in (12.32), the subject of a non-verbal clause in (12.33), and the subject of a verbal clause in (12.34) below. Notice that unlike when a finite or non-finite complement clause is the subject of a non-verbal clause, a non-verbal clause in (12.33) is in the basic non-verbal clause structure; the subject, which is marked with a topic marker, precedes the predicate (see §11.1 for the basic non-verbal structure).

12.3.5 Main verbs

In the last three sections, three different types of complement clauses in Bilua are described. The first two types of complement clause, the finite complement clause and the non-finite complement clause, can be the object but not the subject of a verbal clause. The third type of complement clause, the nominalised complement, can be the subject as well as the object of a verbal clause. When complement clauses are objects, finite and
non-finite complement clauses and nominalised complements are in complementary distribution. A nominalised complement can be the object of any Primary verb, as long as this is semantically possible. Primary verbs are 'those directly referring to some activity or state, i.e. verbs which can make up a sentence by themselves with appropriate NPs filling the various semantic roles' (Dixon 1991:88). A finite or non-finite complement clause can be the object of only several Secondary verbs. 'Secondary verbs all provide semantic modification of some other verbs' (Dixon 1991:90). Syntactically, secondary verbs are main verbs but semantically, the complement verb is the central verb. For example, in a sentence, 'he finished eating', semantically 'to eat' is the central verb, but syntactically 'to finish' is the main verb.

Verbs which can take a finite or non-finite complement clauses are:

\[rov\]eo 'can'
\[tan\]ito/tanieko 'to begin'
\[epe\]zo 'to stop'
\[lupa\]o 'to refuse'
\[pa\]iko 'to finish'
\[zar\]io 'to want'
\[ma\]doeko 'to try'

Some of the verbs above such as \[rov\]eo 'can', \[tan\]ito 'to begin', \[epe\]zo 'to stop', and \[lupa\]o 'to refuse', are morphologically intransitive verbs—they are not bounded by an object clitic, but they can still take an O complement clause. With these verbs the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are always co-referential and the complement clause is realised as a non-finite complement clause.

\[rov\]eo 'can' is a unique verb both syntactically and semantically. It is an intransitive verb, but can have an object complement clause, and its meaning, 'can', is a modal one.

(12.35) \[...nge=rov=a\] tu \[k=o=vo\] \[ko\] \[takula\]...  
1PL.EXC=can=PRES  IRR 3SG.F.O=get=NOM 3SG.F money  
'...we could get money...' (64-2-11)

The fact that \[rov\]eo 'can' is the main verb is demonstrated by the following example in which a relative clause marker goes on this verb, the main verb.

(12.36) \[...anga\] \[ta\] \[pui\] \[a=rov=a=ni=lala\] \[talio\]  
1SG TOP NEG 1SG=can=PRES=REL.NONF=1SG walk.fastNOM  
\[ni\] \[a\] \[ka\] \[z\]\[o\]... and fly=NOM  
'...I am not one who can walk fast or fly.' (15-1-6)

\[tan\]ito 'begin' and \[epe\]zo 'to stop' are both intransitive verbs and never occur with an O NP but can occur with an O complement clause.
(12.37) ...o=tanit=ake \( tali=a \) ...  
\[3SG.M=\text{begin}=\text{HIST} \quad \text{walk}=\text{NOM} \]
'...he started walking...' (26-11-60)

(12.38) \( \text{Melai pui o epez=a kery-kerye=k=o...} \)  
but \( \text{NEG} \) \( 3SG.M \) \( \text{stop}=\text{PRES} \) \( \text{REDUP-think}=3SG.F.O=\text{NOM} \)  
'But, he didn't stop thinking about her...' (27-23-152)

\( \text{Lupao} \) 'to refuse' is an intransitive verb but can still take an O NP, though this requires the valency-increasing construction as in example (12.39), while it can take an O complement clause without employing the valency-increasing construction as in example (12.40).\(^{78}\)

(12.39) ...\( \text{ko=ta ng=a lupao=vou.} \)  
\[3SG.F=\text{SIT} \quad 2SG.O=\text{VAL} \quad \text{refuse}=\text{FUT} \]
'...she will refuse you.' (27-4-22)

(12.40) ...\( a=lupa \) \( \text{rae=v=o...} \)  
\[1SG=\text{refuse} \quad \text{marry}=3SG.M.O=\text{NOM} \]
'...I refuse to marry him...' (27-7-48)

\( \text{Paiko} \) 'to finish' is a transitive verb. Similar to the intransitive verbs listed above, with this verb, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are always co-referential and the complement clause is realised as a non-finite complement clause.

(12.41) \( \text{Ko=pai=k=a nabul=a}. \)  
\[3SG.F=\text{finish}=3SG.F.O=\text{PRES} \quad \text{bake}=\text{NOM} \]
'She finished baking.' (67-3-29)

\( \text{Zario} \) 'to want' is an intransitive verb, but it is always used in the valency-increasing construction and thus this takes two core arguments. \( \text{Madoeko} \) 'to try' is a transitive verb and so it takes two core arguments. \( \text{Madoeko} \) 'to try' and \( \text{zario} \) 'to want' can take either a finite or a non-finite complement clause. With these verbs, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause can be either co-referential or not co-referential. When they are not co-referential, the complement clause can only be finite. For example,

(12.42) \( \text{A=madoe=v=ala tu a=studyput=o melai pui} \)  
\[1SG=\text{try}=3SG.M.O=\text{RCP} \quad \text{IRR} \quad 3SG.M=\text{study}=\text{NRFUT} \quad \text{but} \quad \text{NEG} \]

---

\(^{78}\) \( \text{Lupao} \) 'refuse' with the present tense-marking enclitic, \( \text{lupao}=\text{va} \) (refuse=\text{PRES}) is often realised as \( \text{lupa} \).
\[ o=k=a \quad zari=a. \]
\[ 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL \quad \text{want}=\text{PRES} \]
'I tried to get him to study but he doesn’t want to.'

(12.43) \[ A=v=ai \quad zari=la \quad tu \quad o=zio=vou \quad Gizo \]
\[ 1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL \quad \text{want}=\text{RCP} \quad \text{IRR} \quad 3SG.M=\text{go}=\text{FUT} \quad \text{Gizo} \]
\[ ravi \quad melai \quad pui \quad o=pa \quad ol=ala. \]
\[ \text{yesterday but NEG 3SG.M=PROS go}=\text{RCP} \]
'I wanted him to go to Gizo yesterday, but he didn’t go.'

(more literally 'I wanted him so that he would go to Gizo yesterday, but he didn’t go.')

The object clitic on the main verb in (12.42) and the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker preceding the verb zario 'to want' in (12.43) both show agreement with the subject of the complement clause. These clitics can be replaced with a default form, \( k \) (3SG.F.O), agreeing with the complement clause instead. It might be hypothesised that when these object clitics agree with the subject, the speaker is addressing his interest to the person whom he tried or he wanted, while when they agree with the complement clause, the speaker’s interest is addressed to the event expressed by the complement clause. More data with appropriate discourse is required to prove this hypothesis.

When two subjects are co-referential, the complement clause can be either finite or non-finite. Below example (12.22) is repeated from §12.3.2.

(12.44) \[ Nge=madoe=k=a \quad tu \quad reri=k=o... \]
\[ 1PL.EXC=\text{try}=3SG.F.O=\text{PRES} \quad \text{IRR} \quad \text{chase}=3SG.F.O=\text{NOM} \]
'We try to chase [wild animals] (but unsuccessfully)...' (64-3-19)

(12.45) \[ ...a=v=ai \quad zari=a \quad bazu-bazut=o \quad kala \]
\[ 1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL \quad \text{want}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{REDUP-tell}=\text{NOM} \quad \text{INDEF.SG.M} \]

bazu-bazulao.
REDUP-folktales
'...I want to tell a folklore.' (24-1-1)

(12.22)’ \[ Enge \quad ta \quad nge=madoe=k=a \quad tu \quad nge=jisil=ou \]
\[ 1PL.EXC \quad \text{TOP} \quad 1PL.EXC=\text{try}=3SG.F.O=\text{PRES} \quad \text{IRR} \quad 1PL.EXC=\text{dive}=\text{FUT} \]
\[ ni \quad nge=q=o=vou \quad ko \quad niuniu \quad ma \quad bio... \]
and \[ 1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=\text{get}=\text{FUT} \quad 3SG.F \quad \text{fish or shell} \]
'try to dive and get fish or shell...' (64-2-12)

---

79 As the translation in the brackets suggests, this is not a causative clause, and thus the verb 'to study' is not causativised.
(12.46) \( o=k=a \)  
\[ zari=a \quad tu \quad o=rae=ng=\ldots \]
\[ 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL \quad want=PRES \quad IRR \quad 3SG.M=marry=2SG.O=NRFUT \]
'...he wants to marry you...' (27-7-38)

The following table presents a summary of verbs which take finite and non-finite complement clauses.\(^80\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Finite/non-finite</th>
<th>Co-referentiality of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tanito/tanieko 'to begin'</td>
<td>non-finite</td>
<td>co-referential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epezo 'to stop'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lupao 'to refuse'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roveo 'can'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paiko 'to finish'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madoeko 'to try'</td>
<td>finite</td>
<td>co-referential or not co-referential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zario 'to want'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.4 Adverbial Clauses

There are four types of adverbial clauses in Bilua: temporal, purposive, imaginative conditional, and absolutive clauses. Adverbial clauses are marked with a relator which takes the form of a subordinator or a postposition. Adverbial clauses can be finite or non-finite. Similar to non-finite complement clauses, non-finite adverbial clauses do not contain tense and aspect markers, and their verbs take the nominal derivational enclitic \( o \).

The four types of adverbial clauses can be divided into two groups: those which can be substituted by a single word and those which cannot (Thompson & Longacre 1985: 177). Among Bilua adverbial clauses, only temporal clauses can be substituted by a single word, whereas others cannot. Temporal clauses are also distinguished by their ability to be a focus or a topic. Others do not have such an ability.

\(^80\) Some speakers also use a complement clause with the verb inainao 'to get ready', but some do not accept this. The following example, which contains the verb inainao 'to get ready' and its complement clause, was found in the data:

\[ ...o \quad ina-inao=va \quad tu \quad zio \quad kiarp \quad kasi \]
\[ 3DU \quad REDUP-get.ready=PRES \quad goNOM \quad garden \quad at \]
\[ sail-a-sailaat=\ldots=\ldots \]
\[ REDUP-get.food=NOM=PURP \]
'...the two got ready in order to go to the garden to get food,' (27-12-72)

This example, however, is not accepted by some speakers. It may be the case that this clause is a result of an influence from English expression, 'get ready to do'.
12.4.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses can be finite or non-finite. Both types precede the main clause. A finite temporal clause is marked with keru, which always occurs immediately after the VP. If the clause has constituents other than the VP, they follow keru. Keru can also govern an NP (see §10.4.3); that is, it is a postposition.

(12.47) ...kubo maba madu ke=kail=a keru kiaro kasi
        many person COLL.PL 3PL=go.up=PRES TEMP garden at
        se ta ke=rove=a tu barol=o se=ko peuru kale.
        3PL TOP 3PL=can=PRES IRR arrive=NOM 3PL=3SG.F village in
        '...when many people went up to their gardens, they could return to their
        village.' (26-8-48)

Example (12.47) occurs in a narrative in which one person went up to his/her garden but never returned to the village, while when more than one person went up to their gardens, they would come back.

Finite temporal clauses may present a situation which immediately precedes a situation described by the main clause, as in (12.47) above, when the verb in the temporal clause is a totally terminative verb or a gradually terminative verb (see §8.4 for a classification of verbs). When this verb is a durative verb, the two situations described by the main clause and the temporal clause are simultaneous, as in example (12.48).

(12.48) Nio so keru ke=m=e=a kera reko-reko se lasiverasu ta se=ko kiaro kale.
        SEQ that TEMP 3PL=3PL.O=see=PRES TEMP 3PL=LIG
        REDUP-women 3PL boy TOP 3PL=3SG.F garden in
        'And, that time, when women saw them, the boys were in their garden.'
        (22-3-12)

Furthermore, a finite temporal clause may present a situation that is happening when the situation described by the main clause occurs. In such a case, the VP in the temporal clause has an intransitive verb accompanied by the continuity marker beta, as in example (12.49). A transitive verb never occurs in such a temporal clause (see below).

(12.49) ...ke=beta kouazat=a keru inio, ni=a
        3PL=CONT get=PRES TEMP FOC.NONF PROX.PL=LIG
        kana mahu ta ke=ta baro=a.
        war COLL.PL TOP 3PL=SIT arrive=PRES
        '...while they were getting them, these warriors arrived.' (25-2-19)

A non-finite temporal clause never contains a subject-marking pronominal proclitic, and its VP always consists of the head, an intransitive verb or a transitive verb accompanied with an object clitic, and the nominal derivational enclitic o. There are three different subordinators which mark non-finite temporal clauses: maqa and palate are both translated as 'while' and puliako is translated as 'before'.
The subordinator *maqa* ‘while’ follows the clause it marks. The non-finite temporal clause here obligatorily takes an S NP in preverbal position.

\[
[S \text{ NP VP} \text{ maqa}] \quad \text{VP} \Rightarrow \text{V(=object clitic)=NOM}
\]

(12.50) So \(\text{ keru vo teku maqa inio kurou ta} \)
that TEMP 3SG.M lie.downNOM while FOC.NONF pigeon TOP
\(\text{o atait=ake.} \)
3SG.M count=HIST
‘That time, while he is lying down, the pigeon counted.’ (15-3-24)

*Maqa* may mark an NP whose head is so ‘that’, the pronoun which has a clause as an antecedent as in (12.51). That is, *maqa* can be treated as a postposition. However, since so ‘that’ refers to a clause and since *maqa* ‘while’ can only govern an NP so ‘that’ but no other NPs, *maqa* ‘while’ is categorised as a subordinator.

(12.51) *Kasa ko=m=ai i=k=a se ke=matu* sight 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL put=3SG.F.O=PRES 3PL 3PL=very
mutai=va koi. \(\text{ So maqa inio se ta ke=pa} \)
hide=PRES place that while FOC.NONF 3PL TOP 3PL=PROS
\(\text{v=ati inot=a vo Sito o ev=a koi} \)
3SG.M.O=VAL look.for=PRES 3SG.M Sito 3SG.M stay=PRES place
Maravari kingu kale.
Maravari forest in
‘It showed them, the place they were hidden. While they were hidden, they went to look for the place where Sito was staying in Maravari forest.’
(12-6-59–61)

The subordinator *palate* ‘during’ also follows the clause it marks. It may contain an S NP or an adjunctival phrase preverbally.

\[
[(S \text{ NP/adjunctival phrase) VP} \text{ palate}] \quad \text{VP} \Rightarrow \text{V(=object clitic)=NOM}
\]

(12.52) *Australia el=o palate inio a=ge=ve kubo* Australia stay=NOM while FOC.NONF 1SG=see=RMP many
\(\text{aza-aza=ma quili.} \)
REDUP-various=3SG.F thing
‘While living in Australia, I saw many, various things.’
The subordinator *puliako* ‘before’ precedes the clause it marks. An optional S NP occurs between *puliako* and the verb, and an optional adjunctival phrase occurs in postverbal position.

\[ \textit{puliako} \left[ (\text{S NP}) \text{ VP (adjunctival phrase)} \right] \]

\( \text{VP} \Rightarrow \text{V}(=\text{object clitic})=\text{NOM} \)

(12.53) \( \ldots \textit{puliako} \ \textit{nioga} \ \textit{tada}=o \ \textit{nio} \ o \ ol=a \)

before 3DU depart=FOC.NONF 3SG.M go=PRES

\( o=pz \ k=o=a \)

3SG.M=PROS 3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3SG.F pole

‘...before they departed, he went, he went and got a pole.’ (59-644)

(more literally ‘not that the two had departed, and he went, he went and got a pole.’)

(12.54) \( \textit{Puliako} \ \textit{komi}=a \ \textit{lotu} \ \textit{saev}=o \)

before PROX.SG.F=LIG Christianity survive=NOM

\( \textit{barol}=o \ \textit{koi}, \)

arrive=NOM here

‘Before Christian life arrived here,’ (10-1-1)

It may be hypothesised that *puliako* originated in three morphemes: \textit{puli} (NEG) \( a \) (LIG), and \textit{ko} (3SG.F), and that this combination is lexicalised as a subordinator. The pronoun \textit{ko} appears to refer to the following non-finite clause, but note that a clause is normally substituted by a pronoun \textit{so} ‘that’, not \textit{ko} (3SG.F). In (12.53), \textit{ko} (3SG.F) refers to \textit{nioga tadao} ‘they depart’. Thus, *puliako* \textit{nioga tadao} literally means ‘not that the two had departed’. Their departure had not occurred when the situation expressed by the main clause occurred ‘he went, he went and got a pole’; it happened after the situation expressed by the main clause happened. Thus, *puliako* can be interpreted as ‘before’. *Puliako* has a homonym ‘that’s nothing/that’s not a big deal/that’s Okay’.

There is no semantic difference between *maqa* ‘while’ and *palate* ‘while’, but *maqa* can be used only when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are not co-referential. In (12.50), they are not co-referential. *Palate* can be used both when they are co-referential and when they are not co-referential. In (12.52), they are co-referential. *Puliako* can also be used when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are co-referential or not co-referential. In (12.53), they are not co-referential.

Temporal clauses with *maqa/palate* ‘while’ present a situation as atelic, while those with *puliako* present an unrealised situation with reference to the situation described by the main clause. Atelic and irrealsis situations are characteristic of low transitivity as described in Hopper and Thompson (1980). Because of this, these temporal clauses can have only an intransitive verb as noted above. This is also the case when *keru* has the meaning ‘while’, as in (12.49). On the other hand, when *keru* has the meaning ‘when’, as in (12.47) and (12.48), the situation is not presented as atelic, as it is a realised one with
reference to the situation described by the main clause. Consequently, when keru is interpreted as 'when', the verb can be either transitive or intransitive.

Both finite and non-finite temporal clauses may express the meaning 'while' as shown above. There seems to be a semantic difference between them. Example (12.49) in which the finite temporal clause has the meaning 'while' highlights the subject's involvement with the event of getting them, and thus the S argument is always expressed by a pronominal proclitic, and additionally by an S NP. On the other hand, examples (12.50) and (12.52), which are non-finite temporal clauses, do not highlight the subject's involvement with the event. Because of this, the S argument in a non-finite temporal clause may not be expressed as in (12.52).

12.4.2 Purposive clauses

A purposive clause presents a purpose for movement. Consequently, the main verb has to be a motion verb or a verb that implies movement. A purposive clause is always non-finite and is marked with an enclitic le, which is attached to the nominal derivational enclitic on the verb. The subject of the main clause and the subject of the purposive clause are always co-referential and the purposive clause never contains a subject marker. An optional O NP occurs in preverbal position while an optional adjunctival phrase occurs in postverbal position. Thus, the structure of a purposive clause is:

\[
\text{(O NP) \quad VP=le(adjunctival phrase) \quad VP \Rightarrow V(=object clitic)=NOM}
\]

A purposive clause follows the main clause.

(12.55)  
\[\begin{array}{llllll}
3SG.M & \text{TOP} & 3SG.M=SIT & \text{go}=RMP & \text{labourer} & \text{look.for}=\text{NOM}=\text{PURP}
\end{array}\]

Malaita.

Malaita

‘He went to Malaita to look for labourers.’ (12-2-14)

(12.56)  
\[\begin{array}{llllllll}
3PL=SIT & \text{go.up}=\text{PRES REDUP-Korokoroqanisi} & \text{at}
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{llllll}
paso-\text{kin}=o=le.
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{hit-RECP}=\text{NOM}=\text{PURP}
\end{array}\]

‘They went up to Korokoroqanisi in order to fight.’ (39-14-90)

The subordinator le may have originated in the cliticised form of a locative postposition kale ‘in’. This then means that a purposive clause fills a nominal slot. A purpose can also be expressed by an independent clause introduced by the irrealsis marker tu (see §13.3). In such a case, the verb can be any kind of verb.
12.4.3 Imaginative conditional clauses

The subordinator tea ‘if’ follows a clause and marks it as an imaginative conditional clause. An imaginative conditional clause presents the speaker's presumption of what might happen. It is always finite but can take no aspectual/modal marker. The main clause follows the imaginative conditional clause and is always in the future tense. The tense of an imaginative conditional clause can be past or future. When it is past, it presents a counterfactual situation, a situation that did not happen. In examples below imaginative conditional clauses are underlined.

(12.57) Counterfactual

\[ \text{Sele} \quad nge=tuvuvopue=k=a \quad \text{ta} \quad komi=q \]

\[ \text{gospel} \quad lotu \quad saev=o \quad pui \quad ko=pa \quad kue=vi \]

Gospel Christianity survive=NOM NEG 3SG.F=PROS come=RMP

\[ \text{tea} \quad komi=a \quad pazo-kini=o \quad ta \quad pui \quad ko=pa \]

if PROX.SG.F=LIG hit-RECP=NOM TOP NEG 3SG.F=PROS

\[ \text{epez=o}, \]

stop=NRFUT

'So, what we believe is that if this Gospel, Christian life had not come, this fighting would not have stopped.' (10-16-137-138)

(more literally 'That is why, we believe and consequently if this Gospel, Christian life had not come, this fighting would not have stopped.)

When it is future, it presents a hypothetical situation, a situation which might happen.

(12.58) Hypothetical

\[ \text{Nge}=madoe=k=ou \quad \text{tea} \quad enge \quad ta \quad nge=roveo=vou \]

1PL.EXC=try=3SG.G.F.O=FUT if 1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=can=FUT

\[ \text{tu} \quad atie=k=o \quad enge=ko \quad miduku. \]

IRR lead=3SG.G.O=NOM 1PL.EXC=3SG.F land

'If we tried, we would be able to lead (conquer) our land.' (64-3-22)

\[ \text{Tea} \ 'if' \ can \ also \ follow \ an \ imperative \ clause, \ and \ in \ such \ a \ case \ it \ is \ not \ followed \ by \ another \ clause. \ This \ means \ that \ 'it \ was \ time \ to \ do'. \] \[81\]

(12.59) \[ \text{Kailot}=omo \ tea. \]

go.up=IMP.PL if

'It was time to go up!'

---

\[81\] There is also an idiom sai tea (there if) meaning 'that's it/that's enough'. For example, when someone is pouring coffee for you, you can say sai tea 'that's it/that's enough' to stop her/him.
Conditions can also be expressed by an independent clause followed by a causal coordinator. This is described in §13.2.6. A summary of conditionals in Bilua is also presented in §13.2.6.

12.4.4 Absolutive clauses

According to Thompson and Longacre, ‘absolutive’ is a cover term for a dependent clause type which has the following properties:

(i) the clause is marked in some way as being [dependent];
(ii) there is no explicit signal of the relationship between the main and subordinate clause; thus
(iii) the interpretation of this relationship is inferred from the pragmatic and linguistic context (Thompson & Longacre 1985:200–201).

There is one type of absolutive clause in Bilua, which means ‘no good such and such happens’. An absolutive clause is marked with the postposition kale ‘in’ and thus it fills a nominal slot. Its VP always contains a subject marker, a pronominal enclitic, and an optional NP takes preverbal position. An absolutive clause can either precede or follow the main clause. In the following examples, underlines mark absolutive clauses.

\[
\text{[(NP) VP] kale} \quad \text{VP \Rightarrow PRON=V(=object clitic)=NOM}
\]

(12.60) \[\ldots \text{megora me=baidae=k=0 ale ko=ta} \]
child 2PL=finish=3SG.F.O=NOM in 3SG.F=SIT
\[\text{raneo=vou inio.} \quad \text{sleep.overnight=FUT FOC.NONF} \]
‘...no good to eat up children, it’s going to be dawn.’ (47-2-90)
(more literally ‘...no good to finish children, it will sleep overnight.’)

(12.61) \[\ldots \text{ko=ko vima ta pui ngo el=ou} \]
3SG.F=3SG.F underneath TOP NEG 2SG stay=FUT
\[\text{ko=a duruo ko=ng=ai raibizi=o kale.} \quad 3SG.F=LIG big.bag 3SG.F=2SG.O=VAL pour=NOM in} \]
‘...don’t stay underneath [the big string bag], [it is] no good for [ngali nuts in] the big string bag to pour on you.’ (2-5-31)

Example (12.60) is uttered in a context where people started eating children when they could not find food for a few days because darkness continued over several days, and then finally someone who climbed a tree found that it was going to be dawn and told the people not to eat up children.
12.5 Summary

In the sections above, different types of dependent clauses are described. No dependent clause can contain a constituent marked with a topic or a focus marker. Relative clauses are always finite. Complement clauses and adverbial clauses can be finite or non-finite. Finite dependent clauses always contain subject and tense markers. They may contain an aspectual/modal marker but this is possible only in certain environments.

In non-finite dependent clauses, the verb is bound by the nominal derivational enclitic o instead of a tense marker. That is, the verb is turned into a nominal. In their description of nominals derived from verbs, Comrie and Thompson (1985:359) states that 'action nominals typically have some of the syntactic characteristics of both sentences and non-derived noun phrases ... the extent to which action nominals are verbal or nominal varies considerably from language to language'. In Bilua, non-finite complement and adverbial clauses retain characteristics of sentences more than nominalised complements do. As in independent clauses, an argument of non-finite complement and adverbial clauses can only be expressed by an NP, while an argument of nominalised complements can be expressed by a possessor NP embedded into a possessive NP whose head is a nominalised verb. Furthermore, non-finite complement and adverbial clauses may contain a pronominal proclitic which functions as a subject marker, but nominalised complements cannot. However, none of non-finite dependent clauses, including nominalised complements, can take a tense marker or an aspectual/modal marker.

This concludes a description of dependent clauses. The next chapter presents a description of coordination.
13 Coordination

13.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses coordination. Coordination is a mechanism where two or more constituents of the same syntactic status are linked. In Bilua, coordination can be indicated by coordinators or by juxtaposition. Juxtaposition can only indicate coordination of independent clauses. Coordinators, on the other hand, can link various kinds of constituent as described below.

13.2 Coordinators

13.2.1 Introduction

There are six coordinators in Bilua as follows, repeated from §5.11.

- conjunctive coordinator *ni* ‘and’
- disjunctive coordinator *ma* ‘or’
- adversative coordinator *melai* ‘but’
- sequential coordinator *inio* ‘sequentially/and then’
- causal coordinator *ta/ti*, ‘and then/consequently’
- intensifying coordinator *ti*

The adversative coordinator *melai* ‘but’ can form a complex coordinator with the negation marker *pui* (see §13.2.4).

All coordinators occur between the constituents they link. The intensifying coordinator *ti*, however, is different to the others. It can only link identical phrases or words. Semantically, its function is to intensify the meaning of the linked constituents. *Ti* can link phrases (NPs, PPs, and VPs) and words (the negation marker *pui* and *matu* ‘big’). *Ti* is described in §13.2.7 following a description of other coordinators.

Constituents linked by the five other coordinators can be:

- nouns
- NPs
- PPs
- non-verbal predicates
Conjunctive and disjunctive coordinators can link all of these constituents. The adversative coordinator can link all but nouns. Sequential and causal coordinators can link only independent clauses.

Linked constituents can also be constituents of the same syntactic function. In the following example, the linked constituents are a deictic adverb koi ‘here’ and a postpositional phrase peuru kale ‘in the village’. Both of them function as locational adjuncts. In this section, each of the linked constituents is marked with square brackets, and the coordinator is underlined.

(13.1) Ne=a matu peuru ta matu kubo maba madu
PROX.SG.M=LIG big village TOP very many person COLL.PL
ke ev=a [koi] ma [peuru kale].
3PL stay=PRES here or village in
‘As for this big village, many people lived here or in the village.’ (26-1-2)

Words and phrases linked by a coordinator are treated as one constituent. In example (13.2), the two linked nouns form one constituent, and this is the head of the possessive NP.

(13.2) Ni o=zio=vou ko=a sinaqrusu=ko [mama]
and 3SG.M=go=FUT 3SG.F=LIG girl=3SG.F father
ni [niania] kidi kasi.
and mother COLL.DU at
‘He will go to the father and mother of the girl.’ (26-1-6)

Mama ni niania kidi in (13.2) could also be analysed as coordination of two NPs, [mama] ni [niania kidi], but this does not fit in the given discourse since it would then mean ‘one father and two mothers’.

Conjunctive and disjunctive coordinators share two properties; they can be recursive, and the order of linked phrases can be freely changed without a change of meaning. In example (13.3), there are four NPs linked by the conjunctive coordinator ni ‘and’ which occurs between each pair of linked constituents, and their order can be changed without a change of meaning.

(13.3) Ke inainae=k=o=a=ma ta [bolo] ni [mania]
3PL get.ready=3SG.F.O=FUT=REL.F TOP pig and pudding
ni [mau] ni [meqo].
and taro and bonito
‘As for things they will get ready, [these] are pigs, puddings, taros, and bonitos.’
(21-4-22)

When more than two constituents are linked, a coordinator is obligatory in front of the last linked constituent, but others are optional. In fast speech, it often occurs only once in
front of the last constituent, while in slow speech, it often occurs between each constituent. In (13.3), the coordinator ni ‘and’ before mego ‘bonito’ cannot be omitted, but the others can be omitted.82

In slow speech, there may be a pause between linked constituents. When there is a pause, a coordinator forms one intonation unit with either the preceding or following constituent, or it may form an intonation unit by itself; there could be a pause before and after the coordinator. When there is a pause, there is a rising or level intonation on the word which precedes the pause. The end of the sentence, on the other hand, is indicated by falling intonation in Bilua, in a declarative sentence. In the following example, there is a slight pause before a coordinator ni ‘and’, which forms one intonation unit with the clause that follows it. There is a rising intonation on the word bita ‘string bag’.

(13.4)  [Qo=sukati=k=a  ko bita],  ni [nioqa ta
3DU=kill=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F string.bag and 3DU TOP

gō=vait=a  peuru kale].
3DU=return=PRES village in
‘They filled string bags, and they returned to the village.’ (24-2-13)

Coordinators, ni ‘and’, inio ‘sequentially/and then’, and tilta ‘and then/consequently’ may also function to indicate the continuation of a story or a sentence. With this function, they may occur clause-initially or between a dependent clause and an independent clause as well as between two independent clauses. This may suggest that coordinators here are treated as a part of a clause. However, as they can form an intonation unit with either the preceding or the following clause and they can also form an intonation unit of their own, they are not treated as a part of the clause.83 In example (13.5) below, there is an occurrence of inio between an adverbial dependent clause and an independent clause. There is a slightly long pause after the adverbial clause, and the speaker places inio before he starts the next clause in order to indicate the sentence is continuing.

(13.5)  Kō=a  omolomolo o=viq=a  kera, ma
3SG.F=LIG echo 3SG.M=hear=PRES TEMP or

kō=a  kora o=viq=a  kera,  inio vo
3SG.F=LIG sound 3SG.M=hear=PRES TEMP SEQ 3SG.M

---

82 This example can be analysed as either coordination of nouns or NPs: it is possible to consider that linked nouns form the head and this by itself forms an NP, or it is also possible to consider that each noun forms an NP on its own and four NPs are coordinated. Either analysis is possible and there is no factor that determines which approach is more probable here.

83 It may be said that coordinators here function like linking adverbials (see §10.7), but unlike linking adverbials, which do not necessarily occur in clause-initial position (that is, which may occur clause-externally) coordinators can only occur clause-externally.
"ta  o=ta  matu peka=o=ke."
TOP 3SG.M=SIT very dance=HIST
‘When he heard the echo or when he heard the sound, he danced hard.’
(26-13-74)

The following is another example.

(13.6)  Eri  k=i=o=la  "o”  k=i=o=la.
s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
Ti  "o=solo=ke=ou"  nio
and.then 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=FUT FOC.NONF
k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
‘He said something like this. He said “o”. And then, I said “He will send it
down”.’(2-4-24-25)

Each of the six coordinators is described in sections below.

13.2.2 Conjunctive coordinator ni ‘and’

The conjunctive coordinator ni ‘and’ simply conjoins constituents. The following are
some examples of the use of the conjunctive coordinator with different types of
constituents. An example of nouns linked by ni ‘and’ is given in the last section. In
(13.7), linked NPs form a possessor NP, and this is marked with a possessive marker ko
(3SG.F).

(13.7) NPs

Omuqa  kidi  inio  go  ibat=ou  omuqa
two  COLL.DU  FOC.NONF 3DU push=FUT two
rana  [ko=ko  rekorusu]  ni  [vo=ko  lasiverusu]=ko
side 3SG.F=LIG girl and 3SG.M=LIG boy=3SG.F

tu  go=tibae-kini=ou.
IRR 3DU=stick-RECP=FUT
‘Two people push both sides of the girl and the boy so that they will stick with
each other.’ (21-11-65)

(13.8)PPs

Vella  La  Vella  udu  kale=ko=mu  se  ta  ke=ke=ve
Vella La Vella island in=LIG=3PL 3PL TOP 3PL=go=RMP
[edo-edolo=a=ma  zae  poso  kale]  ni
REDUP-different=LIG=3SG.F area PL in and
[edo-edo=a=ma  tou-tou  kale].
REDUP-various=LIG=3SG.F  REDUP-tribe in
‘Vella La Vella people went to different areas and to various tribes.’ (12-9-84)

(13.9) Non-verbal predicates
Ne=a  utupe  ta  [puli=a=ma  seseu]
PROX.SG.M=LIG  coconut crab  TOP  NEG=LIG=3SG.F  finger
sa=la]  ni  [puli=a=ma  vo=ko  zavu-zavu]  ni
COM=3SG.M  and  NEG=LIG=3SG.F  3SG.M=3SG.F  REDUP-beard and
[puli=a=ma  vo=ko  taka].
NEG=LIG=3SG.F  3SG.M=3SG.F  claw
‘This coconut crab does not have any fingers, beard, or claws.’ (26-18-100)
(more literally ‘This coconut crab is with no fingers and no beard of his and no
claws of his.’)

(13.10) Dependent clauses
So  keru  [ke  ilusi=v=e  keru]  ni
that  TEMP  3PL  worship=3SG.M.O=RMP  TEMP  and
[ke=lulue=v=e  keru]  ta  ke=roveo=vi
3PL=follow=3SG.M.O=RMP  TEMP  TOP  3PL=can=RMP
k=el=o  ko  ko=kati=m=e=ma  quli
3SG.F.O=see=NOM  3SG.F  3SG.F=give=3PL.O=PRES=REL.F  thing
ni  ko  ko=m=qi  ruali=k=e=ma
and  3SG.F  3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL  make.it.true=3SG.F.O=RMP=REL.F
quli  se=ko  aza-aza=ma  tuvevopu=a  poso  kale.
thing  3PL=3SG.F  REDUP-various=3SG.F  believe=NOM  PL  in
‘That time, when they worshipped him and when they followed him, they could
see the thing it gave them and the thing which made it true to them in their
belief.’(10-2-18)

(13.11) Independent clauses
...vo  ta  [o  ol=a  ju  kale  sukulu  ju]
3SG.M  TOP  3SG.M  go=PRES  water  in  stream  water
ni  [o=vaili=k=a  ko  niuniu].
and  3SG.M=look.for=3SG.F.O=PRES  3SG.F  fish
‘...as for him, he went to the big water, the stream (water), and he looked for
fish.’(24-2-22)

As noted in the last section, words and phrases linked by a coordinator are treated as
one constituent. When linked constituents are clauses, they are treated as one clause.
That is, situations described by linked clauses are treated as one situation consisting of
subparts which are described by each linked clause. When clauses are linked by ni, a
change of the order of clauses may result in a change of meaning. In example (13.11), the change of the order results in his looking for fish before he went to the stream.

13.2.3 Disjunctive coordinator ma ‘or’

The disjunctive coordinator ma ‘or’ marks two alternatives. The following are some examples of disjunctive coordination with different types of constituents. Ma ‘or’ has a different function when it links two identical NPs, as discussed below. When ma ‘or’ links two NPs which function as core arguments, the pronominal proclitic or the object clitic on the VP agrees with the closer NP. Thus, in example (13.13) below the pronominal proclitic on the VP agrees with the second NP of the linked NPs, the one which is closer to the VP.

(13.12) Nouns

...nqe=q=ov=ot ko [niuniu] ma [bio]...
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=GET=FUT 3SG.F fish or shell
‘...we will get fish or shell...’ (64-2-12)

(13.13) NPs

...[nioqa=ko nania] ma [nioqa saidi] ta
3DU=3SG.F mother or 3DU family TOP
ko=kejue=k=a ko=a niuniu,
3DU=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG fish
‘...their mother or two of the family cook the fish,’ (24-3-26)

(13.14) PPs

O=ta ol=ala [kiaro kasi] ma [siqa kale].
3SG.M=SIT go=RCP garden at or bush in
‘He went to the garden or to the bush.’

(13.15) Non-verbal predicates

Vo ta [dokita] ma [nesi].
3SG.M TOP doctor or nurse
‘He is a doctor or a nurse.’

(13.16) Dependent clauses (repeated from 13.2.1 above)

[Ko=a omolomolo o=vig=a keru], ma
3SG.F=LIG echo 3SG.M=hear=PRES TEMP or

[ko=a kora o=vig=a keru], inio vo
3SG.F=LIG sound 3SG.M=hear=PRES TEMP and.then 3SG.M

ta o=ta matu pekao=ke.
TOP 3SG.M=SIT very danceNOM=HIST
‘When he heard the echo or when he heard the sound, he danced hard.’
(26-13-74)
(13.17) Independent clauses

\[
V_o=ko \quad pko \quad ta \quad "[Kake \quad ke=la=ati \\
3SG.M=3SG.F \quad \text{dance.NOM} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{INDEF.PL} \quad 3\text{PL}=1\text{SG.O}=\text{VAL} \\
\text{pesio}] \quad ma \quad [kake \quad ke=la=el=0,]"
\]

\[
speak\text{NRFUT} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{INDEF.PL} \quad 3\text{PL}=1\text{SG}=\text{see}=\text{NRFUT}
\]

\[
k=la=0.
\]

\[
3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{say}=3\text{SG.M.O}=\text{PRES}
\]

'As for his dance, "Some people will speak to me or some people will see me", he said...' (26-13-71)

When it links two identical nouns \textit{ma} indicates variety/multiplicity.

(13.18) \textit{Ke}=ke=ve \quad [udu] \quad ma \quad [udu].

\[
3\text{PL}=\text{go}=\text{RMP} \quad \text{island or island}
\]

'They went to an island or an island (various islands)' (10-2-22)

(13.19) \ldots nge=q=ov=ou \quad \text{enge}=ko \quad \text{pade}=ko

\[
1\text{PL} \text{EXC}=3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{get}=\text{FUT} \quad 1\text{PL} \text{EXC}=3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{house}=3\text{SG.F}
\]

\[
[kama] \quad ma \quad [kama]...
\]

\[
\text{INDEF.SG.F} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{INDEF.SG.F}
\]

'...we will get something or something (various things) for our house...' (64-2-9)

\textit{Udu ma udu} 'island or island (various islands), in (13.18) and \textit{kama ma kama} 'something or something (various things)' in (13.19) are similar to an English expression 'this and that' in 'he wants this and that' meaning 'he wants lots of things'.

### 13.2.4 Adversative coordinator \textit{melai} 'but'

The adversative coordinator \textit{melai} 'but' in general marks a contrast. When it links NPs, PPs, non-verbal predicates, or dependent clauses, \textit{melai} always forms a complex coordinator with the negation marker \textit{pui}. Usually, \textit{pui} occurs in front of the first linked constituent and \textit{melai} occurs between linked constituents, as in examples (13.20), (13.22), and (13.23). Linked NPs/PPs may occur discontinuously, and in such a case, both \textit{melai} and \textit{pui} occur in front of the second NP/PP. This is illustrated by example (13.21).

(13.20) NPs

\[
Ni \quad se=a \quad kiada \quad maba \quad madu \quad se \quad \text{pui} \quad [Sito=ko
\]

\[
SEQ \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{LIG} \quad\text{all} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{COLL.PL} \quad 3\text{PL} \quad \text{NEG} \quad Sito=3\text{SG.F}
\]

\[
vaki] \quad \text{melai} \quad [se] \quad ta \quad ke=lupi=k=a \quad se=ko \quad lezu
\]

\[
troop \quad but \quad 3\text{PL} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{PL}=\text{tie}=3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{PRES} \quad 3\text{PL}=3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{head}
\]
\[\text{diri}=a=\text{ma} \quad \text{suma} \quad \text{kale.}\]
\[\text{red}=\text{LIG}=3\text{SG.F cloth in}\]
\[\text{‘And all those people, not Sito’s troop, but they (all those people) tied red cloth around their heads.’ (12-5-45)}\]

(13.21) PPs
\[...vo \quad ta \quad [o=\text{potu} \quad \text{kale}] \quad \text{inio}\]
\[3\text{SG.M} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{SG.M}=\text{wound} \quad \text{with FOC.NONF}\]
\[o=k=o=a \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{niuniu, melai pui}\]
\[3\text{SG.M}=3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{take=PRES} \quad 3\text{SG.F fish but NEG}\]
\[\text{[tali kale].}\]
\[\text{fishing rod with}\]
\[\text{‘...he gets fish with his wound not with a fishing rod.’ (24-6-70)}\]

(13.22) Non-verbal predicates
\[...vo=a \quad \text{botolo} \quad ta \quad \text{maba botolo, pui}\]
\[3\text{SG.M}=\text{LIG bottle TOP truly bottle NEG}\]
\[\text{[sibi}=a=\text{mu}=\text{ko} \quad \text{botolo}] \quad \text{melai} \quad [\text{vakamaba}=\text{mu}=\text{ko}\]
\[\text{black}=\text{LIG}=3\text{PL}=3\text{SG.F bottle but white people}=3\text{PL}=3\text{SG.F}\]
\[\text{botolo}.\]
\[\text{bottle}\]
\[\text{‘...the bottle is truly a bottle, not a black people’s bottle but a white people’s bottle.’ (47-1-5)}\]

(13.23) Dependent clauses
\[Pui \quad [\text{ko}=\text{barol}=\text{ou} \quad \text{keru}] \quad \text{melai} \quad [\text{ko}=\text{vait}=\text{ou} \quad \text{keru}]
\[\text{NEG} \quad 3\text{SG.F}=\text{arrive=FUT TEMP but} \quad 3\text{SG.F}=\text{return=FUT TEMP}\]
\[\text{inio} \quad \text{qe}=\text{kati}=k=\text{ou}.\]
\[\text{FOC.NONF 1DU.INC=give=3SG.F.O=FUT}\]
\[\text{‘Not when she arrives but when she returns, we will give it to her.’}\]

With clauses, it either forms a complex coordinator with the negation marker as in (13.24) or it functions as a coordinator by itself as in (13.25). The negation marker appears in front of the VP.

(13.24) Independent clauses
\[...[\text{matu} \quad \text{raisi-raisi} \quad \text{ko}=\text{ta} \quad \text{ev}=\text{a}, \quad \text{melai}\]
\[\text{very REDUP-evening 3SG.F}=\text{SIT become=PRES but}\]
\[\text{[nioqa}=\text{vo} \quad \text{mama} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{pui} \quad o=\text{baro}=\text{a}].\]
\[3\text{DU}=3\text{SG.M father TOP NEG 3SG.M}=\text{arrive}=\text{PRES}\]
\[\text{‘...even though it became late evening, their father didn’t arrive.’ (24-4-36)}\]

(13.25) Independent clauses
\[...[\text{kubo} \quad \text{kele-kele} \quad o=revoe=k=\text{a}] \quad \text{melai}\]
\[\text{many REDUP-point 3SG.M}=\text{go.around}=3\text{SG.F.O}=\text{PRES but}\]
\[ o=\beta \quad o=\alpha \ldots \]
\[ 3SG.M=CONT \quad go=PRES \]
\[ \ldots \text{even though he went around many points, he kept going...} \]  
(38-1-4)

*Melai* ‘but’ may indicate a concessive relationship between clauses and can be translated as ‘even though’ or ‘in spite of the fact that’ as in the examples above. *Melai* may also imply a substitutive relationship as in example (13.26) meaning ‘but instead’.

(13.26) Independent clauses

\[ [\text{pui} \quad o=nokae=v=a] \quad \text{melai} \quad [o=ta \quad vait=a], \]
\[ \text{NEG} \quad 3SG.M=call=3SG.M.O=PRES \quad \text{but} \quad 3SG.M=SIT \quad \text{return}=PRES \]
\[ \ldots \text{he (the son) didn’t call him, but instead he (the son) returned,} \]
(24-7-71)

A substitutive relationship signals that one expected situation is replaced by another unexpected situation (Thompson & Longacre 1985:199). In (13.26) the son was looking for him (his father) and therefore it was expected that the son would call him when the son found him but contrary to expectation, he didn’t call him and just returned.

### 13.2.5 Sequential coordinator *finio* ‘sequentially/and then’

The sequential coordinator *finio* ‘sequentially/and then’, glossed as SEQ, can only link independent clauses. It indicates a temporal, sequential relation. *Finio* is often elided into *nio*.

(13.27) \[ [3SG.M=TOP \quad o=k=\alpha=a \quad 6 \quad kama \]
\[ 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=take=PRES \quad \text{INDEF.SG.F} \]
\[ keru-\text{keru}], \quad finio \quad [3SG.M=TOP \quad \text{ervo}] \]
\[ \text{REDUP} \quad \text{think} \quad \text{SEQ} \quad \text{s.th. like this} \]
\[ k=i=o=\lambda a]. \]
\[ 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES \]
\[ \ldots \text{he got some thought and then he said something like this.} \]
(24-2-18)

(13.28) \[ [3SG.M=go.down=PRES \quad \text{SEQ} \quad 3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES \]
\[ \text{ko}=a \quad \text{quisini}. \]
\[ 3SG.F=LIG \quad \text{rope} \]
\[ \ldots \text{he went down and then coiled the rope.} \]
(2-9-52)

It may be postulated that the sequential coordinator *finio* ‘sequentially/and then’ and the focus marker *finio* (see §14.3.2) historically have the same origin. *Finio* ‘sequentially/and then’, like focus structures, helps to push the communication forward, by indicating that there is something happening next. In fact, when a VP is followed by *finio*, it is sometimes ambiguous whether it is a focus marker or the sequential coordinator *finio*, as in Bilua a VP on its own can form a clause; both the focus marker and the sequential coordinator can follow a VP. This is when *finio* forms one intonation unit with both the preceding VP and
a clause which follows. In such a case, *inio* is treated as a sequential coordinator in this work. On the other hand, if *inio* and the preceding VP form one intonation unit of their own, *inio* is regarded as the focus marker, as the focus marker normally forms one intonation unit with the constituent it marks.

13.2.6 *Causal coordinator* ti/ti ‘and then/consequently’

Causal coordinators *ti* and *ta* link only independent clauses and they indicate a causal succession between events described by the linked clauses. It appears that historically they have the same origin as topic markers *ta* and *ti*. This is discussed later below.

The causal coordinator is usually realised as *ti* when linked clauses present realised situations. *Ta* can be used when the situation described by the second of two linked clauses describes an unexpected situation, and this results in a connotation of surprise. This is illustrated by example (13.29). *Ti*, on the other hand, does not have such a connotation. There is no unexpectedness in example (13.30).

(13.29) [Sainio o=lilit=a] ta [kala ziolo therefore 3SG.M=look.back=PRES and.then INDEF.SG.M devil

_lula=mu ke=papue=v=e=ni jari topi]. before=3PL 3PL=sit=3SG.M.O=RMP=REL.NONF copra.shed top

'Therefore, he looked back and then [he found that] there was a devil which people in the past had sat on the top of the copra shed.' (43-2-18)

(13.30) ...[ko=ta surai=va] ti [ko=ta

3SG.M=SIT heal=PRES and.then 3SG.M=SIT

_poda=k=a].
come.out=3SG.F.O=PRES

'...it healed and consequently it came off.' (34-1-10)

*Ta* can also be used when the first of linked clauses contains a perception verb, *mamulo* 'to be suspicious', *nianio* 'to know', *kerukeruto* 'to think', *paqumuko* 'to understand', *or kel* 'to see'. In such a case, the second of linked clauses describes what the subject suspects/knows/thinks/understands/sees. The second of linked clauses in examples below are not complement clauses, as they contain constituents marked with a topic/focus marker, whereas no dependent clauses can contain a constituent marked with a topic/focus marker.

(13.31) [Anga=ko keru-keru kale anga ta 1SG=3SG.F REDUP-thought in 1SG TOP

_a=geru-kerut=a] ta [ko=kue=va=ko taku ta 1SG=REDUP-think=PRES and.then 3SG.F=come=PRES=REL.F time TOP

_enge Vella La Vella udu kale=a=ma maba poso=ngela 1PL.EXC Vella La Vella island in=L1G=3SG.F person PL=1PL.EXC
'In my thinking, I thought, [and as a result I think] in the coming time, we, [the lives of] Vella La Vella people will become hard.' (64-3-16)

(13.32) Nio [sainio nioqa=vo meqora ta o=ta] SEQ therefore 3DU=3SG.M child TOP 3SG.M=SIT mamlu=a] ta [vo ta o=potu kale be...suspicious=PRES and.then 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=wound with inio o=k=o=a ko niuniu melai FOC.NONF 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3SG.F fish but pui tali kale]. NEG fishing.rod with 'And, therefore, the child of the two, he became suspicious, [and as a result he suspected that] the father caught fish with his wound [on his legs] but not with a fishing rod.' (24-6-70)

The VP in the clause which follows ti often contains the continuity marker betalbe. The continuity marker here always has the 'sequential' use (see §8.5.4).

(13.33) ...[ko=bori=v=a vo=a bakisa] ti 3SG.F=carry=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M=LIG custom.money and.then [ko=beta ol=a inio matu-peuru kale], 3SG.F=CONT go=PRES FOC.NONF big-village in '...she carried the custom money and she went on to the big village,' (27-5-28)

When linked clauses present unrealised situations, the clausal coordinator is usually realised as ta. Ti is used when linked clauses present habitual generic situations. Example (13.35) occurs in a story about traditional marriages in which situations described are generic.

(13.34) ...[me=k=a zario=vou] ta [me=ngavi nio] 2PL=3SG.F.O=VAL want=FUT and.then 2PL=EMPH FOC.NONF me=koi=kou] 2PL=climb=3SG.F.O=FUT '...if you want [betelnuts] you yourself will climb [the betel nut tree]...' (more literally '...you want [betelnuts] and then you yourself will climb [the betel nut tree]...' (59-8-68)

(13.35) [Esa ko=a sinaqurusu=ko mama ni niania ta maybe 3SG.F=LIG girl=3SG.F father and mother TOP lula qa=vou=vou] ti [ko=a sinaqurusu=vo already 3DU=die=FUT and.then 3SG.F=LIG girl=3SG.M
Or *ti* can occur when the clause that follows contains the continuity marker *betalbe*. Again, the continuity marker here has the 'sequential' use.

(13.36) 

```
...[qe=zio]  
ti    [qe=beta  \  \ vait=\ o]...`
1DU.EXC=goNRFUT  and.then  1DU.EXC=CONT return=NRFUT
```

...we will go and then return...”’ (27-17-108)

Notice that in (13.35) a clause that is followed by a causal coordinator has its own topic. The topic NP, *ko=a sinaqurusu=ko mama ni niania* ‘the father and mother of the girl’, is not the topic of the (contracted) second clause *ko=a sinaqurusu=vo papa kasi* ‘[they will go to see] her uncle’, and thus this topic is the topic of only the first clause.

Haiman (1978) shows that conditional clauses and topics are marked in an identical way in some languages and he illustrates semantic similarity between conditionals and topics: ‘I am arguing that topics, like conditional clauses, are presuppositions of their sentences. But superficially, at least, presupposition means different things in the case of NPs and complement sentences’ (Haiman 1978:585). Haiman also states that a conditional construction indicates a ‘causal succession’ between two clauses.

The morphemes *ta* and *ti* in Bilu function as topic markers (see §14.2), and it may be suggested that *ta* and *ti* described above are in fact topic markers. Indeed, there is some evidence that supports this contention. Topic markers, *ta* and *ti*, however, appeared to have developed as causal coordinators as discussed below.

The following evidence supports the above contention. First, in examples (13.34) and (13.35), *ta* and *ti* clearly mark a clause which presents a condition. Furthermore, as described in §14.2.3, the topic marker *ti* can be used only when the clause presents a habitual/generic situation. This accords with the choice of topic marker for example (13.35).

Second, a pronoun *so* ‘that’, which refers to a clause, can be marked by a topic marker *ta/ti*, and *so* marked by *ta/ti* may present a condition. *Ta/ti* here cannot be treated as a causal coordinator, as *ta/ti* as a coordinator cannot link an NP to a clause. In the following example, the pronoun *so* ‘that’, which is marked by *ta* (TOP), refers to a clause ‘he does not eat’. Semantically, this clause presents a condition; the situation described by the clause that follows the topic marker *ta* occurs under this condition.

(13.37) 

```
Koe  ako  so  ta  o=ta  vou=vo  inio
INTJ INTJ that TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=NRFUT FOC.NONF
anga=vo  meqora  vuat=\ o  melai  pui
1SG=3SG.M child  eat=NOM too  NEG
```
Thus, it may be said that causal coordinators *ta* and *ti* are indeed topic markers. However, there is some other evidence that suggests that topic markers *ta* and *ti* have developed as coordinators. First, *ti* can be used when the situations described are not habitual/generic ones as in examples (13.30), (13.33), and (13.36). Second, in some of examples above, the topic marker does not necessarily mark a condition. For example, in example (13.29) it is hard to say that the clause marked by *ta* presents a condition. Third, *ti*/*ta* may also occur in the clause-initial position, indicating the continuation of a story or a sentence (see §13.2.1), and in such a case it seems more reasonable to say that *ti*/*ta* here is a coordinator rather than a topic marker. In conclusion, one might say that topic markers *ta* and *ti* have developed or at least are in the process of developing as causal coordinators, and in this work *ta* and *ti* are treated as coordinators when they follow a clause.

In their classification of conditionals, Thompson and Longacre (1985:190–191) make a distinction between reality conditions and unreality conditions. Unreality conditions are divided into predictive and imaginative conditions. With predictive conditions one predicts what will be (1985:190–191) and this is expressed by a clause followed by a causal coordinator as in the above examples. On the other hand, imaginative conditions are expressed by a clause marked with a subordinator *tea* ‘if’ (see §12.4.3).

Reality conditions are divided into three kinds: present, habitual/generic, and past. Among these, a habitual/generic condition is expressed by a clause followed by *ti*, as in example (13.35). Present and past conditions are also expressed by a clause followed by *ta* or *ti*. Thompson and Longacre’s (1985:190) example for a present condition, ‘if it’s raining out there, (my car is getting wet)’ could be expressed by two independent clauses linked by a causal coordinator *ti* as in example (13.38) below.

(13.38) [Esa ni oro ko=ta ev=a sai] ti
maybe rain 3SG.F=SIT become=PRES there and.then
[anga=ko car ta site-site].
1SG=3SG.F car TOP REDUP-wet
‘It may be raining there, and then my car is wet.’

*Ti* but not *ta* can be recursive, thus one sentence may contain more than two clauses linked by *ti*. When *ti* is recursive, it indicates a sequence of situations that occur one after another, and *ti* here is better translated as ‘and’. This also supports the contention that *ti*, and also *ta*, have developed as a coordinator.

(13.39) [Ko=ta baro=a] ti [ko ta ko ol=ala raro
3SG.F=SIT arrive=PRES and.then 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F go=RCP pot

84 However, there appears to be no relationship between another topic marker *melai* and the adversative coordinator *melai*. 
A causal coordinator *ti* 'and then/consequently' may link an ablative PP to a locational phrase that presents a goal (see §10.5 for ablative PPs).

(13.40)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{So } ti & \text{ so } vo=ko & sagor=ö & kale & sipole \text{ tiana} \\
\text{that } & 3SG.M=3SG.F & \text{ descend=Nom in near middle} \\
o=baro=ke & vo=ko & peuru & kale & azo & ti & saka \\
3SG.M=arrive=HIST & 3SG.M=3SG.F & \text{ village in ABL and then seaside} \\
\text{matu peuru kale ta tiana } & vo & ta & o=dokol=ake. \\
\text{big village in TOP middle 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=stop=HIST} \\
\text{It went on and on in his descent, he reached close to the middle, middle point from his village to the seaside, the big village, (and) he stopped.} & (26-12-66)
\end{align*}
\]

(13.41)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{...ke=ngavi=ko } & \text{ iruiruput=ö maba poso ta } & \text{ matu} \\
3PL=EMPH=3SG.F & \text{ work=NOM person PL TOP very} \\
ile-ile=a=ma & \text{ kiti kasi azo ti } & \text{ lezu kasi...} \\
\text{REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.F foot at ABL and then head at} \\
\text{...her own working people are very beautiful from the foot to the head...} & (67-5-49)
\end{align*}
\]

On the surface it looks as if *ti* links two phrases in the above two examples. *Ti* here still however can be treated as a causal coordinator, as illustrated by the following example. Example (13.42a) can be analysed as consisting of two clauses, and this presents an extension of area. In the first clause, the VP *ko=tanit=a* (3SG.F=begin=PRES) is omitted, and only the ablative adjunct is left. This is linked by a causal coordinator *ti* to the second clause, which presents a goal.

(13.42-a)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bilua eria ta } & \text{ Joroveto ju kasi azo ti} \\
\text{Bilua area TOP Joroveto water at ABL and then} \\
ko=baro=a & \text{ Koloa ju kasi.} \\
3SG.F=arrive=PRES & \text{ Koloa water at} \\
\text{As for Bilua area, [it starts] from Joroveto river and then it arrives at Koloa river.} & (22-1-4)
\end{align*}
\]

The predicate of the second clause in (13.42a) can be omitted and this results in (13.42b), showing a similar structure to (13.40) and (13.41). Thus, *ti*, occurring between an ablative PP and a locational PP that presents a goal, can be treated as a causal coordinator.

(13.42-b)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bilua eria ta } & \text{ Joroveto ju kasi azo ti} \\
\text{Bilua area TOP Joroveto water at ABL and then}
\end{align*}
\]
Koloa ju kasi.
Koloa water at
'Bilua area is from Joroveto river to Koloa river.'

Furthermore, ti can also link an ablative PP to a temporal phrase that presents an ending point of an extension of time (see §10.4 for temporal phrases).

(13.43) A iruruput=ala vikale azo ti raisi-raisi.
1SG work=RCP morning ABL and.then REDUP-evening
'I worked from morning to evening.'

13.2.7 Intensifying coordinator ti

The intensifying coordinator ti (INT) links two identical phrases (NPs, PPs, or VPs) or words (the negation marker pui or an adjective matu 'big' as in examples (13.49) and (13.50) below). NPs, PPs or VPs linked by ti always refer to a situation, and ti indicates intensity or persistence of the situation. For example, in example (13.44) ti links two identical PPs, and it indicates the intensity of the fighting.

(13.44) PP
...[pazo-kinin=s=le] ti [pazo-kinin=s=le] ti
hit-RECP=NOM=in INT hit-RECP=NOM=in and.then
ke=ta ruvur=a, se Kutakabai=mu.
3PL=SIT all.die=PRES 3PL Kutakabai=3PL
'...after the intensive fighting they, Kutakabai people, all died.' (22-7-32)
(more literally '...in the fighting and in the fighting, they Kutakabai people all died.)

Phrases linked by ti can be treated as clauses, as they refer to situations in the manner that clauses do. Accordingly, linked phrases can be linked to a clause by a coordinator. This is usually done by a causal coordinator ti, as in (13.44). In fact, it is plausible that the intensifier coordinator ti has originated in the causal coordinator ti, but when ti links identical phrases, it indicates intensity or persistence of the situation because of the repetition of the same phrasal. Phrases that occur on both sides of the intensifier ti can have only minimum constituent(s). The object NP governed by a PP can consist of a noun only. This can only be a nominalised verb, as in (13.44). When the linked phrases are NPs, these can have only their heads. The head of the NP can be a nominalised verb as in example (13.45), or the pronoun so 'that', which has a clause as its antecedent as in example (13.46). In both examples, the linked NPs refer to situations.

(13.45) ...[puze=v=A] ti [puze=v=A] ti
blow=3SG.M.O=NOM INT blow=3SG.M.O=NOM and.then
Coordination 245

diri-diri o=ta ev=a vo=a taka...
REDUP-red 3SG.M=SIT become=PRES 3SG.M=LIG claw
'...he blew and blew the fire, and then the claws [of the coconut crab] became red...' (38-3-10)
(more literally '...blowing it and blowing it, the claws became red...')

(13.46) [So] ti [so] ti [so] ti sopu tiania
that INT that INT that and.then hill middle
o=baro=a.
3SG.M=arrive=PRES
'He chased and chased and chased them, and then he reached the middle of the hill.' (16-6-80)

In (13.46), the antecedent of the pronoun so 'that' is a clause 'he chased them', which occurs in the previous discourse.

The minimum constituent of a VP in Bilua is a pronominal proclitic, the head, and a tense/mood marker. VPs linked by ti may additionally have the situation-change marker ta. The situation-change marker adds dynamicity because of its function of indicating a change of situation. Since a Bilua VP can form a clause on its own, it can be said that coordination of VPs by ti is a case of coordination of clauses. However, ti cannot link clauses that contain constituents other than VPs.

(13.47) Ti [o=ta ol=a] ti [o=ta ol=a] ti
and.then 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES INT 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES INT
[3SG.M=SIT go=PRES 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES forest in
'o=ta ol=a] ti [o=ta ol=a] ti
'He went and went and went and went in the forest.' (24-11-91)

(13.48) [Ke=kail=a] ti [ke=kail=a] | ke=baro=ke
3PL.go.up=3SG.M=arrive=HIST
ko=a zae kale,
3SG.F=LIG area in
'They went up and went up, (and) they arrived at the area,' (26-23-123)

Ti can also link identical words, the negation marker pui as in example (13.49) or an adjective matu 'big' as in example (13.50) below. The negation marker pui linked by ti indicates a strong negation. Among all adjectives, only matu 'big' can be linked by ti.

(13.49) "...sole koi nio maba [pui] ti [pui] ngo
so here FOC.NONF truly NEG INT NEG 2SG
el=a", k=i=ko=la,
stay=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
"...so, truly you never stay here", she said,' (24-9-89)

(13.50) So sole vo ta o=lilit=ake inio
that because 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=look back=HIST SEQ
Other adjectives than matu ‘big’ cannot occur with the intensifying coordinator ti. With other adjectives, intensity can be indicated by a general modifier matu ‘very’ as in example (13.51). The adjective matu ‘big’ cannot be modified by a general modifier matu ‘very’, and intensity can only be indicated by the intensifying coordinator ti, as in the above example.

(13.51) Sito ta matu piza=ka=la maba.
Sito TOP very strong=LIG=3SG.M person
‘Sito is a very strong person.’ (12-7-64)

It might be hypothesised that an adjective matu ‘big’ and a general modifier matu ‘very’ are one and the same word. In fact, both can modify nouns. However, as described in §5.3, a general modifier matu ‘very’ modifies nouns without a pronominal enclitic attached, while an adjective matu big’ requires a pronominal enclitic. Therefore, matu ‘big’ and matu ‘very’ are treated as separate words in this work.

13.3 Juxtaposition

Independent clauses may be linked by juxtaposition. Juxtaposition may link more than two clauses. In a sentence in which clauses are linked by juxtaposition, the boundary between clauses is normally marked with a slight rising intonation at the end of each clause which occurs sentence internally. This is followed by a short pause. The final clause, the end of the sentence, is marked with a falling intonation.

Similarly to coordination of clauses by the conjunctive coordinator ni ‘and’, the clauses linked by juxtaposition are regarded as presenting one situation which has subparts. Clauses are normally linked by juxtaposition in fast speech or when the second of linked clauses presents an unrealised situation. Example (13.52) as the whole describes what the two do every morning and this has subparts.

(13.52) [Kiada=ma vikale nioqa ta qo ol=a kiaro kasi]
all=3SG.F morning 3DU TOP 3DU go=PRES garden at

[qo=baro=a kiaro kasi]. [nioqa ta qo iruruput=a
3DU=arrive=PRES garden at 3DU TOP 3DU work=PRES
sat].
there
‘Every morning, the two, they went up to the garden, they arrived at the garden, [and] the two, they worked there.’ (24-1-10)
When the second of two linked clauses linked by juxtaposition presents an unrealised situation, this clause is preceded by the irrealsis marker *tu* and presents a purpose, as in example (13.53), or a result, as in example (13.54). The second clause can also be an imperative clause, as imperative clauses always present an unrealised situation. This is illustrated by example (13.55).

(13.53) \[\text{[ko ina-inao=va]} \quad \text{tu} \quad [\text{ko ta ko=vait=ou} \]
\[
3SG.F \quad \text{REDUP-get.ready=PRES} \quad 3SG.F \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3SG.F=\text{return=FUT}
mata]...
\]

again

‘...she got ready in order that she will return again...’ (59-7-60)

(13.54) \[\text{[O=kil=o],} \quad [\text{a=kil=o}] \quad \text{tu} \quad [\text{maba} \]
\[
3SG.M=\text{come=NRFUT} \quad 3SG.M=\text{come=NRFUT} \quad \text{IRR} \quad \text{truly}
\]

1SG scold=3SG.M.O=NRFUT 1SG

‘He will come, he will come, and truly (that will result in that) I will scold him.’

(24-8-82)

(13.55) \[\text{[Pui vanga inio sai]} \quad \text{tu} \quad [\text{vae=k=a} \]
\[
3SG.F=\text{gone=NRFUT} \quad 3SG.F=\text{EMPH} \quad 3SG.F=\text{say}=3SG.F=\text{PRES}
\]

‘He’s not far away, leave it, she will go herself’, she said.’ (27-22-140)

*Tu* is not a purposive/resultative subordinator; the second clause of example (13.53) contains a constituent marked with a topic marker, whereas a dependent clause cannot have a constituent marked with a topic marker.

Clauses linked by juxtaposition may express two simultaneous situations when the first clause has the verb *kelo* ‘to see’ as in example (13.56).

(13.56) \[\text{[o=k=e=a} \quad \text{nioqa} \quad [\text{go=beta kue=va} \]
\[
3SG.M=3DU.O=\text{see=PRES} \quad 3DU \quad 3DU=\text{CONT} \quad \text{come=PRES}
\]

‘...she saw her coming,’ (27-11-68)

One might consider that the second clause in (13.56) is in fact a finite complement clause that functions as an object. This however contradicts a description of finite complement clauses presented in §12.3—first, a Bilua finite complement clause contains only a future/near future tense marker; second, a finite complement clause can be the

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85 The irrealsis marker *tu* is not a coordinator, as it may also occur between an independent clause and a complement dependent clause (see §12.3.2 and §12.3.3). In such a case, the complement clause can only be a finite or non-finite complement clause which takes only a Secondary verb as the main verb. On the other hand, when *tu* occurs between independent clauses, the verb which precedes can only be a Primary verb.
object of only Secondary verbs; and third, a Bilua finite complement clause immediately follows the VP of the main clause. Whereas, in example (13.56), the verb in the second clause has the present tense marker, the verb in the first clause is a Primary verb, and the second clause does not immediately follows the VP of the first clause. Thus, example (13.56) cannot be treated as main plus complement clauses unless we establish another type of finite complement clause, which accommodates the structure of example (13.56). This, however, does not seem to be so motivating or economical, as such a complement clause would occur only with a clause containing kelo ‘to see’. Furthermore, there is no syntactic/morphological marking of the second clause as a dependent clause. Therefore, example (13.56) is treated as an example of juxtaposed clauses.

Two clauses are always linked by juxtaposition when the second of the linked clauses is an interrogative clause.

(13.57) [Pui a=q=a (nie=nai=ka)] [noi nio ke=ta
Neg 1PL.EXC=understand=3SG.F.O=PRES how FOC.NONF 3PL=SIT
ka=va, ma ke=ta vou=va inio, ma
or 3PL=SIT die=PRES FOC.NONF
ka koi ke=ta ol=a].
INDEF place 3PL=SIT go=PRES
‘...we don’t understand how they are doing, or [if] they died or they went somewhere.’ (26-4-25)

(13.58) [Pui a=q=a] [esa noni=a=ma
Neg 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL know=PRES maybe how=LIG=3SG.F
saev=o iki enge nge=q=ov=ou
survive=NOM FOC.F 1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT
kaitu=a=ma saev=o].
future=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM
‘I don’t know maybe what kind of life we will get, [for] future life.’ (64-3-32)

One might consider that the second clauses in the two examples above are interrogative complement clauses, as the English translations suggest this. Notice, however, that the second clause in each example above contains a constituent marked with a focus marker: noi ‘how’ in (13.57) and noniama saevo ‘what kind of life’ in (13.58). This suggests that the second clauses are independent clauses—Bilua dependent clauses cannot contain a constituent marked with a focus marker, while independent clauses may (see §12). One might make an exception to this—a complement clause may contain a constituent marked with a focus marker when this constituent contains an interrogative word. Such an exception, however, is not employed in this work, as again there is no syntactic/morphological marking of interrogative clauses as dependent, and examples above are treated as juxtaposition of two clauses.

Juxtaposition is also the preferred way of indicating coordination when one of the linked clauses has a linking adverbial. This is because a linking adverbial itself marks a
successional relationship between two situations. Linking adverbials are described in §10.7.

This concludes the description of coordination. The next chapter deals with discourse organisation in Bilua.
14 Discourse organisation

14.1 Introduction

This chapter presents three kinds of constructions that encode discourse organisation: topic structure, focus structure, and constituent order. A topic is what a clause/sentence is about, while a focus is defined by Lambrecht (1994:213) as ‘the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition’.

When analysing topic and constituent order, it is important to distinguish different kinds of referent status. Lambrecht (1988 and 1994:74–116) combines two concepts, ‘identifiability’ and ‘activation’, previously suggested by Chafe (1976 and 1987) to distinguish referent status. Hence one can label a referent as ‘identifiable’ if it ‘can be retrieved from the context or recalled from memory’ or as ‘unidentifiable’ if a referent is one ‘for which a new referential entry or model has to be created in the mind of the hearer before it can be recalled in subsequent discourse’ (Lambrecht 1988:144). Furthermore, unidentifiable referents can be divided into two types: unanchored and anchored.

A discourse entity is Anchored if the NP representing it is LINKED, by means of another NP, or “Anchor,” properly contained in it, to some other discourse entity. Thus a bus is Unanchored, or simply Brand-new, whereas a guy I work with, containing the NP I, is Brand-new Anchored, as the discourse entity the hearer creates for this particular guy will be immediately linked to his/her discourse entity for the speaker. (Prince 1981:236)

If a referent is identifiable, this can be in one of three activation states: active, accessible/semi-active, or inactive.

An active concept is one “that is currently lit up, a concept in a person’s focus of consciousness at a particular moment.” An accessible/semi-active concept is one “that is in a person’s peripheral consciousness, a concept of which a person has a background awareness, but one that is not being directly focused on.” An inactive concept is one “that is currently in a person’s long-term memory, neither focally nor peripherally active”. (Lambrecht 1994:94)

A referent can be textually, inferentially, or situationally accessible. A referent which has been active earlier in the discourse is textually accessible. Inferentially accessible means that a referent is inferable from some other active referents in the discourse, and situationally accessible means that a referent is accessible due to extra-linguistic context.

Thus, five different types of referent status can be recognised: inactive, accessible, active, anchored, and unanchored, with three subtypes of accessible referents: textually
accessible, situationally accessible, and inferentially accessible. This is summarised as follows (based on Lambrecht 1994:109).

```
referents
  ↓
identifiable
  ↓
active
  ↓
anchored
  ↓
unidentifiable
  ↓
unanchored
```

Figure 14.1: Different types of referent status

This chapter is organised as follows. Topic and focus are described in §14.2 and §14.3 respectively. Both topic and focus markers in Bilua may emphasise a contrast. This is described in §14.4. A clause may have both topic and focus constituents. The order of topic and focus constituents within a clause is described in §14.5. Following this, section §14.6 presents functions and order of unmarked constituents in Bilua. Section §14.7 presents a summary.

14.2 Topic

14.2.1 Introduction

A topic is what a given clause/sentence is about, and 'a constituent is a topic expression if the proposition expressed by the clause with which it is associated is pragmatically construed as conveying information about the referent of the constituent' (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:203).

A language may have a topic structure which contains a topic expression and a comment expression, an expression which presents information about this topic. In this section, first the topic structure in Bilua is described in §14.2.2. A topic expression in Bilua consists of a phrase marked with a topic marker. There are three topic markers in Bilua: *ta, ti, and melai*. Their distribution is described in §14.2.3. In Bilua, only NPs which have an identifiable referent can be marked with a topic marker. See §14.2.4.

14.2.2 Topic structure

In the Bilua topic structure, a topic is expressed by a phrase marked by a topic marker, and this is followed by a comment expression, which minimally contains a verbal
predicate and which may additionally contain optional constituents of verbal clauses.\textsuperscript{86} This is schematised as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic expression</th>
<th>Comment expression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phrase + topic marker</td>
<td>verbal predicate (+ optional constituents)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 14.2:** Topic Structure

In the following, the term ‘topic constituent’ refers to a phrase marked with a topic marker. Note that the topic structure does not have to be employed in every single sentence in Bilua. The topic structure is employed for a pragmatic reason. This is discussed later in this section.

In example (14.1), an NP vo (3SG.M) ‘he’ presents a topic, and an NP + a VP quisini=ko varu o=k=o=a ‘he got the bark of varu trees’ presents a comment about this topic. Then, a new topic is introduced by an NP anga ‘I’, and an NP + a VP bita=ko ipupu a=q=o=a ‘I got the bark of ipupu tree’ presents a comment about the new topic.

\[
(14.1) \quad [\text{vo ta}] \quad \text{quisini=ko varu} \quad o=k=o=a \quad | \\
3SG.M \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{rope}=3SG.F \quad \text{varu.tree} \quad 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=\text{get}=\text{PRES} \\
\text{comment expression} \\
[\text{anga ta}] \quad \text{bita=ko ipupu} \quad a=q=o=a. \\
1SG \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{string.bag}=3SG.F \quad \text{ipupu.tree} \quad 1SG=3SG.F.O=\text{get}=\text{PRES} \\
\text{comment expression} \\
\text{‘As for him, he got [the bark of] varu trees, [and] as for me, I got [the bark of] ipupu trees.’}
\]

Thus, the topic structure consists of a topic expression and a comment expression, which are a topic constituent marked with a topic marker and a verbal predicate with optional constituent(s) respectively. The comment expression can form a clause by itself, as a Bilua verbal predicate can equal a clause. The topic expression is sometimes a part of this clause and at other times it is not. In Bilua, the topic constituent may have a core argument or adjunct status in relation to the predicate in the comment expression but this is not always the case. In the former case, topic and comment expressions are considered to form one clause. That is, the topic expression is an intracausal element. In example (14.1), each of the topic constituents has a subject status in relation to the predicate, and thus topic and comment expressions form one clause. Similarly, in example (14.2), the topic constituent has a temporal adjunct status in relation to the predicate, and thus the topic and comment expressions form one clause.

\[
(14.2) \quad \text{nio so keru ta bereti kio o=bori=k=a} \\
\text{and then that TEMP TOP bread FOC.F 3SG.M=carry=3SG.F.O=\text{PRES}}
\]

---

\textsuperscript{86} A topic marker is also an obligatory constituent of a non-verbal clause, marking the subject NP. This is described in §3.3 and §11. It is not obligatory for a verbal clause to contain a topic marker.
vo=a silo=a=la megora...
3SG.M=LI G small=LI G=3SG.M child
‘And then as for that time [the second time], he carried bread, the small child...’
(16-3-35)

When the topic constituent has no relation with the predicate in the comment expression, the topic and comment expressions do not form one clause. The comment expression forms a clause on its own, and the topic expression is an autonomous, extracausal element. In example (14.3) below, the topic constituent is vo=ko peka=o ‘his dance’, and the comment expression is two coordinated clauses which follow the topic expression. The topic constituent here is not an argument of the verb pesio ‘to speak’ or kelo ‘to see’. Nor does it function as an adjunct of these clauses. Thus, in (14.3), topic and comment expressions do not form one clause.

(14.3) Vo=ko peka=o ta "kake ke=l=ati
3SG.M=3SG.F dance=NOM TOP INDEF.PL 3PL=1SG.O=VAL

pesi=o ma kake ke=l=el=o,"
speak=NRFUT or INDEF.PL 3PL=1SG.O=see=NRFUT
‘As for his dance, “it makes people speak to me or it makes people see me,”’
(26-13-71)
(more literally ‘As for his dance, “some people speak to me or some people see me”’,)

Topic and comment expressions usually form one intonation unit, but the topic expression may form its own intonation unit. In such a case, the topic expression is regarded as an extracausal element, regardless of whether the topic constituent has any relation with the predicate in the comment expression or not. In example (14.4), the topic expression forms its own intonation unit, and thus it does not form one clause with the comment expression, even though the topic constituent has a subject relation with the predicate in the comment expression. Note that in this example one NP is filled with two NPs in apposition; rekoama ‘the wife’ and voa sieleko reko ‘the wife of the dog’, and this is topicalised.

(14.4) ...reko=a=ma vo=a siele=ko reko ta.
wife=LI G=3SG.F 3SG.M=LI G dog=3SG.F wife TOP

tuto ale ko i=k=a...
coconut.container in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘...as for the wife, the wife of the dog, she put [the food] in a coconut container...’ (27-12-75)

Furthermore, a topic constituent may form its own intonation unit, independent of the topic marker. In this case too, the topic expression is treated as an extracausal element.

(14.5) ...enge=ko peuru kale ta matu kubo maba
1PL.EXC=3SG.F village in TOP very many person
\textit{madu ta ke=ta mumai=va},
\text{COLL.PL TOP 3PL=SIT get.lost=PRES}

'...in our village, a lot of people, they got lost,' (26-18-112)

A topic structure may have more than one topic expression. When there are two topic expressions, one may be an extracausal element and the other may be an intracausal element. In such a case, the latter occurs closer to the comment expression. In example (14.6), \textit{se=ko iruruput=0} 'their work' is an extracausal element; it has no relation with the predicate in the comment expression. On the other hand, \textit{se} 'they' is an intracausal element; it has a subject status in relation to the predicate in the comment expression. Consequently, \textit{se} 'they' occurs closer to the comment expression.

(14.6) \textit{...se=ko iruruput=o ta se ta ke iruruput=a}
\text{3PL=3SG.F work=NOM TOP 3PL TOP 3PL work=PRES}

\textit{kiaro kale.}
\text{garden in}

'...as for their work, they, they worked in a garden.' (26-1-4)

When two topic expressions are both intracausal elements, both syntactically and by intonation, the order depends on the functions of the topic constituents—they take their usual positions in a clause (see §3.2.2). Thus, the one which is a core argument occurs closer to the predicate than the one which is an adjunct. In example (14.7) an argument NP \textit{enge} 'we' and a temporal adverb \textit{erisanga} 'today' are both intracausal elements. They are a core argument and an adjunct respectively. The former, an argument, occurs closer to the predicate than the latter, an adjunct.

(14.7) \textit{Erisanga ta enge ta nge ukaka}
\text{today TOP 1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC careless}

\textit{iruruput=a.}
\text{work=PRES}

'Today, we work carelessly.' (10-19-164)

In example (14.8) the first topic expression \textit{aniqe ta} (1DU.EXC TOP) 'we’ is treated as an extracausal element, even though the NP \textit{aniqe} has a subject relation with the predicate in the comment expression. This is because this NP and the temporal adjunct \textit{lea} 'tomorrow' do not take their usual positions—the NP precedes the adjunct. If the topic expression, \textit{aniqe ta} 'we’, was a part of the clause, it should occur after the other topic expression, \textit{lea} ta 'tomorrow'.

(14.8) \textit{"Aniqe ta lea ta qe=pa barol=o}
\text{1DU.INC TOP tomorrow TOP 1DU.INC=PROS arrive=NRFUT}

\textit{anga=ko mama ni niania kasi saita.}
\text{1SG=3SG.F father and mother at first}

'“We, as for tomorrow, we will reach my father and mother, first.’ (27-17-104)

As described above, a topic structure contains a constituent which presents a topic. In a discourse, the topic structure is employed for three reasons.
First, the speaker may employ the topic structure in order to establish a new topic. In example (14.9), the last clause in sentence [1] is in the topic structure, and *nioqa* (3DU) ‘the two’ is established as a new topic by this topic structure, and there is no occurrence of the topic structure again until sentence [5], in which a new topic *ne a siqa-a-maba* ‘the bushman’ is established. In Bilua, once a new topic is established, it can be expressed by a pronominal proclitic which cross-references the subject. That is, the subject presents the topic without being marked. Thus, in sentences from [2] to [4], the established topic ‘the two’ is expressed by the pronominal proclitic *qi* (3DU). In [6], although the topic changes from ‘he’ back to ‘the two’, the topic structure is not employed in order to re-establish ‘the two’, which had just been the topic in sentences [1] to [4], as a topic. Thus, it is not necessary to employ the topic structure in order to re-establish an old topic, as long as it is still an active referent, and this can be done by presenting it as the subject instead. Note that in [5], the topic constituent is the subject of a non-verbal clause, but the topic marker still functions to establish a new topic. Accordingly, in the verbal clause which follows this, ‘he’ is the established topic and is presented as the subject.

(14.9)  
[1] So sole ko=raneo=ke, ti ke=pito=ke=e=ni nioqa omuqa maba kidi; 3PL=choose=3DU.O=RMP=REL.NONF 3DU two person COLL.DU  
3DU TOP 3DU=SIT go.up=HIST one early.morning  
[2] Qo=kail=a ke ti qo=kail=a ke ti qo=kail=a ke. 3DU=go.up=HIST INT 3DU=go.up=HIST INT 3DU=go.up=HIST  
[3] Matu-kingu kale nio ne=a maba=ko peuru. big-forest in FOC.NONF PROX.SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F home  
[4] Qo=kail=a ke qo=kail=a ke ni qo=peati=k=a ke 3DU=go.up=HIST 3DU=go.up=HIST and 3DU=go.over=3SG.F.O=HIST  
ko sopu, kataue inio qo=baro=ke 3SG.F hill instantly FOC.NONF 3DU=arrive=HIST  
ne=a siqa=a maba=ko peuru kale. PROX.SG.M=LIG bush=LIG person=3SG.F home in  
[5] Ne=a siqa=a-maba ta sai o=peuru kale PROX.SG.M=LIG bush=LIG-person TOP there 3SG.M=home in  
sai nio o ev=a koi, sai nio there FOC.NONF 3SG.M stay= PRES where there FOC.NONF  
vo=ko vinasa. 3SG.M=3SG.F heritage
Second, the speaker may employ the topic structure in order to draw attention to an event with a previously established topic referent. In example (14.10) each sentence is in the topic structure: vo ‘he’ is marked with a topic marker. The first topic structure establishes vo ‘he’ as a new topic, and the rest are employed in order to draw attention to events being described.

(14.10) Ni puliako lotu tukeu vo ta
and before Christianity be.longNOM 3SG.M TOP

o=ta vou=ke. Vo ta o=vaem=a=ke
3SG.M=SIT die=HIST 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=leave=3PL.O=PRES=HIST

duki kale o=tou-tou ni o=megorasaadi. Vo ta
sadness in 3SG.M=REDUP-tribe and 3SG.M=family 3SG.M TOP

ke=daulae=v=ake sai Qao.
3PL=bury=3SG.M.O=HIS there Qao

And, not long after Christianity arrived, he, he died. He left his tribe and family in sadness. They buried him there in Qao.’ (23-3-34~36)

Finally, the topic structure may be employed in order to emphasise a contrast. This is described in §14.4 below.

14.2.3 Topic markers ta, ti, and melai

There are three topic markers in Bilua: ta, ti, and melai. Ti and ta simply function as topic markers and have no semantic content. Ti occurs in restricted environments. It occurs when the topic expression is an intraclausal element and when the clause presents a habitual/generic situation. Example (14.11) describes what two people (the son and the mother) and the father do every day, and thus the situations described are habitual ones. Therefore, the topic constituents are marked with ti, not with ta.

(14.11) ...nioqa ti go ol=a kiaro kale, go=mama ti
3DU TOP 3DU go=PRES garden at 3DU=father TOP
Discourse organisation  257

\[ o \quad ev=a \quad pade \quad kasi. \]
3SG.M stay=PRES house at
‘...as for the two, they went to the garden, and as for the father, he stayed at the house.’ (24-2-17)

\[ Ti \] can also occur when the topic constituent has an adjective \textit{kiada} ‘all’ as in the last example in (14.12).

\begin{equation}
\text{(14.12) } \quad \ldots \text{enge} \quad \text{ta} \quad nge=\text{rove}=a \quad \text{tu} \quad k=ov=o \quad \text{kubo}
\end{equation}

1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=can=PRES IRR 3SG.F.O=get=NOM many

\text{enare \ iere \ kale, enge=ko \ kiaro \ kale=a=ma \ sailao}

food sea in 1PL.EXC=3SG.F garden in=LIG=3SG.F food

\text{melai kubo \ | siqo melai uri | ore melai kubo |}

too many bush too good tree too many

\text{kiada=ma \ quli \ ti \ ikoana.}

all=3SG.F thing TOP EXT.SG.F
‘...as for us, we can get much food in the sea, the food from our garden is plentiful too, the bush is good too, there are also many trees, there is everything.’

(64-1-5)

\text{Ta, on the other hand, can be used in any environment, including environments in which ti can occur. The first topic constituent in (14.12) is marked with ta, even though the topic expression here is an intraclausal element and the clause describes a generic situation. On the other hand, topic expressions in example (14.9) are all intraclausal elements and the clauses do not describe a habitual/generic situation. Therefore, the topic constituents can only be marked with ta. In example (14.13) there are two topic expressions; the first one is an extraclausal element, and so the topic constituent can be marked only by ta. The second one is an intraclausal element and the topic constituent contains \textit{kiada} ‘all’, but this is still marked with ta. Thus, there is no restriction on environments in which ta can occur.}

\begin{equation}
\text{(14.13) } \quad \text{Melai vo \quad ta \quad kiada \quad kere \quad ta \quad pui}
\end{equation}

but 3SG.M TOP all TEMP TOP NEG

\[ o=sisu=a=ni \quad \text{melai} \quad ko=a \quad \text{tuku} \quad kale \]
3SG.M=have.fruit=PRES=REL.NONF but 3SG.F=LIG time in

\[ \text{inio \ omadeu \ pado \ ikio \ vo}=ko \quad \text{epa...} \]
FOC.NONF one MESone FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F fruit
‘But, as for [the betelnut tree], all the time, it did not bear any fruit, but that time there was one fruit of [the betelnut tree]...’ (59-1-8)

In (14.13) two coordinated clauses present a comment about the topic \textit{vo} (3SG.M) ‘it (the betelnut tree)’. In this example, the topic ‘it’ is talked about with regard to two different temporal references \textit{kiada kere} ‘all the time’ and \textit{ko=a taku kale} ‘in that time’. The first clause has its own topic ‘all the time’, which is a subtopic within the topic \textit{vo} ‘it’.
"Kiada keru is not the topic of the second clause. The second clause does not have a subtopic, and the topic is just vo 'it'.

The third topic marker melai has a semantic content as well as serving as a topic marker: it means 'too' or 'also'. It indicates that the comment includes the same or similar information as the information given by the preceding clause. This is illustrated by example (14.14). In this example the topic changes from the wife of the dog to the mother, but since the mother took the same action as the wife, the change of topic is indicated by the topic markers melai 'too'.

(14.14) ...vo=a siele=ko reko ta tuto ale
3SG.M=LIG dog=3SG.F wife TOP coconut.container in
ko i=k=a ni niania=ka=ma melai
3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES and mother=LIG=3SG.F too
tuto ale ko i=k=a.
coconut.container in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES
...as for the wife of the dog, she put [the food] in a coconut container, and as for the mother, she too put it in a coconut container. (27-12-75)

In Bilua, the subject of a non-verbal clause is marked with a topic marker (see §11). This can be any of ta, ti, and melai. The second, third, fourth, and fifth clauses in example (14.12) are non-verbal clauses, and their subjects are both marked by melai. Melai is employed here because these clauses present the same information, just as the first clause does, 'many'.

14.2.4 Referent status of topic NPs

Lambrecht discusses the relationship between types of referent status presented in §14.1 and their acceptability as topic. The more identifiable the referent is, the more acceptable it is as a topic. This is summarised by the following diagram (based on Lambrecht 1994:165).

```
Identifiable-active                Most Acceptable
Identifiable-accessible
Identifiable-inactive
Unidentifiable-anchored
Unidentifiable-unanchored         Least Acceptable
```

**Figure 14.3:** The topic acceptability scale

In Bilua only an NP which has an identifiable referent can be a topic constituent. Among identifiable referents, only active and accessible referents can be topic constituents. A less acceptable referent, however, requires more processing effort to interpret the utterance, and so it is quite rare for such a referent to be a topic.
In example (14.15) below the referent of the topic NP kake tanatana=mu ‘some elders’ has not previously occurred in the discourse, but it is a situationally accessible referent. The speaker starts this story with a scene-setting of the village, and in every village there are some elders. In example (14.16) the referent of the topic NP omuga kiti ‘(his) two legs’ marked with a topic marker appears for the first time. This is a body part of the subject of this clause and thus it is an inferentially accessible referent.

(14.15) Omadeu taku inio, kake tanatana=mu ta one time FOC.NONF INDEF.PL REDUP-elder=3PL TOP ke=k=ai bazu-bazuek-ini=a komi, 3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES PROX.SG.F ke=k=ai bazu-bazuek-ini=a keru komi, 3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES TEMP PROX.SG.F lekasa ta o=ta m=a viq=ake. chief TOP 3SG.M=POSS 3PL.O=VAL hear=HIST ‘One day, some elders, they were talking to each other about this, when they were talking to each other about this, the chief heard them.’ (26-3-20)

(14.16) Vo ta o=beta papu=a toupa kale inio, 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES lake in SEQ toupa kale o=beta papu=a. Nio omuga kiti lake in 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES SEQ two leg ta o=soloe=k=a toupa kale. Inio, sai TOP 3SG.M=dangle=3SG.F.O=PRES lake in SEQ there nio o=tare=k=a ko niuniu. FOC.NONF 3SG.M=wait=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F fish ‘He was sitting in the lake, he was sitting in the lake. And [his] two legs, he dangled them into the lake. And, there he waited for fish.’ (24-5-62–64)

A categorical/generic NP is always identifiable as the hearer can identify the category. A categorical/generic NP can also present a topic marked with a topic marker. In example (14.17), the NP visi=a=mu ‘younger ones’ presents ‘younger ones’ in general. This example is stated by an older sister whose younger sister married before her, and she is making a general statement about the marriage, not just about her and her younger sister.

(14.17) "Koe visi=a=mu ta, pui kapiavole EXCL younger=3PL TOP NEG quickly ke=rorot=a=ni nio kaka=ka=mu 3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF FOC.NONF older=3PL inio kuleto ke=rorot=a=ni," FOC.NONF first 3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF ‘‘Younger ones, they do not quickly marry and it’s older ones who marry first,’’” (27-18-113)
14.3 Focus

14.3.1 Introduction

Following Lambrecht’s (1994:213) definition of focus, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:202) write:

The ‘old’ information is the set of assumptions evoked by the utterance that make up the context necessary for understanding the utterance. We will now refer to this set of assumptions as the ‘pragmatic presupposition’ or just ‘presupposition’. The part of the assertion which is not within the pragmatic presupposition we will call the ‘focus’ or ‘focus of the assertion’; it is the part that is unpredictable or unrecoverable from the context.

The relationship between the focus and presupposition can be illustrated by a set of questions and answers given to these questions. For example, the question ‘who went to the party?’ is built on a pragmatic presupposition ‘someone went to the party’, and in an answer given to this question ‘Steve’ or ‘it was Steve who went to the party’, ‘Steve’ is the focus. What is informative here is ‘not the information in the focus by itself, but the association of that information with the set of assumptions that constitute the pragmatic presupposition’ (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:202). That is, in the above example, what is informative is the association between ‘Steve’ and ‘someone went to the party’, and this association is expressed by the it-cleft sentence ‘it was Steve who went to the party’ in which ‘Steve’ is the focus, which is unrecoverable from the context.

Thus, a focus is that part of an assertion which is not within the presupposition. However, when the discourse evokes no presupposition, focus and assertion coincide. For example, the question ‘what happened’ does not constitute any presupposition other than that something happened, and an answer to this question, ‘he fell off the tree’ is the focus and this itself is the informative assertion.

A language may have a focus structure in which the focus is syntactically or morphologically marked. It-cleft sentences in English are an example of this. In Bilua, the constituent which expresses focus, the focus constituent, is marked either syntactically or morphologically; it takes a preverbal position or it is marked by a focus marker. These two ways of marking focus constituents are described below.

14.3.2 Focus structure

There are two different ways to mark the focus constituent in Bilua—the focus constituent can be marked by a preverbal position or marked by a focus marker. That is, the focus structure is a clause in which a constituent is marked as a focus constituent. The focus constituent can be a core argument, an adjunct, or a predicate.\(^{87}\) Whether this is

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\(^{87}\) Lambrecht (1994:221–234) and Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:206–210) propose three focus types: argument focus (narrow focus by Van Valin and LaPolla), predicate focus, and sentence focus. Bilua focus structures are used for only argument (narrow) and predicate focus, and there is no grammatical structure for sentence focus in Bilua.
marked by a focus marker or by a preverbal position depends on the function of the focus constituent.

In Bilua, O NPs, locational/temporal adjuncts, all adjuncts expressed by a PP, and circumstantial adverbs mata/mati 'again' (see §10 for different kinds of adjuncts) can be focus constituents by taking a preverbal position. In example (14.18), the focus constituent is a preverbal object NP 'a big string of fish'.

(14.18) ...vo ta o=vait=a keru kubo niuniu
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=return=PRES TEMP many fish
sate matu=ma dere-dere o=ki=ati
COM big=3SG.F REDUP-string.of.fish 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL
saqor=a.
go.down=PRES
'...when he came back with fish, he came down with a big string of fish.'
(24-3-23)

Example (14.18) occurs in a discourse in which 'he' went fishing. From this discourse, the presupposition 'he will come back with something' is evoked. 'Something' is replaced by the information 'a big string of fish'. The association between this information and the presupposition is expressed by a clause in the focus structure 'he came down with a big string of fish' in which 'a big string of fish' is the focus constituent.

In the second clause of example (14.19) below, a PP bita=le 'in a string bag' is a locational adjunct, while raqaue 'ember' in the third, sakareju 'coconut shell filled with water' in the fourth, and zouke sakareju 'three coconut shells filled with water' in the fifth clauses are all objects. Each of these is the focus constituent of its clause and takes preverbal position. In the discourse where this example occurs, the son tells his mother to get taro, embers, and coconut shells filled with water to go for a walk. The mother takes the actions described in example (14.19) following his request. The first clause says that the mother got taro ready, and from this, the presupposition 'the mother put taro somewhere X' is evoked. 'Somewhere X' is replaced by 'in a string bag'. Following this, another presupposition 'the mother (also) carried other things' arises. 'Other things' is replaced with more specific referent in the utterance, in the remaining clauses.

(14.19) Ti ko ina-inae=k=a ko mau | and.then 3SG.F REDUP-get.ready=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F taro
bita=le ko i=k=a, rangauza
string.bag=in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES ember
ko=bori=k=a, ti, sakareju
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then coconut.shell.filled with water
ko=bori=k=a | zouke sakareju
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES three coconut.shell.filled with water
ko=bori=k=a.
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES
'Then, she got taro ready, she put them in a string bag, she carried embers, and she carried coconut shells filled with water, she carried three coconut shells filled with water.' (27-13-81)

Object NPs and the aforementioned adjuncts can in addition be marked with a focus marker. This is discussed later in this section.

Unlike the constituents described above, S/A NPs, manner adjuncts, linking adjuncts, and complements of a VP cannot be a focus constituent just by taking a preverbal position. They have to be marked by a focus marker to be a focus constituent. A constituent which is marked with a focus marker always takes a preverbal position. The description of the focus structure so far suggests that the preverbal position is a marked position for an O NP, while it is not for an S/A NP—an O NP can be a focus constituent by taking a marked preverbal position, while for an S/A NP this is the unmarked position and so it requires a special marking in order to be a focus constituent. This is further discussed in §14.6. Since a VP itself occupies the reference position for other constituents, the VP also requires a focus marker to be a focus constituent as well. Note that a VP headed with the verb kio 'to say' always takes other constituents preceding itself. Therefore, with this VP, any constituent has to be marked with a focus marker to be a focus constituent. The subject or the predicate of a non-verbal clause can also be a focus constituent, and these are also marked by a focus marker.

There are two focus markers in Bilua: inio and ikio, and they are often elided into nio and kio respectively. When a focus marker marks a constituent other than an NP, a focus marker is always realised as inio, while when it marks an NP, it can be inio or ikio, showing agreement with the focus NP. They show the following person/number/gender agreement with the focus NP.

### Table 14.1: Focus markers and agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus marker</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inio</td>
<td>third person singular feminine</td>
<td>unspecified number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikio</td>
<td>non-third person singular feminine</td>
<td>singulative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that the distribution of focus markers is different from the distribution of pronominal enclitics as heads of modifier phrases (see §7.2.1.3.1) or demonstratives as possessor markers (see §7.3.2). There, with human referents, the third person singular feminine, dual, and plural were grouped together in opposition to the third person masculine. In contrast, here, third person singular feminine is in opposition to all others. Thus, inio (FOC.NONF) rather than ikio (3FOC.F) is regarded as the default form, and it

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88 Incidentally, with this verb, the focus argument can only be the object. There is no example in the data in which the subject of this verb is the focus constituent.
is because of this that *inio* (FOC.NONF) is chosen when the marked constituent is not an NP.

There are exceptions to the distribution given in Table 14.1. An NP which consists of *ngavi* 'self' cliticised with a pronominal proclitic, PRON=*ngavi* 'by oneself', or an NP functioning as a complement of a VP is always marked with *inio*. On the other hand, an NP headed with a quantifier is always marked with *ikio*.

In example (14.20), the constituent *anga* 'I' is marked with a focus marker *inio*. This is the subject of a non-verbal clause in the first instance and is the subject of a verbal clause in the second instance. This example occurs in a discourse where three brothers are discussing which of the three should wait at home. From this, the presupposition, 'someone (one of us) waits', is evoked, and 'someone' is replaced with *anga* 'I', and this is expressed by the second instance of the focus structure. Another presupposition 'someone is the older one' is deduced from extralinguistic context. Here everyone wants to be the one who waits, and the senior one has the authority over the choice. That is, the issue becomes 'who is the older one?'

(14.20)  
\[ \ldots qe \quad kiada=qela \ ta \ qe=zio=vou \ anga \ inio \]  
2DU all=2DU TOP 2DU=go=FUT 1SG FOC.NONF  
\[ kaka=ka=lala \quad anga \ inio \quad koi \ a=dare=k=ou. \]  
elder.sibling=LIG=1SG 1SG FOC.NONF here 1SG=wait=3SG.F.O=FUT  
'Both of you, you will go, it is me who is older, it is me who will wait here.'  
(59-4-31)

Example (14.21) occurs in a discourse in which he climbed to the top of a ngali nut tree and sent down ten bags of ngali nuts to his wife waiting at the bottom of the tree. Following this, the presupposition 'next he did X on the tree' arises, and 'did X' is replaced with a specific action 'he came down'. The complete information 'he came down from the top of the ngali nut tree' is expressed by a clause in the focus structure in which the verbal predicate is the focus constituent.

(14.21)  
\[ O=beta \quad saqor=a \quad inio \quad ko=a \quad nene \quad topi \]  
3SG.M=CONT go.down=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.F=LIG ngali.nut top  
azo...  
ABL  
'He came down from the top of the ngali nut tree...' (2-8-47)

In example (14.22), the focus constituent is the non-verbal predicate. Here the presupposition is that the subject 'she' is available for a comment. The assertion 'she is

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Note that 'unspecified number' for non-human in Table 14.1 means that it can be any number—it does not mean that it cannot be specified for a number. Thus, there is no contradiction when *ikio* is used for numerals.
pregnant’ is given as a reason for the assertion expressed in the following clause ‘you will go and get water for her’.  

(14.22) "...ko ta molu=a=ma ikio tu
3SG.F TOP pregnant=LIG=3SG.F FOC.F IRR
ngo=ba k=a tobet=e,”
2SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL get.water=IMP.SG
"...she is pregnant and [so] you will go and get water for her,”” (27-22-139)

Thus, one way of marking the focus constituent is by a preverbal position and the other is by a focus marker. Naturally, when the focus constituent is morphologically marked, it is obvious that it is a focus constituent, and when it is not, it is less obvious, as it can be identified as a focus constituent only by the function of this constituent and by its position. Because of this, an object NP and the afore-mentioned adjuncts, which do not require a focus marker to be a focus constituent, can also be marked with a focus marker. In the example below, an instrumental adjunct takes a preverbal position and is marked with a focus marker.

(14.23) Nio sainio nioqa=vo megora ta o=ta
SEQ therefore 3DU=3SG.M child TOP 3SG.M=SIT
mamul=a ta vo ta o=potu kale
be.suspicious=PRES and.then 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=wound with
inoi o=k=o=a ko niuniu melai pui
FOC.NONF 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3SG.F fish but NEG
tali kale.
fishing.rod with
‘And, therefore, the child of the two, he got suspicious, [and he suspected that] the father caught fish with his wound [on his legs] but not with a fishing rod.’
(24-6-70)

As illustrated in the examples given above, the presupposition is usually accessible to the hearer. However, this could be inaccessible as well. For example, the last clause in example (14.24) has the focus structure. This is built on the presupposition ‘he became something’, in which something is replaced by ‘snake’ in the focus structure, but this presupposition is not accessible to the hearer from the context or through inference. In such a case, the focus structure has an effect of highlighting; it indicates an important part of the story. This effect results from the fact that the speaker is presenting an inaccessible

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90 This is one of the subfunction of it-clefts in English proposed by Prince (1978:902); the it-cleft may suggest that one state of affairs is closely tied to another.
presupposition as if it were an accessible one to the hearer. That is, here there is an implication ‘don’t you know this, this is what happened?’

(14.24) $O=leinio-leinioe \quad ti \quad o=leinio-leinioe \quad ti \quad o=leinio-leinioe$
$3SG.M=REDUP-lick \quad INT \quad 3SG.M=redup-lick \quad INT \quad 3SG.M=REDUP-lick$
$ti \quad o=ta \quad v=a \quad sai=k=a \quad ko=a$
and.then $3SG.M=POSS \quad 3SG.M.O=VAL \quad heal=3SG.F.O=PRES \quad 3SG.F=F\!\!L\!\!G$
$pou, \quad ti \quad vo=a \quad maba \quad ta \quad dole \quad inio$
wound and.then $3SG.M=F\!\!L\!\!G \quad person \quad TOP \quad snake \quad FOC.NONF$
o=$beta \quad ev=a.$
$3SG.M=CONT \quad become=PRES$
‘...[the snake] licked him, he licked him, and he licked him, consequently he healed his wound, and consequently, the man, he became a snake.’ (24-11-97)

In a Bilua interrogative clause, a constituent that contains an interrogative word is often a focus constituent, as this is the part of the question which is not presupposed.

(14.25) "$...lai\_nio \quad a=ba \quad tare=k=ou?\"$
$\quad where \quad FOC.NONF \quad 1SG=PRES \quad wait=3SG.F.O=FUT$
\quad k=i=a=la.$
$3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES$
\quad ‘...where shall I go and wait?’ I said. (2-5-30)

(14.26) $Lala=nga \_nio \quad ngo?$
$\quad what=thing \quad FOC.F \quad 3SG.F$
\quad ‘Who are you?’ (28-2-23)

However, in a non-verbal interrogative clause in which the question word is $lai$ ‘where’, that is in a non-verbal interrogative clause that questions the location of the subject, $lai$ ‘where’ is never a focus constituent. Instead it is a topic constituent as in example (14.27).

(14.27) $Lai\_ta \quad ko?$
$\quad where \quad TOP \quad 3SG.F$
\quad ‘Where is she?’ (27-23-150)

It is rather peculiar that only an interrogative word $lai$ ‘where’ as a non-verbal predicate can be a topic constituent and that it cannot be a focus constituent, and there appears to be no explanation why this is so. There is also an example in which an interrogative word $lai$ ‘where’ takes the predicate position of a non-verbal clause as in example (14.28).

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91 Remember that two linking adverbials, sainio ‘consequently’ and sainio ‘therefore’ which originated in an NP so ‘that’ and an adverb sai ‘there’ respectively and are marked by a focus marker, may be used to point to the highlight of the story (see §10.7).
(14.28) *Bolo ta lai?*  
pig TOP where  
‘Where is pig?’ (43-3-29)

This example appears in the discourse in which the speaker’s husband went pig-hunting, and the speaker, his wife, utters this when he came home, apparently-handed. What she is asking here is about pigs — whether he brought back any pig or not, and it is not where the pig is. Thus, example (14.28) conveys the sense of ‘what about pigs?’ It is because of this that here ‘pig’ occurs as the topic constituent and consequently *lai* ‘where’ occurs as the predicate.

One clause may have two focus constituents. In example (14.29) below, the subject NP is marked with a focus marker while the object NP takes a preverbal position, and thus both are focus constituents. The presupposition here is ‘someone told me something’.

(14.29) “*So inio anga=ko kil=o meqora*,”  
that FOC.NONF 1SG=3SG.F come=NOM child  
k=i=ko=ve, anga=ko taite, anga=ko niania  
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP 1SG=3SG.F g.parent 1SG=3SG.F mother  
kasi, soinio, a=niania ikio komi=a bazu-bazu  
at consequently 1SG=mother FOC.F PROX.SG.F=LIG REDUP-story  
k=I=ai bazue=k=e,  
3SG.F=1SG.O=VAL tell=3SG.F.O=RMP  
‘That was my arrival, child’, said my grandmother to my mother, [and] consequently, it was my mother who told this story to me.’ (25-9-66)

When there are two focus constituents, the one which is marked with a focus marker precedes the one which is not marked with a focus marker, as in (14.29). Two focus constituents may both be marked with a focus marker, as in the last clause in example (14.13) repeated below. In this example, one of the focus constituents is a non-verbal predicate and the other is an adjunct. The first one occurs closer to the subject NP, since the predicate is the core of the clause.

(14.13’) *Melai vo ta kiada keru ta pui*  
but 3SG.M TOP all TEMP TOP NEG  
o=sisu=a=nī melai ko=a taku kale  
3SG.M=have.fruit=PRES=REL.NONF but 3SG.F=LIG time in  
inio omādeu pado ikio vo=ko epa...  
FOC.NONF one MESone FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F fruit  
‘But, as for [the betelnut tree], all the time, it did not bear any fruit, but that time there was one fruit of [the betelnut tree]...’ (59-1-8)
14.4 Contrastiveness

In the last two sections, a description of topic and focus structures was presented. Both of these structures may emphasise a contrast. Contrastiveness is ‘not a category of grammar but the result of the general cognitive processes’ (Lambrecht 1994:291), but a contrast which arises from the discourse can be emphasised by a topic or focus structure.

The topic structure is usually employed in order to establish a new topic or in order to draw the hearer’s attention (see §14.2.2). The topic structure may also be employed in order to emphasise a contrast. Example (14.30) occurs in a story about ngali nut-collecting. The speaker is telling how she and her husband used to prepare a string bag and a rope and go to collect ngali nuts. In the story, the topic keeps changing among ‘she (the speaker)’, ‘her husband’, and ‘the two (the speaker and her husband)’. As mentioned in §14.2.2, it is not necessary to employ the topic structure in order to re-establish an old topic as the current topic. In (14.30), the topic structure is employed in order to emphasise a contrast between the two: what the husband did and what the speaker did.

(14.30) \( Qe=sagor=a \) \( inio, \) vo \( ta \) ju \( kale \)
1DU.EXC=go.down=PRES and.then 3SG.M TOP water in
\( o=vae=k=a, \) ko=a \( varu \) anga \( ta \)
3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG varu.tree 1SG TOP
nganiu ale a=vae=k=a.
sun in 1SG=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES

‘We went down, and as for him, he left [the bark of] varu trees in the water, and as for me, I left [the bark of ipupu trees] in the sun.’ (2-1-4)

Similarly in examples (14.11) and (14.14) above, the topic structure is employed in order to emphasise a contrast between two active referents.

The contrast emphasised by a topic marker has a sense of parallel—what one does is parallel to what another does. Focus markers also mark a contrast, but here the contrast has a sense of selection.92

The function of focus markers is to mark a constituent as presenting focus. This constituent may be one which was selected from a set. In such a case, the focus constituent is presented in contrast with others which were not selected from the set. In (14.20) repeated below anga ‘I’ is chosen from three brothers, who were all candidates for the one who will wait.

(14.20') \( ...qe \) kiada=qela ta \( qe=zio=vou \) anga \( inio \)
2DU all=2DU TOP 2DU=go=FUT 1SG FOC.NONF

92 Dik (1989:277–285) defines focus as the most salient information in a given discourse. He distinguishes two types of focus, one of which is the ‘contrast’ focus. The ‘contrast’ focus is further divided into different types of contrast, two of which are referred to as ‘selecting’ and ‘parallel’ by Dik.
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kaka=ka=lala  anga  inio  koi  a=dare=k=ou.
elder.sibling=LIG=1SG 1SG  FOC.NONF here 1SG=wait=3SG.F.O=FUT
‘Both of you, you will go, it is me who is older, it is me who will wait here.’
(59-4-31)

Similarly in (14.29) repeated below a=niania ‘my mother’ was selected from between the
grandmother and the mother.

(14.29’) “So inio  anga=ko  kil=o  meqora”,
that  FOC.NONF  1SG=3SG.F  come=NOM  child
k=i=ko=ve,  anga=ko  taite,  anga=ko  niania
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP  1SG=3SG.F  g.parent  1SG=3SG.F  mother
kasi,  soinio,  a=niania  ikio  komi=a  bazu-bazu
at  consequently  1SG=mother  FOC.F  PROX.SG.F=LIG  REDUP-story
ko=la  bazue=k=e,
3SG.F=1SG.O=VAL  tell=3SG.F.O=RMP
“That was my arrival, child,” said my grandmother to my mother, [and]
consequently, it was my mother who told this story to me,” (25-9-66)

In (14.17) repeated below, kaka=ka=mu ‘older ones’ is selected from the ‘younger ones’
and ‘older ones’. In this example, the NPs ‘younger ones’ and ‘older ones’ are
non-referential, and both present a topic; first and the second clauses are about ‘the younger
ones’ and ‘older ones’ respectively. Therefore, the NP ‘younger ones’ is marked with a
topic marker, but the NP ‘older ones’ is not marked with a topic marker. This is because
the NP ‘older ones’ also presents a focus. Here, the presupposition is ‘someone marries
first’, and ‘someone’ is replaced by ‘the older ones’. When one constituent presents both
topic and focus, it is marked with a focus marker, not with a topic marker.

(14.17’) “Koe  visi=a=mu  ta,  pui  kapiavole
EXCL younger.sibling=LIG=3PL  TOP  NEG  quickly
ke=rorot=a=ni  nio  |  kaka=ka=mu
3PL=marry=PRET.REL.NONF  FOC.NONF  older.sibling=LIG=3PL
inio  kuleto  ke=rorot=a=ni,”
FOC.NONF  first  3PL=marry=PRET.REL.NONF
“‘Younger ones, they do not quickly marry and it’s older ones who marry first,’”
(27-18-113)

14.5 Order of a topic and a focus

The means of marking topic and focus constituents in Bilua was described above.
Topic and focus constituents may co-occur, and in such a case, the topic constituent
normally precedes the focus constituent. This order is plausible since a topic is what the
clause/sentence is about. For example,
In the preceding discourse of example (14.31), the son told the mother that the father caught fish with the wound on his legs, and so she was waiting for him to come back so that she could scold him. This brings out the presupposition 'she says something (possibly with some emotion)' and 'in anger' replaces 'emotion'. The information 'she said something like this in anger' is about 'the mother', the topic.

When the focus constituent is a locational/temporal adjunct as well, this normally follows the topic constituent. In example (14.32), a locational adjunct 'at the edge of the buni tree' follows the topic constituent 'he'. The topic 'he' says that the clause presents information about him, 'he was sitting at the end of the buni tree'. This information is built on a presupposition that 'he was sitting somewhere' and the focus 'at the end of the buni tree' replaces 'somewhere'.

However, there are several examples in the data in which a temporal adjunct as a focus constituent precedes a topic constituent. For example,

In this example, the first sentence presents the information 'they had no child'. The temporal adjunct in the second sentence presents the information 'before they had a child'. Both of these have a reference to 'having a child', and the temporal adjunct is placed in the clause-initial position in order to link the second sentence to the first sentence. In other examples in which a temporal adjunct as a focus constituent precedes a topic
constituent, the temporal adjunct is expressed by a PP so *keru* (that TEMP) ‘that time’. This links the sentence in which this phrase occurs to the sentence which precedes.

There are also examples in which the temporal adjunct *omadeu taku* (one time) ‘one day’ as the focus constituent precedes the topic constituent.

(14.34) *Omedeute taku inio nioga ta mata qo=ta*

* kail=a.
* go..up=PRES

‘One day, the two went up [to the garden] as usual.’

In (14.34) the temporal adjunct occurs in clause-initial position in order to introduce a change in the story. This example occurs after the speaker said what the two (the mother and son) and their father do every day, and by this temporal adjunct, the speaker is indicating that something, something different, is going to happen.

The focus constituent which precedes the topic constituent is usually marked with a focus marker, but it may not be so marked. A speaker may start a new story by an unmarked temporal adjunct, *vairutu* ‘today’ as an introduction of a story. In such a case, the presupposition is the entire story which is not accessible to the hearer.

(14.35) *Vairutu anga ta a=q=a zari=a bazut=o*

* kama bazu-bazulao.
* INDSG.F REDUP-folktales

‘Now, I am going to tell a folktales.’

Finally, the temporal adjunct *erisanga* ‘at present’ may occur clause-initially in order to highlight the change of situation. In example (14.36), *erisanga* ‘at present’ occurs in order to highlight that ‘he’, a coconut crab, who has been killing village people, died.

(14.36) ...*vo=ko taka ta lula puli=a=ma o=seseu*

* 3SG.M=3SG.F claw TOP already NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=finger
* melai puli=a=ma o=zavu-zavu melai puli=a=ma.
* too NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=REDUP-beard too NEG=LIG=3SG.F

*Erisanga nei ta o=ta vou=la.*

* PROX.SG.M TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=RCP

‘...his claws have gone, his fingers too have gone, his beard too has gone. Now, this, he has died.’ (26-17-96)

In summary, a temporal adjunct may precede a topic constituent, when it functions to link sentences, as in example (14.33) or when it highlights a change, as in (14.34) and (14.36). It may also precede a topic constituent when it occurs as an introduction of a story, as in (14.35).
14.6 Order of unmarked constituents

This section presents the pragmatic functions of unmarked constituents, unmarked by a topic or a focus marker, in different positions. As introduced in §14.1, there are five types of referent status: active, accessible, inactive, anchored, and unanchored. Accessible referents are subdivided into textually accessible, situationally, and inferentially referents. Both subject and object NPs in Bilua can occur preverbally and postverbally. Subject/object NPs with different kinds of referents have different pragmatic functions depending on the position they take.

There are four different functions of unmarked NPs in Bilua. First, an NP may perform the function of introducing a new participant or reintroducing an already introduced participant into the discourse. Second, an NP may function to clarify the identity of the referent. Third, an NP may be used for emphasis. Fourth, as described in §14.3.2, it may present focus information. Relationships between the syntactic function of an NP, the position of an NP, and the kind of referent status are summarised in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic function</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Referent status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preverbal</td>
<td>Postverbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>emphasis clarification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reintroduction</td>
<td>clarification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>introduction</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>unidentifiable (both anchored and unanchored)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>focus</td>
<td>emphasis clarification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reintroduction</td>
<td>clarification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>introduction</td>
<td>introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focus</td>
<td>introduction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that the primary function of an unmarked object NP in preverbal position is to present focus information, but when its referent is not active, it results in introducing or reintroducing a participant into the discourse.93

In Bilua, all NPs are optional. They are obligatory only when their referent is not retrievable from the discourse, that is when it has not been introduced into the discourse as a participant or when the referent has already been introduced but has ceased to be a participant prior to the current segment of discourse and thus needs to be reintroduced into the current discourse.

The above table shows that an O NP in a preverbal position is a focus constituent. An S/A NP can also occur in a preverbal position but cannot be a focus constituent without being marked by a focus marker (see §14.3.2). This suggests that the preverbal position is a marked position for an O NP, whose unmarked, basic position is postverbal. On the other hand, a preverbal position is the unmarked, basic position for an S/A NP, and because of this it requires a special marking by a focus marker to be a focus constituent. Furthermore, these positions, a preverbal position for an S/A NP and a postverbal position for an O NP, are the position each of them takes in order to reintroduce a participant, without marking any contrastiveness. One might say that this is because these are their unmarked, basic positions. Thus, it can be said that the basic constituent order in Bilua is SV/AVO.

A Bilua clause usually does not have two unmarked NPs, in particular on the same side of the predicate, but there is one example in the data in which both unmarked subject and object NPs occur in preverbal position. This is presented in §14.6.4.

In the following, three pragmatic functions of NPs: (re)introduction, clarification, and emphasis are described. The analysis here excludes NPs which are added as afterthoughts since these NPs are not regarded as parts of clauses.

14.6.1 (Re)introduction of participants

An NP may function to introduce or reintroduce a participant into the discourse. When an NP functions to (re)introduce a participant, it has to be a full NP, since otherwise, its referent would be unclear. A subject (S/A) NP in preverbal position or an object (O) NP in postverbal position which has a referent other than an active or a textually accessible referent functions to introduce a participant into the discourse. Example (14.37) appears at the beginning of a story and thus the subject NP in preverbal position, 'pigeon and snail', has unanchored referents. In example (14.38) the object NP 'their heads' has an inferentially accessible referent. The referent has not appeared in the discourse but it is a body part of an active participant.

(14.37) Omadeu taku kurou ni kobaka|s qe=beta
one time pigeon and snail 3DU=CONT

93 Also, when an NP is marked with a topic or a focus marker and when the referent of this NP is not an active referent, it results in introducing or reintroducing the referent into the discourse.
Kurou ni kobaka ta uri=a=ma
stay=HIST pigeon and snail TOP good=LIG=3SG.F
baere-baere kidi.
REDUP-friend COLL.DU
‘Once upon a time, there lived a pigeon and snail. The pigeon and the snail were
good friends.’ (15-1-1-2)

(14.38) ...se ta ke=lupi=k=a [se=k0 lezu]o
3PL TOP 3PL=tie=3SG.F.O=PRES 3PL=3SG.F head
diri=a=ma suma kale.
red=LIG=3SG.F cloth in
‘...they tied their heads in a red cloth.’ (12-5-45)

A subject NP in a preverbal position and an object NP in a postverbal position which
has a textually accessible referent reintroduces a participant into the current discourse.
The referent of the subject NP in a preverbal position, ‘the mother’ in example (14.39)
below, has previously appeared in the discourse but has ceased to be a participant some
time before the current discourse. It is brought back into the discourse by an unmarked
subject NP here. The referent is a textually accessible one.

(14.39) Ko=rere=a inio ko=pa zuzue=v=a,
3SG.F=run=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=PROS squeeze=3SG.M.O=PRES
ko=v=ai kiavi=a, ko=lume=v=a,
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL be.pleased=PRES 3SG.F=kiss=3SG.M.O=PRES
saitainio ko=v=ati kail=a. Nio [ko=a
afterwards 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL go.up=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=LIG
niania=ka=ma]A ko=v=e=a inio ko=ta
mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES and.then 3SG.F=SIT
matu zolei=va.
very be.happy=PRES
‘[The wife] ran, and then she went and hugged him, she was pleased with him,
she kissed him, and afterwards she took him up. And, the mother saw him and
she was very happy.’ (27-16-99-100)

In Bilua a new protagonist is brought into a discourse by one of three means: as an O
NP in a postverbal position, as in (14.40), as an S NP of the verb elo ‘to stay’, as in
(14.37) above, or as the subject NP of an existential clause, as in (14.41) below. It is very
rare for a new protagonist to be introduced into the discourse as an A argument.94

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94 This fits with a cross-linguistic tendency that a new participant is introduced as S or O
argument as illustrated by Du Bois (1987). In (14.39), the A argument is not a new participant.
It is a participant reintroduced into the discourse.
(14.40) \( Ko=vijari=v=a \) \( kala \) \( megora \) 3SG.F=give.a.birth=3SG.M.O=PRES INDEF.SG.M child
\( lasive=a=la\)\( _0 \) \( melai \) \( vo=a \) \( megora \) \( ta \) \( pui \) \( maba \) male=LIG=3SG.M but 3SG.M=LIG child TOP NEG person
\( melai \) \( siele \) \( siele \) \( inio \) \( vo=a \) \( megora \) \( ti \) but dog dog FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG child and.then
\( ko \) \( ta \) \( ko=v=ati \) \( vail=a \) \( ko=vo \) \( megor \) 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL look=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.M child
\( sole \) \( ko=v=ati \) \( vail=a \) that's why 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL look.after=PRES
\( ko=niae=v=a \) \( so \) \( ti \) \( so \) \( ti \) \( o=ta \) 3SG.F=feed=3SG.M.O=PRES that INT that and.then 3SG.M=SIT
\( rapuk=a \) \( vo=a \) \( siele \) \( siele-megora \). grow.up=PRES 3SG.M=LIG dog dog-child
‘...she had a son, but this child, he was not a man but a dog, the son was a dog, and then she looked after him, because it was her child, she looked after him, fed him, it went on and on, and the dog, the dog-child grew up.’ (27-2-10-12)

(14.41) \( Inisiana \) \( [kake \ zouke \ saidi]_{subject \ NP} \ kama \)
EXTpl INDEF.PL three family INDEF.SG.F
\( matu=ma \) \( peuru=ko \) \( keta-keta. \) \( Se=a \) \( saidi \) \( ta \) big=3SG.F village=3SG.F REDUP-edge 3PL=LIG family TOP
\( ke \) \( ev=a \) \( ke=kiada \) \( koi. \) 3PL stay=PRES 3PL=all here
‘There was a family of three on the edge of a big village. The family, they lived here on their own.’ (24-1-3-4)

After a new protagonist is introduced by one of the three means described above, it often appears as a topic in the next clause, presented by an NP marked with a topic marker. This topic NP is expressed by a full NP rather than a pronominal NP, even though the same referent has already been presented by a full NP in the preceding clause. In all of (14.37), (14.40), and (14.41), the NP in square brackets is followed by a full NP which presents the same referent, and this is marked with a topic marker.

14.6.2 Clarification

A subject/object NP in a postverbal position may function to clarify the identity of the bound pronominal form on the verb. Because of its function, such an NP can only be a full NP and cannot be a pronominal NP. It can only be an active or a textually accessible referent, both of which have already been introduced into the discourse. In example (14.42) below, the NP ‘Sito’ is an active referent. This is a third person singular
masculine referent, and there is another active referent of third person singular masculine in the discourse. Therefore, if the speaker omits the NP, it may not be clear to the hearer to which one of these the object clitic on the verb refers. Therefore, the speaker positions the NP for clarification. In example (14.43), two underlined subject NPs appear in order to clarify who the pronominal proclitic on the preceding VP refers to. The elder sister has previously appeared in the story but there is a big gap between her last appearance and this appearance; that is, it is a textually accessible referent. On the other hand, in the discourse where (14.43) occurs, there are two female active referents. The NP *kaka=ka=ma* 'the elder sister' thus occurs to clarify that the pronominal proclitics does not refer to one of these referents, but to the older sister. Notice the use of an NP in this example is in a way similar to reintroduction described in the last section since the NP reintroduces a referent into the current discourse.

(14.42)  
*So keru Jimi vo ta o=ai risai=ke*

that TEMP Jimi 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=3SG.M.O=VAL throw=HIST

*vo Sito. Nioqa ta qo=ta zuzue-kini=ake ko=a*

3SG.M Sito 3DU TOP 3DU=SIT squeeze-RECP=HIST 3SG.F=LIG

*loloku kale. Matu tukavole, kubo maba madu ta*

gully in very quickly many person COLL.PL TOP

*ke=kue=ke ni ke=nogoe=v=a [vo Sito]O*

3PL=come=HIST and 3PL=hold=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M Sito

'That time, Jim threw himself to Sito. They held and struggled with each other in the gully. Many people came very quickly and they held Sito.' (12-7-69-72)

(14.43)  
...*go=beta ol=a inio qo ol=a lekasa=vo*

3DU=CONT go=PRES FOC.NONF 3DU go=PRES chief=3SG.M

*matu peuru kale pade kasi qo ol=a, ko=a*

big village in house at 3DU go=PRES 3SG.F=LIG

*reko=ko mama ni niania kasi. Nio ko=k=e=a*

wife=3SG.F father and mother at SEQ 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=see=PRES

*[ko kaka=ka=ma]*A,  ko=v=e=a [ko

3SG.F elder.sibling=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES 3SG.F

*kaka=ka=ma*A,

elder.sibling=LIG=3SG.F

'...they went and they went to the chief's big village, to the house, to the father and mother of the wife. And the older sister saw her, [and then] the older sister saw him.' (27-18-111-112)
14.6.3 Emphasis

A subject/object full NP of an active referent may occur in a postverbal position. An active referent does not need to be included in a clause, nor does it need to be presented by a full NP, since its identity is clear. Therefore, when it is included, it emphasises that information presented by the NP is important in the discourse. Such an NP can only be one which presents a protagonist. There are very few examples where an NP is used with this pragmatic function, and in most instances, it occurs in the second clause where two clauses of the same information appear one after another, as illustrated by the following two examples. In both examples, the repetition of the VP emphasises the importance of this information in the discourse, but the speaker also wants to indicate that its participant is equally as important as this information, and thus the NP occurs to emphasise this.

(14.44) \( ...ne=a \) vaiza ta \( o=lulue=m=ou \) PROX.SG.M=LIG shark TOP 3SG.M=follow=3PL.O=FUT
\( o=lulue=m=ou \) \( [vo=a \underline{\text{vaiza}}]_A \).
3SG.M=follow=3PL.O=FUT 3SG.M=LIG shark
‘...this shark followed them, the shark followed them.’ (34-4-31)

(14.45) \( ...ne=a \) vaiza ta kiada koi ta \( vo=ko \) PROX.SG.M=LIG shark TOP all place TOP 3SG.M=3SG.F
tauvezat=o o ere=k=e, melai omadeu zae help=NOM 3SG.M make=3SG.F.O=RMP but one area
kale inio \( ke=vouvae=v=e. \) Savo, Savo inio in FOC.NONF 3PL=kill=3SG.M.O=RMP Savo Savo FOC.NONF
\( ke=vouvae=v=e \) \( [ne=a \underline{\text{vaiza}}]_O \).
3PL=kill=3SG.M.O=RMP PROX.SG.M=LIG shark
‘...this shark offered his help everywhere, but it was in one area, they killed him.
Savo, it was Savo where they killed this shark.’ (34-5-34)

In (14.44), the NP in brackets clearly has an active referent; an NP referring to the same referent occurs in the initial position of the same clause. Similarly throughout (14.45), the shark is an active referent.

This use of an NP is also found in a non-verbal clause. In the following example, the focus marker which follows the non-verbal predicate presents the predicate as a focus. The speaker adds an NP which refers to the subject NP in order to emphasise that it is the addressee who is small.

(14.46) \( ...ngo \) ta matu silo=a=langa inio \( ngo... \) 2SG TOP very small=LIG=2SG FOC.NONF 2SG
‘...you are very small, you...’ (59-4-29)
14.6.4 Two unmarked NPs in preverbal position

As noted in the introduction of this section, there is only one example in the data in which both unmarked subject and object NPs occur in a preverbal position.

(14.47) ...ngo ta ruq=te=ma potu kale
           2SG TOP bad=LIG=3SG.F wound with
           ngo=q=ma=ko niuniu ikio ege
           2SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES=3SG.F fish FOC.F 3DU
           ngo=nii=gel=a, ruq=te=ma qui kale, tuinio=ma qui
           2SG=feed=1DU.O=PRES bad=LIG=3SG.F thing with smell=3SG.F thing

kale, melai ege=a saidi kiada keru
with but 1DU.EXC=LIG family all TEMP
qe=tave=ng=a, ta ege ta pui
2DU.EXC=help=2SG.O=PRES TOP 2DU.EXC TOP NEG
ruq=te=ma sailao pui kuna=ma=sa, uri=sa=ma sailao
bad=LIG=3SG.F food NEG dirty=LIG=3SG.F food
ege qe=k=0=a me=ngavi=ko kiaro
2DU.EXC 2DU.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=PRES IPL=EMPH=3SG.F garden
kale,
in
'As for you, it is the fish you get with a bad wound [you feed us], with a smelly thing, but we family, we always help you, we [don’t get] bad food, not dirty food, but we (not like you) get good food in our own garden,' (24-9-89)

It seems that in (14.47), the speaker wanted to make the subject NP ege ‘we’ a focus as well as the object NP uri=sa=ma sailao ‘good food’ after stating the object NP. However, because of its unusual position after the unmarked focus, the ege ‘we’ is not marked with a focus marker.

14.7 Summary

In the sections above, three constructions, the topic structure, the focus structure, and the order of unmarked constituents were described. Topic and focus structures play important roles in discourse organisation in the Bilua language, and there are frequent occurrences of topic and focus markers in texts.

The topic structure is employed in order to establish a new topic, but it can also be employed in order to draw hearer’s attention or to emphasize a contrast. On the other hand, the focus structure is employed in order to provide the hearer with unrecoverable information from the discourse, which is presented as a focus. That is, both topic and
focus structures contribute to the development of the communication and push the communication forward.

It was suggested in §13.2.5 that it may be the case that the focus marker *inio* and the sequential coordinator *inio* 'and then' historically have the same origin. On the other hand, it was demonstrated in §13.2.6 that causal coordinators, *ta* and *ti*, have originated in topic markers *ta* and *ti*. These coordinators all link independent clauses. Independent clauses can also be linked by the conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and', but this simply conjoins two clauses. Clauses in Bilua are, in fact, more frequently connected by sequential and causal coordinators than by the conjunctive coordinator. This appears to be because of their origin as focus and topic markers, which contribute to the development of the communication. If a story were told by clauses joined just by the conjunctive coordinator, it would sound like a report in which events are presented one after another, without any indication of their discourse relationship.
Appendix 1: Verbal morphology

Most Bilua verbs have both intransitive and transitive verbs, sharing an identical string of segments, which can be referred to as ‘root’, between them. For example, the intransitive mumazat ‘to loose’ and transitive verbs mumae ‘to loose’ share the root muma, and the rest, -cat and -e can be treated as an intransitive and transitive suffix respectively. Thus, it is possible to segment an intransitive and transitive verb into a root and an intransitive and transitive suffix, but it appears that such segmentation does not have synchronic significance. This is because [1] there are various realisations of intransitive and transitive suffixes, and [2] the choice of intransitive suffix is not predictable from the choice of transitive suffix or vice versa.

Reason [1] is illustrated by the following list of intransitive and transitive suffixes.

Table A1.1: Intransitive and transitive suffixes

| Intransitive suffixes | -at, -t, -zat, -kat, -kazat, -an, -uan, -l, -al, -p, -o, -Ø |
| Transitive suffixes   | -i, -e, -eki, -ki, -si, -ie, -u, -Ø |

Reason [2] can be demonstrated by a comparison between the above pair of intransitive and transitive verbs and another pair of intransitive and transitive verbs. A pair of intransitive and transitive verbs, niumat ‘to spoil’ and niumae ‘to spoil’, share the root niuma and thus the intransitive and transitive suffixes of this verb are said to be -t and -e respectively. The transitive suffix on the verb muma is also -e but the intransitive suffix on the verb muma is not -t but -zat. Thus, the choice of intransitive suffix is not predictable from the choice of transitive suffix. It is not predictable from the root either.

The above illustrates that it is possible to segment an intransitive and transitive verb into a root and an intransitive and transitive suffix respectively, but such segmentation has historical significance only. Therefore, in this work, each combination is treated as a fully lexicalised form, that is, as an unanalysed stem.

Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts are presented below in order to further demonstrate the reason [2]. It is obvious from these examples that there is no criterion for the choice of intransitive and transitive suffixes. Note that some intransitive and transitive counterparts show S=A relationship while some others show S=A relationship. This is also indicated in the table in the column for ‘Roots’.

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### Table A1.2: Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Intransitive stems</th>
<th>Transitive stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ere 'to make/do' (S=A)</td>
<td>ere-kat 'to make'</td>
<td>ere 'to make'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibu 'to be quiet' (S=O)</td>
<td>ibu-o 'to become quiet'</td>
<td>ibu-e 'to make s.o. quiet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jailo 'to be tired' (S=O)</td>
<td>jailo-e 'to become tired'</td>
<td>jailo-ki 'to make s.o. tired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koiv 'to climb' (S=A)</td>
<td>koiv 'to climb'</td>
<td>koiv-ie 'to climb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laini 'to feel' (S=A)</td>
<td>laini-zat 'to feel'</td>
<td>laini 'to feel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mina 'to laugh' (S=O)</td>
<td>mina-o 'to laugh'</td>
<td>mina-eki 'to make s.o. laugh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muma 'to loose' (S=A)</td>
<td>muma-zat 'to loose'</td>
<td>muma-e 'to loose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niuma 'to spoil' (S=O)</td>
<td>niuma-t 'to spoil'</td>
<td>niuma-e 'to spoil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pazo 'to hit' (S=A)</td>
<td>pazo-t 'to hit'</td>
<td>pazo 'to hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi 'to fall' (S=O)</td>
<td>pi-al 'to fall'</td>
<td>pi 'to drop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rokas 'to tear' (S=A)</td>
<td>rokas-at 'to tear'</td>
<td>rokas-i 'to tear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roqu 'to care' (S=A)</td>
<td>roqu-an 'to care'</td>
<td>roqu-e 'to care'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suiri 'to point' (S=A)</td>
<td>suiri-pat 'to point'</td>
<td>suiri 'to point'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar 'to wait' (S=O)</td>
<td>tar-uan 'to wait'</td>
<td>tar-e 'to wait'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toile 'to wake' (S=O)</td>
<td>toile-at 'to wake up'</td>
<td>toile-i 'to wake s.o. up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vere 'to be sick' (S=O)</td>
<td>vere-p 'to become sick'</td>
<td>vere-ki 'to make s.o. sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vari 'to increase' (S=O)</td>
<td>vari-o 'to increase'</td>
<td>vari-e 'to increase'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veu 'to open' (S=A)</td>
<td>veu-kazat 'to open'</td>
<td>veu 'to open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zia 'to cry' (S=O)</td>
<td>zia-l 'to cry'</td>
<td>zia-si 'to make s.o. cry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The transitive suffix -u is found only with a derived stem. For example, *rarom* 'to cook' is a verb stem derived from a noun *raro* 'pot'. Its intransitive and transitive verbs are *rarom-at* 'to cook' and *rarom-u* 'to cook' respectively. These are in an S=A relationship.

Some verb roots provide two intransitive stems. The following are some examples. Except for *vail* 'to look', in these sets of intransitive and transitive verbs, the intransitive verbs on the left column are in a S=O relationship with their transitive counterparts, while the intransitive verbs on the right column are in a S=A relationship with their transitive counterparts. With *vail* 'to look' both intransitive verbs are in an S=A relationship with the transitive counterpart, but the one on the left means 'to look' while the one on the right means 'to look for'.
Table A1.3: Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Intransitive stems</th>
<th>Intransitive stems</th>
<th>Transitive stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>keju</em> ‘to cook’</td>
<td><em>keju</em> ‘to cook’</td>
<td><em>keju</em>-t ‘to cook’</td>
<td><em>keju</em>-e ‘to cook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lojo</em> ‘to stand’</td>
<td><em>lojo</em>-l ‘to stand’</td>
<td><em>lojo</em>-t ‘to stand s.th. up’</td>
<td><em>lojo</em>-e ‘to stand s.th. up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngadar</em> ‘to dry’</td>
<td><em>ngadar</em> ‘to dry’</td>
<td><em>ngadar</em>-at ‘to dry’</td>
<td><em>ngadar</em>-i ‘to dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>paki</em> ‘to survive’</td>
<td><em>paki</em> ‘to survive’</td>
<td><em>paki</em>-ezat ‘to save’</td>
<td><em>paki</em> ‘to save’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vail</em> ‘to look’</td>
<td><em>vail</em> ‘to look’</td>
<td><em>vail</em>-izat ‘to look for’</td>
<td><em>vail</em>-i ‘to look for’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of intransitive verbs in each of the following two examples does not have any of the suffixes listed above. Instead, it has *-vat* and *-e* respectively. This is the only occurrence of *-vat* and also this is the only occurrence of *-e* as an intransitive suffix found in the data.

Table A1.4: Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts (3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Intransitive stems</th>
<th>Intransitive stems</th>
<th>Transitive stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>vou</em> ‘to die/kill’</td>
<td><em>vou</em> ‘to die’</td>
<td><em>vou</em>-vat ‘to kill’</td>
<td><em>vouva</em>-e ‘to kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>amaq</em> ‘to enter’</td>
<td><em>amaq</em> ‘to enter’</td>
<td><em>amaq</em>-at ‘to put in’</td>
<td><em>amaq</em>-i ‘to put in’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the intransitive suffixes listed above, some verbs take another type of intransitive suffixes that could be referred to as reflexive suffixes. They have two forms *-il* and *-zi*. Verbs that have one of these suffixes typically have a reflexive meaning. For example, a combination of the aforementioned root *nana* ‘to bite’ with *-il* means ‘to bite oneself’. However, some combinations of a root with *-il/-zi* do not have a reflexive meaning. For example, a combination of *pisa* ‘to break’ and *-il* means ‘to break by itself’, which is said to be semireflexive meaning. Like intransitive and transitive suffixes, it is not predictable from the form of the root which of these suffixes is attached to each root. Thus, it can be said that combinations of a root with a reflexive intransitive suffix are also lexicalised and they are treated as unanalysed stems in this work.
Appendix 2: Realisations of tense/mood markers

There are different realisations for each of the tense/mood markers in Bilua. Generally speaking, realisations of tense/mood markers depend on the last segment of the word they are attached to. With singular imperative mood markers, the realisation also depends on the kind of host, such as whether it is an intransitive verb or an object clitic on a transitive verb. The following table presents a list of tense/mood markers. The right column presents the distribution of different realisations. Note that the combination of verb final $u$ and the near future tense marker $o$ is realised as $u$. That is, with verbs ending with the vowel $u$, the near future tense marker is realised as zero morpheme. This is also the case with the nominal derivational enclitic $o$.

Bilua does not allow a sequence of Vs (V standing for a vowel or a diphthong). Because of this, if a vowel-initial tense/mood marker attaches to a diphthong, this results in the deletion of the second element of the diphthong. For example, the combination of besizo ‘to change’ with a present tense marker $a$ results in besizi=a (change=PRES). Or if encliticisation results in a sequence of identical Vs, this is realised as a single V. For example, the combination of besizo to change’ with a near future tense marker results in besizio (changeNRFUT).

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95 In this work, a verb ending with the vowel $u$ with no near future tense marker (NRFUT)/nominal derivational enclitic (NOM) is glossed as ‘verbNRFUT/NOM’. For example,

$A=da$ papu.
1SG=SIT sitNRFUT
‘I am going to sit.’

$A=q=a$ zari=a papu.
1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES sitNOM
‘I want to sit.’

96 In this work, when a tense marker merges with the preceding vowel, this morpheme is not shown, but the gloss of this morpheme is given following the verb, just like the case with verbs ending with $u$. This also applies to the nominal derivational enclitic $o$ attached to verbs.
### Table A2.1: Tense/mood markers and their distributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense/mood markers</th>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present tense</td>
<td>a / va</td>
<td>va / ao or io _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near future tense</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>Ø / u _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future tense</td>
<td>ou / vou</td>
<td>ou / C _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vou / V _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recent past tense</td>
<td>ala / la</td>
<td>ala / C _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>la / V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote past tense</td>
<td>e / vi</td>
<td>e / C _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vi / V _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical tense</td>
<td>ake / ke</td>
<td>ake / C _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ke / V _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative (sg)</td>
<td>on object clitics</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on intransitive verbs</td>
<td>e / vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vi / V _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative (du)</td>
<td>oko / ko</td>
<td>oko / C _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ko / V _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative (pl)</td>
<td>omo / mo</td>
<td>omo / C _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mo / V _</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A2.2 below presents some examples to illustrate the above generalisation. The transitive verb pazoko ‘to hit’ is presented with a default object clitic k (3SG.F). Morphemes in the square brackets merge with the preceding vowel and do not appear in the surface structure.

### Table A2.2: Verbs with tense/mood markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Near future</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Recent past</th>
<th>Remote past</th>
<th>Historical</th>
<th>Imperative (sg)</th>
<th>Imperative (du)</th>
<th>Imperative (pl)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vuat ‘to eat’</td>
<td>vuat=ð</td>
<td>vuat=ou</td>
<td>vuat=ala</td>
<td>vuat=e</td>
<td>vuat=ake</td>
<td>vuat=e</td>
<td>vuat=oko</td>
<td>vuat=oko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pazo ‘to hit’</td>
<td>pazo=k=ð</td>
<td>pazo=k=ou</td>
<td>pazo=k=ala</td>
<td>pazo=k=e</td>
<td>pazo=k=ake</td>
<td>pazo=k=ð</td>
<td>pazo=k=oko</td>
<td>pazo=k=oko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pekao ‘to dance’</td>
<td>pekao=ð</td>
<td>pekao=ou</td>
<td>pekao=ala</td>
<td>pekao=e</td>
<td>pekao=ake</td>
<td>pekao=ð</td>
<td>pekao=oko</td>
<td>pekao=oko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talio ‘to travel’</td>
<td>talio=ð</td>
<td>talio=ou</td>
<td>talio=ala</td>
<td>talio=e</td>
<td>talio=ake</td>
<td>talio=ð</td>
<td>talio=oko</td>
<td>talio=oko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

97 There is variation in the realisation of a combination of a verb ending with io, with the recent past tense marker. The verb final o sometimes appears and sometimes does not.
There are some irregular verbs to which the above generalisation of tense/mood markers does not apply. Moreover, these verbs have different realisations when they are bound by tense/mood markers. Irregular verbs are ov 'to get', el 'to see', u 'to eat', i 'to say', kal 'to occur', el 'to stay' or 'to become', zio 'to go', zial 'to cry', barol 'to arrive', pial 'to fall', and all verbs ending with il and u. Note that with these verbs, their realisation with the nominal derivational enclitic is regarded as their basic form, as this is used in its citation form. Their realisations with different tense/mood markers are summarised in Tables A2.3–A2.6 below. An illustration for verbs ending with il and u is given with verbs pusail 'to wash' and papu 'to sit'. Note that morpheme boundaries here were determined following the forms of tense/mood markers. The blank in the table is either because of the gap in the data or because combinations of certain verbs with imperative mood markers never appear. Verbs, ov 'to get', el 'to see', u 'to eat', and i 'to say' are given with the default object clitic k (3SG.F) attached. The verb i 'to say' never occurs without a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references with the subject, between the verb and a tense/mood marker. This is given in the first person singular form a (1SG) here.

**Table A2.3: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (1)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ov 'to get'</th>
<th>el 'to see'</th>
<th>u 'to eat'</th>
<th>kal 'to occur'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>k=ova=a</td>
<td>k=ea=a</td>
<td>k=ua[=a]</td>
<td>kav=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>k=ov=a</td>
<td>k=el=a</td>
<td>k=u=a</td>
<td>kal=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>k=ov=a</td>
<td>k=el=a</td>
<td>k=ua=vo</td>
<td>kal=ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent past</td>
<td>k=ova=la</td>
<td>k=ea=la</td>
<td>k=ua=la</td>
<td>ka=la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>k=ova=a</td>
<td>k=ea=a</td>
<td>k=ia=a</td>
<td>ka=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>k=ova=ake</td>
<td>k=ea=ake</td>
<td>k=ua=ke</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (sg)</td>
<td>k=ova=a</td>
<td>k=ea=a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (du)</td>
<td>k=ova=ko</td>
<td>k=ea=ko</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (pl)</td>
<td>k=ova=mo</td>
<td>k=ea=mo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table A2.4: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>el ‘to stay’ or ‘to become’</th>
<th>zio ‘to go’</th>
<th>kil ‘to come’</th>
<th>barol ‘to arrive’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>$ev=a$</td>
<td>$ol=a$</td>
<td>$kue=va$</td>
<td>$baro=a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>$el=o$</td>
<td>$zio=qo$</td>
<td>$kil=qo$</td>
<td>$baro=qo$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>$el=ou$</td>
<td>$zio=vou$</td>
<td>$kil=ou$</td>
<td>$baro=ou$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent past</td>
<td>$ev=ala$</td>
<td>$ol=ala$</td>
<td>$kue=la$</td>
<td>$baro=la$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>$ev=e$</td>
<td>$kve=e$</td>
<td>$kue=vi$</td>
<td>$baro=i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>$e=ke$</td>
<td>$ol=ake$</td>
<td>$ku=ke$</td>
<td>$baro=ke$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (sg)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>$ol=a$</td>
<td>$ku=a$</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (du)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>$ola=ko$</td>
<td>$kue=ko$</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (pl)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>$ola=mo$</td>
<td>$kue=mo$</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table A2.5: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>zial ‘to cry’</th>
<th>pial ‘to fall’</th>
<th>pusail ‘to wash’</th>
<th>papu ‘to sit’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>$zi=a$</td>
<td>$pi=a$</td>
<td>$pusai=a$</td>
<td>$papu=a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>$zil=al$</td>
<td>$pial=al$</td>
<td>$pusail=al$</td>
<td>$papu=al$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>$zil=ou$</td>
<td>$pial=ou$</td>
<td>$pusail=ou$</td>
<td>$papu=ou$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent past</td>
<td>$zil=la$</td>
<td>$pial=la$</td>
<td>$pusail=la$</td>
<td>$papu=la$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>$zil=vi$</td>
<td>$pial=vi$</td>
<td>$pusai$</td>
<td>$papi$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>$zil=ke$</td>
<td>$pial=ke$</td>
<td>$pusai=ke$</td>
<td>$papi=ke$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (sg)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>$pusai$</td>
<td>$papi$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (du)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>$ola=ko$</td>
<td>$pusai=ko$</td>
<td>$papi=ko$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (pl)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>$ola=mo$</td>
<td>$pusai=mo$</td>
<td>$papi=mo$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

98 The verb zio ‘to go’ with present, recent past, and historical tense markers, and dual and plural imperative mood markers could also be analysed as $ola=a$, $ola=la$, $ola=ke$, $ola=ko$, and $ola=mo$ respectively.
Table A2.6: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i 'to say'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>$k=i=a=l$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>$k=i=a=vo$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent past</td>
<td>$k=i=a=lala$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>$k=i=a=ve$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>$k=i=a=lake$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (sg)</td>
<td>$k=i=ve$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (du)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (pl)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

99 It may be the case that the verb 'to say' is a discontinuous morpheme $i...l$ with which a pronominal proclitic occurs between $i$ and $l$, but $l$ does not appear when it takes future and remote past tense markers, or a singular imperative mood marker. This verb with present, recent past, and historical tense markers then would be analysed as $k=i=a=l=a$, $k=i=a=l=ala$, and $k=i=a=l=ake$ respectively, and here present, recent past, and historical tense markers show regular realisations.
Appendix 3: Texts

Transcripts of two texts are included here: *Dog-child* (text 27) and *Ngali nut collection* (text 2). The first one is a folktale. It was told by one of the informants, who was about 55 years old when it was recorded. He is a tribal chief who realises that Bilua children speak differently from older people and is conscious about maintenance of good, traditional Bilua. When analysing this text, I consulted with other informants. The text was recorded at his home in Sabora village. There was no audience at the time of recording. The second text was told by a woman who was about 90 years old at the time of recording. The story is about how she and her husband used to collect ngali nuts\(^{100}\) after making ropes and string bags from bark of some trees. Although the speaker was quite frail when she told the story, she told it vividly and in a most beautiful way (the first time I asked her to tell a story, she started crying, remembering her husband and could not do it). The text was recorded at her home in the Maravari village. Her grandchildren were present at recording.

English translations given here are free translations and are not necessarily the same as those given in chapters of the work. Whilst the English translations in the chapters reflect the clause structure and meaning of the Bilua clause and therefore may not sound like natural English, the English translations given here have been adjusted so that they sound natural in English.

**Dog-Child (Text 27)**

(1)  
\[ \text{Anga} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{a}=q=a \quad \text{zari}=a \quad \text{v}=ai \]

1SG TOP 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES 3SG.M.O=VAL

\[ \text{bazu-bazu}t/o \quad \text{kala} \quad \text{bazu-bazula}, \quad \text{ni} \]

REDUP-tell=NOM INDEF.SG.M REDUP-folktale and

\[ \text{kom}i=a \quad \text{bazu-bazulao} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{pu} \quad \text{matu} \]

PROX.SG.F=3LG REDUP-folktale TOP NEG very

\[ \text{tuvevo} = a = ma, \quad \text{melai} \quad \text{si}lo-silo} = a = mu \quad \text{ke}=m=ai \]

true=3LIG=3SG.F but REDUP-small=LIG=3PL 3PL=3PL.O=VAL

\[ \text{ibu} = k=o \quad \text{k}=i=ke=ve=ma \quad \text{sole}, \]

make.quiet=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3PL=RMP=3SG.F that’s why

---

\(^{100}\) Ngali nuts are of the *Canarium* species.
ko pui ko=pa erei=vo ni pui ko=pa
3SG.F NEG 3SG.F=PROS happen.RMP=REL and NEG 3SG.F=PROS
ka=e=vo melai, ke=kase=k=e ko=a
occur=RMP=REL but 3PL=mention=3SG.F.O=RMP 3SG.F=LIG
ba zu-bazulao k ale.
REDUP-folktale in
‘I want to tell a folktale, and this folktale, it is not very true, but people make children quiet by telling this story. That’s what they said, it wasn’t something which happened and it wasn’t something which occurred but still they tell it in a folktale.’

(2) Nio vo=a bazu-bazulao
SEQ 3SG.M=LIG REDUP-folktale
k=i=ɔ=la=ni ta əri nio.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES=REL NONF TOP s.th.like.this FOC NONF
‘And, what the folktale said is something like this.’

(3) Kala matu=la peuru ta inevoana kama
INDEF.SG.M big=3SG.M village TOP EXT.SG.M INDEF.SG.F
zavanga kale, ni vo=a matu=la peuru ale
area in and 3SG.M=LIG big=LIG village in

k lekasa ta
TOP EXT.SG.M INDEF.SG.M big=3SG.M chief TOP
inevoana sai.
EXTSG.M there
‘There was a very big village in one area, and in that big village, there was a big chief, he was living there.’

(4) Ni kubo maba madu ta inisiana sai ko=a
and many person COLL.PL TOP EXT.PL there 3SG.F=LIG
matu=ma peuru ale.
big=3SG.F village in
‘And there were many people there in that big village.’

(5) Ne=a matu=la peuru=ko keta-keta, ta
PROX.SG.M=LIG big=3SG.M village=3SG.F REDUP-edge TOP
inevoana kala silo=ɔ=la peuru.
EXT.SG.M INDEF.SG.M small=LIG=3SG.M village
‘At the edge of this big village, there was a small village.’

(6) Ko=a silo=ɔ=la peuru ale ta kainioqa
3SG.F=LIG small=LIG=3SG.M village in TOP INDEF.DU
The couple there in the village was a couple, there in the village.

‘The couple were living by themselves; they didn’t have children. Before they had a child, the husband died and the wife was left there.’

‘And as for that wife, he left her pregnant, the husband.’

‘And then she kept staying there, and when the time for the birth came, she gave birth.’

‘She had a son, but that son was not a human but a dog.’

‘The son was a dog.’
megora sole ko=v=ati vail=a
cchild that's why 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL watch=PRES
ko=niae=v=a, so ti so ti o=ta
3SG.F=feed=3SG.M.O=PRES that INT that and.then 3SG.M=SIT
rapu=k=a vo=a siele, siele-megora.
grow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=LIG dog dog-child
'And she looked after him, because he was her child she looked after him, she fed him, it went on like that, and the dog grew, the dog-child.'

(13) Ti so ti so, nioqa ti sai, niania=ka=ma
and.then that INT that 3DU TOP there mother=LIG=3SG.F
ko ol=a kiaro kasi, vo ta
3SG.F go=PRES garden at 3SG.M TOP
o=lului=k=a o=baroa kiaro kale inio
3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=arrive garden in SEQ
vo ta o=marong=a juli=ko raki ale.
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=sleep=PRES banana.tree=3SG.F root in
'And it went on like that, the two lived there, the mother went to the garden, he followed her, he arrived at the garden, and then he slept at the base of a banana tree.'

(14) Niania=ka=ma ta ko irurup=at a, ko=papat=a ko
mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP 3SG.F work=PRES 3SG.F=plant=PRES 3SG.F
sisu, ko=papat=a ko mau, sainainio
sweet.potato 3SG.F=plant=PRES 3SG.F taro afterwards
ko=bara=a ko taku sailao ko=k=o=a
3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F time food 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
ti qo=beta saqor=a inio, nioqa saidi.
and.then 3DU=CONT go.down=PRES FOC.NONF 3DU family
'The mother worked, she did sweet potato planting, she did taro planting, afterwards, when the time to go home came, she got food, and the family went down.'

(15) Qo=saqor=a pade asi, qo=baro=a sai nio,
3DU=go.down=PRES house at 3DU=arrive=PRES there SEQ
niania=ka=ma ta sailao ko ere=k=a
mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP food 3SG.F make=3SG.F.O=PRES
megora=ka=la ta o ol=a veetu tona, nio
child=LIG=3SG.M TOP 3SG.M go=PRES entrance beside and.then
veetu tona o=teku=a sainainio o=tana
entrance beside 3SG.M=lie=PRES afterwards 3SG.M=jaw
\[ o=\text{seri}=k=a \quad \text{saitainio} \]
\[ 3\text{SG.M}=\text{hang.on}=3\text{SG.F}.\text{O}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{afterwards} \]

\[ o=\text{toilli-toilli}=k=a \quad vo=ko \quad \text{niania}. \]
\[ 3\text{SG.M}=\text{REDUP-watch}=3\text{SG.F}.\text{O}=\text{PRES} \quad 3\text{SG.M}=3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{mother} \]
\[ 'The two went down to the house, they arrived there, and then the mother, she made food, the son, he went next to the entrance, and then he lay beside the entrance, afterwards he put his jaw on something and watched his mother.' \]

(16) \[ Ki\text{ada}=\text{ma} \quad \text{tak}\text{u} \quad ko=\text{baro}=a \quad \text{sailao}=ko \quad \text{tak}\text{u} \quad \text{mati} \]
\[ \text{all}=3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{time} \quad 3\text{SG.F}=\text{arrive}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{food}=3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{time again} \]
\[ ko \quad ta \quad ko=v=a \quad \text{risae}=k=a \]
\[ 3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{SG.F}=3\text{SG.M}.\text{O}=\text{VAL} \quad \text{throw}=3\text{SG.F}.\text{O}=\text{PRES} \]
\[ vo=ko \quad vo \quad \text{megora} \quad \text{sai} \quad \text{nio} \quad o \quad \text{ol}=a \]
\[ 3\text{SG.M}=3\text{SG.F} \quad 3\text{SG.M} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{there} \quad \text{FOC}.\text{NONF} \quad 3\text{SG.M} \quad \text{go}=\text{PRES} \]
\[ \text{inio} \quad o=\text{pa} \quad k=o=a. \]
\[ \text{and.then} \quad 3\text{SG.M}=\text{PROS} \quad 3\text{SG.F}.\text{O}=\text{get}=\text{PRES} \]
\[ 'When a meal time came, she always threw his food to him, to the son, and the son went there and got it.' \]

(17) \[ Ko=\text{ngavi}=ko \quad \text{ta} \quad ko=tukie=k=a \quad \text{tuto} \]
\[ 3\text{SG.F}=\text{self}=3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{SG.F}=\text{keep}=3\text{SG.F}.\text{O}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{coconut.shell.container} \]
\[ \text{kale}. \]
\[ \text{in} \]
\[ 'As for her own food, she put it in a coconut shell container.' \]

(18) \[ \text{So} \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{inio} \quad ni\text{oa}=ko \quad sae=v=o \quad ki\text{ada}=\text{ma} \]
\[ \text{that} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{FOC}.\text{NONF} \quad 3\text{DU}=3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{survive}=\text{NOM} \quad \text{all}=3\text{SG.F} \]
\[ \text{taku}. \]
\[ \text{time} \]
\[ 'It went on like that, that was their life all the time.' \]

(19) \[ Om\text{adeu} \quad \text{taku} \quad \text{inio} \quad \text{vo}=a \quad \text{megora}=ka=l=a \quad \text{ta} \]
\[ \text{one} \quad \text{time} \quad \text{FOC}.\text{NONF} \quad 3\text{SG.M}=\text{LIG} \quad \text{child}=\text{LIG}=3\text{SG.M} \quad \text{TOP} \]
\[ \text{eri} \quad k=i=o=\text{lake}. \]
\[ \text{s.th.like.this} \quad 3\text{SG.F}.\text{O}=\text{say}=3\text{SG.M}=\text{HIST} \]
\[ 'One day, the son said something like this.' \]

(20) \[ ''\text{Niania} \quad \text{anga} \quad \text{ta} \quad a=q=a \quad \text{zari}=a \quad \text{rorot}=o \]
\[ \text{mother} \quad 1\text{SG} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 1\text{SG}=3\text{SG.F}.\text{O}=\text{VAL} \quad \text{want}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{marry}=\text{NOM} \]
\[ \text{sole} \quad \text{ngo} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{ngo}=\text{zio}=\text{you} \quad \text{matu-peuru} \quad \text{ale}, \]
\[ \text{that}.\text{why} \quad 2\text{SG} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 2\text{SG}=\text{go}=\text{FUT} \quad \text{big-village} \quad \text{in} \]
\[ \text{nio} \quad \text{ngo}=\text{ba} \quad \text{bazue}=k=ou \quad \text{lekasa}=ko \quad \text{megora} \]
\[ \text{SEQ} \quad 2\text{SG}=\text{PROS} \quad \text{tell}=3\text{SG.F}.\text{O}=\text{FUT} \quad \text{chief}=3\text{SG.F} \quad \text{child} \]
vo ta omuqa ikio lekasa=ko meqora sole.
3SG.M TOP two FOC.F chief=3SG.F child that’s why
‘‘Mother, I want to marry, so you, you will go to the big village, and you go and
tell the chief’s daughter, because the chief has two daughters.’

(21)  
K’a  pado  ngo=ba  l=a  bazue=k=ou
INDEF  MESOne 2SG=PROS 1SG.O=VAL tell=3SG.F.O=FUT

kaka=ka=ma,  tu  o=k=ov=v,  "[101]
older=LIG=3SG.F  IRR 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=NRFUT
k=i=0=la,  k=i=0=la  vo=a
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG

megora,  siele-megora.
child dog-child
‘You go and tell one, the older one for me so that I can marry her,’’ he said, he
said it, the child, the dog-child.’

(22)  
Nio  “Ki meqora”  k=i=ko=la  ko
SEQ INTJ child 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F

niania=ka=ma,  “ngo ta pui maba=nga siele=nga
mother=LIG=3SG.F 2SG TOP NEG person=2SG dog=2SG

sole  pui  ko=pa  k=a  zario=vou  ko=ta
that’s why NEG 3SG.F=PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL want=FUT 3SG.F=POSS
ng=a  lupao=vou.
2SG=VAL refuse=FUT
‘And then, “Child”, the mother said, “you are not a human, but a dog, so she will
not want, she will refuse you.’

[101] In this example, o=k=ov=v (3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=FUT) is a direct quotation: what the dog-
child said. Here, the subject should be a (1SG) ‘I’ not o (3SG.M) as it is the speaker of this
quotation, the dog-child, who will get (marry) her. When I asked one of the informants about
this, I was told that o (3SG.M) ‘he’ is mistakenly used and it should be replaced with the correct
one a (1SG) ‘I’. There are similar cases in other texts in which a third person pronoun is used
where a first/second person pronoun is expected, for example, sentence (25) in the next text. In
this example, o=solie=k=ou (3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=FUT) is a direct quotation: it is what
the speaker of the story said to the addressee, her husband, and the speaker is telling him what
he should do. That is, the subject of this quotation should be ‘you’ rather than ‘he’. This time,
one informant told me that the third person pronoun is used in order to show respect, as the
addressee is a chief. This explanation does not seem to apply in the first instance, as there
seems to be no need to show respect to the dog-child. In fact, it is a dubious claim that the third
person may be used in order to show respect, as there is no other instance of this in the data, and
this could just be a mistake as well.
(23) Sole pui a=zio," k=i=ko=la
    that’s why NEG 1SG=go.NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
So, I will not go,” she said.’

(24) So keru inio vo=a meqora=ka=la ta
    that TEMP FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG child=LIG=3SG.M TOP
o=ta kora-korai=va duki o=ta ev=a,
    3SG.M=SIT REDUP-be.angry=PRES sad 3SG.M=SIT become=PRES
ti pui o=k=a zari=a vuat=a, pui
    and.then NEG 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES eat=NOM NEG
o=k=ati pesi=a o=niania, melai o=ta
    3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL speak=PRES 3SG.M=mother but 3SG.M=SIT
marong=a kubo nganiu.
    sleep=PRES many day
‘That time, the son got angry, he became sad, and then he didn’t want to eat, he
didn’t want to speak to his mother, and instead he slept for many days.’

(25) So ti so ti, niania=ka=ma
    that INT that and.then mother=LIG=3SG.F
ko=v=e=a ta vo ta pui o=vuat=a,
    3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES and.then 3SG.M TOP NEG 3SG.M=eat=PRES
vuat=o melai o=ta lupao=va, k=ati pesi=o
eat=NOM too 3SG.M=SIT refuse=PRES 3SG.F.O=VAL speak=NOM
melai pui o=k=ati pesi=a vo=a
too NEG 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL speak=PRES 3SG.M=LIG
siele-meqora ta o=ta pesi=a=ni nio
dog-child TOP 3SG.M=SIT speak=PRES=REL.NONF FOC.NONF
sole.
    that’s why
‘It went on like that, the mother saw him and he did not eat, he refused to eat, he
didn’t speak to her either, the dog-child, he was one who spoke.’102

(26) Ti ko=roque=v=a.
    and.then 3SG.F=care=3SG.M.O=PRES
‘And she cared for him.’

(27) Ko roque=v=a, inio “Koe ako so ta o=ta
    3SG.F care=3SG.M.O=PRES SEQ INTJ INTJ that TOP 3SG.M=SIT

102 The last clause, ‘the dog-child, he was one who spoke’ is added here to indicate that although
dogs do not normally speak, this particular dog does.
vou=vo inio anga=vo meqora vuat=o melai
die=NRFUT FOC.NONF 1SG=3SG.M child eat=NOM too
puh 0=vuat=a sole," k=i=ko=la
NEG 3SG.M=eat=PRES that's why 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

and.then 3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.F basket SEQ
ko=v=0=a omadeu bakisa.
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=get=PRES one custom money

'She cared for him, and then she said, 'Oh, if it goes on like this he will die, my child, because he doesn't eat either,' and she went and got her basket and got some custom money.'

(28) Ti ko=bori=v=a vo=a bakisa
and.then 3SG.F=carry=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M=LIG custom money

ti ko=beta ol=a inio matu-peuru kale, ko
and.then 3SG.F=CONT go=PRES FOC.NONF big-village in 3SG.F

ol=a matu-peuru kale so ti so ti, ko=ta
go=PRES big-village in that INT that and.then 3SG.F=SIT

ol=a lekasa=ko pade kasi.
go=PRES chief=3SG.F house at

'Then, she carried the custom money and went on towards the big village, she went towards the big village, she went on and on, and she went towards the chief's house.'

(29) Ko=baro=a sai lekasa=ko pade kasi, inio "Koe noi
3SG.F=arrive=PRES there chief=3SG.F house at SEQ INTJ how
nio k=i=n'go=la ku=a koi amaqe,"
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=2SG=IMP SG here enter IMP SG
k=i=0=la vo lekasa.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M chief

'She arrived there at the chief's house, and then, "Oh, what do you want to say, come here, enter," the chief said.'

(30) Ko ta ko=ko panga=o=le sole
3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=3SG.F respect=NOM=in that's why
ko=loqu-loqu=a ti, iqe-iqe=o=le inio
3SG.F=REDUP-bow=PRES and.then REDUP-kneel=NOM=in FOC.NONF

ko ol=a lekasa=ko tanama=le inio eri
3SG.F go=PRES chief=3SG.F front=in SEQ s.th.like.this
\( k=i=ko=la \).
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'Showing her respect to the chief, she bowed and she went on her knees in front of the chief, and she said something like this.'

(31)  "Koe matu=la lekasa, ako anga ta a=que=va
INTJ big=3SG.M chief INTJ 1SG TOP 1SG=come=PRES
tu a=ba pase=k=ou ngo=ko sinaqu-megora,
IRR 1SG=PROS ask=3SG.F.O=FUT 2SG=3SG.F unmarried.woman-child
anga=vo meqora o=k=a zari=a rorot=o.
1SG=3SG.M child 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=PRES want=PRES marry=NOM
'Oh, big chief, I came to ask for your daughter, my son wants to marry.'

(32)  Melai vo=a meqora ta pui maba inio
but 3SG.M=LIG child TOP NEG person FOC.NONF
siele,"  k=i=ko=la.
dog 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'But, the son is not a human, but a dog,' she said.'

(33)  "Koe matu uru. Nio anga ta komi kio matu
INTJ very good SEQ 1SG TOP PROX.SG.F FOC.F very
uri"  k=i=o=la,  vo=a lekasa.
good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG chief
'Oh, very good, for me, this is very good,' the chief said.'

(34)  Nio "Anga ta komi kio a=bori=k=ala,  tu
SEQ 1SG TOP PROX.SG.F FOC.F 1SG=carry=3SG.F.O=RCP IRR
a=qati=ng=ou,  "uru"  k=i=ko=vou  ko=a
1SG=give=2SG.O=FUT good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=FUT 3SG.F=LIG
megora ta"  k=i=ko=la  ti  ko=v=ala
child TOP 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES and then 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL
kase=k=a  ko=a bakisa.
show=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money
'I carried this. I will give it to you if the daughter says "good"," she said, and
she showed the custom money to him.'

(35)  Ko=v=a  kase=k=a  ko=a bakisa
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL show=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money
nio "Uri, taruan=e tu a=noka=k=ou saita".
SEQ good wait=IMP.SG IRR 1SG=call=3SG.F.O=FUT first
'She showed him the custom money and then "Good, wait, I will call her first,"
[the chief said].'
(36) Nio o=soloe=m=a vo=ko nabulo poso tu
SEQ 3SG.M=send=3PL.O=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F servant PL IRR
ke=pa nokae=k=o vo=ko kaka=ka=ma
3PL=PROS call=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.M=3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F
megora, sole se ta ke ol=a inio ke=pa
child that's why 3PL TOP 3PL go=PRES SEQ 3PL=PROS
bazue=k=a nio ko=kue=va ko=kue=va
tell=3SG.F.O=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F=come=PRES
inio.
FOC.NONF
'And then, he sent his servants, in order that they will go and call his elder daughter, that's why they went, they went and told her, and then she came, she came.'

(37) Eri k=i=o=la vo mama=ka=la.
s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M father=LIG=3SG.M
'Veh the father said something like this.'

(38) "Ngo ta komi=vo megora o=k=a
2SG TOP PROX.SG.F=3SG.M child 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL
zari=a tu o=rae=ng=o,
want=PRES IRR 3SG.M=marry=2SG.O=NOM but 3SG.M=LIG
melai vo=a
megora ta pui maba inio siele inio"
child TOP NEG person FOC.NONF dog FOC.NONF
k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'Veh you, the child of this woman wants to marry you, but the child is not a human but a dog,' he said.'

(39) Ti "Ki siele sole anga ta pui a=v=a
and.then INTJ dog that's why 1SG TOP NEG 1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL
zari=a a=lupa rae=v=o vo siele"
want=PRES 1SG=refuse marry=3SG.M.O=NOM 3SG.M dog
k=i=ko=la ko=a lekasa=ko kaka=ka=ma
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F=LIG chief=3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F
megora.
child
'Veh, "Because he is a dog, I don't want him, I refuse to marry him, a dog," said the chief's elder daughter.'
“Sole maba a=lupa\textsuperscript{103} pui a=ba luluë=k=ou”
that’s why person 1SG=refuse NEG 1SG=PROS follow=3SG.F.O=FUT
k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘So, I refuse it, I will not follow her,’ she said.’

“Koe ako ko=ta lupao=va sole uri tapata
INTJ INTJ 3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES that’s why good hard
ikiu tu a=vaitoe komi=a bakisa k=ati
FOC.F IRR 1SG=return PROX.SG.F=LIG custom.money 3SG.F.O=VAL
vait=e” k=i=o=la vo=a lekasa.
return=IMP.SG 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG chief
‘Well, she refuses it, so, good, a problem, I return this custom money, take it
home,’ the chief said.’

Ko=bori=k=a ko=a bakisa ti
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money and.then
ko=beta vait=a inio.
3SG.F=CONT return=PRES FOC.NONF
‘She carried the custom money and returned.’

Ko=vait=a ti ko=vait=a, kiada keru vo=a
3SG.F=return=PRES INT 3SG.F=return=PRES all TEMP 3SG.M=LIG
megora=ka=la=ko iruruput=o ta veitu tona inio
child=LIG=3SG.M=3SG.F work=NOM TOP entrance beside FOC.NONF
o=teku=a saitainio, o=k=ati vail=a
3SG.M=lie=PRES afterwards 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL look=PRES
niania=k o keve koi vasi.
mother=3SG.F way here around
‘She was going towards home, as for the son’s usual duties, he lay beside the
entrance, and he watched the mother’s paths nearby.’

Sai nio o=k=ati vail=a.
there FOC.NONF 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL watch=PRES
‘He watched there.’

So ti so ti o=ta k=a viq=a
that INT that and.then 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL sense=PRES

\textsuperscript{103} As mentioned in §12.3.5, the combination of the verb lupao ‘to refuse’ with the present tense-marking enclitic va, lupao=va, is sometimes realized as lupao.
o=niania=ko tui, nio eri=a zolae=k=o
3SG.M=mother=3SG.F smell SEQ as.soon.as=LIG lift=3SG.F.O=NOM
o ev=a o=lez=, ta o=k=e=a
3SG.M become=PRES 3SG.M=head TOP 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES
ko=beta kue=va, ko=kiada pado ti
3SG.F=CONT come=PRES 3SG.M=all MESeone and.then
o=teku=a ti o=beta imad=a inio.
3SG.M=lie=PRES and.then 3SG.M=CONT shut.eye=PRES FOC.NONF
‘He kept watching, and he sensed his mother’s smell, and then, as soon as he
picked up his head, he saw her coming, by herself, and he lay and shut his eyes.’

(46) Ko=kiada pado ko=beta kue=va sole vo ta
3SG.F=all MESeone 3SG.F=CONT come=PRES that’s why 3SG.M TOP
o=ta teku=a ti, vo ta duki o=ta
3SG.M=SIT lie=PRES and.then 3SG.M TOP sad 3SG.M=SIT
ev=a.
become=PRES
‘She was coming by herself and so he lay and became sad.’

(47) So ti, ko=bar=ksa ko=niania=ka=ma inio,
that TOP 3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F=mother=LIG=3SG.F FOC.NONF
“Megora” k=i=ko=la “Kom” kio
child 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES PROX.SG.F FOC.F
a=qase=k=ala=ma.”
1SG=show=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F
‘Then, she arrived, the mother, and “Child,” said she, “This is what happened.”’

(48) Ko=ta lupao=va “A=lupa rae=v=o vo ta
3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES 1SG=refuse marry=3SG.M.O=NOM 3SG.M TOP
siele pui maba sole” k=i=ko=la ti
dog NEG person that’s why 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES and.then
ko=ta ng=a lupao=va” k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F=SIT 2SG=PRES refuse=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘She refused it, she said “I refuse to marry him, because he is not a human,” she refused you,” the mother said.’

(49) Ti “Uri sole vae=k=la”
and.then good that’s why leave=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG
k=i=o=la, k=i=o=la vo=a
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG
megora vo=a siele-megora.
child 3SG.M=LIG dog-child
'And, "Good, so, leave it," he said, he said, the son, the dog-child.'

(50) Ti sainio ko=beta ev=a, so ti so
and.then then 3SG.F=CONT stay=PRES that INT so

(51) Nio "Niania-o" k=i=o=la | mata "niania"
SEQ Mother-VOC 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES again mother

(52) Nio "Koe megora" k=i=ko=la.
SEQ INTJ child 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'And, "Oh, child," she said.'

(53) "Kaka=ka=ma melai lula ko=ta lupao=la
older=LIG=3SG.F too already 3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES

(54) Sole vae=k=a pui ngo=rorot=о melai
that's.why leave=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG NEG 2SG=marry=NRFUT but

(55) So ti o=ta kora-korai=va tu mata omadeu
that TOP 3SG.M=SIT REDUP-be.angry=PRES IRR again one
wiki tiiavo omuqa wiki pui o=vuat=a, pui
week about two week NEG 3SG.M=eat=PRES NEG
o=k=ati  pesi=a,  pui  o=lulue=k=a
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL  speak=PRES  NEG  3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES
kiaro  kasi,  sainio  marong=o  ti  marong=o  ti
garden  at  therefore  sleep=NOM  INT  sleep=NOM  INT
marong=o  vo=a  siele.
sleep=NOM  3SG.M=LIG  dog
‘Then, he got angry and again for about one week, two weeks, he didn’t eat, he
didn’t speak to her, he didn’t follow her to the garden, therefore he just slept and
slept and slept, the dog.’

(56)  Ko=v=e=a  ta  pui  o=vuat=a  sole
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES  and.then  NEG  3SG.M=eat=PRES  that’s why
leku-leku  o=ta  ev=a,  nio  “Koe
REDUP-weak  3SG.M=SIT  become=PRES  SEQ  INTJ
a=ta  l=a  vou=vou  vo=a  meqora”
3SG.M=POSS  1SG.O=VAL  die=FUT  3SG.M=LIG  child
k=i=k=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘She saw that he didn’t eat and so he became weak, and then “Oh, my son will
die on me,” she said.’

(57)  Sole  ko  ta  ko  ol=a  inio  ko=pa
that’s why  3SG.F  TOP  3SG.F  go=PRES  SEQ  3SG.F=PROS
ko=a  ko  bakisa,  nio  mata
3SG.F=LIG  3SG.F  custom.money  SEQ  again
ko=bori=k=a  ti
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES  and.then
ko=beta  ketain=a  nio,  ko
3SG.F=CONT  travel.along.the.coast=PRES  FOC.NONF  3SG.F
ol=a  ti  ko  ol=a  ti  ko  ol=a  lekasa=ko
go=PRES  INT  3SG.F  go=PRES  INT  3SG.F  go=PRES  chief=3SG.F
pade  asi.
house  at
‘So, she went, she went and got custom money, and then again she carried it,
and she went on travelling along the coast, she went and went and went to the
chief’s house.’

(58)  Ko=bara=ta  keru  sai,  ko  ta  ko  ol=a
3SG.F=arrive=PRES  TEMP  there  3SG.F  TOP  3SG.F  go=PRES
lekasa kasi inio ko=pa kase=k=aa.

chief at and then 3SG.F=PROS mention=3SG.F.O=PRES

‘When she arrived there, she went to the chief, she went and said.’

(59) “Anga ta mata a=que=va, tu mata paset=o=le,

1SG TOP again 1SG=come=PRES IRR again ask=NOM=PURP

ako anga=vo meqora ta o=k=a matu

INTJ 1SG=3SG.M child TOP 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=PRES very

zari=a rorot=o sole.

want=PRES marry=NOM that’s why

‘I came again, to ask again because my son wants to marry very much.’

(60) Soinio o=soloe=i=a tu mata a=ba consequently 3SG.M=send=1SG.O=PRES IRR again 1SG=PROS

pase=k=ou, “a=ba paset=ou” k=i=a=la

ask=3SG.F.O=FUT 1SG=PROS ask=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES

inio” k=i=ko=la.

FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

‘Because of that, he sent me so that again I will ask for your daughter, I said, “I would go and ask,”’ she said.’

(61) “Koe uri=avo, uri=avo sole taruan=e”

INTJ good=NOM good=NOM that’s why wait=IMP.SG

k=i=o=la.

3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

‘Oh Okay, Okay, so, wait,” he said.’

(62) Nio so kera ta pui kapiavole ko=kati=v=a

and then that TEMP TOP NEG quickly 3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES

ko=a bakisa melai ko=taruan=a.

3SG.F=LIG custom money but 3SG.F=wait=PRES

‘And then, that time, she didn’t give the custom money to him quickly, but she waited.’

(63) “Taruan=e” k=i=o=la vo=a lekasa

wait=IMP.SG 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG chief

sole ko=taruan=a inio, o odie=k=a that’s why 3SG.F=wait=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.M fetch=3SG.F.O=PRES

vo=ko visi=a=ma meqora, inio sai

3SG.M=3SG.F younger=LIG=3SG.F child SEQ there

ko=kue=v=va inio, o=baue eri

3SG.F=come=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.M=tell s.th.like.this
k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

"'Wait,' the chief said, and so she waited, he fetched his younger daughter, and
there she came, he told her, he said something like this.'

(64)  "Ngo ta komi=vo megora o=ng=a
2SG TOP PROX.SG.F=3SG.M child 3SG.M=2SG=VAL
zari=a rae=ng=o sole uri ta
want=PRES marry=2SG=NOM that's why good TOP
k=i=ngo=vou ngo=lulue=k=ou, nio
3SG.F.O=say=2SG=FUT 2SG=follow=3SG.F.O=FUT SEQ
ngo=rae=v=ou komi=vo megora melai
2SG=marry=3SG.M.O=FUT PROX.SG.F=3SG.M child but
vo ta pui maba inio, melai siele"
3SG.M TOP NEG person FOC.NONF but dog
k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

"'You, the child of this woman wants to marry you so if you say 'good' you
follow her, and then you will marry the son of this woman, but he is not a
human, but a dog,' he said.'

(65)  "Ki matu uri" k=i=ko=la ko
INTJ very good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F
visi=a=ma.
younger=LIG=3SG.F

"'Oh, very good,' the younger daughter said.'

(66)  "Matu uri, a=lulue=k=o tu
very good 1SG=follow=3SG.F.O=NRFUT IRR
a=rae=v=o"
k=i=ko=la.
1SG=marry=3SG.M.O=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

"'Very good, I will follow her and will marry him,' she said.'

(67)  Ti ko=lulue=k=a vo=a siele-megora=ko
and.then 3SG.F=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=LIG dog-child=3SG.F
niania ti qo=ta wait=a nioqa.
mother and.then 3DU=SIT return=PRES 3DU

'And, she followed the mother of the dog-child, and the two returned.'

(68)  So kero vo=a megora siele-megora ta
that TEMP 3SG.M=LIG child dog-child TOP
o=ta k=a viq=a nioqa=ko tui nio,
3SG.M=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL sense=PRES 3DU=3SG.F smell SEQ
That time, the child, the dog-child, he sensed their smell, and then he lifted his head, and he saw the two coming, and then he wagged his tail on the floor.

That’s the dog’s way, he did it because he was happy.

And, the two arrived there, and he jumped around her, the dog’s way, he circled around her, he jumped around her, and then the mother said something like this.

That’s him, my son,” said she.'
"Really," said the daughter of the chief, and the two, his mother and she, the two got ready to go to the garden in order to get food, and the child followed the two."

(73) \(O=\text{baro}=a\) \(sai\ ti\ nioqa\ ta\ sailao\ qo=t\)
3SG.M=arrive=PRES there and.then 3DU TOP food 3DU=SIT

\(koazat=a,\ vo\ ta\ juli\ raki\ ale\ o=t\)
get=PRES 3SG.M TOP banana.tree root on 3SG.M=SIT

\(marong=a.\)
sleep=PRES

'He arrived there and the two got food, and he slept at the base of a banana tree.'

(74) \(Qo=\text{pai}=k=a\) \(saila-sailaat=o\ ti\ ke=t\)
3DU=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES REDUP:get.food=NOM and.then 3PL=SIT

\(saqor=a.\)
go.down=PRES

'The two finished getting food and they went down.'

(75) \(Ke=ta\ saqor=a\ ti\ qo=kejue=k=a\ ko\)
3PL=SIT go.down=PRES and.then 3DU=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F

\(saila,\ ko=keju=a\ nio\ vo=ko\ ta\)
food 3SG.F=cook=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=3SG.F TOP

\(qo=v=a\ risae=k=a,\ ko,\ reko=a=ma\)
3DU=3SG.M.O=PRES throw=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F wife=LiG=3SG.F

\(vo=a\ siele=ko\ reko\ ta,\ tuto\ ale\)
3SG.M=LiG dog=3SG.F wife TOP coconut.shell.container in

\(ko\ i=k=a\ niania=ka=ma\ melai\)
3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES mother=LiG=3SG.F too

tuto ale ko i=k=a.
coconut.shell.container in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES

'They went down and the two cooked food, the food got cooked, and as for his food, they threw it to him, she, the wife, the wife of the dog, she put her food in a coconut shell container, the mother too put her food in a coconut shell container.'

(76) \(Ko\ ipuk=a\ ti\ nioqa\ sage\ ta\ kala\)
3SG.F become.night=PRES and.then 3DU couple TOP INDEF.SG.M

\(rana,\ vo=a\ siele\ ni\ ko=a\ sinaqurusu,\ ko\ ta\)
side 3SG.M=LiG dog and 3SG.F=LiG girl 3SG.F TOP
kama rana, so inio se=ko saev=o,
INDEF.SG.F side that FOC.NONF 3PL=3SG.F survive=NOM

ko=rane=a mati ke=kiaruz=a ko
3SG.F=be.overnight=PRES again 3PL=do.gardening=PRES 3SG.F

ipuk=a mati ke=vait=a, so inio
become.night=PRES again 3PL=return=PRES that FOC.NONF

se=ko saev=o kiada keru.
3PL=3SG.F survive=NOM all TEMP

'The night came and the couple slept one side, the dog and the girl, the mother slept on another side, that was their life, next day again they did gardening, the night came, and again they returned, that was their life all the time.'

(77) Omadeu taku inio “niania” k=i=o=la
one time FOC.NONF Mother 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

vo=a megora.
3SG.M=LIG child

‘One day, “Mother,” the son said.’

(78) “Niania ngo ta ngo inainae=k=ou ko mau
mother 2SG TOP 2SG get.ready=3SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F taro

ni uza ni ju sakare, sakareju
and fire and water coconut.shell.with water coconut.shell.with.water

ngo=bori=k=ou nio.
2SG=carry=3SG.F.O=FUT FOC.NONF

‘Mother, you, you get ready taros, fire, and water, coconut shells filled with water, you carry coconut shells filled with water.’

(79) Tu me=ba ta lipi-lipit=ou anime
IRR 1PL.INC=PROS SIT REDUP-walk=FUT 1PL.INC

uki vanga keta=le” k=i=o=la.
somewhere.there far.away edge=in 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

‘So that we will go for a walk, we go, there, far away, along the coast’, he said.’

(80) Nio “uri” k=i=ko=la ko niania=ka=ma.
SEQ good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F mother=LIG=3SG.F

‘And then, “good,” the mother said.’

(81) Ti ko inainae=k=a ko mau bita=le
and.then 3SG.F get.ready=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F taro string.bag=in

ko i=k=a, raqauza ko=bori=k=a,
3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES ember 3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES

ti, sakareju ko=bori=k=a zouke
and.then coconut.shell.with water 3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES three
Appendix 3

sakareju ko=bori=k=a.
coconut.shell.with.water 3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘She got taros ready, she put them in a string bag, she carried an ember, she
carried coconut shells filled with water, she carried three coconut shells filled
with water.’

(82) Ti ke=beta tali=a=ni nio, ti
and.then 3PL=CONT travel=PRES=REL.NONF FOC.NONF and.then
ke ol=a ti ke ol=a, ti se ta
3PL go=PRES INT 3PL go=PRES and.then 3PL TOP
ke=lulue=k=a, ka koi ke=baro=a, “Koi
3PL=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES INDEF here 3PL=arrive=PRES here
nio” k=i=ko=la “Koi pui”
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES here NEG
k=i=oa=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘They were travellers, and they went and went, and they followed the coast line,
they arrived somewhere, “Here,” she said, “Not here,” he said.’

(83) Ke=beta ol=a | kala kele-kele
3PL=CONT go=PRES INDEF.SG.M REDUP-point
ke=revoe=v=a, ke=baro=a sai “Koi nio”
3PL=go.around=3SG.M.O=PRES 3PL=arrive=PRES there here FOC.NONF
k=i=ko=la ko niania=ka=ma ta “Pui”
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F mother=LIG=3SG.F and.then NEG
k=i=oa=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘They went on, they went around one point, they arrived at the other side of the
point “Here,” the mother said, “No,” he said.’

(84) Zouke=a=la kele-kele ke=revoe=v=a
three=LIG=3SG.M REDUP-point 3PL=go.around=3SG.M=PRES
nio, vo=a kele-kele ka rana inio,
FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG REDUP-point INDEF side FOC.NONF
kala buni ta inevoana.
INDEF.SG.M buni.tree TOP EXT.SG.M
‘They went around the third point, and at one side of the point, there was a buni
tree.’

(85) Nio “Koi nio me=nabul=ou ko mau.
SEQ here FOC.NONF 1PL.INC=bake=FUT 3SG.F taro
‘And then, “Here, we will bake taros.’
(86) Sole qe ta uza bainae=k=oko nio that’s why 2DU TOP fire light=3SG.F.O=IIMPdu SEQ
qe=nabul=ou anga ta komi=a buni topi 2DU=bake=FUT 1SG TOP PROX.SG.F=LIG buni.tree on.top
a=goit=ou tu a=ba k=el=o kama 1SG=climb=FUT IRR 1SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=see=NRFUT INDEF.SG.F
niuniu sai ko alokat=a=k polarization 3SG.F pass=PRES REL.F 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES fish there 3SG.F
‘So, you, light a fire and bake, I will climb to top of this tree and will look at fish which pass,” he said.’

(87) Nioqa=ko keru-keru ale ta “Vo ta niuniu 3DU=3SG.F REDUP-thought in TOP 3SG.M TOP fish
ikio o=k=ov=ou” k=i=qo=la. FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES ‘In their thinking, “He will get fish,” the two said.’

(88) Sole “Uri” k=i=qo=la nioqa ta that’s why good 3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES 3DU TOP
qo=bainat=a buni=ko raki kasi, uza qo=bainae 3DU=light=PRES buni.tree=3SG.F root at fire 3DU=light
ti mau qo=nabul=a, so ti vo ta sai and.then taro 3DU=bake=PRES that TOP 3SG.M TOP there
buni=ko vaila inio o=beta papu=a. buni.tree=3SG.F end FOC.NONF 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES ‘So, they said “Good,” the two lit a fire at the root of the buni tree, they lit a fire, and they baked taros, and he was sitting there at the tip of the branch of the buni tree.’

(89) Melai vo=a buni ta o=koi=vi ti but 3SG.M=LIG buni.tree TOP 3SG.M=go.up=RMP and.then
o=ke=ve ti o=ke=ve ti kolo tania 3SG.M=go=RMP INT 3SG.M=go=RMP and.then ocean middle
nio vo=ko vaila. FOC.NONF 3SG.M=3SG.F end ‘But, the buni tree went up, it went and went, and its end was in the middle of the ocean.’

(90) Nio sai o=beta papu=a inio o=kat=ati SEQ there 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL
vail=a | nioqa ta mau qo=beta peit=a.
look=PRES 3DU TOP taro 3DU=CONT peel=PRES
‘And there he sat and he looked at fish, and the two were peeling taros.’

(91) Qo=pe=it=k=a | ko mau nio vo ta
3DU=peel=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F taro SEQ 3SG.M TOP
o=k=e=a ta “Koe sipole ko=ta
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES and.then INTJ soon 3SG.F=SIT
keju=a” k=i=o=la.
cook=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘They peeled taros, and then he saw taros, and “Oh, soon, the taros will be
cooked,” he said.’

(92) So ti so ti o=k=e=a | ko=a mau
that INT that and.then 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3SG.F=LIG taro
ta ko=ta keju=a.
TOP 3SG.F=SIT cook=PRES
‘It went on, and he saw taros, taros had cooked.’

(93) Qo=ke jue=k=a ko qo=pe=it=k=a mati
3DU=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F 3DU=peel=3SG.F.O=PRES again
sai qo=vae=k=a.
there 3DU=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES
‘The two cooked the taros, they peeled them, again they left them there.’

(94) O=k=e=a nio o=ta joupar=a
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=SIT jump.off=PRES
ko=a buni topi azo.
3SG.F=LIG buni.tree on.top ABL
‘He saw them cooked and then he jumped off the buni tree.’

(95) O=joupar=a ti ivere kolo tiania po o
3SG.M=jump.off=PRES and.then sea ocean middle po 3SG.M
ev=a ti sa-vasi o=sisiliput=a
become=PRES and.then there-around 3SG.M=dive=PRES
o=sisiliput=a sa-vasi.
3SG.M=dive.deep=PRES there-around
‘He jumped off, and he hit the sea, the ocean, making the sound po!, and he
dived around there, he dived deep in the sea, around there.’

(96) Saikazo o=sisiliput=a, o=sisiliput=a ti
following.that 3SG.M=dive=PRES 3SG.M=dive=PRES and.then
o=vareri=k=a ko=a siele-tupu ta
3SG.M=go.on.shore=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG dog-skin TOP
sa-vasi $o=ngamu=k=a$.
there-around 3SG.M=throw.away=3SG.F.O=PRES

$o=vareri=k=a$ ta kala $matu$
3SG.M=go.on.shore=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then INDEF.SG.M very

$ile=ile=a=la$ lasiverusu.
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.M boy
‘He dived, he dived, he went on the shore, he threw the dog-skin away around there, he went on the shore, and he became a very beautiful boy.’

(97)  $Nio$ $o=purat=a$.
SEQ 3SG.M=come.out=PRES
‘He came out.’

(98)  $Nio$ “$Koe$ lula $ko=keju=la$ ko sailao”
SEQ INTJ already 3SG.F=cook=RCP 3SG.F food

$k=i=o=la$  $nio, eri=a$ lilit=$o$
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=FOC.NONEF as.soon.as=LIG look.back=NOM

$ko$ ev=$a$ ko vo=$ko$ reko, ta
3SG.F become=PRES 3SG.F 3SG.M=3SG.F wife and.then

$ko=v=e=a$  $matu$ $ile=ile=a=la$ lasiverusu.
3SG.F=3SG.M=see=PRES very REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.M boy
‘And then, “Oh, the food has already cooked,” he said, and as soon as his wife looked back, she saw a very beautiful boy.’

(99)  $Ko=rere=a$ inio $ko=pa$ $zuue=v=a$,
3SG.F=run=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=PROS hug=3SG.M.O=PRES

$ko=v=ai$  $kiavi=a$, $ko=lume=v=a$,
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL be.pleased=PRES 3SG.F=kiss=3SG.M.O=PRES

saitainio $ko=v=ati$ kail=$a$.
afterwards 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL go.up=PRES
‘She ran, and then she went and hugged him, she was pleased with him, she kissed him, and afterwards she took him up.’

(100)  $Nio$ $ko=a$ niania=$ka=ma$ $ko=v=e=a$
SEQ 3SG.F=LIG mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES

inio $ko=ta$ $matu$ zolei=v$a$.
SEQ 3SG.F=SIT very be.happy=PRES
‘And then, the mother saw him and she became very happy.’

(101)  $Ko=a$ siele-tupu ta $o=pa$ ngoamu=$k=e$
3SG.F=LIG dog-skin TOP 3SG.M=PROS throw.away=3SG.F.O=RMP

sa-vasi, melai kala $matu$ $ile=ile=a=la$
there-around but INDEF.SG.M very REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.M
lasiveru su inio, o=ta kue=va.
boy FOC.NONF 3SG.M=SIT come=PRES
'The dog skin, he threw away around there, and instead a very beautiful boy
came.'

(102) So ti sai nio ke=beta ev=a se=a
that TOP there FOC.NONF 3PL=CONT stay=PRES 3PL=LIG
zouke nioqa=ko peuru ale.
three 3DU=3SG.F village in
'Then, the three kept staying there in their village.'

(103) Sai ke=beta ev=a so ti so omadeu taku
there 3PL=CONT stay=PRES that INT that one time
inio, eri k=i=ko=la ko
FOF.NONF s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F
meqora=ka=ma lekasa=ko meqora.
child=LIG=3SG.F chief=3SG.F child
'There, they stayed, it went on like that, and one day, she said something like
this, the daughter, the chief's daughter.'

(104) "Aniqa ta lea ta qe=pa barol=o
1DU.INC TOP tomorrow TOP 1DU.INC=PROS arrive=NRFUT
anga=ko mama ni niania kasi saita.
1SG=3SG.F father and mother at first
"We, tomorrow, we will go and reach my father and mother, first.'

(105) Saitainio qe=vait=ou" k=i=ko=la.
Afterwards 1DU.INC=return=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'Afterwards, we will return,” she said.’

(106) "Sole ngo=bazue=k=ou ngo=niania"
that's why 2SG=tell=3SG.F.O=FUT 2SG=mother
k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
"So, you will tell your mother,” she said.'

(107) Nio ko=a ipu inio o=bazue=k=a
and.then 3SG.F=LIG night FOC.NONF 3SG.M=tell=3SG.F.O=PRES
vo=ko niania, "Niania-o" k=i=o=la.
3SG.M=3SG.F mother Mother-VOC 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'And then, that night, he told his mother, "Mother,” he said.'

(108) "Eqe ta lea ta qe=pa opio=vou
1DU.EXC TOP tomorrow TOP 1DU.EXC=PROS visit=FUT
"Melai uri "pui qe=pa raneo=vo but good NEG 1DU.EXC=PROS be.overnight=FUT
qe=zio ti qe=beta wait=ou"
1DU.EXC=goNRFUT and.then 2DU.EXC=CONT return=NRFUT
nio k=i=ko=la"
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
vo meqora.
3SG.M child
"But it's OK, my wife said, "we would not stay overnight, we would go and return"", the son said.'

"Koe qe=matu balao=vou sole uri qe=k=a
INTJ 2DU=very be.careful=FUT that's why good 2DU=3SG.F.O=VAL
zari=a sole qe=zio=vou, melai qe=matu want=PRES that's why 2DU=go=FUT but 2DU=very
balao=vou pui qe=raneo=vou sai, ti, keve be.careful=FUT NEG 2DU=be.overnight=FUT there and.then way
ma keve melai pui qe utu rurukao=vou"
or way too NEG 2DU idle relax=FUT
k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
"Oh, you will be very careful, and so OK you want to do so you will go, but you will be very careful, you will not stay overnight, and on the way too, you will not relax unthinkingly," she said."
"Uri"  k=i=qo=la,  ko=rane=a,
good  3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES  3SG.F=be.overnight=PRES
ti  qo=beta  ol=a  inio  qo  ol=a  lekasa=vo
and.then  3DU=CONT  go=PRES  and.then  3DU  go=PRES  chief=3SG.M
matu-peuru  kale  pade  kasi  qo  ol=a,  ko=a
big-village  in  house  at  3DU  go=PRES  3SG.F=LIG
reko=ko  mama  ni  niania  kasi.
wife=3SG.F  father  and  mother  at
"‘Good,’  he  said,  and  next  day,  they  went  and  they  went  to  the  chief’s  big
village,  they  went  to  the  father  and  mother  of  the  wife.’

Nio  ko=k=e=a
SEQ  3SG.F=3DU.O=see=PRES  3SG.F  older=LIG=3SG.F
ko=v=e=a
ko  kaka=ka=ma,  ko,
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES  3SG.F  older=LIG=3SG.F  3SG.F
ko=ta  v=a
lupao=vi=ma,  ti  ko=ta
3SG.F=POSS  3SG.M.O=VAL  refuse=RMP=REL.F  and.then  3SG.F=SIT
kora-korai=va.
REDUP-be.angry=PRES
‘And  then,  the  elder  daughter  saw  the  two,  she  saw  him,  the  elder  daughter,  the
one  who  refused  him,  and  she  got  angry.’

"Koe  visi=a=mu  ta,  pui  kapiavole
INTJ  younger.sibling=LIG=3PL  TOP  NEG  quickly
ke=rorot=a=ni
3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF  FOC.NONF  older.sibling=LIG=3PL
nio
FOC.NONF  first  3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF
k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘‘Younger  ones,  they  are  not  ones  who  quickly  marry,  it  is  the  older  ones  who
marry  first.’’  she  said.’

Nio  "Nei  ta  ngo=ta  v=a
SEQ  PROX.SG.M  TOP  2SG=SIT  3SG.M.O=VAL
lupao=vi=ni,
"a=da  v=a  lupao=va  vo
refuse=RMP=REL.NONF  1SG=POSS  3SG.M=VAL  refuse=PRES  3SG.M
siele"  v=a
k=i=ngo=ve=ni  nio,
dog  3SG.M=VAL  3SG.F.O=say=2SG=RMP=REL.NONF  FOC.NONF
\( k=i=ko=la. \)
\( 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES \)
\( \text{She said, "This is the one you refused, you said, 'I refuse a dog,' the one you talked about him."} \)

\( \text{(115) } So \text{ ti } "Uri \text{ sole } qe=raneo=vou \text{ koi}" \)
\( \text{that TOP good that's why 2DU=be.overnight=FUT here} \)
\( k=i=ko=la \quad ko \quad kaka=ka=ma. \)
\( 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES \quad 3SG.F \quad \text{older=LIG=3SG.F} \)
\( \text{And then, "Good, so you will stay overnight here," the elder daughter said.'} \)

\( \text{(116) } \text{Melai } "Pui \text{ pui } qe=pa \text{ raneo=vou } \text{ "pui but NEG NEG 1DU.EXC=PROS be.overnight=FUT NEG} \)
\( \text{qe=raneo=vou"} \quad k=i=ko=lala \quad \text{sole} \)
\( \text{2DU=be.overnight=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RCP that's why} \)
\( \text{nei=ko \quad niania"} \quad k=i=ko=lake. \)
\( \text{PROX.SG.M=3SG.F mother 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=HIST} \)
\( \text{But, "No, no, we are not going to stay overnight, because his mother said, 'no} \)
\( \text{you will not stay overnight,'" she said.'} \)

\( \text{(117) } \text{Raisi-raisi ko ev=a ti qo=ta} \)
\( \text{REDUP-evening 3SG.F become=PRES and then 3DU=SIT} \)
\( \text{wait=a.} \)
\( \text{return=PRES} \)
\( \text{The evening came, and the two returned.'} \)

\( \text{(118) } \text{Qo=ta wait=a ti qo=ta matu} \)
\( \text{3DU=SIT return=PRES and then 3DU=SIT very} \)
\( \text{tali-tali=a qo=ta matu tali-tali=a.} \)
\( \text{REDUP-travel=PRES 3DU=SIT very REDUP-travel=PRES} \)
\( \text{The two returned, and they walked hard, they walked hard.'} \)

\( \text{(119) } \text{Ti kapiavole qo=baro=a.} \)
\( \text{and then quickly 3DU=arrive=PRES} \)
\( \text{They reached home quickly.'} \)

\( \text{(120) } \text{Melai sai qo=ke=ve keru ta, ko=ko mama} \)
\( \text{but there 3DU=go=RMP TEMP TOP 3SG.F=3SG.F father} \)
\( \text{ni niania kasi qo=ke=ve keru ta, ko=a} \)
\( \text{and mother at 3DU=go=RMP TEMP TOP 3SG.F=LIG} \)
\( \text{reko=ko niania ta ko=bazue=k=e, \quad tu} \)
\( \text{wife=3SG.F mother TOP 3SG.F=tell=3SG.F.O=RMP IRR} \)
\( \text{"Kama taku qe=kil=ou nio qe=pa} \)
\( \text{INDEF.SG.F time 2DU=come=FUT SEQ 2DU=PROS} \)
tauve=l=ou papat=o=ko mabasisu”.
help=1SG.O=FUT plant=NOM=3SG.F yam

"But, when they went there, when they went to her father and mother, the mother of the wife said to the daughter, “Sometime, you will come and help me to plant yams.”"

(121) Matu kubo ko=ko mabasisu ko=k=a zari=a
very many 3SG.F=3SG.F yam 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES
papat=o sole.
plant=NOM that's why
"Because she wanted to plant lots of yams."

(122) “Qe=kil=ou nio qe=tauve=l=ou”
2DU=come=FUT and then 2DU=help=1SG.O=FUT
k=i=ko=ve ko=ko megora kasi.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP 3SG.F=3SG.F child at
"You will come and help me;,” she said to her daughter.

3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PREP 3SG.D.F.=say=3SG.F=pRES

(123) Nio komi kio ko=baeue=v=a, tu “Kama
SEQ PROX.SG.F FOC.F 3SG.F=tell=3SG.M.O=PRES IRS INDEF.SG.F
taku inio qe=tauve=l=ou, jokurat=o mabasisu=ko
time FOC.NONF 2DU=help=1SG.F=FUT dig=NOM yam=3SG.F
uma-una, kubo mabasisu pui ko=papa=k=a
REDUP-bed many yam NEG 3SG.F=plant=3SG.F.O=PRES

sole" k=i=ko=la.

And, she told him this, she said "The mother told us to help her sometime
digging beds for yams, because she hasn't planted lots of yams."

(124) Ti ko=baeue=v=a ta “Uri”
and then 3SG.F=tell=3SG.M.O=PRES TOP good
k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

And when she told him, he said, "Good."

(125) “Uri qe=zio=vou qe=pa tauve=k=ou”
good 1DU.INC=go=FUT 1DU.INC=PROS help=3SG.F.O=FUT
k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

"Good, we will go, we will go and help her,” he said.

(126) Nio ko=baro=a ko=a taku ti qe=zio
SEQ 3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F=LIG time and then 3DU=go N-RFUT
"And the time arrived and when they said that they would go and help the mother so that she could plant yams, the wife of the dog-child was already pregnant."

(127) Melai o=ta ol=a o=bazue=k=a but 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES 3SG.M=tell=3SG.F.O=PRES vo=ko niania o=bazue "Ege ta qe=ta 3SG.M=3SG.F mother 3SG.M=tell 1DU.EXC TOP 1DU.EXC=SIT zio=vou, komi=ko niania=ko mabasisu go=FUT PROX.SG.F=3SG.F mother=3SG.F yam qe=pa tauve=k=a papat=o sole 1DU.EXC=PROS help=3SG.F.O=NRFUT plant=NOM that’s why qe=ta zio=vou matu-peuru ale" 1DU.EXC=SIT go=FUT big-village in k=i=ko=la. 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES ‘But, he went, he told his mother, he told her, “We will go, we will go and help her mother to plant her yams, so, we will go to the big village,” he said.’

(128) Ta “Koe pui qe=ziou’’ k=i=ko=la ko and.then INTJ NEG 2DU=go=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F niania=ka=ma, vo=a siele-megora=ko niania. mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=LIG dog-child=3SG.F mother ‘‘No, you will not go,” said the mother, the mother of the dog-child.’

(129) Melai “Uri niania pui qe=pa ubait=ou” but good Mother NEG 1DU.EXC=PROS be.long=FUT k=i=ko=la, k=i=ko=la vo megora. 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M child ‘But, “Good, Mother, we will not be long,” said he, the son said.’

(130) “Pui qe=pa ubait=oa=ga=ga nio. NEG 2DU=PROS be.long=FUT=LIG=2DU FOC.NONF ‘‘You are not going to be long.’"
(131) Sole maba pui \textit{qe=raneo=vou} pui \textit{qe=rurukao=vou} that's why truly NEG 2DU=be.overnight=FUT NEG 2DU=relax=FUT
\textit{maba madu kasi'\ k=i=ko=la.}

person COLL.PL at 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=FRES
''So, truly, you will not stay overnight, you will not relax with people,” she said.''

(132) \textit{Nio ko=bara=a ko=a taku ti nioqa ta SEQ 3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F=LIG time and.then 3DU TOP
\textit{qo=ta ol=a.}}
3DU=SIT go=PRES
''And, when the time arrived, the two went.''

(133) \textit{Qo ol=a ti qo ol=a ti qo=pa 3DU go=PRES INT 3DU go=PRES and.then 3DU=PROS
\textit{odie=k=\ a lekasa=ko reko ti ke=ta fetch=3SG.F.O=PRES chief=3SG.F wife and.then 3PL=SIT
kail=a kiaro kasi ti ke=pa papat=a. go.up=PROS garden at and.then 3PL=PROS plant=PRES
'They went and went, and they went and fetched the chief’s wife, and they went up to the garden, and they planted.'

(134) \textit{Ke=papat=a so ti so ti nganiu 3PL=plant=PRES that INT that and.then sun
\textit{okate ko=ta ev=a inio ju ko=kavel=a high 3SG.F=SIT become=PRES SEQ water 3SG.F=want.food=PRES
ko=\ a siele-megora=ko reko molu=\ a=ma sole 3SG.F=LIG dog-child=3SG.F wife be.pregnant=LIG=3SG.F that's why
ju ko=kavel=a. water 3SG.F=want.food=PRES
'They planted, they kept planting, and the sun became high, and then she wanted water, the wife of the dog-child, because she was pregnant, she wanted water.'

(135) \textit{“Niania ju a=q=a zari=a tu kala Mother water 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES IRR INDEF.SG.M
\textit{a=pa l=a tobet=o’’ k=i=ko=la. 3SG.M=PROS 1SG.O=VAL get.water=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=FRES
‘‘Mother, I want water, so someone should go and get water for me,’’ she said.

(136) \textit{Nio ‘‘Kaka=ka=ma. SEQ older=LIG=3SG.F
‘Then, ‘Elder daughter.’

(137) \textit{Ol=a ngo=visi pa \textit{k=a tobet=e}}
go=PRES 2SG=younger.sibling PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL get.water=IMP.SG
"Ki kə=ngavi ko=ziə" k=i=kə=la

INTJ 3SG.F=INTJ 3SG.F=goNRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F

kaka=ka=ma.

older=LIQ=3SG.F

"`No, she herself should go," the elder daughter said.'

"Koe pui so k=a k=i=o ko=ta"

INTJ NEG that 3SG.F.O=VAL 3SG.F.O=say=NRFUT 3SG.F=SIT

molə=a=ma ikio tu ngo=ba k=a

be.pregnant=LIQ=3SG.F FOC.F IRR 2SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL
tobet=e" k=i=kə=la.

get.water=IMP.SG 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

"‘Don’t say that, she is pregnant so you go and get water for her,” she said.’

"Pui vanga inio sai tu vae=k=a tu

NEG far.away FOC.NONF there IRR leave=3SG.F.O=PRES IRR

kə=ziə kə=ngavi" k=i=kə=la.

3SG.F=goNRFUT 3SG.F=INTJ 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

"‘It’s not far away, leave it, she will go herself,’” she said.’

Ti, kə=ta lupəo=va ko kaka=ka=ma sole,

and.then 3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES 3SG.F older=LIQ=3SG.F that’s why

kə=ngavi nio kə=ta oI=a.

3SG.F=INTJ FOC.NONF 3SG.F=SIT go=PRES

‘Because the elder daughter refused, she went herself.’

Ko=ngavi kə=ta oI=a ti so ti so

3SG.F=INTJ 3SG.F=SIT go=PRES and.then that INT that

ti kə=bəro=a sai ju kasi, nio

and.then 3SG.F=arrive=PRES there water at SEQ

kə=k=o=a kə siakona tu

3SG.F=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3SG.F rope IRR

“a=dobe=k=o” k=i=kə=la inio.

1SG=arrive.water=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES FOC.NONF

‘She herself went, she went and went, and she arrived there at the water, and
then she got a rope, and “I will get water,” she said.’

Erə=ə̰ loqən=ə ko=be ev=a ko=kə

as.soon.as=LIQ bend=NOM 3SG.F=IMPL become=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.F
elder.sibling and.then 3SG.F=run=PRES INT 3SG.F=run=PRES
and.then 3SG.F=PROS arrive=PRES there water=3SG.F REDUP-edge
‘As soon as the younger sister bent, her elder sister ran and ran, and she arrived there at the edge of the water.’

(144) Ti “ju a=dobe=k=o” and.then water 1SG=get.water=3SG.F.O=NRFUT
k=i=ko=la keru inio ko
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES TEMP FOC.NONF 3SG.F
ibae=k=e ti ko=ta jour=e sa-vasi.
push=3SG.F.O=RMP and.then 3SG.F=SIT fall=RMP there-around
‘And when she said, “I will get water,” she pushed her and she fell down somewhere around there.’

(145) Ko=ta jour=a sa-vasi ti ko=ta
3SG.F=SIT fall=PRES there-around and.then 3SG.F=SIT
vou=vi nio ko=kiada inio ko=vai=a ko
die=RMP SEQ 3SG.F=all FOC.NONF 3SG.F=return=PRES 3SG.F
kaka=ka=ma ko=kiada inio ko=vai=a.
older=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=all FOC.NONF 3SG.F=return=PRES
‘She fell down somewhere around there, and she died, and then the elder sister returned by herself, she returned by herself.’

(146) Ko=vai=a inio “Lai ta ko anga=ko reko
3SG.F=return=PRES SEQ where TOP 3SG.F 1SG=3SG.F wife
k=i=o=la?” vo.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M
‘She returned and then “Where is she, my wife?” he asked.’

(147) Ti “ju kale ikoana ko=ta siusiut=a
and.then water in EXTSG.F 3SG.F=SIT swim=PRES
mainio ko=pa kil=ou” k=i=ko=la.
later 3SG.F=PROS come=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘“She is in the water, she is swimming, later she will come,” she said.

(148) “Kio” k=i=o=la sainio ke=ta iririuput=a
INTJ 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES therefore 3PL=SIT work=PRES
so ti so raisi-raisi ko=ta baro=a.
that INT that REDUP-evening 3SG.F=SIT arrive=PRES
"‘Okay,’ he said, and they worked, they worked and worked, and the evening
arrived.’

(149) Melai pui ko=vait=a.
but NEG 3SG.F=return=PRES
‘But she didn’t return.’

(150) “Lai ta ko? | noi nio pui kapiavole
where TOP 3SG.F how FOC.NONF NEG quickly
ko=kue=va?”
3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘Where is she? How come she hasn’t come back quickly?’ he questioned.’

(151) “Ki esa inio ko=beta siusiut=a inio,
INTJ maybe FOC.NONF 3SG.F=CONT swim=PRES FOC.NONF
soinio pui ko=kue=va”
accordingly NEG 3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘‘Maybe, she is still swimming, and so, she hasn’t come,” she said.’

(152) Melai pui o epez=a keru-kerue=k=o
but NEG 3SG.M stop=PRES REDUP-think=3SG.F.O=NOM
sole o=ta ol=a, o ol=a ti o
that’s why 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES 3SG.M go=PRES INT 3SG.M
ol=a ti o lulue=k=a ko keve ti
and.then 3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F path and.then
o ol=a ti o ol=a ti o ol=a
3SG.M go=PRES INT 3SG.M go=PRES INT 3SG.M go=PRES
ti o=baro=a sai ko=a soqili kasi nio
and.then 3SG.M=arrive=PRES there 3SG.F=LIG well at SEQ
o=pa soip=a ta ko=beta teku=a
3SG.M=PROS look.into=PRES and.then 3SG.F=CONT lie=PRES
sa-vasi lula ko=ta vou=vi.
there-around already 3SG.F=SIT die=RMP
‘But, he didn’t stop thinking about her and so he went, he went and went, and he
followed the path, and he went and went and went and he arrived there, at the
well, and then, he went and looked into the well, and he found that she was lying
down somewhere around there, she had already died.’

(153) Nio “aki a=sinaqu”
SEQ INTJ 1SG=unmarried.woman 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
k=i=o=la
Appendix 3

ti o-ngavi melai o-ta jour=a sa-vasi
and.then 3SG.M=self too 3SG.M=SIT fall=PRES there-around

3SG.M=SIT die=RMP and.then 3DU couple TOP

ko=a sogili ale qo=ta vou=vi.
3SG.F=SLG well in 3DU=SIT die=RMP

"Oh, my girl," he said, and he himself too, he jumped down around there, and he died, and the couple died in the well."

Siele-meqora=ko niania ta sai ko=ta
dog-child=3SG.F mother TOP there 3SG.F=SIT

ev=e vo=a lekasa=ko megora-saidi se ta
stay=RMP 3SG.M=SLG chief=3SG.F child-family 3PL TOP

mata sai ke=ta ev=e.
again there 3PL=SIT stay=RMP

'The mother of the dog-child, she stayed there, and the chief's family, they stayed there as before.'

Ti kio ti ko paka.
and.then sayNOM TOP 3SG.F end

'And, that is the end.'

Ngali Nut Collection (Text 2)

(1) Komi kio ko=a taku qusini o=k=a
PROX.SG.F FOC.F 3SG.F=SLG time rope 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL
ere=k=a=ko vo=a qole Qidiou Tolapitu.
make=3SG.F.O=PRES=REL.F 3SG.M=SLG old Qidiou Tolapitu

'This is about the time when Qidiou Tolapitu made a rope.'

(2) "Noi ta qe=kail=a varu-varut=o=le, ni how TOP 1DU.INC=go.up=PRES REDUP-get.varu=NOM=PURP and
ipupu."

ipupu

"'How about going up to get bark of varu trees, and ipupu trees?' [he said.]

(3) Vo ta qusini=ko varu o=k=o=a | anga ta
3SG.M TOP rope=3SG.F varu 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 1SG TOP
bita=ko ipupu a=q=o=a.
string.bag=3SG.F ipupu 1SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES

'He got the bark of varu trees to make a rope, and I got the bark of ipupu trees to make a string bag.'
(4) \[ Qe=saqor=a \quad inio, \quad vo \quad ta \quad ju \quad kale \]
1DU.EXC=go.down=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.M TOP water in
\[ o=vae=k=a, \quad ko=a \quad varu \quad | \quad anga \quad ta \]
3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG varu 1SG TOP
\[ nganiu \quad ale \quad a=vae=k=a. \]
sun in 1SG=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES
'We went down and he left the bark of the varu trees in water, and I left the bark of the ipupu trees in the sun.'

(5) \[ Nio \quad ko=ta \quad tabar=a \quad nio \quad anga \quad ta \]
SEQ 3SG.F=SIT dry=PRES SEQ 1SG TOP
\[ a=qailoe=k=a \quad ko=a \quad ipupu, \quad nio \]
1SG=take.out=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG ipupu SEQ
\[ a=lavae=k=a. \]
1SG=separate=3SG.F.O=PRES
'And when the bark of the ipupu trees had dried, I took it out of the sun, and I separated it into strips.'

(6) \[ Vo \quad ta \quad sike \quad ko=tekua=a \quad ko=a \quad varu \quad nio \]
3SG.F TOP five 3SG.F=lie=PRES 3SG.F=LIG varu SEQ
\[ o=pa \quad kailoe=k=a. \]
3SG.M=PROS take.out=3SG.F.O=PRES
'As for him, after leaving the bark of the varu trees in water for five days, he went and took it out of water.'

(7) \[ Sainio \quad o=lavae=k=a. \]
then 3SG.M=separate=3SG.F.O=PRES
'Then, he separated it.'

(8) \[ Ko \quad tupu \quad o=ta \quad k=a \quad ngamu=k=a, \]
3SG.F skin 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL throw.away=3SG.F.O=PRES
\[ ko=a \quad varu. \]
3SG.F=LIG varu
'He threw away the outer skin of the varu bark.'

(9) \[ sainio \quad o=k=ati \quad kue=va \quad pade \quad kasi \quad nio, \quad ore \]
then 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL come=PRES house at SEQ tree
\[ o=k=a \quad pake=k=a \quad nio \]
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL hang=3SG.F.O=PRES SEQ
Then, he brought the inner skin of the varu bark to the house, he hung it between trees, and he dried it in the sun.'

When the inner skin of the varu bark had dried, he separated it into strings.'

'Me, too, I separated the bark of ipupu trees, to make a string bag.'

'He finished separating it, and I finished separating it and he made a rope.'

'He did rope making.'

'I did string bag knitting.'

'He did rope making, me too, I did string bag knitting, we finished making the rope and string bag, and the time to climb ngali nut trees arrived.'

'And we went up there in order to climb ngali nut trees.'

'It was he who climbed.'
(18) Anqa ta koqu a ere=k=a nene=ko.
1SG TOP enclosure 1SG make=3SG.F.O=PRES ngali.nut=3SG.F
‘As for me, I made an enclosure, for ngali nuts.’

(19) Sainio vo ta o=koit=a ti o=koit=a
then 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=climb=PRES INT 3SG.M=climb=PRES
pui o=pesi=a, o=koit=a, o=kajor=a
NEG 3SG.M=speak=PRES 3SG.M=climb=PRES 3SG.M=harvest=PRES
ti, anqa ta sai nio a=daruam=a.
and.then 1SG TOP there FOC.NONF 1SG=wait=PRES
‘Then he climbed and climbed, he didn’t speak, he climbed, he harvested ngali
uts, and, as for me, I waited there.’

(20) Vo ta ko=a tini-tini ta koi nio
3SG.M TOP 3SG.F=LIG REDUP-bag TOP here FOC.NONF
o=qona-qona=le.
3SG.M=REDUP-neck=in
‘As for him, the bag is here, hanging from his neck.’

(21) Duruo ta o=seri=k=a ko=ko kata
big.string.bag TOP 3SG.M=hang=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.F branch
topi.
top
‘As for a big string bag, he hung it on the branch of the tree.’

(22) Nio ko=a tini-tini ta ko=kai
SEQ 3SG.F=LIG REDUP-bag TOP 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL
sukat=a ko nene nio mati o=pas
be_filled=PRES 3SG.F ngali.nut SEQ again 3SG.M=PROS
raibi=k=a ko=a duruo kale.
pour=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG big.string.bag in
‘And, when the bag was filled with ngali nuts, he poured them into the big string
bag as always.’

(23) Ko=sukat=a keru ko=a duruo so keru
3SG.F=be.filled=PRES TEMP 3SG.F=LIG big.string.bag that TEMP
nio o=pesio=vou.
FOC.NONF 3SG.M=speak=FUT
‘When it was filled, then, he would speak.’

(24) Eri k=i=o=la | “o”
s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 0
$k=i=\sigma=\text{la.}$  
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES  
‘He said something like this, he said “o.”’

(25) $T\text{i “o=sole=k=ou” nio}$  
and.then 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=FUT FOC.NONF  
$k=i=a=la.$  
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES  
‘And I said “You send it down.”’

(26) “$O=\text{solot=ou” nio} k=i=a=la.$”  
3SG.M=send=FUT FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES  
‘I said “You send it down.”’

(27) $O=\text{solot=a “o” k=i=\sigma=la.$}  
3SG.M=send=PRES o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES  
‘He sent it down, and “o,” he said.’

(28) “$\text{Anga ta koi tu sai soloe=k=ou”}$  
1SG TOP here IRR there send=3SG.F=FUT  
$k=i=a=la.$  
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES  
‘“I am here, send it down here,” I said.’

(29) “$O$”  
$k=i=\sigma=la.$  
o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES  
‘“O,” he said.’

(30) “$\text{Uri lai nio koi, lai nio a=ba}$”  
good where FOC.NONF place where FOC.NONF 1SG=PROS  
tare=k=ou”  
k=i=a=la.  
wait=3SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES  
‘“Good, where is the place to wait, where shall I go and wait for it?” I said.’

(31) “$\text{Uki nio ngo=ba tare=k=ou melai}$”  
somewhere.there FOC.NONF 2SG=PROS wait=3SG.F.O=FUT but  
ko=ng=ai pia kale sole ko=ko  
3SG.F=2SG.O=VAL fall in that’s.why 3SG.F=3SG.F  
vima ta pui ngo el=ou ko duruo”  
underneath TOP NEG 2SG stay=FUT 3SG.F big.string.bag  
ko=ng=ai raibizi=ø kale sole”  
3SG.F=2SG.O=VAL pour.itself=NOM in that’s.why
(32) Sai nio o=solo=k=a
there FOC.NONF 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=PRES INT
do=9solo=k=a
"Mainio anga
3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then later 1SG
a=qil=ou saita" k=i=a=la.
1SG=come=FUT first 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
'There, he sent it down, he sent it down, and "Wait, I will come first," I said.'

(33) "Miduku kale ko=papu=vou ti anga ta pui
ground in 3SG.F=sit=FUT TOP 1SG TOP NEG
a=ha roveo=vou zolat=o, melai ko=a okale
1SG=PROS can=FUT lift=NOM but 3SG.F=LIG in.the.air
nio anga ta koi lezu ale a i=k=a
FOC.NONF 1SG TOP here head in 1SG put=3SG.F.O=PRES
ko=a duruo matu=ma duruo."
3SG.F=LIG big.string.bag bit=3SG.F big.string.bag
"'If it sits on the ground, I won’t be able to lift it, but if it stays in the air, I can
put the big string bag, here on my head, a very big string bag.'"

(34) Sainio eri=a tatae=k=o a ev=a
then as.soon.as=LIG pull=3SG.F.O=NOM 1SG become=PRES
ko=ko siakona ako ko=a qusini
3SG.F=3SG.F string INTJ 3SG.F=LIG rope
nio a=biju=k=a.
SEQ 1SG=take.off=3SG.F.O=PRES
'And as soon as I pulled the string, no the rope, I took the big string bag off the
rope.'

(35) So keru nio a=q=ati ol=a koqu
that TEMP FOC.NONF 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL go=PRES enclosure
ale, koqu kasi nio a=raibi=k=a.
in enclosure at SEQ 1SG=pour=3SG.F.O=PRES
'That time, I took it to the enclosure, and I poured the ngali nuts into it.'

(36) Nio "Titie ko bita" k=i=o=la.
SEQ tie 3SG.F string.bag 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'And, "Tie the string bag," he said.'
(37) Nio a=ditie=k=a ko bita nio "Koivie"  
SEQ 1SG=tie=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F string.bag SEQ take.up  
k=i=a=la.  
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES  
'And I tied the string bag, and "Take it up," I said.'  
(38) Nio o=koivie=k=a.  
SEQ 3SG.M=take.up=3SG.F.O=PRES  
'And he took it up.'  
(39) Nio mata o=koit=a vo | mata kama  
SEQ again 3SG.M=climb=PRES 3SG.M again INDEF.SG.F  
o=sukati=k=a ko duruo.  
3SG.M=fill=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F big.string.bag  
'And again, he climbed, again he filled a string bag.'  
(40) Mata "o" k=i=o=la.  
again o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES  
'Again "o," he said.'  
(41) "Ou o=solot=ou" nio k=i=a=la.  
Oh 3SG.M=send= FUT FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES  
'Oh, he will send it down," I said.'  
(42) Ti mata "o-o-o-o ko ko ko ko"  
and.then again o-o-o-o ko ko ko ko'  
k=i=o=la.  
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES  
'Again, "o-o-o-o, ko ko ko ko," he said.'  
(43) Nio mata a ol=a nio a=ba  
SEQ again 1SG go=PRES SEQ 1SG=PROS  
piju=k=a.  
take.off=3SG.F.O=PRES  
'And then again, I went and took the bag off the rope.'  
(44) So ti so ti so ti o=paizie=k=a ko  
that INT that INT that and.then 3SG.M=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F  
nene.  
ngali.nut  
'It went on and on and on and like that, and he finished one ngali nut tree.'  
(45) O=koi=k=a.  
3SG.M=climb=3SG.F.O=PRES  
'He climbed it.'
(46) *Toni bita kio o=soloa=k=a, ti ten string.bag FOC.F 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then o=ta sagor=a inio.
3SG.M=SIT go.down=PRES FOC.NONF
‘He sent down ten string bags, and he came down.’

(47) *O=ta sagor=a inio ko=a nene topi
3SG.M=SIT go.down=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.F=LIG ngali.nut top
azo nio vo ta eri k=i=o=la.
from SEQ 3SG.M TOP s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘He came down from the top of the ngali nut tree, and then he said something like this.’

(48) “O-o-o-o-o” k=i=o=la.
o-o-o-o-o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
“O-o-o-o,” he said.’

(49) “O-o-o-o-o” k=i=o=la.
o-o-o-o-o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
“O-o-o-o-o,” he said.’

(50) “Ngo=baizie=k=a sole ngo=da sagor=ou”
2SG=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES that’s.why 2SG=SIT go.down=FUT
nio k=i=a=la.
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
“You finished and so come down,” I said.’

(51) “Ee” k=i=o=la.
yes 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
“Yes,” he said.’

(52) *O=sgor=a ti ko=a quasin ta sa-vasi
3SG.M=go.down=PRES and.then 3SG.F=LIG rope TOP there-around
okate, o=sgor=a inio o=lokie=k=a
high.up 3SG.M=go.down=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES
ko=a quasin.
3SG.F=LIG rope
‘He came down and as for the rope, it was hanging from high up there, he came down and he coiled the rope.’

(53) *O=lokie=k=a ti o=lokie=k=a,
3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES INT 3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES
o=pai=k=a lokie=k=o nio
3SG.M=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES coil=3SG.F.O=NOM SEQ
\( o=k=ati \quad kue=va. \)
\[3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL \quad come=PRES \]
'He coiled and coiled it, he finished coiling it and he came with it.'

(54) \( O=ta \quad kue=va \quad anga \quad kasi. \)
\[3SG.M=SIT \quad come=PRES \quad 1SG \quad at \]
'He came to me.'

(55) "\( Qe=ta \quad saqor=ou \quad nio \quad lea \quad nio \quad mata \)
\[1DU.INC=SIT \quad go.down=FUT \quad SEQ \quad tomorrow \quad FOC.NONF \quad again \]
\[vo=a \quad ore \quad a=ba \quad koiv=ou \quad k=i=o=la. \]
\[3SG.M=LIG \quad tree \quad 1SG=PROS \quad climb=FUT \quad 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES \]
'"We will go down, and tomorrow, again I will climb that tree," he said.'

(56) \( So \quad inio \quad ko=kav=a=ni \quad ko=a \)
\[that \quad FOC.NONF \quad 3SG.F=have.happen=PRES=REL.NONF \quad 3SG.F=LIG \]
nene.
\textit{ngali.nut}
'That is the way to go with \textit{ngali} nuts.'

(57) \( Ko \quad ta \quad vo=k=7 \quad ikokoput=7 \quad ta \quad ko \quad ta \)
\[3SG.F \quad TOP \quad 3SG.M=3SG.F \quad show.bravey=NOM \quad TOP \quad 3SG.F \quad TOP \]
\[koiparaoput=7. \]
say."\( o \):=NOM.
'That's how he showed his bravery, that's when he said "\( o \)."'

(58) \( O=koiparaoput=a \quad nio \quad \mid \quad " o " \quad k=i=o=la. \)
\[3SG.M=say."o"=PRES \quad FOC.NONF \quad o \quad 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES \]
'He said "\( o \)". "\( O \)," said he.'

(59) \( Ta \quad o \quad ikokoput=7 \quad keru \quad inio \quad " o " \)
\[and.then \quad 3SG.M \quad show.bravey=PRES \quad TEMP \quad FOC.NONF \quad o \]
k=i:o=la.
\[3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES \]
'When he showed bravery, he said "\( o \)."'

(60) "\( So \quad inio \quad ko=ka=va=ni \quad sole" \)
\[that \quad FOC.NONF \quad 3SG.F=have.happen=PRES=REL.NONF \quad that's.why \]
k=i:o=la.
\[3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES \]
'"Because that's how it goes," he said.'

(61) \( Nene=ko \quad taku. \)
\textit{ngali.nut}=3SG.F \quad time
'Time for \textit{ngali} nuts.'
(62) So *tinia ma.*
that about or
‘That’s about it?’
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