A Grammar of Bilua,  
a Papuan language of the Solomon Islands

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Acknowledgements

This thesis is not just a product of my own, and a myriad of people have contributed to its creation. It is without doubt that the people in whom I owed my utmost gratitude are the speakers of Bilua; in particular, my two primary informants, Nelson Iwini, and Tat Voloe! I am most grateful to them for sharing their knowledge of the Bilua language and culture. They also made sure that I would be well looked after during my stay; when I was feeling unwell, I had a constant supply of Bilua medicines at hand. Thanks especially to Hazel March and Helen Wadlow. It was a great advantage for my research to stay with local families where I had a chance to use the Bilua language as well as the life in the Vailo Valley, the home of the Bilua language, for 24 hours a day. In every village I stayed, I enjoyed a warm welcome and hospitality. In particular, the families who were very kind, which I stayed with, were always very hospitable to me, and I was most pleased to meet Ole Ghit in Vanuatu, who had been in New Zealand and Australia among other countries with her husband, who was a parliament member. It was a rare opportunity for me to share an overseas experience with someone from the Solomons. Thanks also to Norita Matau, a school teacher in Gizo, for helping me with some of my work and for discussions we had.

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Except where it is otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents the original research of the author.

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Acknowledgments

This thesis is not just a product of my own, and a number of people have contributed to its fruition. It is without a doubt that the people to whom I owe my most gratitude are the speakers of Bilua, in particular, my two primary informants, Nelson Ivulu and Ilai Volosi. I am most grateful to them for sharing their knowledge of the Bilua language and culture. They also made sure that I would be well looked after during my fieldwork; many thanks to their both immediate and extended families for their hospitality and help. Thanks especially to Hazel Ivulu and Hilder Volosi. It was a great advantage for my research to stay with local families where I had a contact with the Bilua language as well as the life in the Vella La Vella island, the home of the Bilua language, for 24 hours a day. In every village I stayed, I enjoyed a warm welcome and hospitality. In particular, the Riqeo family in Maravari, who were the very first family I stayed with, were always very hospitable to me, and I was most pleased to meet Ole Gina in Pazaju, who had been to Japan and Australia among other countries with her husband who was a parliament member. It was a rare opportunity for me to share an overseas experience with someone from the Solomon Islands. Thanks also to Nerida Naqe, a school teacher in Gizo, for showing her interest in my work and for discussions we had.

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Abstract

This thesis comprises a grammatical description of Bilua. Bilua is a Papuan language spoken on Vella La Vella island in the Western Province of the Solomon Islands. It is a previously undescribed language and its genetic origin is unknown. The data used for the production of this thesis was collected during two fieldwork periods in Vella La Vella. Chapter One introduces the language, its geographical location, and its historical context. Chapter Two presents a summary of the phonology and morphophonology of Bilua. It also includes a description of the orthography used in this thesis. Following this, Chapter Three presents basic clause structures as an introduction to the syntax of Bilua. Chapter Four presents open word classes as well as criteria used for identifying open word classes, and Chapter Five describes closed classes of both words and morphemes. Chapter Six discusses four types of morphological processes: suffixation, cliticization, compounding, and reduplication. Chapter Seven is devoted to the nominal aspects of the language. It describes the structure of two different types of noun phrases, which are referred to as basic and possessive noun phrases. It also includes a description of obligatory and optional noun phrase constituents. Chapter Eight and Nine deal with the verbal aspects of the language. Chapter Eight presents a description of verb phrases, as well as complement phrases which are required by two verbs, while Chapter Nine discusses valency and transitivity in Bilua. In Bilua, noun phrases, postpositional phrases, the negation marker, adverbs, general modifiers, and adverbial clauses can all function as adjuncts. Chapter Ten presents a description of adjuncts, with the exception of the negation marker and adverbial clauses. The negation marker is described in Chapters Three and Eleven, and adverbial clauses are described in Chapter Twelve. Chapters Eleven and Twelve both deal with clause structure. Chapter Eleven presents non-verbal equational, locational, and existential clauses, while Chapter Twelve describes different types of dependent clauses: relative clauses, complement clauses, and adverbial clauses. In Chapter Thirteen, coordination of words, phrases, and clauses is discussed. Chapter Fourteen deals with the pragmatic functions of topic and focus structures and constituent orders. Two narrative texts in Bilua are provided in an appendix.
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Abbreviations

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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3rd person</td>
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<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablatve postposition</td>
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<td>AdjP</td>
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<td>BEN</td>
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<td>COLL</td>
<td>collective marker</td>
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<td>COMP</td>
<td>comitative postposition</td>
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<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuity marker</td>
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<td>D.EXT</td>
<td>distal existential marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
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<tr>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>non-specific locational marker</td>
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<td>F.EXT</td>
<td>focal existence marker</td>
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<td>FUT</td>
<td>future marker</td>
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<td>HIST</td>
<td>historical tense marker</td>
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<tr>
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<td>imperative mood marker</td>
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<td>implicative marker</td>
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<td>interrogative marker</td>
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<td>intensifying coordinator</td>
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<td>INTJ</td>
<td>interjection</td>
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<td>IRR</td>
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<td>possessor-raising marker</td>
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<td>postpositional phrase</td>
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<td>reciprocal marker</td>
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<td>remote past tense marker</td>
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<td>sequential coordinator</td>
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<td>similitative</td>
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<td>SIT</td>
<td>situation-change marker</td>
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<td>temporal</td>
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<td>topic marker</td>
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<td>vocative</td>
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<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Verb Phrase</td>
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</table>

Presentation

Cross-referencing of other sections is made by chapter, section, and sub-section numbers, and preceded by §. For example, § 3.2.1 refers to Chapter 3, section 2, subsection 1.

Tables and figures are labelled with the number of the chapter and the number of the table or figure in that chapter. For example, Table 5.1 refers to Chapter 5, first 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).

Examples are numbered within chapters and thus example numbers start with 1 in each chapter, and they are not cross-referenced across different chapters. For example, example (3) is the third example for that chapter.

When an example from a text is used, the text, page, and sentence numbers are given in brackets after the English translation. 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,

\[\ldots \text{qe=pai=k=a} \quad \text{ko=a} \quad \text{qusini ni} \quad \text{bita,}\]

\[1\text{du.excl=finish=3sg.f.O=PRES} \quad 3\text{sg.f=LIG} \quad \text{rope and string bag}\]

\[\ldots \text{we finished [making] the rope and string bag, (2-3-15)}\]

However, in Chapter 2, Phonology and Morphophonology, ‘...’ and ‘,’ are used only in the English translations.

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

Ungrammatical examples are marked with an asterisk.
Map 1 The island of Vella La Vella and the Solomon Islands
1

Introduction

1.1 The Bilua Language and its Location

Bilua is the language spoken in the 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 Reef 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.

The 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 thesis 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). Bilua is also spoken in the Saeragi village in 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 8,000 – 9,000 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 *soqoilo* ‘to run away’, and a future tense marker *vou* in the Bilua dialect correspond to *taba* and *toalizo*, and *kou* respectively in the Java dialect. There are no phonological differences among the different dialects.

---

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.
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, but 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. A large number of intermarriages are conducted between Vella La Vella people and people from other islands. Mixed couples communicate in Pidgin, Bilua, or another language. Pidgin words are mixed into Bilua speech and sometimes people switch from one language to another in their speech. Thus, the Bilua language is changing because of influences from Pidgin, and in spite of the fact that 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.

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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.
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 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 proposes a genetic relationship among Bilua, Lavukaleve, Savosavo, and Baniata and refers to them as the Central Solomon Languages (1971: 816). His study and proposal are based on some resemblance among pronouns and fifty-two other words of these four languages. Furthermore, he studies pronouns and the same fifty-two words, where they are available, in the languages of the Reef Santa Cruz family and compares them to the Central Solomon Languages. Finding some resemblance between these two groups of languages, he states that the Reef Santa Cruz family have the closest relationship to the Central Solomon Languages and groups them all together as the Central Melanesian group (1971: 816) 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.

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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 thesis.

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 contact made during this time.
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 sub-group 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 sub-phylic 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 sub-divided 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 sub-divided into the East Bougainville Stock and the West Bougainville Stock.

The Yele-Solomons Stock is sub-divided 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 Reef-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 Reef-Santa Cruz Family.

Whether the three languages in the Reef-Santa Cruz Family are Papuan or Austronesian languages is the subject of controversy. Lincoln (1978) presents a 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 because of their similarity to other languages of the East Papuan Phylum in terms of their structure and lexicon, as well as the lack of regular phonological correspondences between these languages and Proto Austronesian and Proto Oceanic.

Tryon and Hackman (1983) regard the languages of the Reef-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 Papuan Languages in the Solomon Islands within the East Papuan Phylum](image)

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 these languages is produced, this proposal remains a question. Angela Terrill has just completed a grammar of Lavukaleve, and Evelyn Todd is working on a grammar of Savosavo. Their studies and this study on Bilua may shed some light on the question of genetic relationship between these languages.

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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 spelling are recognised but the former ones are more widely used. Mb of Mbilua and Mbaniata indicates a prenasalised voiced bilabial stop. However, as described in §2.2, in Bilua voiced stops are prenasalised intervocally but not word-initially.

6 Asterisks here mean that these languages are extinct.
1.3 Fieldwork and Collection of Data

The grammar of Bilua presented in this thesis 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 1997 to August 1997 and the second was from September 1998 to November 1998. The data mostly comprises of recorded texts of old folktales, of custom practices, and of stories from childhood told by people, both female and male, between 55 years and 90 years of age. Seventy-two texts were collected, from which thirty-two texts (about 240 minutes) were transcribed and translated into English with the help of speakers of Bilua. Some data was 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 (cf. 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. 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 Bilua and Oceanic languages, 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’ criteria (1986). 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 & §9.5). There are frequent occurrences of topic and focus markers (§14.2 & §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 thesis presents a general description of Bilua grammar, primarily from a synchronic viewpoint. Although it is not preferable to include a diachronic analysis in a
Chapter 1 Introduction

descriptive grammar, some historical hypotheses are included in this thesis 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.

### Table 2.1: Consonant Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant Type</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Coda 1</th>
<th>Coda 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced fricative</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>zh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voiced stops and the fricatives have allophones they are pronounced intervocically. Pronunciation data is given in word-initial position.
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 16 consonants in Bilua as presented in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phonological feature</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>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></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>dʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[
/b/d/g/dʒ/ \rightarrow [^m]b^n d /[^n]g^n dʒ/ \quad V_\_V
\]

\[
[b/d/g/dʒ] / \text{word initially}
\]
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>

(1) [ma\textsubscript{nh}ba] ‘person’  [\textsubscript{h}olo] ‘pig’

(2) [par\textsubscript{d}ae\textsubscript{k}o] ‘to finish’  [\textsubscript{d}eri] ‘pumpkin’

(3) [selea\textsubscript{g}aza] ‘seagull’  [gusini] ‘rope’

(4) [ke\textsubscript{d}a\textsubscript{u}] ‘to cook’  [d\textsubscript{3}atro\textsubscript{o}] ‘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. 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>

(5) [si\textsubscript{o}tu\textsubscript{lu}] ‘eight’  [\textsubscript{t}a\textsubscript{ko}] ‘to count’

(6) [le\textsubscript{ka}sa] ‘chief’  [pek\textsubscript{ka}\textsubscript{o}] ‘to dance’

(7) [ta\textsubscript{p}ata] ‘hardship’  [ka\textsubscript{pp}\textsubscript{i}a\textsubscript{bole}] ‘quickly’

(8) [si\textsubscript{a}kon\textsubscript{a}] ‘rope’  [n\textsubscript{a}so\textsubscript{k}o] ‘to attach’

The bilabial voiced fricative /\textsubscript{B}l/ has two allophones, [\textsubscript{B}l] and [\textsubscript{w}], in free variation: /\textsubscript{B}l/ is sometimes realised as a glide [\textsubscript{w}], especially in front of a low vowel /a/. For example, /\textsubscript{B}aito/ ‘to return’ is realised as [\textsubscript{B}aito] or [\textsubscript{w}aito].

In addition to [\textsuperscript{d}\textsubscript{3}], the voiced affricate /\textsubscript{d}3/ has another allophone, [\textsubscript{t}J], in free variation. For example, /\textsubscript{\textbf{B}aremud}\textsubscript{\textsuperscript{d}3}\textsuperscript{a}/ ‘six’ is realised as [\textsubscript{\textbf{B}aemu}\textsubscript{\textsuperscript{d}3}\textsuperscript{a}] or [\textsubscript{\textbf{B}aremut}\textsubscript{\textsuperscript{f}a}].

Some examples of minimal and near-minimal pairs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>/p/ - /b/</th>
<th>/sipi/ ‘louse’</th>
<th>/sibi/ ‘black’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>/t/ - /d/</td>
<td>/tatabaro/ ‘pay’</td>
<td>/tadao/ ‘look up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>/k/ - /g/</td>
<td>/ra\textsuperscript{a}ki/ ‘root’</td>
<td>/sag\textsuperscript{a}/ ‘brother/sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>/s/ - /\textsubscript{z}/</td>
<td>/sapo/ ‘hot water’</td>
<td>/\textsubscript{z}apo/ ‘beard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>/\textsubscript{B}/ - /\textsubscript{B}/</td>
<td>/\textsubscript{B}atuto/ ‘to move’</td>
<td>/\textsubscript{B}azuto/ ‘to tell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>/n/ - /\textsubscript{\textsuperscript{\textit{\textbf{\textsubscript{}}}n}/</td>
<td>/naka\textsubscript{a}/ ‘banana’</td>
<td>/n\textsubscript{a}na/ ‘mother/aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>/g/ - /\textsubscript{\textsuperscript{\textit{\textbf{\textsubscript{}}}r}/</td>
<td>/game/ ‘nose’</td>
<td>/\textsubscript{\textit{\textbf{\textsubscript{}}}r}ase/ ‘mother/aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>/\textsubscript{\textit{\textbf{\textsubscript{}}}l}/ - /\textsubscript{\textit{\textbf{\textsubscript{}}}t}/</td>
<td>/lek\textsubscript{a}na/ ‘leaf’</td>
<td>/\textsubscript{\textit{\textbf{\textsubscript{}}}r}e\textsubscript{ko}/ ‘hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>/\textsubscript{\textit{\textbf{\textsubscript{}}}z}/ - /\textsubscript{\textit{\textbf{\textsubscript{}}}d\textsubscript{3}/</td>
<td>/zar\textsubscript{io}/ ‘wish’</td>
<td>/d\textsubscript{3}ari/ ‘copra house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2 Phonology and Morphophonology

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:

(18) /a/ - /e/ /kalo/ ‘way’ /kelo/ ‘to see’
(19) /a/ - /i/ /dara/ ‘blood’ /diri/ ‘red’
(20) /a/ - /o/ /kalo/ ‘way’ /kolo/ ‘ocean’
(21) /a/ - /u/ /kako/ ‘strange’ /kuki/ ‘axe’
(22) /e/ - /i/ /tete/ ‘ridge’ /titiβi/ ‘trouser’
(23) /e/ - /o/ /kelo/ ‘to see’ /kolo/ ‘ocean’
(24) /e/ - /u/ /ketuketuto/ ‘to tease’ /kutukutu/ ‘cloud’
(25) /i/ - /o/ /kilikili/ ‘armpit’ /kilokilo/ ‘arrival’
(26) /i/ - /u/ /kilikili/ ‘armpit’ /kulu/ ‘neck’
(27) /o/ - /u/ /bolo/ ‘pig’ /bulo/ ‘heart’

All combinations of vowels occur: /ie/, /ia/, /io/, /iu/, /ei/, /ea/, /eo/, /eu/, /ai/, /ae/, /ao/, /au/, /oi/, /oe/, /ou/, /ui/, /ue/, /ua/, 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 /βualabualab/ ‘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/, /u/, /a/, /e/, /o/, and /u/. 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 /βualabualab/ ‘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/, /i/, /iu/, /ei/, /e/, /ai/, /ae/, /ao/, /ai/, /ao/, /ou/, /ui/, /ue/, /ua/, 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-\textit{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:

(28) CV /lea/ ‘tomorrow’
(29) VCV /ipu/ ‘night’
(30) CVVCV /lezu/ ‘head’
(31) VCVCVCV /ariku/ ‘four’
(32) CVVCVCV /bidulu/ ‘key’
(33) VCVCVCVCV /inainaekolo/ ‘to prepare’
(34) CVVCVCVCV /pikimato/ ‘to dig soil’
(35) CVVCVCVCVCVCVCV /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,

(36) \[\text{ko}=\text{a}\]
   \[3\text{sg.f}=\text{LIG}\]
   that (f)
(37) \[3\text{sg.m} = \text{LIG} \]
that (m)

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>
<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.

(38) ['toupa] ‘lake’
(39) ['uri] ‘good’
(40) ['si\text{o}t\text{ol}u] ‘eight’
(41) ['ru\text{\text{u}}ge] ‘bad’
(42) ['\text{barrut}u] ‘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 §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 (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.

(43-a) ['uri=a=ma 'pade]
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, (43-a) would be analysed as:

(43-b) ['uri 'a 'ma 'pade]
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 and Pullum 1983: 504). “Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups” (Zwicky and Pullum 1983: 504). Unlike affixes, “clitics can exhibit a low degree of
selection with respect to their hosts” (Zwicky and Pullum 1983: 503) and they can combine with a phrase, (Zwicky 1985: 288), while affixes cannot.

Cliticization does not affect the stress on the host in Bilua. Example (43-a) above illustrates that encliticization 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.

Procliticization 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 (44), a pronominal proclitic is attached to a noun, [ˈnaːŋa], forming a possessive NP. The pronominal proclitic here marks a possessor. In (45), the pronominal proclitic is cliticised on the verb, [ˈbouβae], 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 word. (see §2.7 for a further description of phonological words formed by cliticization of a pronominal proclitic on the host).

(44) [a=naŋa]
    1sg=mother
    my mother

(45) [o=ˈbouβae=k=a]
    3sg.m=kill=3sg.f.O=PRES
    ...he killed it, (24-11-93)'

In the two examples above, proclitics form one phonological word with a content word, a noun in (44) and a verb in (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.

7 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 thesis, and thus many examples with a present tense marker are translated in the past tense.
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.

In the first phonological word of example (47), a pronominal proclitic ko (3sg.f) is attached to an aspectual marker, the continuity marker beta, forming one phonological word. In (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 v (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.

(47) ['ko=beta']
    3sg.f=CONT

'koit=a]
    climb=PRES

...she is climbing... (21-6-35)

(48) ['ke=ta']
    3pl=POSS

'y=ati]
    3sg.m.O=VAL

'soqoi=va]
    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 (49),
an aspectual marker, the prospective marker *pa*, forms a phonological word of its own, and this bears stress.

(49)  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{\textipa{[pa]}} & \text{\textipa{[barli=\textipa{\beta}=\textipa{a}]}} \\
\text{PROS} & \text{look for}=3\text{sg.m.O}=\text{IMPsg}
\end{array}
\]

Go and look for him.

Thus, a VP particle, when it forms a phonological word by itself, bears stress. One type of clitic, namely pronominal proclitics, may also form a phonological word by themselves, that is, they can be phonologically independent, in certain environment. 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, procliticization, but not encliticization, disallows a formation of a diphthong. In (50), *e* of a pronominal proclitic *ke* (3pl) does not form a diphthong with 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 (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.

(50)  

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{\textipa{[ke}}} & \text{\textipa{uri}=\textipa{a}} & \text{\textipa{bori}=\textipa{k}=\textipa{a]}} \\
\text{3pl} & \text{good=LIG} & \text{carry}=3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{PRES}
\end{array}
\]

They carried it well (carefully)... (28-6-56)

(51)  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{\textipa{[o}}} & \text{\textipa{odie}=\textipa{k}=\textipa{a]}} \\
\text{3sg.m} & \text{call}=3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{PRES}
\end{array}
\]

...he called her... (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.

(52)  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{\textipa{[a=\textipa{\beta}uat}=\textipa{ala]}} \\
\text{1sg=eat=RCP}
\end{array}
\]

I ate.
Thus, pronominal proclitics can be phonologically independent in certain environment. 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.excl), and /me/ (1pl.incl/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 intervocally. 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).

(53-a) [ŋo=mba, 'b=el=ou]ngo= preceding pa

2sg.f=PROS 3sg.m.O=see=PRES

You will go and see him.

(53-b) [ko=pā, 'kue=βi]ko= preceding pa

3sg.f=PROS come=RMP

She came.

(54-a) [a~dare=k=ou]a= preceding tare=k=ou

1sg=wait=3sg.f.O=FUT

I will wait for her.

(54-b) [o=tare=k=a]o= preceding tare=k=a

3sg.m=wait=3sg.f.O=PRES

...he is waiting for it... (24-6-64)

(55-a) [ŋe=ai, 'napi=a]nge= preceding k=ai

1pl.excl=3sg.f.O=VAL know=PRES

...we know it... (26-4-25)

(55-b) [ke=k=ai, 'besie-kiŋ=ou]ke= preceding k=ai

3pl=3sg.f.O=VAL exchange-RECP=FUT

...they will exchange [food]... (21-4-23)

(56-a) [a~dʒisu]a= preceding sisu

1sg=sweet.potato

my 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 (57-a) and (57-b) below, /ŋo/ (2sg) precedes an object clitic on the verb, /kọọ/ 'to get'. In (57-a), /k/ which follows /ŋo/ is voiced and prenasalised, but in (57-b), it is not. Examples (57-a) and (57-b) are in free variation.

(57-a) [ŋo=ŋ̟̂g=o=a]  
2sg=3sg.f.O=get=PRES  
You will get it.

(57-b) [ŋo='k=o=a]  
2sg=3gs.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 (57-a) and (57-b), the pronominal proclitic forms one phonological word with the verb which follows, as indicated by the lack of stress on the pronominal. In (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.  

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

---

8 Examples in this thesis 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 his/her 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 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.
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 phonological words. Accordingly, the first syllable of the two reduplicated syllables is stressed (see §2.5).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Non-reduplicated form} & \text{Reduplicated form} \\
\text{grammatical word} & \text{grammatical word} \\
\text{\['to-ru-ru\] 'egg'} & \text{\['to-ru-\text{-}to-ru-ru\] 'round'} \\
\text{phonological word} & \text{phonological words}
\end{array}
\]

In (58), an adjective /torutoruru/ 'round' is derived from a noun /toruru/ 'egg' by reduplication. The stress on \['to-ru-\text{-}to-ru-ru\] 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 /torutoruru/. Similarly in (59) the stress indicates that \['to-\betaa-\text{-}to-\betaa\] consists of two phonological words which form one grammatical word.

Bilua voiced stops and the affricate are prenasalised intervocally (see §2.2). In example (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.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{grammatical word} & \text{grammatical word} \\
\text{\['bu-le\] 'peace'} & \text{\['bu-le-\text{-}bu-le\] 'clean'} \\
\text{phonological word} & \text{phonological words}
\end{array}
\]

Vowel sequences remain bi-syllabic between the boundaries of phonological words in reduplicated forms (see §2.3). Thus, three pieces of evidence, stress pattern, lack of prenasalisation, and bi-syllabic 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:

(61) grammatical words

inherently reduplicated word ['ku-tu-''ku-tu] ‘dark cloud’

phonological words

The stress pattern of the example in (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'inaeko] ‘to prepare’ and ['kolo'kologanisi] ‘Kolokoloqanisi’ 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 niuma-niuma ‘broken’. Note that some verbs have a consonant stem-finally, but verbs in Bilua are almost always cliticised with one or more enclitics which 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 (62) and (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>(62) /ti-bu-r/ ‘to close (itr)’</td>
<td>/ti-bu-ti-bu-ri/ ‘closed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ti-bu-ri/ ‘to close (tr)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(63) /po-de-t/ ‘to measure (itr)’</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 lexicalized, as their forms are not predictable from reduplicated syllables. For example, the reduplication of /ige/ ‘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 t, /lepoloeto/ ‘to lick (itr)’, 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>(64) /pi/ ‘to drop (tr)’</td>
<td>/pika-pika/ ‘to drop many times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pi/ ‘to drop (itr)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(65) /pait/ ‘to finish (itr)’</td>
<td>/paito-paito/ ‘last one/end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pai/ ‘to finish (tr)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| (66) /zio/ ‘to go’ | /zio-zio/ ‘coming and going’ |
| (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-reduplicated form</th>
<th>Reduplicated form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(68) grammatical words</td>
<td>grammatical words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a-ri-ku toni/ ‘forty’</td>
<td>/a-ri-a-ri-ku toni/ ‘forty each’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four ten</td>
<td>four ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phonological words</td>
<td>phonological words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

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 by this way either. In examples given in this thesis, commas are used to mark a clause boundary indicated by a pause. A vertical line is used to indicate when a clause boundary is not indicated by a pause or a coordinator. Example (69), (70), and (71) are presented using the Bilua orthography not in phonemic or phonetic representation (see next section for the Bilua orthography).

Example (69)

(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 ti qo=saqor=a, 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.
Where is your father? (24-7-73)

Imperative clauses have a level intonation.

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

In Bilua, in principle, declarative, interrogative, and imperative clause 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 §8.4).

2.10 Orthography

In this thesis, the orthography devised by early missionaries is adopted, as this is used by Vella La Vella people, and also for simplicity. 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 thesis, 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 in 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 (1). A non-verbal predicate can be a noun phrase (NP), a postpositional phrase (PP), a locational phrase,\(^9\) or an existential marker but can never be a VP. In (2), the predicate is an NP.

\[(1) \quad \ldots \text{niania}=\text{ka}=\text{ma} \quad \text{ta} \quad [\text{ko}=\text{kejue}=\text{k}=\text{a}]_{VP} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{sailao} \ldots \]
\[\text{mother}=\text{LIG}=3\text{sg.f} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{sg.f}=\text{cook}=3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{PRES} \quad 3\text{sg.f} \quad \text{food} \]
\[\ldots \text{the mother, she cooked food} \ldots \]

\[(2) \quad \text{Vo} \quad \text{ta} \quad [\text{student}]_{NP} \]
\[3\text{sg.m} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{student} \quad \text{predicate} \]
\[\text{He is a student.} \]

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 (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 pre-verbal 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

\(^9\) See §10.3 for a description of locational phrases.
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 §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) \[a=bai=k=a]\_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 / (1 sg.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 \(a\).

(4) \[Ke=l=ati\_uri=a\_vail=a]\_vp.  
3pl=1sg=VAL good=LIG 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 which 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 which 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 pre-verbal and post-verbal 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 thesis, 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. 10

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 (1) above, the subject has the semantic role of agent. Subjects may also have other semantic roles such as ‘experiencer’ and ‘causer’ as in example (5) and (6) below.

(5) experiencer

\[ o=k=a \quad zari=a \quad rae=ng=o... \]
\[ 3sg.m=3sg.f.O=VAL \quad \text{want}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{marry}=2sg.O=\text{NOM} \]

...he wants to marry you...(59-11-95)

(6) causer (non-intentional action)

\[ vo=a \quad \text{botolo} \quad inio \quad o \quad ere=k=e \quad ko \]
\[ 3sg.m=LIG \quad \text{bottle} \quad \text{FOCnf} \quad 3sg.m \quad \text{make}=3sg.f.O=\text{RMP} \quad 3sg.f \]

ipututu...

eclipse

...the bottle caused an eclipse... (47-1-6)

---

10 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).
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 (1) above, the object has the semantic role of ‘patient’. Objects may also have other semantic roles such as ‘product’ and ‘recipient’.

(7) ‘product’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nio} & \quad \text{ke} & \quad \text{ere}=k=a & \quad \text{ko} & \quad \text{bereti}. \\
\text{SEQ} & \quad 3pl & \quad \text{make}=3\text{sg.f.O=PRES} & \quad 3\text{sg.f} & \quad \text{bread}
\end{align*}
\]

They made bread. (16-1-7)

(8) ‘recipient’

\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots & \quad \text{kubo} & \quad \text{sailao} & \quad o=kati=m=a, \\
\ldots & \quad \text{many} & \quad \text{food} & \quad 3\text{sg.m}=\text{give}=3\text{pl.O=PRES}
\end{align*}
\]

\ldots 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 which is part of the 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 (1988:69) 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 \textit{vo kasi} (3sg.m at), the postposition \textit{kasi} marks that the referent of the governed NP, \textit{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 (9), the verb \textit{barolo} ‘to arrive’

\[\text{barolo} \quad \text{3pl transit=3sg.m O=PRES} \quad 3\text{sg.m} \quad \text{location/goal}\]

11 The term ‘product’ is borrowed from Jauncey 1997:56.

12 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.
is said to be subcategorised for a participant with a semantic role of location/goal and so 'him' is a participant. In (10), on the other hand, the verb *raneo* ‘to sleep overnight’\(^{13}\) is not subcategorised for a participant with the semantic role of goal/location, and so 'him' is not a participant. In both examples the PP *vo kasi* (3sg.m at) is optional and 'him' is not cross-referenced on the VP by a bound pronoun.

\[(9)\] *Bazu ta ko=baro=a vo kasi.*

story TOP 3sg.f=arrive=PRES 3sg.m at

The story arrived at him.

\[(10)\] *A=da rane=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 (9) and 'him' as a non-participant in (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 (11) and (12) are paraphrases of examples (9) and (10). 'Him', which has the semantic role of location/goal in both examples is cross-referenced by an object clitic \(v\) (3sg.m) on the VP, and thus it is a core argument.

\[(11)\] ...

\[(12)\] ...

---

\(^{13}\) *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'.
In (11) and (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 (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 (9) instead. Similarly example (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 sub-class of transitive verbs. Bilua verbs can be divided into two groups on morphological grounds: intransitive and transitive verbs. Transitive verbs are those which 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.\(^{14}\) Intransitive and transitive verbs are also semantically distinguished. This is described in §4.4.

Ditransitive verbs are morphologically a sub-class 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 only be expressed by an optional NP. This NP cannot be postpositionally marked and therefore it can be treated as a core argument. The term ‘second object’ is used to refer to the grammatical relation associated with the third argument. Example (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

\(^{14}\) 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).
the VP. A second object has either a semantic role of gift as in (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 thesis.

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 thesis 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.\(^{15}\)

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.\(^{16}\) Adjuncts occur "subject to the requirement that the sentence make sense" (Andrews 1985: 89),\(^{17}\) 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 (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 pre-verbal 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

\(^{15}\) 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 Chapter 7.4 for person/number/gender marking on NPs).

\(^{16}\) Adverbs, general modifiers, and the negation marker all occur outside of the VP in Bilua and thus they are categorised as adjuncts.

\(^{17}\) Note that Andrews (1985) treats adjuncts and complements together as obliques.
modifiers always precede and follow the core respectively. Thus the basic verbal clause structure in Bilua is summarised in the following figure.\textsuperscript{18}

Figure 3.1 Structure of verbal clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periphery</th>
<th>Core</th>
<th>Periphery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Outer core</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locational NP</td>
<td>Inner Core</td>
<td>locational NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal NP</td>
<td>Outer core</td>
<td>temporal NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverb</td>
<td></td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbial clause</td>
<td></td>
<td>adverbial clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negation marker</td>
<td></td>
<td>negation marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Obligatory</td>
<td>Optional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is exemplified by the following three examples.

(13) \textit{Sai vo=a ziolo ke=papue=v=e}

\begin{verbatim}
there 3sg.m=LIG devil 3pl=sit=3sg.m.O=RMP
\end{verbatim}

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

(14) \textit{... ko=keju=la ko sailao}

\begin{verbatim}
3sg.f=cook=RCP 3sg.f food
\end{verbatim}

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

\textsuperscript{18} 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 thesis and predicate in Van Valin’s sense is different - Van Valin treats only the verb as the predicate, while this thesis 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.
(15) ...**dole o=ta** ev=a...  
snake 3sg.m=SIT become=PRES  
complement NP VP  
inner core

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

In (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 (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 (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 pre-verbal 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 pre-verbal slot for adjuncts. If a clause has other adjunct(s) in pre-verbal position, the negation marker precedes them unless they are a linking adverbial or circumstantial adverb.
(16) **...pui kapiavole**  
**ko=kati=v=a**  
**ko=a**  
**bakisa**  
3sg.f=give=3sg.m.O=PRES  
3sg.f=LIG  
custom.money  

...she didn’t give the custom money to him quickly (27-10-62)

(17) **Sole**  
**maba**  
**pui**  
2du=be.overingt=FUT  

that’s.why  
true  
NEG  
truly  
linking adverbial  
circumstantial adverb  

So, truly you will not stay [there] overnight...  (27-21-131)

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.

(18) **Pui** _nio_  
**o=vou=va...**  
3sg.m=die=PRES

He has not died yet [but he will die soon]...  (26-22-117)

(19) **‘Meqora,**  
**ngo=mama**  
**ta**  
**lai** _nio_  
**o=ta**  
**ol=ala.**  

*Meqora,*  
child  
2sg=father  
TOP  
where  
3sg.m=SIT  
go=RCP

*Pui* _ti_  
**o=baro=a’,**  
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.

### 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.

19 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.
Chapter 3 Basic Clause Structures

Figure 3.2 Structure of non-verbal clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periphery</th>
<th>Core</th>
<th>Periphery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>predicate</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>NP</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>PP</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbial clause</td>
<td>locational phrase</td>
<td>adverbial clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Obligatory</td>
<td>Optional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In example (20), the predicate is a headless NP (see §7.2.1.3.1).

\[(20)\quad \text{...vairutu komi=a ipu ta qulepo=a=ma...} \]

adjunct subject predicate
today PROXsg=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 Five.

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. + indicates that the class has the listed function and – indicates that it does not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>nouns</th>
<th>adjectives</th>
<th>verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>attachment of a tense/mood marker</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<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 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 sub-classes: 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 sub-classes: relational nouns and place names, and one noun *koi* ‘place’. Syntactically, relational nouns and place names 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.

Figure 4.1 Sub-classes of nouns

```
Nouns
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>locational</th>
<th>non-locational</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>relational nouns</td>
<td><em>male</em> ‘match’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koi</em> ‘place’</td>
<td><em>ngavi</em> ‘self’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common nouns</td>
<td>kinship terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place names</td>
<td>personal names</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```
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 sub-classes of nouns, common nouns, kinship terms, personal names, place names, and relational nouns, is described in the following.

4.3.1 Common Nouns

Common nouns form the largest sub-class 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)’
- lekito ‘early morning’
- vikale ‘morning’
- ngadale ‘afternoon’
- raisiraisi ‘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 (1) *raisi*, modified by a numeral, means ‘bag of rice’ not just ‘rice’.

(1) $A = \text{databarae} = k = \text{ala}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Omuqa</th>
<th>Rasi.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

(2) $A = \text{databarae} = k = \text{ala}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Omuqa</th>
<th>Raro.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>pot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>Nia</th>
<th>Taite</th>
<th>Taite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘mother’</td>
<td>‘grandparent’</td>
<td>‘aunt (mother’s or father’s sister)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wife’s sister’</td>
<td>‘brother’s child’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>‘grandchild’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘husband’s brother’</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘father’s brother’</td>
<td>‘sister’s child’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mother’s brother’</td>
<td>‘husband’s brother’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘husband’</td>
<td>‘wife’s sister’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wife’</td>
<td>‘wife’s brother’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mother’s brother’</td>
<td>‘husband’s sister’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wife’</td>
<td>‘in-law other than <em>mani</em>’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘husband’</td>
<td>older sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wife’</td>
<td>younger sibling</td>
<td></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 occur with determiners which mark indefiniteness, it signals that it is used as a common noun.

(3)  
\[ \text{... ko=vijari=v=a kala megora lasive=a=la.} \]
\[ 3\text{sg.f=give.birth=3\text{sg.m.O=PRES IND}\text{sg.m child male=LIG=3\text{sg.m}}} \]

\[ \text{...she gave a birth to a male child. (27-2-10)} \]

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’ means ‘older’ and ‘younger’ respectively.

With kinship terms which 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) and (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)  
\[ \text{reko=a=ma taite} \]
\[ \text{female=LIG=3\text{sg.f} grandparent} \]

grandmother

(5)  
\[ \text{lasive=a=la taite} \]
\[ \text{male=LIG=3\text{sg.m} grandparent} \]

grandfather

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.

(6)  
\[ \text{gole=a=la taite} \]
\[ \text{old=LIG=3\text{sg.m} grandparent} \]

old grandfather
Some kinship terms can be used as vocatives on their own. In vocative use, kinship terms have restricted meanings. For example, \textit{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 \textit{mama} ‘father’, \textit{papa} ‘uncle’, \textit{megora} ‘child’, \textit{taite} ‘grandparent’, and \textit{mabuzu} ‘grandchild’.

### 4.3.3 Personal Names

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

- \textit{Maikajara} ‘Maikajara (male)’
- \textit{Kina} ‘Kina (female)’
- \textit{Ilai} ‘Ilai (male)’
- \textit{Kazuduri} ‘Kazuduri (female)’

### 4.3.4 Place Names

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

- \textit{Solomoni} ‘the Solomon Islands’
- \textit{Gizo} ‘Gizo Island’
- \textit{Vella La Vella} ‘Vella La Vella island’
- \textit{Sabora} ‘Sabora village’

### 4.3.5 Relational Nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>keta</th>
<th>‘edge’</th>
<th>sipole</th>
<th>‘near’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<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>vima</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>

\textit{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, encliticized form of a demonstrative. This, however, is often omitted when the possessee is a relational noun. In example (7) *veutu tona* is reduced from *veutu=ko tona* (door=3sg.f beside) which literally means ‘the door’s beside’. This suggests that relational nouns are becoming postpositions.

(7) ...

Svorou (1993) studies twenty-six languages in terms of sources of ‘spatial grams’ — “grammatical forms of language which express primarily spatial relations” (Svorou 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.
This morphological difference between intransitive and transitive verbs is a reflection of the semantic difference between them. Both \textit{nanato} and \textit{nanaeko} roughly mean ‘to bite’, but the intransitive one \textit{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 \textit{nanato} never takes an object clitic. Accordingly, the intransitive one \textit{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, a transitive verb \textit{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 \textit{nana}. \textit{Nanat} and \textit{nanae} then can be segmented as \textit{nana}-\textit{t} and \textit{nana}-\textit{e}, and \textit{-t} and \textit{-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 \textit{-t} and \textit{-e} respectively. For example, an intransitive verb \textit{roquan} ‘to care/love’ and a transitive verb \textit{roque} ‘to care/love’ share an identical string of segments \textit{roqu}, and each of them additionally has \textit{-an} and \textit{-e} respectively. On the other hand, an intransitive verb \textit{pazot} ‘to hit’ and a transitive verb \textit{pazo} ‘to hit’ share an identical string of segments \textit{pazo}, but only the intransitive one additionally has \textit{-t}. It is not predictable what forms intransitive and transitive counterparts manifest.

Each of verbs ‘to bite’, ‘to care/love’, and ‘to hit’ has another intransitive form, \textit{nanail} ‘to bite oneself’, \textit{roquil} ‘to care about/love oneself’, and \textit{pazoil} ‘to hit oneself’ respectively. \textit{Il} of these verbs can be considered to be a reflexive suffix, but it cannot be claimed that all verbs which have the segment \textit{il} have a reflexive meaning. For example, a verb \textit{soqoil} ‘to run away’ never has a reflexive interpretation. Nor is it the case that all verbs that have a reflexive meaning contain \textit{-il}. Some verbs contain \textit{-zi}, for example, \textit{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 thesis 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 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 sub-class 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 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. This is discussed in §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 cover the following semantic groups (following Dixon 1977: 24 and 1991: 78-85).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human Proximity</th>
<th>Life</th>
<th>Death</th>
<th>Medical</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Related</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Scent</th>
<th>Similarity</th>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>and Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Small</strong></td>
<td><strong>Big</strong></td>
<td><strong>Great</strong></td>
<td><strong>Important</strong></td>
<td><strong>Young</strong></td>
<td><strong>Great</strong></td>
<td><strong>Important</strong></td>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fragrant</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lookalike</strong></td>
<td><strong>Qualified</strong></td>
<td><strong>Others</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Beautiful</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ugly</strong></td>
<td><strong>Waste</strong></td>
<td><strong>Normal</strong></td>
<td><strong>Wrong</strong></td>
<td><strong>Wrong</strong></td>
<td><strong>Normal</strong></td>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td><strong>Scentless</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lookalike</strong></td>
<td><strong>Qualified</strong></td>
<td><strong>Others</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Easy</strong></td>
<td><strong>Hard</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dirty</strong></td>
<td><strong>Clean</strong></td>
<td><strong>Easy</strong></td>
<td><strong>Hard</strong></td>
<td><strong>Clean</strong></td>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fragrant</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lookalike</strong></td>
<td><strong>Qualified</strong></td>
<td><strong>Others</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Small</strong></td>
<td><strong>Big</strong></td>
<td><strong>Great</strong></td>
<td><strong>Important</strong></td>
<td><strong>Young</strong></td>
<td><strong>Great</strong></td>
<td><strong>Important</strong></td>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fragrant</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lookalike</strong></td>
<td><strong>Qualified</strong></td>
<td><strong>Others</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Bilua, names of tribes are categorized as adjectives as well. Like other adjectives, they form a modifier phrase with a pronominal enclitic. For example, *Suba=la* (Suba=LIG=1sg.m person) ‘Suba man’. However, they are not modified by other adjectives without forming a modifier phrase. For example, *Suba meqora* (Suba=LIG=child) ‘Suba child’.

\[20\] A is a ligature. See §5.17 for a description of the ligature.
## Table 4.4 Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>silo ‘small’</th>
<th>matu ‘big’</th>
<th>rosi ‘long’</th>
<th>puju ‘short’</th>
<th>posu ‘fat’</th>
<th>adakiri ‘thin’</th>
<th>riro ‘narrow’</th>
<th>sipi ‘slim’</th>
<th>mota ‘thick’</th>
<th>repaso ‘wide’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Property</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zokele ‘firm’</td>
<td>duki ‘heavy’</td>
<td>vairu ‘clean’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>olu ‘soft’</td>
<td>laumade ‘smooth’</td>
<td>aukozo ‘light’</td>
<td>vualavuala ‘hot’</td>
<td>sarosaroro ‘cold’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>sibi ‘black’</td>
<td></td>
<td>diri ‘red’</td>
<td></td>
<td>tapo ‘white’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>luqumu ‘blue’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vaqo ‘yellow’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Propensity</td>
<td>baisi ‘kind’</td>
<td>lekuleku ‘weak’</td>
<td>sarube ‘crazy’</td>
<td></td>
<td>meomeo ‘naughty’</td>
<td>muino ‘selfish’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ririzo ‘capable’</td>
<td>ngalopozi ‘cowardly’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>udo ‘stupid’</td>
<td>parani ‘brave’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>vairu ‘new/young’</td>
<td></td>
<td>gol ‘old’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>uri ‘good’</td>
<td>ruqe ‘bad’</td>
<td>kako ‘strange’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gulepo ‘important’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed</td>
<td>olu ‘slow’</td>
<td>taulka ‘quick’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similarity</td>
<td>edolo ‘different’</td>
<td></td>
<td>ija ‘same’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification</td>
<td>tuvevo ‘true’</td>
<td>sarusaru ‘wrong’</td>
<td>tapata ‘hard’</td>
<td></td>
<td>musu ‘ripened’</td>
<td>bule ‘calm/peaceful’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>olu ‘easy/soft’</td>
<td>kaga ‘dirty’</td>
<td>batiro ‘rich’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaitu ‘future’</td>
<td>sidopu ‘right/straight’</td>
<td>olomoiza ‘quiet’</td>
<td></td>
<td>kaitu ‘future’</td>
<td>sidopu ‘right/straight’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raura ‘expensive’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lasive ‘male’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kiada ‘all’</td>
<td>ileile ‘beautiful’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>reko ‘female’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, it 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 §6.3.1.2).

This concludes the description of open classes. The next chapter presents a description of closed classes.
Chapter 5 Closed Classes

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 of one clause
to the other. 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, namely,
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; these are 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. The
following table presents a list of predicate modifiers.
### Table 5.1 Predicate modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner adverbs</th>
<th>Locational adverbs</th>
<th>Temporal adverbs</th>
<th>Circumstantial adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kadaule</em> ‘instantly’</td>
<td><em>koi</em> ‘here’</td>
<td><em>lea</em> ‘tomorrow’</td>
<td><em>muli</em> ‘altogether’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kapiavole</em> ‘quickly’</td>
<td><em>sai</em> ‘there’</td>
<td><em>ravi</em> ‘yesterday’</td>
<td><em>saita</em> ‘first (this is done first)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koaziole</em> ‘straight’</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>vairutu</em> ‘today/now’</td>
<td><em>maba</em> ‘truly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>matuvole</em> ‘loudly’</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>erisanga</em> ‘at present’</td>
<td><em>esa</em> ‘maybe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngadavole</em> ‘day by day’</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>oqotimala</em> ‘the day before yesterday’</td>
<td><em>mata/mati</em> ‘again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>oluavole</em> ‘slowly’</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>oqotinga</em> ‘the day after tomorrow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pujuavole</em> ‘making it short’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taukavole</em> ‘quickly’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tutumaziavole</em> ‘straightaway’</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* (IND 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.

(1) ...*qe=zio=vou*  
1du.incl=go-FUT  
*ukii* somewhere  
*siqo* bush  
*ale...* 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 \textit{le}, which appears to have originated in the cliticized form of a locative postposition \textit{kale} ‘in’. For example, \textit{matu}vo\textit{le} ‘loudly’ can be segmented into three morphemes: the adjective \textit{matu} ‘big’, the nominal derivational enclitic \textit{vo}, and the postposition \textit{le}.

\begin{equation}
\text{matu}=\text{vo}=\text{le}
\end{equation}
big=NOM=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 lexicalized. The following is 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>\textit{sainio} ‘therefore’/’then’</td>
<td>\textit{sai inio} (there FOCnf): two words\textsuperscript{21}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{soinio} ‘accordingly’</td>
<td>\textit{so inio} (that FOCnf): two words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{saitainio} ‘afterwards’</td>
<td>\textit{saita inio} (first FOCnf): two words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{saikazo} ‘following that’</td>
<td>\textit{sai kazo} (there ABL): PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{sole} ‘that’s why’</td>
<td>\textit{so}=\textit{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 §10.

\subsection{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). The following is a list of general modifiers and the elements they can modify.

\textsuperscript{21} In a linking adverbial \textit{sainio}, a focus marker \textit{inio} is realised as there is no long vowel in Bilua.
### Table 5.3 General modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General modifier</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 silo ‘small’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>completive buti ‘finished’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sasa ‘a bit/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</td>
<td>‘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 thesis.
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.22

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22 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.
Chapter 5 Closed Classes

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 are attached 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 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=o/ (3sg.f.O=see=NOM) ‘to see’, /k=oB=o/ (3sg.f.O=get=NOM) ‘to get’, /k=u=o/ (3sg.f.O=eat=NOM) ‘to eat’, and /k=i=o/ (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, but yet they always have the same realisations. This is a rather odd thing to say and so they are treated as clitics. A further reason is because 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 are attached to a phrase – they are attached 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>subject marker in VPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronominal proclitics</td>
<td>possessor 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>
</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 to only 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>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.f</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>komi</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du.excl</td>
<td>eqe</td>
<td></td>
<td>qe</td>
<td>qela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du.incl</td>
<td>aniqe</td>
<td>qe</td>
<td>qel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2du</td>
<td>qe</td>
<td></td>
<td>qel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3du</td>
<td>nioqa</td>
<td>nioqi</td>
<td>qo</td>
<td>nioqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3du</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k (same as 3sg.f)</td>
<td>nioqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.excl</td>
<td>aninge</td>
<td>nge</td>
<td>ngel</td>
<td>ngela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.incl</td>
<td>anime</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>mel</td>
<td>mela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>me</td>
<td></td>
<td>mel</td>
<td>mela</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.

56
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 realization 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 realized as ve (see §5.6), otherwise it is realized as mu.

The second person singular pronominal enclitic is realized as langa when its host is an adjective. Otherwise, it is realized 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,23 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.

Indefinite pronouns are inherently third person and marked for number and gender: kala (INDsg.m), kama (INDsg.f), kainioqa (INDdu) and kake (INDpl). 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 (IND=3sg.m), ka=ma (IND=3sg.f), ka=niioqa (IND=3du), and ka=ke (IND=3pl). The third person plural pronominal enclitic is realised as ke and not as the usual mu when the host is the indefinite marker. The third person pronominal enclitic nioqa 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.

23 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.
...kake ta lasive=a=mu ni mata kake ta
parani poso.
...some were men, and some others were warriors. (21-9-54)

### 5.5.2 Non-inflectional pronouns

Non-inflectional pronouns are *so* ‘that’, *eri* ‘something like this’, and measure pronouns meaning ‘one’.

#### 5.5.2.1 *So* ‘that’ and *Eri* ‘something like this’

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

In (4), *so* ‘that’ is anaphoric, while in (5) *eri* ‘something like this’ is cataphoric. In the following examples, the antecedent of *so* ‘that’ and *eri* ‘something like this’ is double-underlined.

(4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sole</th>
<th>o=beta</th>
<th>kail=a</th>
<th>so</th>
<th>ti</th>
<th>so</th>
<th>ti</th>
<th>so</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td>3sg.m=CONT</td>
<td>go.up=PRES</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>vanga</td>
<td>azo</td>
<td>inio</td>
<td>o=ta</td>
<td>v=a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and.then</td>
<td>far.away</td>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>FOCnf</td>
<td>3sg.m=POSS</td>
<td>3sg.m.O=VAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sole</th>
<th>o=momo.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3sg.m.O=see=PRES</td>
<td>3sg.m=back</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vo</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>eri</th>
<th>k=i=o=la.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3sg.m TOP</td>
<td>s.t.like.this</td>
<td>3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Meqorasaidi komi ta ko niuniu*.

...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), 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 (6).
...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 of them 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>
<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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>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>

The following is an example of an NP headed with a measure pronoun.
(7) NP headed with *pado*

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  & ko=\text{pa} & \text{kobue}=k=\text{a} & ko \\
 3\text{sg.f}=\text{PROS} & \text{cut}=3\text{sg.f}.O=\text{PRES} & 3\text{sg.f} \\
\hline
\text{pado} & \text{ta} & \text{Koro-koroqanisi} \\
\text{MEApiece} & TOP & \text{REDUP-Koroqanisi} \\
\hline
\text{ka} & \text{pado} & \text{ta} & \text{ko=ngavi.} \\
\text{IND} & \text{MEApiece} & TOP & 3\text{sg.f}=\text{EMPH} \\
\end{array}
\]

...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 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>
<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=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
- vicinity vasi
- ablative azo
- temporal keru
- comitative sate
- benefactive kaqe
- privative pide
- 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 §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’
- ariku (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 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’.

(8)  
\[ \text{toni omadeu} \]
\[ \text{ten one} \]
\[ \text{eleven} \]

(9)  
\[ \text{zouke toni} \]
\[ \text{three ten} \]
\[ \text{thirty} \]

(10)  
\[ \text{zouke toni omuqa} \]
\[ \text{three ten two} \]
\[ \text{thirty-two} \]

(11)  
\[ \text{omadeu paizana siakava} \]
\[ \text{one hundred nine} \]
\[ \text{one-hundred and nine} \]

(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* (COLLpl) and the dual form *kidi* (COLLdu), and they mark collectiveness. The plural form another realisation, *mu*, but this only occurs 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). 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 realizations 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. For example,

(13) ...**matu=ma kea ta** ikoana...  
subject  big=3sg.f cave TOP EXTsg.f  
...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:

- **singular masculine**: 
  - existential markers: inevoana  
  - original parts: i-ne-vo-ana  
  - EXTsg.m  

- **singular feminine**: 
  - existential markers: ikoana  
  - original parts: i-ko-ana  
  - EXTsg.f  

- **dual**: 
  - existential markers: inioqiana  
  - original parts: i-nioqi-ana  
  - EXTdu  

- **plural**: 
  - existential markers: inisiana  
  - original parts: i-ni-si-ana  
  - EXTpl
With the singular masculine form, the singular masculine proximate demonstrative *nei* is realized 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 PROXsg.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 realized 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\(^{24}\) 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>Type</th>
<th>Existential Marker</th>
<th>Original Parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular masculine</td>
<td><strong>u-ne</strong></td>
<td><strong>u-ne (u-nei)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D.EXTsg.m</td>
<td>D.EXT-PROX sg.m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular feminine</td>
<td><strong>uko</strong></td>
<td><strong>u-ko</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D.EXTsg.f</td>
<td>D.EXT-3sg.f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td><strong>unioqa</strong></td>
<td><strong>u-nioqa</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D.EXTdu</td>
<td>D.EXT-3du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td><strong>uni</strong></td>
<td><strong>u-ni</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D.EXTpl</td>
<td>D.EXT-PROXpl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combinations of a distal existential marker *une* and *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.\(^{25}\)

\(^{24}\) 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.

\(^{25}\) 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* (EXTsg.f) and *une* (EXTsg.m) originate in the same morpheme. There is no morpheme *ki*, however, found in present-day Bilua. It appears that *une quli* (EXTsg.m thing) and *uko quli* (EXTsg.f thing) originated in a non-verbal clause. Although the basic order of subject and predicate
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.

### 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

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

of non-verbal clauses is subject first and then predicate, this order can be reversed. *Une/uko 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.
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 §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>
</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>
<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 / voy</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>
<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.
A disjunctive coordinator *ma* ‘or’ can be used as a tag in a polar question.

(15)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Ngo} & \text{=da} & \text{verep} = \text{a} & \text{ma.} \\
2\text{sg}=\text{SIT} & \text{be.sick}=\text{PRES} & \text{or}
\end{array}
\]

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 realized 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 (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 (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.

(16)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{A} = \text{da} & \text{uri} = \text{a} & \text{maquin} = \text{a.} \\
1\text{sg}=\text{SIT} & \text{good}=\text{LIG} & \text{full}=\text{PRES}
\end{array}
\]

I am nicely full.

(17)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{ile-ile} = \text{a} = \text{ma} \\
\text{REDUP-beautiful}=\text{LIG}=3\text{sg.f}
\end{array}
\]

beautiful one

Morphemes which the ligature links are presented in Table 5.14 below.
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></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>•adjectives and AdjPs</td>
<td>•pronounal enclitics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>•deictic adverbs and an adverb <em>lula</em> ‘already’</td>
<td>•the noun <em>koi</em> ‘place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>•place names</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 <em>pui</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>•interrogatives <em>lai</em> ‘where’ and <em>noni</em> ‘how’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>•pronouns <em>so</em> ‘that’, <em>eri</em> ‘something like this’, and <em>pado</em> ‘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 <em>kubo</em> ‘many’</td>
<td>•head of NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are some exceptions to this. Adjectives *kiada* ‘all’, *matu* ‘big’, *ukaka* ‘careless’, *utu* ‘idle’, and *aza* ‘various’, one numeral *omuqa* ‘two’, and relational nouns *tova* ‘behind’ and *rana* ‘side’, and a place name *Veala* never take the ligature. A PP headed with the comitative postposition *sate* does not take a ligature either.

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 attach 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>Word</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngo ila</td>
<td>2sg-VOCsg.m</td>
<td>you (male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngo iza</td>
<td>2sg-VOCsg.f</td>
<td>you (female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe va</td>
<td>2du-VOCdu</td>
<td>you two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me va</td>
<td>2pl-VOCdu</td>
<td>you many</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### 0.1 Introduction

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

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

### 0.2 Suffixation

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

#### 0.2.1 Suffix on Verbs, -ā

The suffix -ā has both derivational and valency increasing 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 A argument of the derived intransitive verb. Accordingly, the subject is always nonangular. For example, the verb in (1) is a transitive verb 'he helped her', and the verb in (2) is an intransitive reciprocal verb derived from this by suffuration of -ā. fano-ā (trans. RECP) 'to meet each other'. The A and O arguments in (1) have both become the A argument in (2).

  :bg:a-pec-bag:1.0-3mp
   He met her.

2. Qe-ē-naca-k-ā-ā.  
  :k:oo-pec(RECP)-k:ip
   They (he and she) met each other.
6 Derivational Morphology

6.1 Introduction
There are four morphological processes which derive a word in Bilua: suffixation, encliticization, 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 are attached 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 (1) is a transitive verb torae ‘to meet’, and the verb in (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 (1) have both become the S argument in (2).

(1) O=torae=k=ala.
    3sg.m=meet=3sg.f.O=RcP
    He met her.

(2) Qo=torae-kini=ala.
    3du=meet-RECP=RcP
    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 (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.

(3) Sito ta kala maba vo ta
    Sito TOP INDsg.m person 3sg.m TOP
    o=pazo-kini=e matu kubo=a 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:

(4) *bazue* ‘to tell’ → *bazue-kini* ‘to tell each other’ or ‘to exchange conversation’

(5) *vouvae* ‘to kill’ → *vouvae-kini* ‘to kill each other’

(6) *roque* ‘to care/love’ → *roque-kini* ‘to care/love each other’

(7) *besie* ‘to replace’ → *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*

(8) Se ta ke=kati-ekini=a ko puaro.
    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 –*ki*, –*mat*, –*muil*, and –*mu*, –*put*, –*puil*, and –*pue*, and –*t/Ø*, –*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.

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, -muil, -puil, and -il have a semi-reflexive meaning ‘do something oneself’ or a reflexive meaning ‘to do something (to) oneself’. For example, an intransitive verb uri-zi derived from an adjective uri ‘good’ has a semi-reflexive meaning, ‘to do something (to) oneself’. Another intransitive verb, uri-k, derived from the same adjective also means ‘to become better’ but does not have a semi-reflexive meaning.

-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’.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{silo} & \text{ ‘small’} & \text{uri} & \text{ ‘good’} \\
\downarrow & & \downarrow \\
\text{silo-}k & \text{ ‘to become small’} & \text{uri-}k & \text{ ‘to become better’} \\
& & \text{uri-}zi & \text{ ‘to become better by oneself’} \\
& \text{silo-}ki & \text{ ‘to make s.t small’} & \text{uri-}ki & \text{ ‘to make s.t better’}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{raisi} & \text{ ‘evening’} & \rightarrow & \text{raisi-}k & \text{ ‘to become evening’} \\
\text{ipu} & \text{ ‘night’} & \rightarrow & \text{ipu-}k & \text{ ‘to become night’}
\end{align*}
\]

---

26 Because of this, in the rest of this thesis, segmentation of these morphemes is not shown.

27 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 thesis to present a full discussion about verbal morphology.
Chapter 6 Derivational Morphology

-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raro 'pot'</td>
<td>raro-mat ‘to cook s.t in a pot (itr)’</td>
<td>raro-mu ‘to cook s.t in a pot (tr)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lezu 'head'</td>
<td>lezu-mat ‘to study s.t (itr)’</td>
<td>lezu-mu ‘to study s.t (tr)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-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 syllable or more take -put, -puil, and -pue rather than -mat, -muil, and -mu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iruru 'work'</td>
<td>iruru-put ‘to work’</td>
<td>irurupu-e ‘to fix’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qusini 'rope'</td>
<td>qusini-put ‘to make a rope’</td>
<td>qusini-pue ‘to make a rope’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 §6.3.1.1): tuvevo-put=o meaning 'belief'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuvevo 'true'</td>
<td>tuvevo-put ‘to believe s.b/s.t (itr)’</td>
<td>tuvevo-pue ‘to believe s.b/s.t (tr)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28 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.
-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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tola} & \quad \text{vozi} & \quad \text{ija} \\
\text{to feel main} & \quad \text{to paddle} & \quad \text{to do pressing} \\
\text{tola-t} & \quad \text{vozi-e} & \quad \text{ija-\text{e}} \\
\text{to make oneself feel pain} & \quad \text{to paddle} & \quad \text{to press oneself} \\
\text{tola-e} & \quad \text{vozi-e} & \quad \text{ija-e} \\
\text{to make someone feel pain} & \quad \text{to paddle} & \quad \text{to press (tr)}
\end{align*}
\]

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,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{develop} & \quad \text{create} \\
\text{developu-put} & \quad \text{create-put} \\
\text{developu-pue} & \quad \text{create-pue}
\end{align*}
\]

### 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’.

#### 6.3.1.1 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.

(9) an intransitive verb

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vouvat}=o \\
\text{kill=NOM} \\
\text{killing}
\end{align*}
\]
(10) a transitive verb with an object clitic

\[ \text{vouvae} = \text{k} = \text{o} \]
\[ \text{kill} = \text{3sg.f.O=NOM} \]

killing of her

(11) an intransitive verb with a modifier

\[ \text{[uri=a maqin]} = \text{o} \]
\[ \text{good=LIG be.full=NOM} \]

being nicely full.

Example (11) cannot be analysed as:

\[ \text{uri=a [maqin=o]} \]

since if this was the case, \text{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 (11), \text{o} is attached to a modifier-verb combination not just to a verb. This is another evidence for \text{o} being a clitic not an affix.

As the derived word is a noun, this can be the head of an NP.

(12) \[ \text{uri=a=ma saev=o} \]
\[ \text{good=LIG=3sg.f survive=NOM} \]

good life

When \text{o} attaches to a modifier-verb combination, the derived word does not occur with a modifier as it already contains a modifier. It neither occurs with any other optional NP constituents, which either mark definiteness or number. This is because the derived noun refers to a state, that is, semantically, it still behaves like a verb. In (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 (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 \text{v} \ (3sg.m). To illustrate, \text{vouvae=v=o} \ (kill=3sg.m.O=NOM) means ‘killing of him’.

76
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)

### 6.3.1.2 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vo} & \rightarrow \text{avo / vowel } i, u \\
& \quad \text{vo elsewhere}
\end{align*}
\]

There is no evidence that proves that \( vo \) is a clitic rather than an affix, but it is treated as a clitic in this thesis because of the fact that \( o \), another nominal derivational morpheme described in the last section, 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’.

\[
\begin{align*}
(13) \quad & olaqu \text{ ‘suffering’ (adj)} \rightarrow \text{olaqu=avo ‘suffering’ (noun)} \\
(14) \quad & edolo \text{ ‘different’} \rightarrow \text{edolo=vo ‘difference’} \\
(15) \quad & aza \text{ ‘various’} \rightarrow \text{aza=vo ‘variety’} \\
(16) \quad & ija \text{ ‘equal’} \rightarrow \text{ija=vo ‘equality’} \\
(17) \quad & uri \text{ ‘good’} \rightarrow \text{uri=avo ‘goodness (Okay)’} \\
(18) \quad & kiada \text{ ‘all’} \rightarrow \text{kiada=vo ‘everything’}
\end{align*}
\]

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).

\[(19)\quad \text{Enge ta nge=rove=a tu k=ov=ko} \]
\[
\quad 1pl.excl TOP 1pl.excl=can=PRES IRR 3sg.f.O=get=NOM ko 3sg.f
\]
\[
\quad \text{olaqua=vo... suffering=NOM}
\]

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.

\[(20)\quad O=vait=a keru mati ko=a omadeu=vo.\]
\[
\quad 3sg.m=return=PRES TEMP again 3sg.f=LIG one=NOM omadeu=vo.
\]

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

### 6.4 Compounding

Compounds are all nouns in Bilua. 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.

\[(21)\quad \text{vaka-maba (boat-person) ‘white people’}\]
\[(22)\quad \text{vaka-peuru (boat-village) ‘western country’}\]
\[(23)\quad \text{ore-mari (tree/stick-taro) ‘cassava’}\]
\[(24)\quad \text{raro-pade (pot-house) ‘kitchen’}\]
\[(25)\quad \text{niru-turu (coconut-shell) ‘coconut shell’}\]
\[(26)\quad \text{kiti-saresare (leg-plain) ‘sole of foot’}\]
\[(27)\quad \text{ngase-saresare (hand-plain) ‘palm’}\]
\[(28)\quad \text{alil=o-nganiu (be.born=NOM-day) ‘birthday’}\]
\[(29)\quad \text{sinaqu-rusu (unmarried.woman-youth) ‘girl’}\]

Two compounds consist of an adjective and a noun.
(30) lasive-rusu (male-youth) ‘boy’
(31) reko-rusu (female-youth) ‘girl’

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

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

(32) susu-pait=o (breast-finish=NOM) ‘last born child’
(33) maba-sisu (person-seed/sweet potato) ‘yam’
(34) meqora-saidi (child-family) ‘family (with children)’
(35) range-uza (ember-fire) ‘ember’
(36) sakare-ju (coconut shell filled with water-water) ‘coconut shell filled with water’

The nouns range and sakare themselves mean ‘ember’ and ‘coconut shell filled with water’ respectively, and compounds containing these words range-uza (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 post-verbal position (see §7.4). Third, they can take a determiner, and 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 thesis, 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 (37), (38), and (39) or other kind of adjectives as in (40).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(37) potu</td>
<td>potupotu ‘having a wound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(38) sisu</td>
<td>sisusisu ‘curly (like stems of sweet potatoes)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(39) toruru</td>
<td>torutoruru ‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(40) puar</td>
<td>puaropuaro ‘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 §6.5.1.2, 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>(41) iqe</td>
<td>iqeige ‘to kneel down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(42) lenio</td>
<td>lenioleniote ‘to lick (itr)’, lenioleniote ‘to lick (tr)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(43) pari</td>
<td>pariparit ‘to play with sand (itr)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(44) revo</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’ shares the segments *tibur* and reduplication applies to *tibu* of this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(45)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tibur</em> ‘to close (itr)’</td>
<td><em>tibutiburi</em> ‘closed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tiburi</em> ‘to close (tr)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(46)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zoleil</em> ‘to be happy’</td>
<td><em>zolezole</em> ‘happy/pleasant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zole</em> ‘to make happy’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(47)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>niumat</em> ‘to break (itr)’</td>
<td><em>niumaniuma</em> ‘broken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>niumaniumae</em> ‘to break (tr)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(48)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sukat</em> ‘to become full (itr)’</td>
<td><em>sukasukati</em> ‘full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sukati</em> ‘to fill (tr)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(49)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pisailo</em> ‘to break (itr)’</td>
<td><em>pisapisa</em> ‘cracked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pisae</em> ‘to break (tr)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(50)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>potas</em> ‘to split (itr)’</td>
<td><em>potapotasi</em> ‘split’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>potasi</em> ‘to split (tr)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reduplicated forms in (49) and (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 nominalization). Examples (51) to (53) are examples of instrumental nominalisation. Examples (54) and (55) are examples of resultative nominalisation, and examples (56) to (58) are examples of object nominalisation. There are a few others which do not belong to any of these nominalisation types as in examples (59) and (60).

---

29 Comrie refers to this kind of nominalization as ‘objective nominalization’ (1985: 355).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (51) buisit ‘to chase away flies (itr)’
buisie ‘to chase away flies (tr)’ |
| (52) volo ‘to take copra out of shell (itr)’
volo ‘to take copra out of shell (tr)’ |
| (53) papu ‘to sit’
papue ‘to sit’ |
| (54) podet ‘to measure (itr)’
podeti ‘to measure (tr)’ |
| (55) pitasat ‘to divide into groups (itr)’
pitasi ‘to divide into groups (tr)’ |
| (56) pauzut ‘to adopt (itr)’
pauzue ‘to adopt (tr)’ |
| (57) zaiti ‘to put stones on the top of oven’ |
| (58) bazut ‘to tell (itr)’
bazue ‘to tell (tr)’ |
| (59) purat ‘to come out’
purae ‘to take out’ |
| (60) pait ‘to finish (itr)’
pai ‘to finish (tr)’ |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| buisibuisi ‘something with which to chase away flies’
(for example, a towel) |
| volovolo ‘a device to take copra out of a shell’ |
| papupapu ‘chair’ |
| podepodeti ‘measurement’ |
| pitapitasi ‘division’ |
| pauzupauzu ‘adopted child’ |
| zaitizaiti ‘stones which are put on the top of a stone oven’ |
| bazubazu ‘stories’ |
| purapura ‘hole’ |
| paitopaito ‘last one/end’ |

### 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.
Non-category changing duplication with verbs

(61) nanat 'to bite (itr)'  nanananat 'to bite many times (itr)'
(62) nanae 'to bite (tr)'  nanananae 'to bite many times (tr)'
(63) vatu 'to move (itr)'  vatuvalu 'to move many times (itr)'
(64) vatut 'to move (tr)'  vatuvalu 'to move many times (tr)'

Non-category changing reduplication with nouns

(65) qole 'elder'  qoleqole 'elders'
(66) reko 'woman'  rekoreko 'women'

Non-category changing reduplication with adjectives

(67) aza 'various'  azaaza 'very much in variety'
(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). Plurality can be indicated by a plural marker only as well, as in qole poso (elder PL) '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) is ungrammatical.

The verb padopadoi '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.

(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'.
**Sisusisu**, the reduplicated form of noun *sisu* ‘seed’ means ‘flower’. This can be attached with *-na* and *sisusisu-na* means ‘fruit’.\(^30\) 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’.

Non-category changing reduplication with numerals

- (70) *omuqa* ‘two’  
  *omuomuqa* ‘two each’
- (71) *siakava* ‘nine’  
  *siakasiakava* ‘nine each’
- (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.

(73) **A=qati=m=ala omu-omuga 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.

- (74) *eri* ‘something like this’  
  *erieri* ‘something like these’

### 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. Encliticization derives nouns from verbs, adjectives, the numeral *omadeu* ‘one’, and PPs headed with *kale*. Derived words 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.

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\(^{30}\) *Sisu* also means ‘sweet potato’. With this meaning, reduplication becomes category changing as shown in 6.5.1.1
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</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>encliticization</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></td>
<td>verbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adjectives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplication</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>numerals</td>
<td>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 noun phrase (NP) can be an argument of a verbal predicate as in example (1), a subject of a non-verbal clause as in (2), a predicate of a non-verbal clause as in (3), a complement of a postposition as in (4), or an adjunct as in (5).

(1) ... o=kia=v=a buti.  
    3sg.m=put.on=3sg.m=O=PRES  
    3sg.m=LIG  
    ... he put on the boot. (16-6-86)

(2) Vo=ko ngi ta David Volosi.  
    3sg.m=3sg.f name TOP David Volosi  
    His name was David Volosi. (23-4-45)

(3) Kurou ni kobaka ta ura=a=ma baere-baere kidi.  
    pigeon and snail TOP good=LIG=3sg.f REDUP-friend  
    Pigeon and Snail were good friends. (15-1-2)

(4) ... ke=k=ati kue=va komi=a udu ale.  
    3pl=3sg.f,O=VAL come=PRES PROX3sg.f=LIG island in  
    ... they came to this island with it. (12-11-103)

(5) Kiada=ma taku Barakoma=ko vail=o ale inio se  
    all=3sg.f time Barakoma=3sg.f look=NOM in FOCnf 3pl  
    TOP 3pl=stay=PRES  
    All the time, in the care of Barakoma, they lived. (10-10-83)

Example (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 (2), vo (3sg.m) is a possessor NP and this is marked with a possessive marker ko (3sg.f).
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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>
<th>Number/Gender</th>
<th>Number/Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>dual.inclusive</td>
<td>plural.inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dual.exclusive</td>
<td>plural exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>singular.masculine</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular.feminine</td>
<td></td>
<td></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\(^{31}\) 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.

\(^{31}\) The term ‘singulative’ is used refer to singular for non-human referent, in order to distinguish human singular which also has a number/gender distinction.
### 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 they occur in NPs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(determiner)</th>
<th>(quantifier)</th>
<th>(modifier*)³²</th>
<th>(a measure pronoun <em>pado</em>)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>(modifier)</td>
<td>(collective marker/plural marker)</td>
<td>(pronominal enclitic)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 §7.2.1.3). 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 post-verbal 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 post-verbal 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.

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³² * here indicates recursive.
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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.

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* (IND), 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 sub-sections: demonstratives and independent pronouns (§7.2.1.1.1) and indefinite marker and pronouns (§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 (6) and (7) respectively. Demonstratives are cliticized with a ligature when they fill the slot for a determiner.

(6) \[ \ldots\text{komi}=a\quad \text{Vella La Vella}\quad \text{udu}\quad \text{ale}\quad \text{ta}\quad \text{sikeura} \]
\[ \text{PROXsg.f=LIG}\quad \text{Vella La Vella}\quad \text{island in}\quad \text{TOP}\quad \text{seven} \]
\[ \text{vuro}\quad \text{maba}\quad \text{ta}\quad \text{ikoana}\ldots \]
\[ \text{thousand}\quad \text{person}\quad \text{TOP}\quad \text{EXTsg.f} \]

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

(7) \[ \ldots\text{lea}\quad \text{inio}\quad \text{mata}\quad \text{vo}=a\quad \text{ore}\quad \text{a}=ba \]
\[ \text{tomorrow}\quad \text{FOCnf}\quad \text{again}\quad 3sg.m=LIG\quad \text{tree}\quad 1sg=PROS \]
\[ \text{koi}=v=ou\ldots \]
\[ \text{climb}=3sg.m.O=FUT \]

...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 (8) below appears, the mother and the child are established participants.

(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.
    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.

(9) Komi=a pado bazu-bazu Voululu tou-tou
    PROXsg.f=LIG MESOne REDUP-story Voululu REDUP-tribe
    kale=a=ma vairutu anga ta a=q=ai
    in=LIG=3sg.f now 1sg TOP 1sg=3sg.f.O=VAL
    bazu-bazut=ou ko=ko k=ji=ni
    REDUP-tell=FUT 3sg.f=3sg.f 3sg.f.O=say=NOM and
    kal=oa ta eri nio.
    happen=NOM TOP s.t.like.this FOCnf

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.excl) 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).

(10) enge=a saidi
    1pl.excl=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 (11) and (12) when the speaker utters the words ‘war canoe’ and ‘island’, he has a specific war canoe and island in his mind. In (13) the indefinite pronoun *kake* (INDpl) refers to an indefinite quantity of specific people (people in the village).

(11) $\ldots$ se ta ke ere=v=e kala niabara.
$\begin{array}{ll}
3pl & TOP \\
niabara & war.canoe
\end{array}$

In (11) and (12) when the speaker utters the words ‘war canoe’ and ‘island’, he has a specific war canoe and island in his mind. In (13) the indefinite pronoun *kake* (INDpl) refers to an indefinite quantity of specific people (people in the village).

(12) $\ldots$ ke=ke=ve ka pado udu ale.
$\begin{array}{llll}
3pl=go=RMP & IND & MESone & island
\end{array}$

...they made a war canoe. This war canoe was my grandfather Bobe’s. (25-1-6/7)

(13) $\ldots$kake maba madu ta puli=a=ma ko=a peuru ale.
$\begin{array}{llllll}
INDp & person & COLLpl & TOP & NEG=LIG=3sg.f & 3sg.f=LIG & village
\end{array}$

...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 (12) above and (14) below. Example (14) contains a modifier phrase *silo=a=la* (small=LIG=3sg.m) and so the NP contains an indefinite pronoun, *kala* (INDsg.m). In (12), there is no modifier phrase and so the NP contains the indefinite marker *ka* (IND).

(14) $\ldots$ se ta ke=ke=ve kala silo=a=la udu ale.
$\begin{array}{llll}
3pl & TOP & 3pl=go=RMP & INDsg.m
\end{array}$

$\ldots$ they went to one small island. The name of this island was *Inia*. (25-1-6/7)

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 (12) above and (15) below.
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...esa \(\text{ka}\) \(\text{poso}\) \(\text{sabere}\) \(\text{ta}\) \(\text{matu}=\text{ma}\) \(\text{vari}=\text{o}\)

\(\text{ko}=\text{ta}\) \(\text{el}=\text{ou}\) \(\text{komi}=\text{a}\) Sabora.

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

\(\text{Ipu}\) ‘night’ with the indefinite marker \(\text{ka}\) is a fixed expression meaning ‘a night for someone’, that is, a night event organised for someone.

...\(\text{se}\) \(\text{ta}\) \(\text{ke}\) \(\text{ere}=\text{ko}=\text{ou}\) \(\text{ka}\) \(\text{pado}\) \(\text{ipu}\).

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

To express ‘one night’, a numeral is used: \(\text{omadeu ipu}\) (one night).

The indefinite marker \(\text{ka}\) may also occur in an NP which has a female referent as in (17) but it never occur in an NP which has a male referent. Thus, example (18) is ungrammatical. In an indefinite NP which has a male referent, indefiniteness can be marked only by an indefinite pronoun as in (19).

...\(\text{se}\) \(\text{ta}\) \(\text{ke}=\text{kati}=\text{v}=\text{ake}\) \(\text{ka}\) \(\text{pado}\) \(\text{reko}...\)

...they gave him a wife... (26-25-132)

\(\text{They gave her a boy.}\)

...\(\text{Ke}=\text{kati}=\text{k}=\text{ake}\) \(\text{ka}\) \(\text{pado}\) \(\text{lasiverusu}\).

They gave her a boy.

\(\text{Ke}=\text{kati}=\text{k}=\text{ake}\) \(\text{kala}\) \(\text{lasiverusu}\).

They gave her a boy.

It is not understood why an indefinite marker \(\text{ka}\) 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 (17), a gift, the object of the verb \(\text{katiko}\) ‘to give’, is normally restricted to a non-human referent. Otherwise, an indefinite NP contains an indefinite pronoun as a determiner. \(\text{Kelo}\) ‘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, \(\text{kama}\) (INDsg.f).
(20) A=q=ea=la \textbf{kama sinaqurusu.} \\
1sg=3sg.f.O=see=PRES INDsg.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: \textit{kala quli} (INDsg.m thing) / \textit{kama quli} (INDsg.f thing) ‘something’ and \textit{kala maba} (INDsg.m person) / \textit{kama maba} (INDsg.f person), ‘somebody’, and \textit{kama taku} (INDsg.f time) / \textit{ka taku} (IND time) ‘sometimes/sometime’.

(21) \underline{...kama quli} ikio nei o=ta vuat=ala... \\
INDsg.f thing PROXsg.m 3sg.m=SIT eat=RCP \\
...he ate something... (43-43)

(22) \underline{...ngo=q=e=a kama sinaqurusu ma kama maba.} \\
2sg=3sg.f.O=see=PRES INDsg.f girl INDsg.m person or INDsg.f \\
\textit{...did you see a girl or somebody?} (59-4-35)

(23) \textbf{Ka koi ke=baro=a.} \\
IND place 3pl=arrive=PRES \\
They arrived somewhere. (16-3-41)

(24) \underline{Kama taku inio qe=tauve=l=ou...} \\
INDsg.f time FOCnf 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 occur with a measure pronoun, it does not mark indefiniteness anymore. In the following example, each underlined NP refers to one of five parts of the Vella La Vella island, and thus it is identifiable and definite.
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.

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 (26) occurs, the hearer knows that the speaker has killed something, but the hearer does not know what it is exactly.

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 broadly divided into two 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 (27), the underlined NP is definite and identifiable, as this is a body part of a current participant. In (28), the underlined NP is indefinite specific. The speaker starts his story about ‘two men’ with this sentence. In (29), the underlined NP refers to a category ‘food’, and thus it is indefinite non-specific.

(27) ...omuqa  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)

(28) Omadeu  taku  nio  omuqa  maba  ta  qo=ta
    one  time  FOCnf  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)

(29) ...raisi-raisi
REDUP-evening  ko  e=va  |  sailao
    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’.

(30) ...kubo  maba  madu  ta  ke=ta  mumai=va...
    many  person  COLLpl TOP  3pl=SIT get.lost=PRES

...many people, they have got lost... (26-8-46)

(31) Nio  zouke  sinaqurusu  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 (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 (30) above, it is a collective marker madu and not a quantifier kubo ‘many’ that triggers plural agreement.
(32)  
\[ \begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Enge}=\text{ko} & \text{k}=\text{ov}=\text{o} & \text{kal}=\text{o} & \text{ta} & \text{lekas} & \text{ta} \\
1\text{pl.excl}=3\text{sg.f} & 3\text{sg.f,O}=\text{get}=\text{NOM} & \text{happen}=\text{NOM} & \text{TOP} & \text{chief} & \text{TOP} \\
\text{o}=\text{rove}=\text{a} & \text{k}=\text{ov}=\text{o} & \text{kubo} & \text{reko}. & \text{3sg.m}=\text{can}=\text{PRES} \\
\end{array} \]

As for our way, a chief could have many wives. (23-2-16)

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) refers to the head of the NP, ‘person’.

(33)  
\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
\text{silo}=\text{a}=\text{ma} & \text{maba} \\
\text{small}=\text{LIG}=3\text{sg.f} & \text{person} \\
\end{array} \]

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 7.2 Distribution of pronominal enclitics as heads of modifier phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal enclitic</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la (3sg.m)</td>
<td>3sg.m</td>
<td>singulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma (3sg.f)</td>
<td>non-3sg.m</td>
<td>unspecified number</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example, in (34), the NP is marked as third person singular masculine by the pronominal enclitic *la* (3sg.m). In both (33) above and (35) below, the NP is marked as non-third person singular masculine by the pronominal enclitic *ma* (3sg.f). Example (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 (35), optional NP constituents, namely the independent pronoun *enge* (1pl.excl) and the phrase final pronominal enclitic *ngela* (1pl.excl), mark first person plural exclusive, and thus the NP is first person plural exclusive. Plurality is also marked by the plural marker.

(34)  
\[
\text{silo} = \text{a} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{maba} \\
\text{silo} = \text{LIG}=3\text{sg.m} \quad \text{person} \\
a \text{small man}
\]

(35)  
\[
\text{enge} = \text{a} \quad \text{Solomon} = \text{a} = \text{ma} \quad \text{maba} \quad \text{poso} = \text{ngela} \\
\text{1pl.excl} = \text{LIG} \quad \text{Solomon} = \text{LIG} = 3\text{sg.f} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{PL} = 1\text{pl.excl}
\]

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
- place name
- 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, \textit{kaka} means ‘older sibling’ as the head of an NP, but it means ‘older’ as a modifying constituent.

\begin{align*}
\text{(36) } & \text{ko=}a & \text{kaka=}k=ma & \text{megora} \\
& 3\text{sg.f=}LIG & \text{older=}LIG=3\text{sg.f} & \text{child} \\
& \text{the older daughter}
\end{align*}

Place names, deictic adverbs, and an interrogative \textit{lai} ‘where’ as modifying constituents mean ‘(something/somebody) from such and such place’ as in (35) above and in (37) below. An example with \textit{lai} ‘where’ is given later below in (49).

\begin{align*}
\text{(37) } & \text{koi=}za=ma & \text{gole} & \text{poso} \\
& \text{here=}LIG=3\text{sg.f} & \text{elder} & \text{PL} \\
& \text{elders from here (10-10-87)}
\end{align*}

\textit{Lula} ‘already’ means ‘past’, as a modifying constituent.

\begin{align*}
\text{(38) } & \text{lula=}ma & \text{taku} \\
& \text{already=}3\text{sg.f} & \text{time} \\
& \text{past time (in the past) (23-1-1)}
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
\text{(39) } & \text{So=}a=ma & \text{bazu-bazu} & \text{ta} & \text{ikoana.} \\
& \text{that=}LIG=3\text{sg.f} & \text{REDUP-story} & \text{TOP} & \text{EXTsg.f} \\
& \text{There are those stories (those kinds of stories). (10-8-67)}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(40) } & \text{kiada=}ma & \text{eri-eri=}a=ma & \text{bianga-bianga} \\
& \text{all=}3\text{sg.f} & \text{REDUP-s.t.like.this=}LIG=3\text{sg.f} & \text{REDUP-insect} \\
& \text{all insects like these}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(41) } & \text{pado=}a=ma & \text{nganiu} \\
& \text{MESone=}LIG=3\text{sg.f} & \text{day} \\
& \text{the whole day}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(42) } & \text{noni=}a=ma & \text{saev=}o \\
& \text{how=}LIG=3\text{sg.f} & \text{survive=}\text{NOM} \\
& \text{what kind of life (64-3-22)}
\end{align*}
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).

(43)  
\[ \text{lasive=ko rana=mu} \]  
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*.

(44)  
\[ \text{omuqa=ma taku} \]  
two=3sg.f time  
the second time (16-7-91)

(45)  
\[ \text{kuleto=a=la kobaka} \]  
first=LIG=3sg.m snail  
the first snail (16-7-91)

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

(46)  
\[ \text{...puli=a=ma boloa=dorae=k=a...} \]  
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 (48), the future tense marker *you* is realised as *vo*. Example (48) is a headless NP.

(47)  
\[ \text{komi=a peuru kale=a=ma maba madu} \]  
PROXsg.f=LIG village in=LIG=3sg.f person COLLpl  
people in this village. (26-1-4)
And, they will go to the girl’s village. As for people who will go there, some are women...

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.

<p>| Table 7.3 Distribution of pronominal enclitics in the modifier phrase in a headless noun phrase |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal enclitic</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>la</em> (3sg.m)</td>
<td>third person singular masculine</td>
<td>singulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma</em> (3sg.f)</td>
<td>singular except for third person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular masculine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>•first person singular</td>
<td></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>nioqa</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 (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 (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.
The following are some more examples of headless NPs. None of these examples contains a first/second person pronominal enclitic, and thus they are both third person.

(50) ‘Koe visi=a=mu ta, pui kapiavole
INTJ younger=LIG=3pl TOP NEG quickly
ke=rorot=a=ni...
3pl=marry=PRES=RELnf
‘Younger ones, they are not ones who quickly marry...’ (27-18-113)

(51) ...nioqi=a omuqa maba ta Kutakabai tou-tou kale=a=nioqa.
PROXdu=LIG two person TOP Kutakabai REDUP-tribe
in=LIG=3du
the two people were people from the Kutakai tribe (47-1-3)

As illustrated by (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 (52); the pronominal enclitic mu (3pl) is ellipsed, but there are examples in which it is not ellipsed as in example (49) above.

(52) Enge ta pui koi=za=ngela,
1pl.excl TOP NEG here=LIG=1pl.excl
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.

(53) Komi=a siele ta silo,
PROXsg.f=LIG dog TOP small
This dog is a small one.

It might be thought 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 (54), the MP \textit{mama}=\textit{ka}=\textit{la} (father=\textit{LIG}=3sg.m) is treated as a personal name; the referent is named as ‘father’.

\begin{verbatim}
(54) ...vo=a mama=ka=la  vo ta so
    3sg.m=\textit{LIG}   father=\textit{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)
\end{verbatim}

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 terms take a post-head position.

\begin{verbatim}
(55) Ko=vijari=v=a  kala  meqora  lasive=a=la.
    3sg.f=deliver=3sg.m.O=PRES  INDsg.m  child  male=\textit{LIG}=3sg.m

She gave a birth to a male child, (27-2-10)
\end{verbatim}

It might be postulated that \textit{kala meqora lasiveala} is a juxtaposition of two appositional NPs, \textit{kala meqora} and \textit{lasiveala}. However, \textit{kala meqora lasiveala} forms one intonation unit and it is best to treat them as forming a single NP. \textit{Lasiveala} here can be moved to a pre-head position without resulting ungrammaticality or change of meaning. It is not understood what may trigger for 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.

\begin{verbatim}
(56) ...sasa mola ke  ere=k=a...
    mock canoe 3pl  make=3sg.f.O=PRES

...they made a mock canoe... (34-1-14)
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(57) ...kaboka pala ikio sai.
    snail only FOCf there

...only snails were there. (38-1-6)
\end{verbatim}
(58) ...enge tiniavo komi=a bolo...
    1pl.incl about PROXsg.f=LIG pig

...this pig is about [the size] of us... (67-4-44)

(59) raisi-raisi buti
    REDUP-evening finished

already evening (evening finished) (67-2-16)

General modifiers, pala ‘only, tiniavo ‘about’, and completive buti ‘finished’ always occur NP finally, regardless of what constituent they modify.

(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’ 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).

(61) ‘Noni sole inio me ta bita ko=kiada
    how that’s why FOCnf 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)

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.

(62) ...ko=kiada inio ko=vaita kaka=ka=ma ko=kiada
    3sg.f=all FOCnf 3sg.f=return older=LIG=3sg.f 3sg.f=all

    inio ko=vait=a.
    FOCnf 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 determiner, and the measure pronoun means ‘one of many’.

(63) **Vouvat-o ta kama pado matu ruqe=a=ma quili.**

kill=NOM TOP INDsg.f MESOne very bad=LIG=3sg.f thing

Killing is one very bad thing/ one of many very bad things. (12-8-83)

(64) **Komi=a pado rorot=o=ko keve ta matu ruqe=a=ma.**

PROXsg.f=LIG MESOne marry=NOM=3sg.f way TOP very 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 *madu* (COLLpl) and *kidi* (COLLdu) mark collectiveness. The former is the plural form and the latter is the dual form.

(65) *...maba madu ta ke=mamaz=a koi ko=a*

person COLLpl TOP 3pl=rest=PRES here 3sg.f=LIG

*zae ale.*

area in

...people, they rest here, in that area (26-12-68)

(66) *...komi=ko mama ni niania kidn*

PROXsg.f=3sg.f father and mother COLLdu

*qe=ba opie=k=ou... 1du.excl=PROS visit=3du.O=FUT*

...we are going to visit her father and mother... (27-17-108)

In (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.

(67) **Ni=a kana madu ta ke=ta baro=a.**

3sg.m=LIG war COLLpl TOP 3pl=SIT arrive=PRES

Those warriors arrived. (25-2-19)
Chapter 7 Noun Phrases

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 (69-a) and (69-b).

(69-a) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ni</th>
<th>erisanga</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>matu</th>
<th>kubo</th>
<th>maba</th>
<th>poso</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>inisiana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>today</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>very</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>EXTpl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sabora.

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

(69-b) 

...matu | kubo | maba | ta | ko | el=ou | komi=a |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>3sg.f</td>
<td>stay=FUT</td>
<td>PROXsg.f=LIG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

peuru ale.

...many people will stay in this village. (64-2-15)

In (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 (35) repeated below, the head of an NP is *maba* 'person'. The first person is marked by the final pronominal enclitic *enge* (1pl.excl) as well as the initial independent pronoun *enge* (1pl.excl).

(35) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>enge=a</th>
<th>Solomoni=a=ma</th>
<th>maba</th>
<th>poso=ngela</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1pl.excl=LIG</td>
<td>Solomon=LIG=3sg.f</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>PL=1pl.excl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

we, Solomon people
Without the final pronominal enclitic and the independent pronoun, that is, *Solomontiana maba poso* 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* (I) 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.

(71)  

Note that in example (35) above, *enge=a* (1pl.excl=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 §6.3.1.1, de-adjectival nouns and nominalised verbs belong to the common noun class. In examples (73) and (74), the head is a nominalised verb and de-adjectival noun respectively.

(72)  

(73)  

(74)  

...we want to get a good life... (64-1-6)

...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.

(75) \texttt{reko}^{=a} \texttt{ma} \quad \texttt{kaka} \\
\quad \text{female}=\text{LIG}=3\text{sg.f} \quad \text{older.sibling}

older sister

(76) \texttt{ege}^{=a} \quad \texttt{mama ni} \quad \texttt{niania} \quad \texttt{kidi}=\text{qela}
\quad \text{1du.excl}=\text{LIG} \quad \text{father} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{mother} \quad \text{COLL} \text{du}=\text{1du.excl}

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

(77) \ldots \texttt{ka} \quad \texttt{pado} \quad \texttt{ta} \quad \texttt{Koro-koroqanisi} \\
\quad \text{IND} \quad \text{MESpiece} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{REDUP-Korokoroqanisi}

\texttt{ko}=\text{katii}=\text{v}=\text{a}... \\
\quad 3\text{sg.f}=\text{give}=3\text{sg.m.O}=\text{PRES}

\ldots one, she gave it to \textit{Korokoroqanisi}... (39-6-41)

(78) \texttt{piza}=\texttt{ka}=\texttt{la} \quad \texttt{Volosi}
\quad \text{strong}=\text{LIG}=3\text{sg.m} \quad \text{Volosi}

strong \textit{Volosi}

7.2.2.4 Locational Nouns

An NP headed with a locational noun, a place name, a relational noun, or the noun koi ‘place’, may have a demonstrative and/or a modifier.

(Demonstrative) (Modifier) Locational Noun

(79) \ldots \texttt{enge}=\texttt{ko} \quad \texttt{udu}, \quad \texttt{komi}=\texttt{a} \quad \texttt{Bilua}.
\quad \text{1pl.excl}=\text{3sg.f} \quad \text{island} \quad \text{PROX} \text{sg.f}=\text{LIG} \quad \text{Bilua}

\ldots our islands, this Bilua (island). (10-3-32)
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, however, directly be modified by an adjective.

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’. For example,

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, *teniavo* ‘about’ or *pala* ‘only’.
(85) Independent Pronoun

\[\text{Anga ta koi...}\]

1sg TOP here

I am here... (2-5-28)

(86) Distal demonstrative

\[\text{Se ta pui ke=r=e=a vo.}\]

3pl TOP NEG 3pl=3sg.m.O=see=PRES 3sg.m

They did not see him. (12-4-32)

(87) Proximate demonstrative

\[\text{‘Meqorasa\text{'}id k\text{'}omi ta ko niuniu...’}\]

family PROXsg.f TOP 3sg.f fish

‘Family, here is fish...’ (24-3-25)

(88) Indefinite pronoun

\[\text{...kiada=ma maba ko=vuat=a, pui kake pala.}\]

all=3sg.f person 3sg.f=eat=PRES NEG INDpl 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’.

(89) Pronoun so ‘that’

\[\text{...vo ta so k=i=o=vou.}\]

3sg.m TOP that 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=FUT

...he will say that. (21-2-8)

(90) Pronoun eri ‘something like this’

\[\text{...eri tiniavo ke=ta vou=va,}\]

s.t.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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Determiner/Numeral</th>
<th>Measure pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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(91)  
\[... \text{omadeu} \ pado \ ikio \ vo=ko \ epa.\]
\[\text{one MEAone FOCf 3sg.m=3sg.f fruit}\]
...there was one fruit of [the betelnut tree].
(more literally ‘...its fruit was one piece.’) (59-1-8)

Pado (MESone) ‘one’ can also be accompanied by PRON=\textit{kiada} ‘by oneself’.

(92)  
\[\text{Ko=kiada} \ pado \ ko=beta \ kue=va...\]
\[3sg.f=all MEAone 3sg.f=CONT come=PRES\]
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.

(93)  
\[\text{Se=a meqora poso ta omuqa ta}\]
\[3pl=LIG child PL TOP two TOP\]
\text{reko, zouke ta lasive.}\]
\text{female three TOP male}\]
As for those children, two are female, and three are male. (23-3-31)

(94)  
\[... \text{se=a zouke ta ke=ta nga=va...}\]
\[3pl=LIG three TOP 3pl=SIT be.frightened=PRES\]
...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} (FOCf) and \textit{inho} (FOCnf), which can mark an NP, and these two forms are distributed according to the person, number, and gender of the NP – \textit{ikio} (FOCf) for third person singular feminine and \textit{inho} (FOCnf) for non-third person singular feminine (see §14.3.2 for focus markers). Now, consider example (95).

(95)  
\[... \text{vo ta omuqa ikio vo=ko meqora sole.}\]
\[3sg.m TOP two FOCf 3sg.m=3sg.f child that’s why\]
...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* (FOCf), 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* (FOCf). Indeed, this is the case – no NP headed with a quantifier can be marked by *inio* (FOCnf) 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 the above distribution does not apply to headless NPs, and such an NP can only be marked by *ikio* (FOCf). This however proves to be not true as illustrated by the following example. In this example, the underlined predicate NP is a headless NP but it is marked with the focus marker *inio* (FOCnf) not *ikio* (FOCf). 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 because of this it is marked with *inio* (FOCnf) following the distribution of focus markers outlined above. Thus, one cannot say that all headless NPs are marked by *ikio* (FOCf).

(96) ...*ngo ta matu silo=ala=nga* inio...

2sg TOP very small=3sg.m=2sg FOCnf

...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 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 (101) and (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 (97) and (98) are direct and indirect types of possessive NPs respectively. In both (97) and (98), the possessive NP is the subject and the pronominal proclitic on the VP, the subject marker, agrees in person, number, and gender, with the possessee mama 'father'.

(97) ...ke=mama ta 3pl=father TOP 3sg.m=SIT  
vouv=a. die=PRES  
...their father died. (59-1-1)

(98) ...nioga=vo mama ta pui 3du=3sg.m father TOP NEG 3sg.m=arrive=PRES  
o=baro=a. ...nioga=vo  
...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_posseor Noun_possesee] (COLL/PL)] possessive NP
```

Some examples are:

(99) ...o=bazue=m=a 3sg.m=tell=3pl.O=PRES  
o=baerebaere poso. 3sg.m=friend PL  
...he told his friends. (15-2-15)

---

34 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.

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

(101) ...ko=ngavi nio ko=ta
    3sg.f=EMPH FOCnf 3sg.f=SIT
...she herself went. (27-22-141)

(102) ...anga inio ko=male...
    1sg FOCnf 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 *pado* (MESone) or a general modifier. The possessor NP is attached with a possessive marker, which is an enclitised 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>3sg.m</td>
<td>singulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ko</em> (3sg.f)</td>
<td>non-3sg.m</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 (103), (104), and (105) are examples of an indirect type of possessive NP. In (103), the distal demonstrative, which functions as a possessive marker, is realised as vo for a third person singular masculine referent, while in both (104) and (105) it is realised as ko for a non-third person singular masculine referent. Example (105) contains a plural marker so the NP is plural and means ‘that man’s children’, while example (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.

(103) \[[\text{vo} = a \ maba] = \text{vo megora}\]
\[3\text{sg.m}=LIG \ person=3\text{sg.f} \ child\]
that man’s son

(104) \[[\text{vo} = a \ maba] = \text{ko megora}\]
\[3\text{sg.m}=LIG \ person=3\text{sg.f} \ child\]
that man’s daughter

(105) \[[\text{vo} = a \ maba] = \text{ko megora poso}\]
\[3\text{sg.m}=LIG \ person=3\text{sg.f} \ child\]
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=\textit{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.
In (106), the head of the possessor NP is a personal name, *Ilai ‘Ilai’.*

(106)  
\[ \text{Ilai}=\text{ko} \quad \text{matu}=\text{ma} \quad \text{pade} \]  
\begin{align*}  
\text{Ilai} & =3\text{sg.f} & \text{big} & =3\text{sg.f} & \text{house}  
\end{align*}  
Ilai’s big house

Example (107) is not grammatical as the head of the possessor NP is followed by a determiner.

(107)  
\[ *[\text{maba} \ \text{vo}=\text{a}] \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{pade} \]  
\begin{align*}  
\text{person} & =3\text{sg.m}=\text{LIG} & \text{3sg.f} & \text{house}  
\end{align*}  
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.

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.

(108)  
\[ \text{ko}=\text{a} \quad \text{reko}=\text{a}=\text{ma} \quad [\text{se}]=\text{ko} \quad \text{rayaza} \]  
\begin{align*}  
3\text{sg.f}=\text{LIG} & \quad \text{female}=\text{LIG}=3\text{sg.f} & \quad 3\text{pl}=3\text{sg.f} & \text{in-law}  
\end{align*}  
their mother in-law (16-7-100)

(109)  
\[ \text{kake} \quad [\text{vo}]=\text{ko} \quad \text{vaki-vakina} \]  
\begin{align*}  
\text{INDpl} & \quad 3\text{sg.m}=3\text{sg.f} & \quad \text{REDUP-troop}  
\end{align*}  
his troops

In (110), the possessor NP is a nominalised verb *pazokinio* ‘fight’. Similar to (108) and (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.

(110)  
\[
\text{PROXsg.f=LIG big=3sg.f hit-RECP=NOM=3sg.f ship}
\]
\[\text{komi=a matu=ma [pazo-kini=o]=ko vaka} \]
\[\text{this big warship (this big ship for war)} \]

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 (111) below occurs indicates that this is indefinite.

(111)  
\[
\text{big=3sg.f hit-RECP=NOM=3sg.f ship}
\]
\[\text{matu=ma [pazo-kini=o=ko] vaka} \]
\[\text{a big warship (a big ship for war) (12-4-37)} \]

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 (106) above.

(112)  
\[
\text{3pl=EMPH=3sg.f person=COLL}
\]
\[\text{[ke=ngavi]=ko lekasa madu} \]
\[\text{their own chiefs (12-11-106)} \]

The plural collective marker is realised as an enclitic \textit{mu} in an indirect type of a possessive NP headed with the noun \textit{maba} ‘person’, as in example (113) below. In other cases, it is always realised as \textit{madu} (COLLpl) as in (112) above. In (113), the possessor NP is headed with a common noun and so the demonstrative preceding it is a constituent of the possessor NP.

(113)  
\[
\text{girl=3sg.f person=COLL}
\]
\[\text{[ko=a sinaqurusu]=ko maba=mu} \]
\[\text{the girl’s people (21-10-60)} \]

The head of an indirect type of possessive NP can be ellipsed. Ellipsis may occur when the head is identifiable from the discourse. In (114), \textit{anga=ko} (1sg=3sg.f) is a headless possessive NP, and the head of the possessive NP is expressed in the preceding NP, \textit{koa rekoama taite} ‘the grandmother’. It is not the case that in (114) \textit{anga=ko} is a postposed possessive modifier NP and \textit{koa rekoama taite} and \textit{angako} form a possessive NP.
Angako koa rekoama taite would be ungrammatical because of the position of the determiner, koa.

(114) \[ \text{...ke} = \text{k=ati} \] \[ \text{go.up} = \text{PRES} \] \[ \text{ko} = \text{a} \] \[ \text{reko} = \text{a=ma} \]

\[ \text{taite \ [anga]=ko...} \]

\[ \text{g.parent \ 1 sg=3sg.f} \]

...they took her up, the grandmother, [who is] mine... (25-7-56)

In (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 (115) tells what she did with her own food.

(115) \[ \text{[Ko=ngavi]=ko \ [ta \ ko=tukie=k=a \ tuto \ kale.}} \]

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.

(116) \[ \text{[enge]=ko \ visi=nga} \]

\[ \text{1 pl.excl=3sg.f younger.sibling=2sg} \]

you who are our younger sister (59-8-64)

(117) \[ \text{[anga]=vo \ Pare} \]

\[ \text{1 sg=3sg.m Pare} \]

my Pare

(118) \[ \text{[enge]=ko \ Solomoni Ailadi} \]

\[ \text{1 pl.excl=3sg.f} \]

\[ \text{Solomon Islands} \]

our Solomon Islands

(119) \[ \text{[ege=a \ mama ni \ niania} \]

\[ \text{1 du.excl=LIG father and mother} \]

\[ \text{kidi=qela}=ko \]

\[ \text{COLLdu=1 du.excl=3sg.f} \]

\[ \text{matu=ma \ zari=0} \]

\[ \text{big=3sg.f want=NOM} \]

we, who are the father and mother’s big wish (21-2-14)

(120) \[ \text{sapera}=ko \ \text{vima} \]

\[ \text{floor=3sg.f} \]

underneath

underneath the floor (16-5-62)

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An indirect type of possessive NP has one of five different functions: it indicates a possessor-possessee relationship as in (121), it indicates a whole-part relationship as in (122), it functions as a temporal adjunct as in (123), it forms a nominalised complement as in (124), or its possessor NP presents a purpose as in (125).

(121) Possessor-possessee relationship

$[\text{se}]=\text{ko} \quad \text{zaloni}$

3pl=3sg.f ornament

their ornaments (67-5-50)

(122) Whole-part relationship

$[\text{vo}]=\text{ko} \quad \text{zavu-zavu} \quad \text{melai} \quad \text{ko}=\text{ta} \quad \text{kajorio}=\text{ke...}$

3sg.m=3sg.f REDUP-beard too 3sg.f=SIT come.off=HIST

...his beard too came off... (26-17-96)

(123) Temporal adjunct

$[\text{Omuga} \quad \text{sabere}]=\text{ko} \quad \text{tova}$

two year=3sg.f behind

$\text{ko}=\text{rove}=\text{a} \quad \text{tu} \quad \text{kil}=\text{o} \quad \text{koi} \quad \text{Vella La Vella.}$

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)

(124) Nominalised complement

$A=q=e=a \quad [\text{vo}]=\text{ko} \quad \text{youvat}=\text{o...}$

1sg=3sg.f.O=see=PRES 3sg.m=3sg.f kill=NOM

I see his murder... (12-13-113)

(125) Purpose

$...\text{ko}=\text{baro}=\text{a} \quad [\text{sailao}]=\text{ko} \quad \text{taku...}$

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 (110) repeated below,
while the possessee noun is a noun *taku* 'time' as in (125) above and (126) below. A nominalised verb as the head of the possessor NP always presents a purpose.

(110) \[ \begin{align*} \text{komi} &= \text{a} & \text{matu} &= \text{ma} & [\text{pazo-\text{kini-o}}] &= \text{ko} & \text{yaka} \\ \text{PROXsg.f=LIG} & & \text{big=3sg.f} & & \text{hit-RECP=NOM=3sg.f} & & \text{ship} \end{align*} \]

this big warship (this big ship for war)

(126) \[ \begin{align*} \text{ko} &= \text{baro} &= \text{a} & [\text{bolo=ko} \quad \text{padoe=k=o}] &= \text{ko} & \text{taku}\ldots \\ \text{3sg.f=arrive=PRES} & & \text{pig=3sg.f} & & \text{gather=3sg.f.O=NOM=3sg.f} & & \text{time} \\ \ldots \text{the time for gathering pigs arrived...} \end{align*} \]

In example (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 (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 (127) the object clitic which cross-references the NP *sailao* 'food' is realised as \(k\) (3sg.f.O).

(127) \[ \begin{align*} \ldots & \text{niania=k=ma} & \text{ta} & \text{sailao} & \text{ko} & \text{ere=k=a}\ldots \\ \text{mother=LIG=3sg.f} & & \text{TOP} & & \text{food} & & 3sg.f & \text{make=3sg.f.O=PRES} \\ \ldots & \text{the mother, she did food-making...} \end{align*} \]

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 sub-category. In the following example, *uriama pade* 'good house' is a sub-category of a category *pade* 'house'.

(128) \[ \begin{align*} \ldots & \text{nge=q=a} & \text{zari=a} & \text{k=ov=o} & \text{uri=a=ma} \\ \text{lpl.excl=3sg.f.O=VAL} & & \text{want=PRES} & & \text{good=LIG=3sg.f} \end{align*} \]

\[ \text{pade...} \]

\[ \ldots \text{we want to get good houses...} \]

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.

(129) \( \text{vo=a} \) \( \text{siolo=a=la} \) \( \text{meqora} \)  
3sg.m=LIG small=LIG=3sg.m child  
the small boy

(130) \( \text{ko=ko} \) \( \text{meqora} \)  
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.

(131) \( \text{a=meqora} \)  
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 \( \text{ngavi} \) ‘self’, PRON=\( \text{ngavi} \) ‘oneself’, the pronominal proclitic specifies the gender.

(132) \( \text{o=ngavi} \)  
3sg.m=\text{self}  
himself (27-24-153)

Number can be specified by a quantifier and/or a collective/plural marker.

(133) \( \text{matu kubo maba madu} \)  
very many person COLPl  
(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.

(134) ‘Ngo=daite ta lala’
     2sg=g.parent TOP whosg.m

‘Who is your grandfather?’ (39-9-56)

(135) ‘Lala=nga inio ngo’
     who.sg.m=2sg FOCnf 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 (135), the interrogative word ‘who’ is in the singular masculine form and this is marked with a second person singular pronominal 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 post-verbal 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,

(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 (139) and (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 post-verbal 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 post-verbal 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>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<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.

(137) \[\ldots k=i=\text{o}=\text{la} \quad \text{vo} \quad \text{megora.}\]

\[3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{say}=3\text{sg.m}=\text{PRES} \quad 3\text{sg.m} \quad \text{child}\]

\[\ldots \text{said the son. (27-17-109)}\]

It was 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 cliticized with a pronominal enclitic is preceded by a demonstrative without a ligature.
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 post-verbal position. Similar to (127), the underlined NP in (139) refers to a category of ‘food’, but it contains a demonstrative ko (3sg.f). Example (140) expresses what category the thing she saw belongs to; 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.

(139)  ...ko=baro=a  ko niania=ka=ma...
      3sg.f=arrive=PRES  3sg.f mother=LIG=3sg.f

      ... the mother arrived... (27-8-47)

(140)  ...ko=v=e=a  kala  bianga-bianga
      3sg.f=3sg.m.O=see=PRES  INDsg.m  REDUP-insect

      silo=a=la  ipu  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  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...')

Notice that in (139) the NP ko sailao is a genetic NP. This illustrates that the demonstrative ko here does not function as a determiner, as

It appears that the obligatory person/number/gender marking in (139) and (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 (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 (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 (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 noun, locational nouns do not require such a demonstrative.

\[ \text{Qo=baro=i Roviana...} \]
\[ 3du=\text{arrive=REM} \text{ Roviana} \]

The two arrived at \text{Roviana} \text{ (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.

(1) ...*o=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):

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### 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 and form a pre-verbal complex, which has a template structure. A template structure consists of a sequence of morpheme slots (Simpson and 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 pre-verbal 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 as well. 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\(^{36}\) – it always follows its host, the verb. Furthermore, this verb takes an object clitic as a proclitic.\(^{37}\) 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 pre-verbal complex either. This is because the pronominal proclitic does not take the usual VP initial position but it follows the verb. The following is an example of a VP with the verb kio ‘to say’.

(2) se ta eri v=ati k=i=ke=la.
3pl TOP s.t.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 pre-verbal complex occurs between tu and keu.

(3) Tu a=da keu=vou Gizo.
be.long 1sg=SIT be.long=FUT Gizo
I will be in Gizo for a long time.

(4) puliako tukeu inio ke=mama ta o=ta vou=va.
before be.longNOM FOCnf 3pl=father TOP 3sg.m=SIT
die=PRES
...before long, their father died. (59-1-1)

In example (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 (4) the combination of the verb tu...keu with

\(^{36}\) 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 thesis in order to make a distinction from these two sets of clitics.

\(^{37}\) The basic position of an S/A NP and an O NP for all verbs except kio ‘to say’ is pre-verbal and post-verbal 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 post-verbal and pre-verbal 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.
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 (3), $tu$ and $keu$ are intervened by the pronominal proclitic and the situation-change marker $ta$.

In the following, all VP constituents except valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker are presented. 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. This is because semantic of verbs may contribute to interpretation of aspectual/modal markers as described in §8.5.

### 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 cliticized with an object clitic while intransitive verbs can never be cliticized with an object clitic. Since the object clitic is obligatory for transitive verbs, this can be regarded as a part of the head.

(5) Intransitive verb

$$\text{O}=ta \quad \text{lezumat}=a.$$  
3sg.m=SIT study=PRES

He is studying.

(6) Transitive verb

$$\text{O}=\text{tatabarae}=k=ala.$$  
3sg.m=buy=3sg.f.O=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. This is 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.
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 (7), the object clitic on the verb k (3sg.f.O) expresses the direct object, ‘food’. The object clitic on the valency-increasing marker v (3sg.m.O) expresses the added object, ‘him’ (see §9.4 for added objects).

(7) Ke=y=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 cliticized 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), 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) Omadeu	taku	sike	tamania	$ke=beta$	e=$ke$
    one
time
time
bother&sister
3pl=CONT
stay=HIST

$Ke=beta$	e=$ke$
3pl=CONT
stay=HIST

$se=ko$	$visi$
3pl=3sg.f
younger.sibling
TOP

$ko=baro=g$	nio
3sg.f=arrival=PRES
SEQ

$‘me=ba$	mujor=o’
1pl.incl=PROS
fishe=bonito=NRFUT

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], and 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.

(9)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ni } & \text{ ko=ko} & \text{ tova } & \text{ se } & \text{ ta } & \text{ ke=v=ati} & \text{ ol=a} \\
& \text{and} & \text{3sg.f=3sg.f} & \text{behind} & \text{3pl} & \text{TOP} & \text{3pl=3sg.m.O=VAL} & \text{go=PRES} \\
\text{Fiji. } & \text{Ni} & \text{ Fiji } & \text{ se } & \text{ ta } & \text{ ke=vae=v=ake} & \text{ vo.} \\
& \text{Fiji} & \text{and} & \text{Fiji} & \text{3pl} & \text{TOP} & \text{3pl=leave=3sg.m.O=HIST} & \text{3sg.m} \\
\text{Ni } & \text{ vo } & \text{ ta } & \text{ o=vou=v1} & \text{ sai } & \text{ Fiji.} \\
& \text{and} & \text{3sg.m} & \text{TOP} & \text{3sg.m=die=RMP} & \text{there} & \text{Fiji} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 (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.

(10)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Anglican } & \text{ ta } \text{ lula } & \text{ ko=ta} & \text{ baro=1} & \text{ Guadalcanal.} \\
& \text{Anglican} & \text{TOP} & \text{already} & \text{3sg.f=SIT} & \text{arrive=RMP} & \text{Guadalcanal} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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.

(11)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Melai } & \text{ kue=mo. } & \text{ tu } & \text{ pa} & \text{ k=e=mo} & \text{ saita.} \\
& \text{but} & \text{come=IMPpl} & \text{IRR} & \text{PROS} & \text{3sg.f.O=see=IMPpl} & \text{first} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 addressee 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</td>
<td>a / e / vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual imperative</td>
<td>oko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural imperative</td>
<td>omo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.4 Classification of Verbs in Terms of Lexical Semantics

Aspectual/modal markers may express different meanings in interaction 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 thesis, 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.

132
The duration between the beginning point and the end point is referred to as the ‘in-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 *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 *izio* ‘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.\(^{38}\)

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

\(^{38}\) Durative verbs and gradually terminative verbs correspond to telic and atelic by Comrie (1976: 44-48).
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.

Figure 8.2 Situations represented by different classes of verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Durative</th>
<th>Gradually terminative</th>
<th>Totally terminative</th>
<th>Terminative-inchoative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The following are some examples of verbs in each class.

---

39 This is parallel to the inchoative-stative state of affairs in Sasse’s classification of states of affairs (1990), which has the beginning point and the following in-situation (in-situation is situation in his term), but no end point.

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 thesis, 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>nianiiio ‘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 grammaticalized 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 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 does not select 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 (14) below without an aspectual/modal marker presents a situation as a whole. On the other hand, examples (12) and (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 (12) and (13) is that (13) has a ‘continuity’ reading. The verb *iruruputo* ‘to work’ in the following examples is a durative verb.

(12) \[O=ta \quad \text{iruruput}=a.\]
\[3\text{sg.m=SIT} \quad \text{work=PRES}\]
He is working.

(13) \[O=beta \quad \text{iruruput}=a.\]
\[3\text{sg.m=CONT} \quad \text{work=PRES}\]
He’s been working (and will continue to eat).

(14) \[O=\text{iruruput}=\text{ala}.\]
\[3\text{sg.m=work=RCP}\]
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 \( be/beta \) 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 \( be/beta \), 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. This is discussed in §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 (31) in the next section.

In (15), (16), and (17) below, the underlined VP presents a situation as a whole: an event of eating from the beginning point to the end point in (15), an event of going from one place down to another in (16), and an instant event of falling in (17).

(15) Past tense/Durative verb

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ki} & \quad \text{meqora,} & \text{nei} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad \text{kama quii} & \quad \text{ikio} \\
\text{INTJ} & \quad \text{child} & \text{PROXsg.m} & \text{TOP} & \text{INDsg.f thing} & \text{FOCf} \\
\text{nei} & \quad \underline{o=ta} & \underline{vuat=ala...} & & & \\
\text{PROXsg.m} & \quad \text{3sg.m=SIT} & \text{eat=RCP} & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Child, he, he has eaten something... (43-4-43)

(16) Historical present tense/Gradually terminative verb

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{...} & \quad \underline{o=sagor=a} & \quad \text{inio} & \quad \underline{o=lokie=k=a} & \quad \text{ko=a} \\
\text{3sg.m=go.down=PRES} & \text{SEQ} & \text{3sg.m=coil=3sg.f.O=PRES} & \text{3sg.f=LIG} \\
\text{qusini.} & \text{rope} & & & \\
\text{...he went down and he coiled the rope.} & \text{(2-9-52)} & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]
(17) Future tense/Totally terminative verb

\[ \text{Ko=pial=ou.} \]
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 (18), \( o=\text{teku=a} \) ‘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 (18) 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 (19).

(18) Historical tense/Terminative-inchoative verb

\[ \ldots \text{veutu} \quad \text{tona} \quad \text{inio} \quad o=\text{teku=a} \quad \text{saitainio}, \quad o=\text{k=ati} \]
entrance beside FOCnf 3sg.m=lie=PRES afterwards 3sg.m=3sg.f.O=VAL

\[ \text{vail=a} \quad \text{niania=ko} \quad \text{keve} \quad \text{koi} \quad \text{vasi.} \]
look=PRES mother=3sg.f way here around

he lay beside the entrance, and he watched the mother’s paths nearby.

(27-7-43)

(19) Historical tense/Stative verb

\[ \text{Ne=a} \quad \text{matu-peuru} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{matu} \quad \text{kubo} \quad \text{maba} \quad \text{madu} \]
PROXsg.m=LIG big-village TOP very many person COLLpl

\[ \text{ke} \quad \text{ev=a} \quad \text{koi...} \]
3pl stay=PRES here

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 (20), an adjunct \( \text{zouke ma ariku sade} \) ‘three or four weeks’ presents a boundary of the state.

(20) Historical present tense/Stative verb

\[ \ldots \text{kama} \quad \text{taku} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{zouke} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{ariku} \quad \text{sade} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{ev=a}. \]
INDsg.f time TOP three or four Sunday 3pl stay=PRES

...sometimes, they stayed for three or four weeks. (23-1-5)

8.5.3 Situation-change Marker ta

The situation-change marker \( ta \), generally speaking, introduces a new situation or a change of situation.
...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 (22), a request for second person as in (23), and a supposition for third person as in (24).

(22) Intention (1st person)

...*koi ngo kasi a=ba raneo=vou.*

*here 2sg at 1sg=PROS sleep.overnight=FUT*

...here, at your place, I am going (intend) to sleep overnight. (59-11-90)

(23) Request (2nd person)

‘*Ngo=baizie=k=a sole ngo=da saqol=o’ nio*’

*2sg=finish=3sg.f.O=PRES that’s.why 2sg=SIT go.down=NRFUR FOCnf*

*k=i=a=la. ‘Ee’ k=i=o=la.*

*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)

(24) Supposition (3rd person)

...*koe ako so ta o=ta vou=vou inio*

*INTJ INTJ that TOP 3sg.m=SIT die=FUT FOCnf*

*anga=vo meqora.*

*child=3sg.m 1sg=3sg.m*

...‘Oh, [if it went on like this] he will die, my child. (27-5-27)

(more literally, ‘Oh, if so, he will die, my child.)
In example (24) a pronoun so ‘that’ refers to the situation in which the son does not eat.

Without the situation-change marker, the underlined VPs in (22), (23), and (24) 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 section §8.5.6 below, a description of the prospective marker pa is presented. Pa indicates a prospect but unlike the situation-change marker ta, it indicates a movement together with a prospect. In (22) 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, which also indicates a movement, cannot replace ta in (22); only ta 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. The following is an example repeated from above.

(15) **Ki meqora nei ta kama qule ikio**
INTJ child PROXsg.m TOP INDsg.f thing FOCf

nei \ o=ta  
PROXsg.m 3sg.m=SIT

\ vuat=ala... 

\ 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:

(25) **...me ta me=ba kati=l=ou ko vozi-vozi**
2pl TOP 2pl=PROS give=1sg.O=FUT3sg.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 (15) and (25) 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 both 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 (26) with a stative verb expresses a state of being full at the time of speech.

(26) Stative verb

\[
\begin{align*}
A & = da \\
1sg & = SIT \\
\text{maqin} & = a. \\
\text{be.full} & = \text{PRES}
\end{align*}
\]

I am full.

With durative verbs, it indicates the situation is ongoing. Example (27) expresses that an event of his working is on-going at the time of speech.

(27) Durative verb

\[
\begin{align*}
O & = ta \\
3sg.m & = SIT \\
\text{iruruput} & = a. \\
\text{work} & = \text{PRES}
\end{align*}
\]

He is working.

---

40 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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{...maba uri=a} & \quad \text{maqin=o} \\
\text{...truly, he became nicely full... (43-3-27)} \\
\end{align*}
\]
With gradually terminative verbs, *ta* indicates the phase towards the end point. Example (28) expresses that the subject, ‘I’, is in the process of getting to Hilda.

(28) Gradually terminative verb

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
A=da & ol=a & Hilda \\
1sg=SIT & go=PRES & kasi. \\
I am going to (on the way to) Hilda’s place.
\end{array}
\]

Example (29) 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.

(29) Gradually terminative verb

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
O=ta & ol=a & Nerida \\
3sg.m=SIT & go=PRES & kasi. \\
He has gone to Nerida (and probably has not reached her yet).
\end{array}
\]

If the speaker assumes that he has already reached her, he might say:

(30) Gradually terminative verb

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
O=ta & ol=ala & Nerida \\
3sg.m=SIT & go=RCP & kasi. \\
He has gone to Nerida (and so he is not here).^{41}
\end{array}
\]

Totally terminative verbs do not involve the in-situation and so *ta* cannot select the in-situation. *Ta* 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 (31) expresses that the event of hitting just happened.

(31) Totally terminative verb

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
O=ta & pazot=a. \\
3sg.m=SIT & hit=PRES & He (just) hit.
\end{array}
\]

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 (32) expresses that he just stood up, and as a result he is standing.

(32) Totally terminative verb

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
O=ta & pazot=a. \\
3sg.m=SIT & hit=PRES & He (just) hit.
\end{array}
\]

---

41 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.
(32) Terminative-inchoative verb

\[ O=ta \quad lojo=a. \]

3sg.m=SIT stand.up=PRES

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>

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.

(33)  

\[ A=da \quad vait=a. \]

lsg=SIT return=PRES

I am returning (I am on the way to go home)

I just returned (and I am here).

The interpretation of (33) 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 (34) with a durative verb and in (35) 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.
(34) Durative verb

\[ O=baro=a \quad sait \quad ti \quad nioqa \quad ta \quad go=ta \]

3sg.m=arrive=PRES there and.then 3du TOP 3du=SIT

\[ koazat=a... \quad qo=pai=k=a \quad saila-sailaot=o \]

take=PRES 3du=finish=3sg.f.O=PRES REDUP-collect.food=NOM

\[ ti \quad ke=ta \quad saqor=a. \]

and.then 3pl=SIT 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)

(35) Gradually terminative verb

\[ Saikazo \quad go=ta \quad ol=a, \quad inio \quad ko=a \]

Following.that 3du=SIT go=PRES SEQ 3sg.f=LIG

\[ kata \quad kasi \quad o=baro=a. \]

branch at 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 (36) expresses the state of being hungry at some point in the past.

(36) Stative verb

\[ O=ta \quad luap=ake. \]

3sg.m=SIT 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.

(37) Totally terminative verb

\[ Ivere \quad ale \quad o=ta \quad podak=a. \quad Sai \quad nio \]

sea in 3sg.m=SIT come.out=PRES there FOCnf

\[ ke=niae=v=a... \]

3pl=feed=3sg.m.O=PRES

He had come out into the sea. It was there, they fed him... (34-3-29/30)
(38) Terminative-inchoative verb

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{Ke=mama} & \text{ta} & \text{0=ta} & \text{vou=va} & \text{inio} \\
\text{3pl=father} & \text{TOP} & \text{3sg.m=SIT} & \text{die=PRES} & \text{FOCnf} \\
\text{niania ni} & \text{se=a} & \text{zouke meqora} & \text{inio}\text{ sai} \\
\text{mother and} & \text{3pl=LIG three} & \text{child} & \text{FOCnf} & \text{there} \\
\text{ke=beta} & \text{ev=a.} \\
\text{3pl=CONT} & \text{stay=PRES} \\
\end{array}
\]

Their father had died, and their mother and those three children kept living there.

(59-1-2)

Example (37) 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 (38) expresses 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></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prospect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intention</td>
<td>request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>supposition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

145
The Table §8.7 above shows *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.

(39) ...niapia-ka=ma ko ol=a kiaro kasi, vo ta
mother=LIG=3sg.f 3sg.f go=PRES garden at 3sg.m TOP
o=lulu=a=k=a o=baro=a kiaro kale inio
3sg.m=follow=3sg.f.O=PRES 3sg.m=arrive=PRES garden in SEQ
vo ta o=marong=a juli=ko 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)
If she dislikes it, she will hold a tree, a trunk, or maybe a stump. (21-1-57)

...he didn’t return. (16-2-26)

Example (39) describes habitual situations: it describes what the mother and the son do every day. In example (40), the underlined clause presents the condition under which the situation described by the next clause occurs. Example (41) 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 (40), 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).

### 8.5.4 Continuity marker be/beta

The continuity marker *be/beta* indicates continuity of a situation at a reference time.

---

42 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.
be/beta

situation

(42) Ke=beta iruruput=ala.
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 (42) 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. The above is an example with an intransitive verb. An example with a transitive verb is:

(43) ...sainio ke=be vijari=v=a ko=a votu ale.
3pl=CONT keep=3sg.m.O=PRES 3sg.f=LIG container

...therefore, they continued to keep him in the container. (34-2-19)

An analysis of this distribution of be and beta is presented in §8.5.7 below.

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. Since the continuity marker is an imperfective aspect marker, even though it can co-occur with transitive verbs, this rarely happens.

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 (42) and (43) above. Another example is:
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.

(45-a) \[ A=\text{beta} \quad ev=a \quad koi. \]
\[ 1sg=SIT \quad stay=PRES \quad here \]

I’ve been living here (and will continue to live here).

(45-b) \[ A=\text{ta} \quad ev=a \quad koi. \]
\[ 1sg=SIT \quad stay=PRES \quad here \]

I live here.

(46-a) \[ O=\text{beta} \quad vuat=a. \]
\[ 3sg.m=CONT \quad eat=PRES \]

He’s been eating (and will continue to eat).

(46-b) \[ O=\text{ta} \quad vuat=a. \]
\[ 3sg.m=SIT \quad eat=PRES \]

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).

(47) \[ O=kail=a \quad ti \quad o=kail=a \quad ti \]
\[ 3sg.m=go.up=PRES \quad INT \quad 3sg.m=go.up=PRES \quad INT \]

\[ o=kail=a \quad ti \quad o=kail=a \quad ti \]
\[ 3sg.m=go.up=PRES \quad INT \quad 3sg.m=go.up=PRES \quad INT \]

\[ o \quad ol=a. \quad Melai \quad pui \quad o=v=e=a. \]
\[ 3sg.m \quad go=PRES \quad but \quad NEG \quad 3sg.m=3sg.m.O=see=PRES \]

\[ o=\text{beta} \quad ol=a. \]
\[ 3sg.m=CONT \quad go=PRES \]

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 (47), 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,

(48) \[ \begin{align*}
    \text{Ke}=\text{pa} & \quad \text{k}=\text{o}=\text{a} \\
    3\text{pl}=\text{PROS} & \quad 3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{get}=\text{PRES}
\end{align*} \quad \begin{align*}
    \text{ke}=\text{maja} & \quad \text{ti} \\
    3\text{pl}=\text{axe} & \quad \text{and.then}
\end{align*} \quad \begin{align*}
    \text{ke}=\text{be} & \quad \text{vouvae}=\text{v}=\text{a}... \\
    3\text{pl}=\text{CONT} & \quad \text{kill}=3\text{sg.m.O}=\text{PRES}
\end{align*} \]

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:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{be/beta} \\
\downarrow \\
\begin{array}{c}
[-------][------] \\
\text{situation 1} \quad \text{situation 2} \\
[-------------] \\
\text{superordinate situation}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

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 \text{ti} (see §13.2.6) as in (48).

When the first situation is one without an inherent end point, the two situations may overlap.

(49) \[ \begin{align*}
    \text{o}=\text{teku}=\text{a} & \quad \text{ti} \\
    3\text{sg.m}=\text{lie.down}=\text{PRES} & \quad \text{and.then} \\
    \text{o}=\text{beta} & \quad \text{imad}=\text{a} \\
    3\text{sg.m}=\text{CONT} & \quad \text{close.eyes}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{FOCnf}
\end{align*} \]

...he lay down and he closed his eyes. (27-8-45)

The above example is schematised as:
In this example, both *teku* ‘to lie down’ and *imado* ‘to shut eyes’ are terminative-inchoative verbs.

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, but stative verbs do not have a beginning point. The following is an example with a durative verb.

(50) ‘Anga ta a=lupao=va’ k=i=ko=vou ti
1sg TOP 1sg=dislike=PRES 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.f=FUT and.then
ko=beta zial=ou inio.
3sg.f=CONT cry=FUT FOCnf

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*.

(51) Gradually terminative verb

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{A=da} & \text{ol=a} & \text{Maravari.} \\
1sg=SIT & \text{go=PRES} & \text{Maravari} \\
\end{array}
\]

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.

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 \textit{beta} can only be considered to have the continuous use.

Moreover, with totally terminative verbs, the continuity marker has only the sequential use because these verbs do not involve the in-situation.

With other classes of verbs, the continuity marker has both uses, continuous and sequential. The following are examples with gradually terminative verbs.
Example (56) is uttered when the speaker finds that something, a devil, is coming down, and so the continuity marker has the continuous use. In (57), 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.

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.

---

43 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’.

---
Table 8.8 Meanings of \textit{be/beta} in different tenses and with different classes of verbs

<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></td>
<td>Historical Present</td>
</tr>
<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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gradually terminative</td>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The continuity marker \textit{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 \textit{be}

The implicative marker \textit{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’.

(59) $\text{Ke=baro=a}\ sai\ ko=niania\ kasi\ inio\ \text{‘koe}$

$\text{3pl=arrive=PRES there 3sg.f=mother at SEQ INTJ}$

$\text{me=be}\ baro=a’\ k=i=ko=la.\ \text{‘Loma}$

$\text{2pl=IMPL arrive=PRES 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.f=PRES what}$

$\text{quili ikio o=k=a zari=a.’}$

thing FOCf 3sg.m=3sg.f.O=VAL want=PRES

‘They arrived there at her mother’s place and she said ‘you have arrived’. ‘What does he want?’ (67-3-25/26)

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 led 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. Note that 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:

(60)  \[ O=\text{be baro}=\text{a}. \]
\[ 3\text{sg.m}=\text{IMPL arrive}=\text{PRES} \]
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:

(61)  \[ Nio \text{ ke}=\text{kuimae}=\text{v}=\text{a ‘lai ta juke ngo}=\text{be} \]
\[ \text{and.then } 3\text{pl}=\text{ask}=3\text{sg.m.O}=\text{PRES where TOP light } 2\text{sg}=\text{IMPL} \]
\[ k=\text{e}=\text{a}. \]
\[ 3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{see}=\text{PRES} \]
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 \textit{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 \textit{pa}

The prospective marker \textit{pa}, generally speaking, indicates a movement towards the realisation of a prospect, a prospective situation. It may also imply a purpose. \textit{Pa} is a modal marker and so there is no correlation between \textit{pa} and verb classes.

(62)  \[ ‘A=\text{ba vae}=\text{m}=\text{a},’ \]
\[ 1\text{sg}=\text{PROS leave}=3\text{pl.O}=\text{PRES} \]
\[ k=\text{i}=\text{o}=\text{la} \]
\[ 3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{say}=3\text{sg.m}=\text{PRES} \]
‘I went and left [children],’ he said. (16-2-24)

In example (62), the prospective marker \textit{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 \textit{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.

(63) \[\text{...ke=pa vouvae=m=e ne=a vakamaba=ko} \]
\[3\text{pl.PROS kill=3pl.O=RMP PROX.sg.m=LIG white.person=3sg.f} \]
\[\text{meqorasaidi. family} \]
\[...they went and killed the family of this white man. (12-3-19) \]

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.

(64) Intention (1st person)
\[\text{...me=ba\textsuperscript{44} vairi=k=o.} \]
\[1\text{pl.incl=PROS look.for=3sg.f.O=NRFUT} \]
\[...we are going and looking for her. (48-3-24) \]

(65) Request (2nd person)
\[\text{Ngo=ba nokae=k=ou ko bolo.} \]
\[2\text{sg.PROS call=3sg.f.O=FUT 3sg.f pig} \]
\[\text{You go and call out for pigs. (67-3-40) \]

(66) Supposition (3rd person)
\[\text{...o=kiil=ou ti o=pa bori=ng=ou inio.} \]
\[3\text{sg.m=come=FUT and.then 3sg.m=PROS carry=2sg.O=FUT FOCf} \]
\[...he will come, and he will come and carry you. (48-1-6) \]

As in (66), 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

\textsuperscript{44} The bilabial stop /p/ of *pa* is realised as [b] when it follows certain pronominal proclitics, as in this example (see §2.7).
something, the verb *zio* ‘to go’ and a purposive dependent clause marked with *le* are used.\(^4^5\)

(67) \[ \text{A=da ol=a} \quad \text{Sabora} \quad \text{k=el=o=le} \quad \text{ko} \]

\[ 1\text{sg}=\text{SIT go}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{Sabora} \quad 3\text{sg}.f.O=\text{see}=\text{NOM}=\text{PURP} \quad 3\text{sg}.f \]

**Hilda.**

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 not indicating that there was or will be 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.

(68) Negative intention (1st person)

\[ \text{...pui a=ba lulue-ng=ou saka.} \]

\[ \text{NEG 1sg=PROS follow}=2\text{sg}.O=FUT \text{ seaside} \]

...I am not going to follow you to the seaside. (39-6-40)

(69) Negative request (2nd person)

\[ \text{...pui ge=pa raneo=vou...} \]

\[ \text{NEG 2du=PROS sleep.overnight}=\text{FUT} \]

...you are not going to sleep overnight... (27-10-109)

(70) Negative supposition (3rd person)

\[ \text{...pui ko=pa k=a zario=vou.} \]

\[ \text{NEG 3sg.f}=\text{PROS 3sg.f.O}=\text{VAL want}=\text{FUT} \]

...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

---

\(^4^5\) 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.
feeling that this situation should not be realised. Consequently, this can be interpreted
as a strong negative request to the second person as in (71).

(71) Pui ge=raneo=vou sai.
    NEG 2du=sleep.overnight=FUT there

You must not sleep overnight there. (27-18-110)

(72) ...enge ta pui nge alili=k=ou matu kubo
    1pl.excl TOP NEG 1pl.excl give.birth=3sg.f.O=FUT very many

meqora...

...we will not give birth to many children... (64-2-15)

(73) ...so keru ke=rapuk=ou keru ta pui ke utu
    that TEMP 3pl=grow.up=FUT TEMP TOP NEG 3pl idle

el=ou.

...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.

(74) Pui o=pa vait=e vo Sito.
    NEG 3sg.m=PROS return=RMP 3sg.m Sito

Sito didn’t return. (12-8-81)

(75) 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.

(76) ...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 can occur with these verbs only when the subject is the third person.

(77) **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 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 (78). 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 (79).

(78) ...o=bazue=k=a
3sg.m=tell=3sg.f.O=PRES

‘eqe ta
1du.excl TOP

ge=ta
1du.excl=SIT
go=FUT

niania=ko
mother=3sg.f

mabasisu
yam

qe=pa
1du.excl=PROS

tauve=k=o
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)

(79) ...kama
1NDsg.f
taku
2du=come=FUT

ge=kil=ou
nio
qe=tauve=l=ou
2du=help=1sg.O=FUT

papat=o
plant=NOM
3sg.f

ko
yam

mabasisu’.

...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.

(80) **Pui a=ba** zio=vou.
NEG 1sg=PROS 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.

(81) \[ \text{a=ba ta kurol=o,} \]
\[ 1\text{sg=} \text{PROS SIT fish.with.bamoo=} \text{NRFUT} \]
...I am going to fish with a bamboo rod, (38-1-2)

(82) \[ \text{me=ba ta talio=vou.} \]
\[ 1\text{pl=} \text{PROS SIT walk=} \text{FUT} \]
...we are going for a walk. (22-6-27)

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 merely indicates a strong intention but not movement. This is illustrated by example (82) in which the verb talio ‘to walk’, which indicates movement, co-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 (83) occurs in a story in which a man’s eating (of a devil) brought about the situation of the devil’s coming down.

(83) \[ \text{o=pa ta vuat=ala.} \]
\[ 3\text{sg.m=} \text{PROS SIT eat=} \text{RCP} \]
...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.

(84) \[ \text{enge ta pui nge=ba roveo=vou} \]
\[ 1\text{pl.excl TOP NEG 1pl.excl=} \text{PROS can=} \text{FUT} \]
\[ \text{bori=k=o.} \]
\[ \text{carry=}3\text{sg.f.O=} \text{NOM} \]
...we will not be able to carry it. (67-3-32)

(85) \[ \text{A=ba roveo=vou zio.} \]
\[ 1\text{sg=} \text{PROS can=} \text{FUT go=} \text{NOM} \]
I will be able to go.
Nobody will be able to go there to get it. (22-10-38)

Functions of the prospective marker pa are summarised in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>movement towards a realization of prospective situation</td>
<td>intention</td>
<td>request</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>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd 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.46

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.

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46 This does not mean that *peta* covers all meanings expressed by *ta*. 

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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, and noun classes:

- *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).

The following are some examples.

(87) *Uri* ‘good’

\[ \ldots \text{ko} \enspace \text{**uri**}=a, \enspace v=e=a, \enspace 3\text{sg.f good=LIG} \enspace 3\text{sg.m.O=see=PRES} \]

\[ \ldots \text{she saw him well, (39-5-34)} \]

(88) *Maba* ‘truly’

\[ \ldots \text{o=be} \enspace \text{**maba**} \enspace \text{vouvae=v=a} \enspace \text{inio.} \enspace \text{3\text{sg.m=CONT} truly kill=3\text{sg.m.O=PRES} FOCnf} \]

\[ \ldots \text{he truly killed him. (43-5-53)} \]

---

47 An adjective preceding a verb takes a ligature (see §5.17).
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.

(91) ...
[vo=a maba] ta
3sg.m=LIG person TOP
Subject NP
[do=le inio]
snake FOCnf
CompP
[o=beta]
3sg.m=CONT VP
ev=a].
become=PRES
...the man, he became a snake... (24-11-97)

(92) ...
[tuto 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.48 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 (91) — ‘snake’ is not cross-referenced on the VP.

48 There are two realisation of focus markers, inio (FOCnf) and ikio (FOCf) and it is inio (FOCnf) 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 (FOCnf). See §14.3.2 for focus markers.
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 (91) has an aspectual/modal marker, the continuity marker *beta* with the sequential use. The following example has a valency-increasing marker *ai*.

\[(93)\]  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Kasa} & \text{ko=m(ai)} \\
\text{sight} & \text{3sg.f=3pl.O=VAL} \\
\text{i=k=a.} & \text{cause=3sg.f.O=PRES}
\end{array}
\]

[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.\(^{49}\) The complement phrase with this verb can only be an NP, and this expresses the thing the subject becomes. Example (94) expresses a change of state from being a blood stain into being a shark — the subject became a shark.

\[(94)\]  

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{...[rosi=a=ma} & \text{vaiza]} & \text{[ko=ta} & \text{ev=a]}... \\
\text{long=LIG=3sg.f} & \text{shark} & \text{3sg.f=3sg.O=VAL} & \text{become=PRES}
\end{array}
\]

...[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

\[^{49}\text{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’}

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Aqasiele} & \text{a=da} \\
\text{surprising} & \text{1sg=SIT} \\
\text{ev=a.} & \text{become=PRES}
\end{array}
\]

I became surprised.

\textit{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.

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person/number/gender agrees with the subject NP. For example, in (95), *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’.

(95) ...[ko=\(\_\_\_\_\) muni\(\_\_\_\_\_\) ta \(\_\_\_\_\) tou \(\_\_\_\_\_\) sa=nga\(\_\_\_\_\) ... \(\_\_\_\_\_\) ev=a\(\_\_\_\_\)...

top=hairstyle COM=2sg become=PREP

...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 (96) below, the complement is an NP with a nominalised verb as its head, and this has a modifier *uri* (good).

(96) ...[uri=\(\_\_\_\_\) maqin=\(\_\_\_\_\) [o=\(\_\_\_\_\) ta \(\_\_\_\_\_\) ev=a\(\_\_\_\_\)...

face.full=NOM 3sg.m=SIT become=PREP

...he became nicely full... (43-3-27)

A complement NP may consist of a nominalized verb with a pronoun *eri* (s.t.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’.

(97) ...[eri=\(\_\_\_\_\) rauve=k=\(\_\_\_\_\) inio\(\_\_\_\_\) [o=b\(\_\_\_\_\_\) ev=a\(\_\_\_\_\) o=vesa, o=\(\_\_\_\_\_\) \(\_\_\_\_\_\) ev=a\(\_\_\_\_\_\)...

as.soon.as=LIG put.hand.in=3sg.f.O-NOM 3sg.m=CONT become=PREP 3sg.m=basket 3sg.m=3sg.f.O=see=PREP

ko kobaka...

...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. 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 aspctual/modal markers in dependent clauses (see §12). In (97), the complement phrase is marked with a focus marker and the VP has an aspctual marker *beta*, the continuity marker.
In (97), 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 (98) is a sound created when someone hits water.

(98)  O=joupar=a ti iverse kolo tiania [po] [o ev=a],
3sg.m=jump.off=PRES and then sea ocean middle po 3sg.m become=PRES

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.50

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 (99) and an NP headed with a relational noun votonioama vele topi ‘on the front edge of the canoe’ in (100) are both complements. They are not adjuncts, since without these the clauses become ungrammatical.

(99)  Ti ko ina-inae=k=a ko mau, [bita=le]
and.then 3sg.f REDUP-get.ready=3sg.f.O=PRES 3sg.f taro string+bag=in

[ko i=k=a],
3sg.f put-3sg.f.O=PRES

VP

And then she got taros ready, she put them in a string bag, (27-13-081)

50 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’.

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...ko=vo  mama=ko  lezu  ta  [votonio=a=ma]
3sg.f=3sg.m  father=3sg.m  head  TOP  front.of.canoe=3sg.f

vele  topl  [ke  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.

(101)  ...
[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...’)

(102)  [Ngo]  ta  [kako]  inio  [ngo=da]  l=a
2sg  TOP  strange  FOCnf  2sg.POSS  1sg.O=VAL
Subject NP  Complement AdjP  VP

i=v=ala].

You caused [my brother] to become strange. (39-4-28)

In all the examples above, the subject is a causer for the object to change its state: in (101), to be seen, in (102) to become strange, and in (103) ‘to become a canoe-like thing’. In (101), 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 (102) illustrates that a complement can take a focus marker.

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51 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’.

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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 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.\(^{52}\)

The head of a complement NP of the verb *iko* ‘to put/cause’ cannot normally be a concrete common noun. In (101) above, it is an abstract noun. In (104) and (105) 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.

(104) ...*[kiada=vo]* [o i=k=a] [ko=a]
    all=NOM 3sg.m cause=3sg.f.O=PRES 3sg.f=LIG
    Complement NP VP Object NP
    *seqara=ko* *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.’)

(105) *[Eri]* nio [ke i=k=a] [ko mola].
    s.t.like.this FOCnf 3pl cause=3sg.f.O=PRES 3sg.f canoe
    Complement NP VP 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).

Example (104) 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 (105) 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 (106) is the sound a fishing rod makes when it’s thrown. *Po* ‘in (107) is the sound the house makes when it is hit.

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\(^{52}\) 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 distinguished.
...he threw the fishing rod making the sound viu... (28-5-38)

(more literally ‘...he caused the fishing rod to make the sound viu...’)

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’.

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.

He caused it (a rope) to become short. (He made it short).

He made it (a speech) short (he made a short speech).

He caused it (a canoe) to become cheap. (He made it cheap).

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 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.
Chapter 9 Valency and Transitivity

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, can be changed morphologically or syntactically. The valency of a verb can 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, first 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. §9.6 presents a summary.

9.2 Valency of Verbs

Bilua verbs can morphologically be divided 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 argument. These are the number of valencies each of these types of verbs have. 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 subject marker, a pronominal proclitic, and an object marker, an object clitic, respectively. This is illustrated by (1) and (2) respectively. The VP in (1) contains an intransitive verb and only one argument is cross-referenced on the VP, while the VP in (2) contains a transitive verb and two core arguments are cross-referenced on the VP.
He cried.

She hit him.

There is a small group of ditransitive verbs in Bilua. This is a sub-class of transitive verbs, which have three core arguments of subject, direct object, and second object, and thus, they have a valency of three. They are katiko ‘to give’, tabariko ‘to pay’, niaeko ‘to feed’, and tauveko ‘to help’. The definition of core arguments given above, however, does not apply to the second object; it is not cross-referenced on the VP and it can only be expressed by an optional NP. In (3), the second object is expressed by an NP, ko lebu ‘mangos’, and this is not cross-referenced on the VP.

I gave mangos to my son.

With verbs katiko ‘to give’, tabariko ‘to pay’, and niaeko ‘to feed’, the second object has the semantic role of gift, as in (3). With the verb tauveko ‘to help’ the second object has the semantic role of concern. In the following example, papat=ko mabasisu (plant=3sg.f yam), which is in a possessive NP structure, forms one lexeme meaning ‘yam-tubers’. It literally means ‘yam for planting’. This has the semantic role of concern.

...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

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53 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 thesis.
expresses an object. Both examples (5) and (6), whose VP heads are intransitive verbs, 
koito ‘to climb’ and kozato ‘to get’ respectively, contain an object NP.

(5) ...
... [rupe]o NP ikio o=ta koit=ala. Rupe
cutnut 3sg.f=FOC 3sg.m=SIT climb=RCP cutnut
3sg.m=climb=3sg.f.O=PRES
... a cutnut tree, he climbed. He climbed a cutnut tree. (39-8-49/50)

(6) Se sei ke=beta koazat=a keru [komi=a bube]o NP
kake reko-reko uki Kutakabai=mu ta lula
3pl there 3pl=CONT get=PRES TEMP PROXsg.f=LIG pollen
INDpl REDUP-women somewhere.there Kutakabai=3pl TOP already
garden in

When they were getting this pollen, some women were there, Kutakabai people, 
were already in the garden. (22-2-11)

In (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 (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’.

Examples (5) and (6) are different from combinations of an intransitive verb with an 
object described in the next section. In (5) and (6), clearly the object NP is not 
combined with the verb, as it is separated from the verb by a focus marker in (5) and it 
is a full NP in (6).

9.3 Intransitive Verbs with Objects

In Bilua, an intransitive verb may occur with an object. For example,

(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 (7) above occurs, what is important 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 (7) is the activity of baking, of which the object 'coconut crab' is simply an incidental part.

Since the object is an 'incidental' part, the object is non-referential, non-individuated, and so the object is expressed by a generic NP which usually consists of the head on its own, as in (8) below. However, such an NP takes a distal demonstrative in post-verbal position, as a post-verbal NP cannot be the head on its own in Bilua (see §7.4). In (7), the post-verbal NP contains a demonstrative ko (3sg.f) preceding the head. The lack of the ligature on the demonstrative indicates that this is not a determiner.

The object normally occurs in post-verbal position, but it can also occur in pre-verbal position, as in (8) below. The object and the intransitive verb still however form a unit. Example (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 (8). The son describes the activity the father was engaged in. When the son utters (8), however, his mind is occupied with fish, as the discourse following this indicates: the son tells the mother that the fishes which the father gets are caught by the wound on his father's leg, not with a fishing rod. It is because of this that the object is pre-posed.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{niuniu} & \text{fish} & \text{o=beta} & \text{koazat=a,} \\
& \text{3sg.m=CONT} & \text{get=PRES} \\
\end{array}
\]

...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 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” (Mithun 1984: 850). This is also the case in Bilua. An object combined to an intransitive verb is non-referential, as illustrated by (7) and (8). A combination of an intransitive verb with an object may express an on-going situation as in (8), or a habitual activity as in (9).

\[(9) \quad \text{Niania}=\text{ka}=\text{ma} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{iruruput}=\text{a} \quad \text{ko}=\text{papat}=\text{a} \]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{mother}=\text{LIG}=\text{3sg.f} \\
\text{TOP} \quad \text{3sg.f} \quad \text{work}=\text{PRES} \\
\text{ko} \quad \text{susu}, \quad \text{ko}=\text{papat}=\text{a} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{mau...} \\
\text{3sg.f} \quad \text{sweet.potato} \quad \text{3sg.f}=\text{plant}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{3sg.f} \text{taro}
\end{array}
\]

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 post-verbally as in (7). In pre-verbal position, however, it can be expressed by a noun on its own, and it cannot be determined whether this is just a noun or an NP. 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 either by 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 pre-verbally or post-verbally in Bilua, whereas object incorporation is a type of compound, and in compounds, the order of combined words is fixed.\(^{54}\) In conclusion, a combination of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua can be semantically treated as a case of object

\(^{54}\) 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.
incorporation, but syntactically, it is questionable. The treatment of combinations of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua requires further research.\textsuperscript{55}

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 \textit{nabulo} ‘to bake’ seen above has a transitive counterpart, \textit{nabuliko} ‘to bake’, and \textit{nabulo} and \textit{nabuliko} are in an S=A relationship since the S argument of \textit{nabulo} and the A argument of \textit{nabuliko} coincide. In (10) where the transitive verb occurs, the affectedness of the object is salient since food needs to be baked before it can be served to people. On the other hand, as demonstrated above, when an object occurs with an intransitive verb, the affectedness of the object is out of scope.

\begin{verbatim}(10) \textit{...uri=avo tu o=m=a nabuli=k=o}  \\
\hspace{1em}good=NOM IRR 3sg.f=3pl.O=VAL  \\
\hspace{1em}ko sailao...  \\
\hspace{1em}3sg.f food  \\
\hspace{1em}...it will be good that he will bake food for them... (67-3-28)\end{verbatim}

This is also the case when there is no object combined with an intransitive verb. In example (11) below, what is salient is the 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.

\begin{verbatim}(11) Ko=ta \textit{nabul=a.}  \\
\hspace{1em}3sg.f=SIT bake=PRES  \\
\hspace{1em}She baked.\end{verbatim}

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 (12), while

\textsuperscript{55} 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.
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(13) is ungrammatical.\(^{56}\) 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 (14) is a question to identify an agent.

(12) ‘Koe loma quli ikio ngo=nabuli=k=a’ k=i=o=la...
INTJ what thing FOCf 2sg=bake=3sg.f.O=PRES 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES

‘Oh, what are you baking?’ said he... (48-1-11)

(13) *Loma quli ikio ngo=nabul=a.

What are you baking?

(14) Lama ikio ko ko=pazot=ala=ma.

Who hit?

In (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 an on-going one, it does not make any reference to the end point. Hopper and Thompson categorize a sentence that presents such a situation as an atelic one (1980: 252). A habitual activity is not a specific event and thus it can be treated as an irrealis event. According to Hopper and Thompson (1980), non-individuated objects, atelic situations, and irrealis are all indications of low transitivity. These are all features of intransitive verbs with objects in Bilua and thus they are lower in transitivity.

56 An interjection koe or the verb kio ‘to say’ in (12) do not have anything to do with the contrast between grammatical example (12) and ungrammatical example (13). An elicited version without these two words can be presented in (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 (12).
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.

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 \textit{barolo} ‘to arrive’ is an intransitive verb and this usually has only one core argument, the subject, which has the semantic role of experiencer.

\begin{equation}
Qo=\textit{baro}=a.
\end{equation}

3du=arrive=PRES

The two arrived. (15-3-30)

In (16-a) 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. The latter attaches to the verb.

\begin{align*}
... & \textit{so keru inio ke}=&m=ai\textit{ baro}=a, \\
&\text{that TEMP FOCnf 3pl=3pl.O=VAL arrive=PRES} \\
&\textit{ke}=\textit{noqoe}=m=a. \\
&3pl=hold=3pl.O=PRES
\end{align*}

...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 operation, 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 (16-a) above is an example of argument promotion. Without the valency-increasing construction, (16-a) would be like (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.57

(16-b) Ke=baro=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.

(17-a) ...ke=k=ai bazu-bazue-kini=a komi,
3pl=3sg.O=VAL REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES PROXsg.f

...they were telling this to each other, (26-3-20)

(17-b) Ke=bazu-bazue-kini=a.
3pl=REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES

They were telling each other.

Example (17-a) contains the valency-increasing marker ai, which introduces an argument with the semantic role of ‘topic of speech’, komi (PROXsg.f) ‘this’. This argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic, k (3sg.m), attached to the valency-increasing marker. This argument can by no means be included in a clause like

57 As discussed in §3.2.1, although the verb barolo ‘to arrive’ is sub-categorised for a participant with the semantic role of goal, this is not treated as a core argument but as a non-core argument.
(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

**argument addition**

Ø ----> core argument

In both (16-a) and (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 (16-b) and (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 (18-a), the introduced argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic, v (3sg.m), attached to the valency-increasing marker.

(18-a) ‘Kama quili puli=a=ma’ k=i=o=la mati

*INDsg.f.* thing NEG=LIG=3sg.f. 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES

O=v=ai podaki=k=a.

*3sg.m=3sg.m.O=VAL* make.s.t.appear.to=3sg.f.O=PRES

He said ‘something is missing’, and again, he presented it to him. (39-11-67)

(more literally ‘He said ‘something is missing’, and again, he made it appear to him.’)

(18-b) O=podaki=k=a vo kasi.

*3sg.m=make.s.t.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. 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. 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’.

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 (19) below, the promoted argument is definite, and so it is not expressed by an NP in the second clause.

(19)  
\[
\begin{align*}
Ni & \quad ke=noqoe=v=a & vo & \quad Sito. \quad Maravari \\
and & \quad 3pl=capture=3sg.m.O=PRES & & \quad 3sg.m \quad Sito \quad Maravari \\
ke=v=ati & \quad saqor=a. \\
3pl=3sg.m.O=VAL & \quad go.down=PRES
\end{align*}
\]

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 (20), the added argument ‘a story’ is indefinite and so it is expressed by an NP kala bazubazulao.

---

58 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” (Andrews 1985: 121). Andrews then tentatively suggests that Mandarin may be a language with two ‘direct object’ relations.

59 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 discussed here, 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 examples (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 these examples, the introduced argument, which is not the affected argument, is cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the verb.
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 (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 (16-a) has an intransitive verb. Example (18-a) has a transitive verb. In (18-a), the valency-increasing construction is employed in order to highlight that the affectedness of the introduced argument ‘him1’: 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 object (see §9.3 above). Compare (21-a) to (21-b). Example (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 (21-b) without the valency-increasing construction, the affected argument is ‘the parents of the girl’.

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(21-a) Nio qo=vato-vatol=ou tu qo=v=a pase=k=o
SEQ 3du=REDUP-plan=FUT IRR 3du=3sg.m.O=VAL ask=3du.O=NRFUT
nioqa=vo meqora...
3du=3sg.m child

And then, they will plan to ask [the parents of the girl] on behalf of their son...
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(21-b)  
\[ \text{Qo}=\text{vato-vatol}=\text{ou} \quad \text{tu} \quad \text{qo}=\text{pase}=\text{k}=\text{o} \quad \text{nioqa}=\text{vo} \]
\[ 3\text{du}=\text{REFUP-plan}=\text{FUT} \quad \text{IRR} \quad 3\text{du}=\text{ask}=3\text{du}.\text{O}=\text{NRFUT} \quad 3\text{du}=3\text{sg.m} \]

megora \quad kage.
child \quad 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 the affected argument is this human referent.

(22)  
\[ \ldots \text{ko}=\text{a} \quad \text{kolu} \quad \text{o}=\text{lulue}=\text{k}=\text{a} \quad \text{ti} \]
\[ 3\text{sg.f}=\text{LIG} \quad \text{smoke} \quad 3\text{sg.m}=\text{follow}=3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{and.then} \]
\[ 3\text{sg.m}=3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{VAL} \quad \text{o}=\text{k}=\text{ai} \quad \text{saqor}=\text{a} \quad \text{ti} \quad 3\text{sg.m}=3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{VAL} \]

...he followed the smoke, and he went down to the smoke, and he arrived where the smoke is. (59-10-91)

In (22) the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker \( k \) (3sg.f) is co-referential with \textit{kolu} ‘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.

An argument can be affected favourably or adversely depending on the event or discourse. In (18-a) and (21-a) above, an argument is affected favourably. In example (23) below, an argument is affected adversely.

(23)  
\[ \ldots \text{ko}=\text{be} \quad \text{v}=\text{ai} \quad \text{sipe-sipeit}=\text{a} \ldots \]
\[ 3\text{sg.f}=\text{CONT} \quad 3\text{sg.m.O}=\text{VAL} \quad \text{REDUP-pass.faeces}=\text{PRES} \]

...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 of 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 (24), the
pronominal enclitic o (3sg.m) and the demonstrative ko (3sg.f), which is marked with a comitative postposition sate, have definite referents.

(24) ...sainio o=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 (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’ to be expressed by a pronoun. Ko (3sg.f) marked with a comitative postposition sate ‘with’ in example (26) can only be human, as it is expressed by a free pronoun marked with a postposition.

(25) ...ko=pa teli=k=a ko=a sikiti, ti ko=a=ati o=la... 
3sg.f=PROS dig=3sg.f.O=PRES 3sg.f=LIG magic.stick and.then 
3sg.f=3sg.f.O=VAL go=PRES 
...she went and dug the magic stick, and then she went with it... (22-9-37)

(26) Ko ol=a ko sate. 
3sg.f go=PRES 3sg.f COM
She went with her.

In (25), although a non-argument is promoted to an argument by the valency-increasing construction, it does not highlight the affectedness of any argument. It occurs only for the non-human referent to be expressed by a pronoun. Example (25) contains an intransitive verb. Below is an example with a transitive verb. ‘The story’ in (27-a) is an active referent and is expressed by the object clitic attached to the verb k (3sg.f).
(27-a) ...komi=a PROXsg.f=LIG bazu-bazulao ta pui matu REDUP-folktale TOP NEG very tuelve=a=ma true=LIG=3sg.f melai silo-silo=a=mu but REDUP-small=LIG=3pl ibue=k=a, make.quiet=3pl.O=PRES ke=m=ai 3pl=3pl.O=VAL ...this folktale, it is not very true, but [people] make children quiet with [this story], (27-1-1)

Compare now (27-b) to (27-a).

(27-b) Ke 3pl ibue=m=o make.quiet=3pl=NRFUT silo-silo=a=mu REDUP-small=LIG=3pl ko=a 3sg.f=LIG bazu-bazulao REDUP-folktale kale. with

They will make the children quiet with the story.

In both (27-a) and (27-b), ‘children’ is a core argument. In (27-b) this is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the verb. In (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 (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 (27-a) and (27-b). Thus, in (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 (25), the valency-increasing construction here is employed only in order that ‘the 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 pre-verbal position. Object clitics attached to verbs, on the other hand, usually take a post-verbal position – they immediately follow the verb, but there are exceptions to this. Four verbs, keloa ‘to see’, kovoa ‘to get’, kuo ‘to eat’, and kio ‘to say’, take an object clitic pre-verbally, but in this case, they are attached to the verb, not to the valency-increasing marker. Thus there are two different pre-verbal slots for object

---

60 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 only say that this slot for an object clitic indicates an increase of the valency but cannot say that this slot is the slot for the added object (introduced argument).
clitics and these are clearly distinguished from each other. Object clitics attached to the verb are obligatory for the 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>
<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>ai⁶¹</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

---

⁶¹ In (18-a), the introduced argument is a goal, in other words a recipient. This argument can be interpreted as a beneficiary as he is benefited from receiving something.
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 an example of argument addition. *A* promotes an ablative argument in combination with a transitive motion verb 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>
<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>ereko</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.

(28-a) Benefactive

\[
A=v=a \\
1sg=3sg.m.O=VAL \quad \text{rabut}=ala. \\
\text{weed}=\text{RCP} \quad \text{I weeded for him.}
\]

(28-b) Ablative

\[
A=\text{rabut}=ala \\
1sg=\text{weed}=\text{RCP} \quad \text{Joni \ kaqe.} \\
\text{John \ BEN} \quad \text{I weeded for John.}
\]

(29-a) Ablative

\[
Ko=m=a \\
3sg.f=3pl.O=VAL \quad \text{vatuti}=k=ala. \\
\text{move}=3sg.f.O=\text{RCP} \quad \text{She moved it from them (she moved it away from them).}
\]

See 9.4.4 for intransitive motion verbs.
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(29-b) Ko=vatuti=k=ala se kasi azo.

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,

(30) ‘Uri’ k=j=ko=la.

‘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.

(31) Nio ‘Nei ta ngo=da v=a lupao=vi=ni,

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 behave 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.

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 /, 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 / (1sg.O). 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.

\[(32-a) \quad \ldots \text{a} = \text{ba} \quad \text{qel} = \text{a} \quad \text{l} = \text{el} = \ldots \]
\[1\text{sg}=\text{PROS} \quad 2\text{du.O}=\text{VAL} \quad 1\text{sg.O}=\text{see}=\text{NRFUT} \]
\[\ldots \text{I am going to see you}\ldots (21-2-9)\]

Example (32-a) cannot be paraphrased as example (32-b), which does not employ the valency-increasing construction. Example (32-b) is not grammatical.

\[(32-b) \quad \text{A} = \text{ba} \quad \text{qel} = \text{el} = \ldots . \]
\[1\text{sg}=\text{PROS} \quad 2\text{du.O}=\text{see}=\text{NRFUT} \]
\[\text{I am going to see you}.\]

When the object clitic that cross-references with the direct object, has a C structure, the valency-increasing construction is never employed.

\[(33) \quad \text{A} = \text{ba} \quad \text{k} = \text{el} = \ldots . \]
\[1\text{sg}=\text{PROS} \quad 3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{see}=\text{NRFUT} \]
\[\text{I am going to see her}.\]

It is not well understood why the valency-increasing construction has to be employed under the above environment. It may be hypothesized 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 (32-a), the stress falls on the verb, but in (32-b) it would fall on the object clitic.\(^63\)

\[(32-a)\ldots 'a=ba \quad 'gel=a \quad 'l=el=o\ldots\]
\[
1\text{sg}=\text{PROS} \quad 2\text{du}\cdot\text{O}=\text{VAL} \quad 1\text{sg}\cdot\text{O}=\text{see}\cdot\text{NRFUT}
\]

\[\ldots\text{I am going to see you}\ldots(21-2-9)\]

\[
(32-b) \quad *'A=ba \quad 'gel=el=o.\]
\[
1\text{sg}=\text{PROS} \quad 2\text{du}\cdot\text{O}=\text{see}\cdot\text{NRFUT}
\]

I am going to see you.

### 9.4.2 Valency-increasing Marker \textit{ai}

The valency-increasing marker \textit{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, \textit{ai} promotes an instrumental argument, while in combination with a motion verb, it promotes an allative argument. \textit{Ai} adds arguments with semantic roles of topic of speech and cause/reason, combined with verbs of speech and emotion verbs respectively. \textit{Ai} adds arguments with semantic roles of gift, name, and stimulus combined with verbs listed in the following table. \textit{Ai} is often elided to \textit{a}, especially when it occurs with verbs \textit{zario} ‘to want/need’ and \textit{nianiao} ‘to know’. Whether \textit{a} is in fact \textit{a} or an elided form of \textit{ai} can be decided from the kind of the verb or from the context.

\(^{63}\) 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.
### Table 9.3 Semantic roles of arguments introduced by a valency-increasing marker *ai* and verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic roles</th>
<th>Kinds of verbs</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>instrument (instrumental)</td>
<td>verbs which express an action</td>
<td><em>erekato/erekoko</em> ‘to make’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>pazoto/pazoko</em> ‘to hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>roeto/roekoko</em> ‘to cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>tauvezio</em> ‘to help oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>tauvezato/tauveko</em> ‘to help’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goal (allative)</td>
<td>motion verbs</td>
<td><em>zio</em> ‘to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>kilo</em> ‘to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>vatuto/vatutiko</em> ‘to move’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topic of speech</td>
<td>verbs of speech</td>
<td><em>pesio</em> ‘to speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>bazuto</em> ‘to tell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>bazubazekinio</em> ‘to tell each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cause/reason</td>
<td>emotion verbs</td>
<td><em>zialo</em> ‘to cry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>aqasiele + elo</em> ‘to become surprised’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>duki + elo</em> ‘to become sad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gift</td>
<td>two verbs</td>
<td><em>besiekinio</em> ‘replace each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>tatabarao</em> ‘to trade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>two verbs</td>
<td><em>nokaeko</em> ‘to call’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>katiko</em> ‘to give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stimulus</td>
<td>two verbs</td>
<td><em>zario</em> ‘to want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>nianito</em> ‘to know’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 lays behind this use of the valency-increasing marker *ai*.

(34) **Pui a=ba k=ai rove=a zio.**

I (definitely) cannot go.

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *ai* promotes arguments with the semantic roles of instrument and goal.
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(35-a) Instrumental

\[ \text{Ko}=\text{v}=\text{ai} \]
\[ \text{saqae}=\text{k}=\text{ala} \]
\[ \text{ko} \quad \text{suma.} \]

3sg.f=3sg.m.O=VAL  brush=3sg.f.O=RcP  3sg.f cloth

She brushed (cleaned) him with a cloth.

(35-b) \[ \text{Ko}=\text{saqae}=\text{v}=\text{ala} \]
\[ \text{suma_kale.} \]

3sg.f=brush=3sg.m.O=RcP  cloth with

She brushed (cleaned) him with a cloth.

(36-a) Allative

\[ \text{Ke}=\text{ngel}=\text{ai} \]
\[ \text{kue}=\text{vi} \]
\[ \text{enge.} \]

3pl=1pl.excl.O=VAL  come=RMP  1pl.excl

They came to us.

(36-b) \[ \ldots \text{eqe} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{qe}=\text{kue}=\text{va} \]
\[ \text{ko} \quad \text{ngo} \quad \text{kasi.} \]

1du.excl TOP  1du.excl=come=PRES  here  2sg 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.

(37-a) Gift

\[ \text{Nge}=\text{g}=\text{ai} \]
\[ \text{tatabaraov}=\text{ou} \]
\[ \text{maketi} \quad \text{kale.} \]

1pl.excl=3sg.f.O=VAL  pay=FUT  market in

We will sell it in a market.

(37-b) \[ \text{Nge}=\text{databaraov}=\text{ou}. \]

1pl.excl=pay=FUT

We will pay.

(38-a) Gift

\[ \text{Melai} \quad \text{ko}=\text{a} \]
\[ \text{sailao} \quad \text{ikio} \]
\[ \text{ke}=\text{k}=\text{ai} \]

but  3sg.f=LIG  food  FOCf  3pl=3sg.f.O=VAL

besi-besie-kini=ou.

REDUP-replace-RECP=FUT

But they will exchange the food between them. (21-4-23)
In the above two pairs of examples, the meaning of the verb used with 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 (37-b), the verb *tatabarao* means ‘to pay’ but when this occurs with *ai* as in (37-a), this means ‘to sell.’ In (38-b), *besiekinio* means ‘to replace each other’ and when this verb occurs with *ai* as in (38-a), it means ‘to exchange between them’. Thus, it could be said that *ai tatabarao* and *ai besiekinio* form one lexical entry.

With two verbs listed above, *ai* adds an argument with the semantic role of name.

(39-a) Name

\[
A=v=ai \\
1sg=3sg.m.O=VAL \\
\text{kati}=k=ala \\
give=3sg.f.O=RCP \\
\text{[ko ngi]}_{NP} \quad \text{[vo John]}_{NP}.
\]

I gave him the name ‘John’.

(39-b) A=qati=v=ala \\
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 (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.

---

64 They do however share some meaning – ‘to sell’ and ‘to pay’ share the meaning ‘trading’.
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(40-a) Topic of speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Komi=a</th>
<th>taku</th>
<th>kale</th>
<th>anga</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>a=q=a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROXsg.f=LIG</td>
<td>time in 1sg TOP</td>
<td>1sg=3sg.f.O=VAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zari=a</td>
<td>k=ai</td>
<td>pesi=o</td>
<td>ko=paloas=a=ko</td>
<td>taku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want=PRES</td>
<td>3sg.f.O=VAL</td>
<td>speak=NOM</td>
<td>3sg.f.pass=PRES=3sg.f</td>
<td>time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keru=a=ma</td>
<td>saev=o.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMP=LIG=3sg.f</td>
<td>survive=NOM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I want to speak about the life in the past. (64-1-1)

(40-b) Vo=a | beku | inio | o=ta | pesi=a... |
| 3sg.m=LIG | idol | FOCnf | 3sg.m=SIT | speak=PRES |

It was the idol that spoke... (39-8-52)

(41-a) Cause/reason

| A=v=ai | 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).

(41-b) O=ta | 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. This is described in §9.4.4 below.

Two intransitive verbs zar='to want/need' and nianii='to know' never occur without ai, and thus ai plus zar='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.

(42) ...ke=v=ai | matu | zari=a | rorot=o | vo |
| 3pl=3sg.m.O=VAL | very | want=PRES | marry=NOM | 3sg.m |

Koro-koroqanisi.

REDUP-Korokoroqanisi

...they wanted to marry Korokoroqanisi very much. (39-12-82)

(43) A=v=ai | nianii=a. |
| 1sg=3sg.m.O=VAL | know=PRES |

I know him.

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9.4.3 Valency-increasing Marker *ati*

*Ati* indicates semantic role of accompaniment or addressee, the person someone speaking with.\(^{65}\) It always promotes a comitative argument.

<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>

Table 9.4 Semantic roles of arguments introduced by a valency-increasing marker *ati* and verbs

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *ati* promotes a comitative argument.

(44-a) Comitative (accompaniment)

... o=k=ati  
3sg.m=3sg.f.O=VAL
saqor=a.  
go.down=PRES

... he went down with her (he took her down). (48-4-37)

(44-b) Ke=saqor=a  
3pl=go.down=PRES
vo sate.  
3sg.m COM

They went down with him.

(45-a) Comitative (accompaniment)

... ko=v=ati  
3sg.f=3sg.m.O=VAL
roka-rokasi=k=a...  
REDUP-tear=3sg.f.O=PRES

...[the devil] tore [the house] with him in it... (43-5-53)

(45-b) Ko=roka-rokasi=k=a  
3sg.f=REDUP-tear=3sg.f.O=PRES
vo sate.  
3sg.m COM


---

\(^{65}\) 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).
In (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.

(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)

(47) Kama rekorusu ta ke=k=ati kue=la.
INDsg.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. That is, the person who the subject is speaking with can be treated as an addressee.

(48-a) Comitative (addressee)

...nio se ta eri v=ati k=i=ke=la.
and.then 3pl TOP s.t.like.this 3sg.m.O=VAL 3sg.f.O=say=3pl=PRES
...and then they say to him something like this. (25-7-50)

(48-b) Ni omadeu taku kurou ta eri k=i=0=la kobaka kasi.
and one time pigeon TOP s.t.like.this 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 tai 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,

(49-a) Source

\[
\text{Me=da} \quad \text{v=a} \quad \text{soqoilo=ou}.
\]

1pl.incl=POSS 3sg.m.O=VAL run.away=FUT

We will run away from him.

(49-b) Source

\[
\text{Me=soqoilo=ou} \quad \text{vo} \quad \text{kasi} \quad \text{azo}.
\]

1pl.incl=run.away=FUT 3sg.m at ABL

We will run away from him.

(50-a) Cause/reason

\[
\ldots \text{o=ta} \quad \text{v=a} \quad \text{nga=va} \quad \text{vo} \quad \text{qili...}
\]

3sg.m=POSS 3sg.m.O=VAL be.frightened=PRES 3sg.m giant

\ldots he is frightened of the giant... (48-3-28)

(50-b) Cause/reason

\[
\text{O=ta} \quad \text{nga=va}.
\]

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.

(51) Pui \quad \text{o=ta} \quad \text{k=a} \quad \text{soqo=va}.

NEG 3sg.m=POSS 3sg.f.O=VAL run.away=PRES

He didn’t run away from her.
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, (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 pre-verbal 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 connected 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 (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 (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 (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.

(53-a) \( Ke=ta\ v=ai\ kobue=k=ala\ ko=a \)

chainsaw.

They cut [trees] with his chainsaw.

In (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 (53-a), the valency-increasing marker \( ai \) introduces an argument with the semantic role of instrument. On the other hand, 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 (54-a) and (54-b) illustrates that in (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 (53-a), in (54-a) the possessor and the possessee do not form a single argument. Thus, there are three core arguments in (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.

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(54-a) \[\text{...} \text{ko=} t a \text{ v=} a \text{ ngamu=} k=a \text{ kiada=} m a \text{...} \]
\[3sg.f=\text{POSS} \quad 3sg.m.O=\text{VAL} \quad \text{throw.away=} 3sg.f.O=\text{PRES} \quad \text{all=} 3sg.f\]
\[\text{voti-voti...} \]
\[\text{REDUP-rubbish} \]
\[...\text{she threw away all his rubbish...} \]
\[\text{(39-5-36)} \]

(54-b) \[\text{Ko=} \text{ngamu=} k=a \quad \text{kiada=} m a \quad \text{voti-voti}. \]
\[3sg.f=\text{throw.away=} 3sg.f.O=\text{PRES} \quad \text{all=} 3sg.f \quad \text{REDUP-rubbish} \]
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 (55-a) expresses that the possessor, the mother, will be distressed if the possessee, the son, dies.

(55-a) ‘Koe o=ta l=a vouv=ou vo=a megora’,
\[\text{INTJ} \quad 3sg.m=\text{POSS} \quad 1sg.O=\text{VAL} \quad \text{die=} \text{FUT} \quad 3sg.m=\text{LIG} \quad \text{child} \]
‘Oh, my son will die on me,’ (27-9-56)

(55-b) \[O=vouv=ou \quad vo=a \quad \text{megora}’. \]
\[3sg.m=\text{die=} \text{FUT} \quad 3sg.m=\text{LIG} \quad \text{child} \]
The son will die.

The possessor-raising marker \( ta \) can occur with any valency-increasing markers. The following is an example with \( ati \). In (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’.

(56) \[... \text{ke=} t a \text{ v=} a t i \text{ soqoi=} v a. \]
\[3pl=\text{POSS} \quad 3sg.m.O=\text{VAL} \quad \text{run.away=} \text{PRES} \]
\[...\text{they ran away with his [boots].} \]
\[\text{(16-6-77)} \]

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 (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).

(57) \[... \text{ko=} t a \text{ v=} a i \text{ sivoez=} a \text{ o=} \text{loilo}... \]
\[3sg.f=\text{POSS} \quad 3sg.m.O=\text{VAL} \quad \text{urinate=} \text{PRES} \quad 3sg.m=\text{face} \]
...she urinated on his face... (43-5-53)
Chapter 9 Valency and Transitivity

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 for the situation-change marker \( ta \)). This is because the situation-change marker \( ta \) 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 (58) below highlights the new situation that the war is here, and thus, it has the situation-change marker.

\[
\begin{align*}
... & ko=a & kana & ta & lula & ko=ta & amaqe=la & anime \\
 3sg.f=LIG & war & TOP & already & 3sg.f=SIT & enter=RCP & 1pl.incl
\end{align*}
\]

kasi...

...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:

\[
\begin{align*}
 Ko & =a & kana & ta & lula & ko=m=ai & amaqe=a. \\
 3sg.f=LIG & war & TOP & already & 3sg.f=1pl.O=VAL & enter=PRES
\end{align*}
\]

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.

10.1 Postpositional Phrases

This chapter presents a description of adjuncts, but first a brief description of postpositional phrases (PPhs) is presented, as PPhs typically function as adjuncts and they lead to the section on which deals with a description of PPhs elsewhere in this chapter.

The head of a postpositional phrase is a postpositional, and thus governs an NP or a locational-temporal phrase (see below). Postpositional in Bilua are as follows, repeated from 4.7:

* locative: here and there
* instrumental: on
* ablative: in
* temporal: after
* causative: into
* benefactive: for
* privative: off
* reciprocal: between
* superlative: on

There is also a complement postpositional of the form *kafa* for "because of." (1)

Two locative postpositional *here* and *there* are also realized as *a* and *a* in the data. The latter occurs only when it follows a noun that cannot be a prenominal adjective but also *here* can also follow these. Therefore, *kafa* is considered as the body form. Both *here* and *there*, as the other hand, occur with pronouns. Furthermore, *here* may also be realized as *a* when the preceding word ends with a vowel or when it follows a nominalized verb.

(1) *hakepan iiso kafa kaait wiyan.*

*My older sister's head is on the table.* (21-554)
Chapter 10 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 thesis.

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.

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

There is also a complex postposition of reason *kale avo* 'because of'.

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.

(1) \[ ... a=qaka=ko lezu melai ikoana ko=a \]
\[ 1sg=elder.sibling=3sg.f head too EXTsg.f 3sg.f=LIG \]
\[ mola=le. canoe=in \]

...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. This is 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.

---

66 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'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>(2sg=3sg.f ornament)</em></th>
<th><em>(SIM=LIG=3sg.f ornament)</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ngo=ko zaloni</strong> NP</td>
<td><strong>jari</strong> PP=a=ma zaloni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ornaments like your ornaments.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10.1 Semantic types of adjuncts and constituents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic types of adjuncts</th>
<th>Constituents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>locational</td>
<td>• locational adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• NPs headed with a locational noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• PPs headed with kasi, kale, or vasi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>• NPs headed with a temporal noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• PPs headed with kale, keru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• temporal adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>• PPs headed with azo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manner</td>
<td>• manner adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linking</td>
<td>• linking adverbials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circumstantial</td>
<td>• circumstantial adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>restrictive</td>
<td>• general modifier pala ‘only’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similitative</td>
<td>• general modifier jari ‘something like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>• PPs headed with kale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instrumental</td>
<td>• PPs headed with kale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>• PPs headed with sate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privative</td>
<td>• PPs headed with pide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td>• PPs headed with kaje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reason</td>
<td>• PPs headed with kale avo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 become the predicate of a locational clause as well (see §11.3).

As set out in §4.3, open sub-classes 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.

(2) Se ta ke=pazo-kini=e sai.
    3pl TOP 3pl=hit-RECP=RMP there

They fought there. (12-9-85)

(3) ‘Uki nio ngo=ba tare=k=ou...
    somewhere there FOCnf 2sg=PROS wait=3sg.f.O=FUT

‘Somewhere there you will go and wait... (2-5-31)

(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 (5) koi can only be treated as a noun, ‘place’, as it is modified by a modifier phrase. Koi in example (6) on the other hand can only be treated as an adverb ‘here’ – treating it as a noun results in a semantic idiosyncrasy.

(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

(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 place name, a relational noun, or the noun koi ‘place’, can function as a locational adjunct.
(7) NP headed with a place name

\[ ..._\text{vo} \quad \text{ta} \quad o=\text{vou}=\text{vi} \quad \text{sai} \quad \text{Fiji.} \]

\[ \text{3sg.m} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{3sg.m=die=RMP} \quad \text{there} \quad \text{Fiji} \]

...he, he died there in Fiji. (12-8-80)

(8) NP headed with a relational noun

\[ ..._\text{o=koit=a} \quad \text{ko=a} \quad \text{okate.} \]

\[ \text{3sg.m=climb=PRES} \quad \text{3sg.f=LIG} \quad \text{high} \]

...he climbed that high (high up on the tree). (48-3-26)

(9) NP headed with koi ‘place’

\[ ..._\text{se} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{ke=vae=k=ake} \quad \text{kiada=ma} \quad \text{piza} \quad \text{omadeu} \quad \text{koi.} \]

\[ \text{3pl} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{3pl=leave=3sg.m.O=HIST} \quad \text{all=} \quad \text{3sg.f} \quad \text{bone} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{place} \]

...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). 67

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 kiti ‘leg’ and ore ‘tree’.

---

67 Manner adverbs appear to have originated in postpositional phrases headed with le, a contracted form of kale. This is discussed in §5.2.
(10) Personal name

Hilda kasi a ev=e.
Hilda at 1sg stay=RMP

I stayed at Hilda’s.

(11) Kinship term

Aniqe ta lea ta qe=pa barol=o
1du.incl TOP tomorrow TOP 1du.incl=PROS arrive=NRFUT

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)

(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)

(13) Demonstrative

A=da rane=la vo kasi.
1sg=SIT sleep.overnight=RCP 3sg.m at

I slept overnight at his place.

(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)

(15) Non-spatial common noun

...ko=kue=va ko niuniu 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 keruku ‘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’.
Chapter 10 Adjuncts

(16) Common noun of large area

\[
\begin{array}{l}
V_{o} \quad t_{a} \quad o=beta \quad p_{a}p_{u}=a \\
3g_{m} \quad T_{OP} \quad 3g_{m}=C_{ONT} \quad s_{it}=P_{RES}
\end{array}
\]

He was sitting in a lake... (24-5-62)

(17) Abstract common noun

\[
\begin{array}{l}
A_{ngo}=k_{o} \quad k_{eru}-k_{eru} \quad k_{ale} \quad a_{nga} \quad t_{a} \\
1g_{s}=3g_{f} \quad R_{EUDP-thought} \quad i_{n} \quad 1g_{s} \quad T_{OP}
\end{array}
\]

In my thinking, I thought about it. (12-9-86)

(18) Abstract common noun (de-adjectival noun)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
V_{o} \quad t_{a} \quad o=vae=m=ake \quad d_{uki} \quad k_{ale} \quad o=tou-tou \\
3g_{m} \quad T_{OP} \quad 3g_{m}=l_{eave}=3p_{l} .O=H_{IST} \quad s_{adness} \quad i_{n} \quad 3g_{m}=R_{EUDP-tribe} \quad a_{nd}
\end{array}
\]

He left his tribe and his family in sadness. (23-3-35)

(19) Abstract common noun (nominalised verb)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
N_{ge} \quad e_{lo}=u \quad e_{nge}=k_{o} \quad s_{aev}=o \quad k_{ale}. \\
1p_{l}.e_{xcl} \quad s_{tay}=F_{UT} \quad 1p_{l}.e_{xcl}=3g_{f} \quad s_{urvive}=N_{OM} \quad i_{n}
\end{array}
\]

We will stay in our life. (64-4-24)

In examples (11) and (15) above and also (22) and (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*.

(20) Common noun of three dimensional place (building) with *kasi* ‘at’

\[
\begin{array}{l}
...q_{o}=b_{aro}=a \\
3g_{n}=a_{rrive}=P_{RES}
\end{array}
\]

...they arrived at their house... (24-4-35)

(21) Common noun of three dimensional place (building) with *kale* ‘in’

\[
\begin{array}{l}
...o=beta \\
3g_{m}=C_{ONT}
\end{array}
\]

...he kept hiding in the house... (59-6-45)
Chapter 10 Adjuncts

(22) Common noun of small area with kasi 'at'

\[ \text{...niania=ka=ma ko ol=a kiaro kasi...} \]

\[ \text{mother=LIG=3sg.f 3sg.f go=PRES garden at} \]

...the mother went to the garden... (27-2-13)

(23) Common noun of small area with kale 'in'

\[ \text{...aniqe ta qe ol=a kiaro ale,} \]

\[ \text{1du.incl TOP 1du.incl go=PRES garden in} \]

...we went to the garden, (39-1-4)

Notice that in (22) and (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 (23) does not mean that the subject went ‘into’ the garden. The postpositional phrase simply indicates a goal.\(^{68}\)

The distributions of kasi and kale are summarised in the following table.

<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>(including de-adjectival nouns and nominalised verbs)</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>(buildings and containers)</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.

\(^{68}\) There may be a subtle semantic difference here, but the author has not been able to find it from the data or elicitation.
Chapter 10 Adjuncts

(24) ‘Qe=kil=ou nio qe=tauve=l=ou’ k=i=ko=ve
    2du=come=FUT SEQ 2du=help=1sg=FUT 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.f=RMP

ko=ko megora kasi.
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.

(25) ...o=pa raibi=k=a ko=a duruo kale.
    3sg.m=PROS pour=3sg.f.O=PRES 3sg.f=LIG string.bag 1ll

...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.

(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...’)

(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. 69

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.

69 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.

...puli=a=ma maja enge=ko ngase topi...
    NEG=LIG=3sg.f axe 1pl.excl=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).
Chapter 10 Adjuncts

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’.

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.

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.

(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 (33), vasi governs a deictic adverb sai ‘there’. Sai ‘there’ and vasi ‘adjacent to’ are contracted into savasi.

(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.

![Diagram of a house]

### 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’ can occur either before or after the predicate. The aforementioned temporal adverbs always occur before the predicate.

(34) ...

(35) ...

---

70 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.
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.

(37) ...so inio nioqa=ko saev=o kiada=ma taku.
that FOCnf 3du=3sg.f survive=NOM all=3sg.f time
...that was the life of the two all the time. (27-3-18)

(38) ...o=ta marong=a kubo 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 (37), cannot be marked with any postposition.

In (39) below, the head of the underlined temporal NP is taku 'time'. This is modified by a modifier phrase, kevadomukoama '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.

(39) Ko=barol=ou ko=a taku
3sg.f=arrive=FUT 3sg.f=LIG time
ke=vadomu=k=o=a=ma inio ke=k=ati
3pl=plan=3sg.f.O=FUT=LIG=3sg.f FOCnf 3pl=3sg.f.O=VAL
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'.
10.4.3 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).

(41) ...*kiada*=ma quli ti ikoana ko=a taku keru.
    all=3sg.f thing TOP EXTsg.f 3sg.f=LIG time TEMP
    ...there was everything at that time. (64-1-5)

(42) *Omadeu* siotolu keru ta
    one thousand TEMP TOP
    *komi=a* udu kale ta *puli=a=ma* paizo-kini=o.
    PROXsg.f=LIG island in TOP NEG=LIG=3sg.f 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).

(43) *Komi=a* tako kale ta kubo quli ta ikoana
    PROXsg.f=LIG time in TOP many thing TOP EXTsg.f
    *komi=a* Solomoni ailadi.
    PORXsg.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 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>ko</em> <code>taku</code> ‘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</em> <code>taku</code> (already=3sg.f time) ‘past’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ko</em> <code>a* </code>taku` ‘that time’</td>
<td><em>kale</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>komia</em> <code>taku</code> ‘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’.

(44) ...ko=ko rane=o kale ti nioqa ta
3sg.f=3sg.f sleep.overnight=NOM in TOP 3du TOP

*ko=ko rane=o kale ti nioqa ta*
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’.

(45) ...kiada keru aniqe ta qe ol=a kiaro ale...
all TEMP lpl.excl TOP lpl.excl 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’.

(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 yakapeuru ale azo*...
3sg.f=come=RMP=RELf western.country in ABL

Making it short, I am going to tell a story which came from a western country...

(10-14-121)
From here they travelled through a bush. (10-10-85)

Where did she come from? (59-3-25)

Azo marks a starting point of extension of time, when it govern a temporal phrase.

Note that in (46) and (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.

(51) \[\text{taukavole} \text{ ko}=\text{ta} \text{ aer}=\text{a}.\]

\(\ldots\)it would separate quickly. (34-1-9)

(52) \[\text{O}=\text{nokae}=\text{v}=\text{a} \text{ matuvole}.\]

He called him loudly. (12-7-71)

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.

(51) \[\ldots\text{taukavole} \text{ ko}=\text{ta} \text{ aer}=\text{a}.\]

\(\ldots\)it would separate quickly. (34-1-9)

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 adjuncts repeated from §5.2.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sainio} & \quad \text{‘therefore/then’} \\
\text{soinio} & \quad \text{‘accordingly’} \\
\text{saitainio} & \quad \text{‘afterwards} \\
\text{saikazo} & \quad \text{‘following that’} \\
\text{sole} & \quad \text{‘that’s why’}
\end{align*}
\]

Except for **sole** ‘that’s why’, linking adverbials all occur only before the predicate.

\[(53)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ki} & \quad \text{esa} & \quad \text{inio} & \quad \text{ko}=\beta\text{ta} & \quad \text{siusiut}=\text{a} & \quad \text{inho}, & \quad \text{soinio} \\
\text{INTJ} & \quad \text{maybe} & \quad \text{FOCnf} & \quad 3\text{sg.f}=\text{CONT} & \quad \text{swim}=\text{PRES} & \quad \text{FOCnf} & \quad \text{accordingly}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pui} & \quad \text{ko}=\kue=\text{va’} & \quad \text{k}=\text{i}=\text{ko}=\text{la}. \\
\text{NEG} & \quad 3\text{sg.f}=\text{come}=\text{PRES} & \quad 3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{say}=3\text{sg.f}=\text{PRES}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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.

\[(54)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sito} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad \text{matu} & \quad \text{piza}=\text{ka}=\text{la} & \quad \text{maba}. & \quad \text{Sole} & \quad \text{puir} \\
\text{person} & \quad \text{very} & \quad \text{strong}=\text{LIG}=3\text{sg.m} & \quad \text{person} & \quad \text{that’s why} & \quad \text{NEG}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ke}=\text{rove}=\text{a} & \quad \text{noqoe}=\text{v}=\text{o}. \\
3\text{pl}=\text{can-PRES} & \quad \text{capture}=3\text{sg.m.O}=\text{NOM}
\end{align*}
\]

* Sito was a very strong person. Because of that, they could not capture him.

\[(12-7-64/65)\]

\[(55)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{...se} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad \text{ke}=\text{ziaroli}=\text{oke}, & \quad \text{ako} & \quad \text{se}=\text{ko} & \quad \text{maba}=\text{mu}=\text{ko} \\
\text{3pl} & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad 3\text{pl}=\text{mourn}=\text{HIS} & \quad \text{INTJ} & \quad 3\text{pl}=3\text{sg.f} & \quad \text{person}=\text{COLL}=3\text{sg.f}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{piza} & \quad \text{se} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad \text{ke}=\text{k}=\text{e}=\text{ake} & \quad \text{sole}. \\
\text{bone} & \quad \text{3pl} & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad 3\text{pl}=3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{see}=\text{HIST} & \quad \text{that’s why}
\end{align*}
\]

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.
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].

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.
Kiada keru ti ko ikio se=a saidi=ko saev=o.
Nioqa ti go ol=a kiaro kale...
Nioqa=vo mama mati o ol=a ju kale niuniu
\textit{vaili=k=o=le}.

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)

Ni vo ta o=ta ke=ve mata abu=le.
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.

...maba uri=a maqin=o o=ta ev=a...
...truly he became nicely full... (43-3-27)

Muli ‘altogether’ and saita ‘first’ occur only after the predicate.

Erisanga ta kiada=mu ta ke ev=a
keta=le muli kiada=mu Vella La Vella maba poso.

Today, everyone stays together at the coast, every one, \textit{Vella La Vella} people. (9-6-42)

Mata/mati means ‘again’ as in (61) below but this can be interpreted as ‘as expected/as usual’. This is the case in example (58) above, in which it is suggested that this kind of situation customarily/repeatedly occurs. In (61), the context tells that the same situation occurred before, and thus \textit{mata/mati} is simply interpreted as ‘again’.

...o=pekao=va, o=dokol=a mati o=pekao=va...
...he danced, he stopped, and then again he danced... (26-12-67)

222
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.

(62) \[ me=q=ati \quad vail=ou \quad pala. \]
\[ 1pl.incl=3sg.f.O=VAL \quad look=FUT \quad only \]
\[ ...we will only look after her. (59-9-74) \]

10.10 Similative

The general modifier *jari* ‘like’ has scope over the verbal predicate and thus functions as a similative adjunct. *Jari* ‘like’ can occur only after the predicate.

(63) \[ ke=ta \quad kule=a \quad jari \quad se=ko \quad zaloni \quad kale. \]
\[ 3pl=SIT \quad be.first=PRES \quad SIML \quad 3pl=3sg.f \quad ornament \quad in \]
\[ It was like they won with their ornaments. (67-5-50) \]
\[ (more \; literally \; ‘...It \; was \; like \; they \; were \; the \; first \; in \; their \; ornaments.’) \]

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.

(64) \[ o=pekao=va \quad yo=ko \quad tali=o \quad kale... \]
\[ 3sg.m=dance=PRES \quad 3sg.m=3sg.f \quad walk=NOM \quad in \]
\[ ...he \; danced \; in \; his \; walk \; (he \; danced \; walking)... \; (26-12-65) \]

(65) \[ Ko \quad ta \quad siu=le \quad ju \quad kale. \]
\[ 3sg.f \quad TOP \quad swimNOM=in \quad water \quad in \]
\[ She \; was \; in \; water, \; in \; swimming \; (she \; was \; swimming). \; (59-7-57) \]

*Siule* ‘in swimming’ and *ju kale* ‘in water’ in example (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.

(66) Ko=a niuniu ta pui tali kale inio
3sg.f=LIG fish TOP NEG fishing.rod with FOCnf

As for the fish, it wasn’t with a fishing rod he got them... (24-6-65)

10.13 Comitative

A PP headed with the comitative postposition sate ‘with’ presents a referent, either animate or inanimate, which accompanies some other referent.

(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)

(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.
FOCnf s.t.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.

(70) Ko ol=ala zari-zari pide.
3sg.f go=RCP REDUP-baggage PRIV

She went without baggage.
She returned without [her] child.

10.15 Benefactive
A PP headed with the benefactive postposition *kage* presents a beneficiary.\(^{71}\)

(72) \[ \text{A ere=k=ala ko mola vo kage.} \]

\[ \begin{array}{llll}
1sg & \text{make=3sg.f.O=RCP} & 3sg.f & \text{canoe} & 3sg.m & \text{BEN} \\
\end{array} \]

I made a canoe for him.

(73) \[ \text{A=m=ati vail=ala meqora poso titisa kage.} \]

\[ \begin{array}{llllll}
1sg=3pl.O=VAL & \text{look=RCP} & \text{child} & \text{PL} & \text{teacher} & \text{BEN} \\
\end{array} \]

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’.

(74) \[ \text{Ngo ta gospel=ko k=i=o kale avo inio.} \]

\[ \begin{array}{llllllll}
2sg & \text{TOP} & \text{Gospel=3sg.f} & 3sg.f.O=say=NOM & \text{because.of} & \text{FOCnf} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ k=i=0 \]

You are here now because of the word of the Gospel... \(10-18-151\)

(75) \[ \text{Alil=o melai matu kubo se ta ke alil=a} \]

\[ \begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{be.born=NOM} & \text{also} & \text{very} & \text{many} & 3pl & \text{TOP} & 3pl & \text{be.born=PRES} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ n=\text{enge=ko} \]

\[ \text{atatai melai matu kubo komi=a} \]

\[ \text{and} \]

\[ 1pl.excl=3sg.f \]

\[ \text{count} \]

\[ \text{also} \]

\[ \text{very} \]

\[ \text{many} \]

\[ \text{PROXsg.f=f=LIG} \]

\[ \text{taku so kale avo inio anga ta eri} \]

\[ \text{time} \]

\[ \text{that} \]

\[ \text{because.of} \]

\[ \text{FOCnf} \]

\[ 1sg \]

\[ \text{TOP} \]

\[ \text{s.t.like.this} \]

\[ k=i=a=la... \]

\[ 3sg.f.O=say=1sg=PRES \]

The birth rate is also very many, they were born, and our population is also very many this time; because of that I say something like this... \(64-3-22\)

---

\(^{71}\) An expression like ‘this is for you’ is expressed by a (headless) possessive NP.

\[ \text{Komi ta ngo=ko.} \]

\[ \begin{array}{llll}
\text{PROXsg.f} & \text{TOP} & 2sg=3sg.f \\
\end{array} \]

This is yours. \(64-3-22\)

In the above example, there is ellipsis of the possessee noun.

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Chapter 10 Adjuncts

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 (76), a locational adjunct precedes a circumstantial adjunct.

(76) ...kiada=ma maba madu se ta ke=sqoi=va. Ni ke=kue=va mull.
    all=LIG=3sg.f person COLLpl 3pl TOP 3pl=come=PRES
    Vonunu locational adjunct altogether
    ...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 (77), mata ‘again’ precedes a locational adjunct and takes a closer position than the locational adjunct.

(77) ...ko=ta koiv=a mata segara topo ...
    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 (78) mata ‘again’ occurs further from the predicate than the locational adjunct.

(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.

(1)  

\[ \text{Anga} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{titisa=lala}. \]

\begin{tabular}{ll}
  \text{1sg} & \text{TOP} & \text{teacher=1sg} \\
  \text{subject NP} & \text{predicate NP} & \\
\end{tabular}

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 (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 (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.
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 (3). Equational clauses express what the subject is.

(3) ...

The predicate of an equational clause can also be a PP headed with the simulative jari ‘like’.

(4) ...

This is not like a blood stain... (34-1-10)

The predicate NP always agrees with the subject NP in person. Thus, in example (5), in which the subject NP is first person, the predicate NP is marked as first person by a pronominal enclitic, and also singular, by a pronominal enclitic lala (1sg). In example (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 (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.\(^\text{72}\)

\[(5) \quad \text{Anga ta dokita}=\text{lala.}\]

1sg TOP doctor=1sg

I am a doctor.

\[(6) \quad \text{Vo ta dokita.}\]

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 (7).

\[(7) \quad \text{...ngo ta enge}=\text{ko...}\]

2sg TOP subject NP 1pl.excl=3sg.f 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, there was an example 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.

\[(8) \quad \text{Komi}=\text{a siele ta silo.}\]

PROXsg.f=LIG dog TOP small

This dog is a small one.

In this example, the predicate is realised as silo ‘small’ as a result of ellipsis of the head of an NP, siele ‘dog’, and ellipsis of the head of an MP, a pronominal enclitic ma (3sg.f), which modifies the head of an NP. Thus the full realisation of this predicate is silo=a=ma siele (small=LIG=3sg.f dog) ‘a small dog’. In this example, the head of an NP siele ‘dog’ is ellipsed first, as the head is recoverable from the subject NP komi=a siele ‘this dog’. Then, the head of an MP is further ellipsed. In the data, there are not

\[\text{72 Also, as described §7.2.2.1, first/second person marking is obligatory in first/second person NP. In the following example, the predicate NP is co-referential with the subject NP and thus it is second person, and this triggers a second person marking by a pronominal enclitic on the predicate NP.}\]

\[(\text{Ngo ta matu}=\text{la lasiverusu}=\text{nga.})\]

2sg TOP big=3sg.m boy=2sg subject NP predicate NP

You are a big boy.
many examples in which the head of an MP is ellipsed and in which 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.

(9)  
...ko=ko kolu ikio sai...  
3sg.f=3sg.f smoke FOCf there  
subject NP predicate AdvP  

...it was her smoke that was there. (59-10-81)

(10)  
Oe ta koi  
2du TOP here  
subject NP predicate AdvP  

[koana].  
PROXsg.f=LIG house at  
predicate PP  

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.

<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) and (12) have a non-specific location existential marker and distal existential marker respectively.

(11)  
[So=a=ma bazu-bazu] ta  
that=LIG=3sg.f REDUP-story TOP  
subject NP EXTsg.f predicate  

There was that kind of story. (10-8-67)
Chapter 11 Equational, Locational, and Existential Clauses

(12) \[ o=koi=k=a, \quad o=luap=ake \]

3sg.m=climb=3sg.f.O= PRES 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.

(13) \[ \text{[Kala] maba} \text{ ta [inevoana]} \quad \text{anga kasi.} \]

INDsg.m person TOP EXTsg.m predicate 1sg at 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.

(14) \[ \text{[inevoana]} \quad o=beta \quad teku=a. \]

EXTsg.m 3sg.m=CONT lie=PRES

...he is there, he is lying. (26-21-116)

(15) \[ \text{[ikoana]} \quad \text{ke=pa} \quad \text{lelepi=k=a} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{sa}. \]

3pl=PROS shake=3sg.f.O=PRES and.then there

...they shook it and there was food there. (59-3-27)

Example (14) occurs in a discourse where people are talking about him, the existing entity. In the preceding discourse of (15) 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 (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>
<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, PPs headed with the similative <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 *pui* between the topic marker and the predicate. The negation marker functions as an adjunct.

```
(16) ...komi=a tuvevo=a=ma...  
     PROXsg.f=LIG true=LIG=3sg.f  
     bazu-bazulao REDUP-folktale ta pui matu  
     very  
     ...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 (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 (18) expresses non-existence of an entity and thus it is a negative existential clause.
...some people were missing in the village, (26-2-13)

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 aspectual/modal markers are very restricted in the VPs of dependent clauses. These two factors distinguish dependent clauses from independent clauses in Bilua. 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 (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 indicated by square brackets. The underline indicates the constituent which is modified by a relative clause. This constituent is referred to as ‘object of relativization’.

73 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.
Chapter 12 Dependent Clauses

(1) [Kala maba [o=liliija=vi=ni]RC\_NP] [vo sate]
IND\_sg\_m person 3sg\_m=convert=3pl=RMP=RELnf 3sg\_m COM

o ev=ni] ta Daniela Bula.
3sg\_m stay=RMP=RELnf TOP Daniel Bula.

One man who converted, the one who was staying with him, was Daniela Bula.

(10-9-79)

Example (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 (2). In a headless relative clause, there is no overt object of relativization, 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 (2), this is indicated by the double underlined object clitic k (3sg\_f).

(2) A=q=ea=la \[o=pazo=k=ala=ma]RC\_NP.
1sg=3sg\_f.O=see=PRES 3sg\_m=hit=3sg\_f.O=RCP=RELf

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 vo (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 (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 (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.
Chapter 12 Dependent Clauses

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 (1), the common argument is ‘man’, and this is the subject of both main and relative clauses. In (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 (RELf), ma (RELf), ni (RELnf), and vi (REL), which are enclitics and which attach to the right edge of the VP in relative clauses. Vo is used with a limited set of verbs and is described later in this section. Vo 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>
<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>3sg.f</td>
<td>ko (RELf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-3sg.f</td>
<td>ni (RELnf)</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 is third person plural as a pronoun, 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 enclitic 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, which are in distribution, and they show a third person singular
feminine vs. non-third person singular feminine distribution.\(^74\) 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 (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 relative
clause is marked with \(ni\) (3pl), which is the form employed for non-third person singular
feminine. Example (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 \(ko\)(RELf). 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 \(ma\) (RELf).

(4) \(\text{Pujuo inio} \left[\text{vo=a maba} \right. \text{ko=a niabara}\)

\(\text{Pujuo} \quad \text{FOCnf} \quad 3\text{sg.m=LIg}\quad \text{person} \quad 3\text{sg.f=LIg}\quad \text{war.canoe}\)

\(\text{o=k=ati} \quad \text{ke=ve=ni}[\text{Rc}]\text{NP}\)

\(3\text{sg.m}=3\text{sg.f.O=VAL}\quad \text{go=RMP=RELnf}\)

It was \(Pujuo\), the man who went with the canoe. (25-1-8)

(5) \(\ldots[\text{komi=a maba} \left[\text{anga=ko pesi-pesi} \right. \text{ko=ta l=a}\)

\(\text{PROXsg.f} \quad \text{person} \quad 1\text{sg}=3\text{sg.f} \quad \text{REDUP-speech} \quad 3\text{sg.f.POSS} \quad 1\text{sg.O=VAL}\)

\(\text{k=o=a=ko}[\text{Rc}]\text{NP} \quad \text{ta} \left[\text{ko=kue=vi=ma} \right. \text{Japaniazo}[\text{RcNP}]\)

\(3\text{sg.f.get=PRES=RELf} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{sg.f.come=RMP=RELf} \quad \text{Japan} \quad \text{ABL}\)

\(\ldots\text{this person, who is taking my story, is one who came from Japan.} \) (10-17-142)

\(^{74}\) This distribution is in fact the same distribution as focus markers (§14.3.2), but focus markers are not
pronouns.
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. 75

Similar to an independent clause, a relative clause can be negated by placing a negation marker in front of the predicate, as in (6). An NP modified by a relative clause itself can be negated when this is a non-verbal predicate, as in (7).

\[(6) \quad \text{Komi} \quad \text{ta} \quad [\text{ko=a} \quad \text{suma} \quad pui \quad a=\text{ba}] \]
\[\text{PROXsg.f} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{sg.f=LIG cloth NEG 1sg=PROS} \]
\[\text{tatabarae=k=ala=ma} \quad \text{ravi}_{\text{RC}\text{NP}}. \]
\[\text{buy=3sg.f.O=RCP=RELf yesterday} \]
This is the cloth which I didn’t buy yesterday.

\[(7) \quad \text{Komi} \quad \text{ta} \quad pui \quad [\text{ko=a} \quad \text{suma} \quad a=\text{ba}] \]
\[\text{PROXsg.f} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{NEG 3sg.f=LIG cloth 1sg=PROS} \]
\[\text{tatabarae=k=ala=ma} \quad \text{ravi}_{\text{RC}\text{NP}}. \]
\[\text{buy=3sg.f.O=RCP=RELf yesterday} \]
This is not the cloth I bought yesterday.

Notice that the VP of the relative clauses in both (6) and (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 (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: \( \text{viqo} ‘\text{to hear}', \text{ereilo} ‘\text{to happen}', \text{and kalo} ‘\text{to occur}' \). 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’.

\[(8) \quad \ldots [a=g=ai] \quad \text{viq=e=vo}_{\text{RC NP}} \quad \text{komie=a} \quad \text{bazu-bazu} \]
\[1\text{sg=3sg.f.O=VAL hear=RMP=REL PROXsg.f=LIG REDUP-story} \]
\[\text{ta} \quad \text{eri} \quad \text{nio.} \]
\[\text{TOP s.t.like.this FOCnf} \]
\[\ldots \text{something I heard, this story is something like this. (22-1-2)} \]

75 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).
12.2.3 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 (10), there is no determiner and the relative clause precedes the head.

(10) 

\[
\begin{array}{l}
[[Ivangana \quad ke=k=ai \quad ere=k=a=ko]_{RC} \\
\quad hook \quad 3pl=3sg.f.O=VAL \quad make=3sg.f.O=PRES=RELf \\
\quad quli]_{NP} \quad ta \quad kilie, \\
\quad thing \quad TOP \quad shell
\end{array}
\]

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 (1), (4), (6) and (7), while a modifier may precede or follow the head. In example (11), a modifier kiadama ‘all’ follows the head and the relative clause follows this.

(11) 

\[
\begin{array}{l}
...ke=bori=k=a \quad [ko=a \quad ore \quad kiada=ma]_{NP} \\
\quad 3pl=carry=3sg.f.O=PRES \quad 3sg.f=LIG \quad tree \quad all=3sg.f \\
\quad [se \quad ke=vae=k=e=ma]_{RC} \\
\quad 3pl \quad 3pl=leave=3sg.f.O=RMP=RELf
\end{array}
\]

...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 (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.
Chapter 12 Dependent Clauses

In the time which is [just] coming, [the lives of] we Vella La Vella island people will become hard. (64-3-16)

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, (4), (5), (6), (7), and (11) it is specified by a demonstrative. In (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 (2) and (8) or a pronominal proclitic as in (9) and (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.

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 (2), (8), (9), and (14), it is third person. It is second person in (15) and it is first person in (16) below.

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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 (15) the second person singular pronominal enclitic nga is attached to the pronoun ni (3pl).

(15) \[A=nge=e=ala \quad [ngo \quad ol=ala=ni=nga]_{RC/NP.} \quad \text{Gizo} \]

\[1sg=2sg.O=see=RCP \quad 2sg \quad go=RCP=RELnf=2sg \quad \text{Gizo} \]

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 (16) and (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, but it is still coded as first person because of the agreement between subject and predicate NPs.

(16) \[Enge=a \quad saidi \quad ta \quad [[puli=a=ma]_{RC/NP.} \quad niuniu] \quad \text{Gizo} \]

\[1pl.excl=LIG \quad \text{family} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{NEG=LIG=3sg.f} \quad \text{fish} \]

\[nge=q=u=a=nip_{RC-ngela}_{NP.} \quad 1pl.excl=3sg.f.O=eat=PRES=RELnf=1pl.excl \]

We, [members of] our family are ones who eat no fish. (24-2-19)

(17) \[...anga \quad ta \quad [[a=zaulao=va=ni]_{RC=lala}_{NP}... \]

\[1sg \quad \text{TOP} \quad 1sg=hunt=PRES=RELnf=1sg \]

...I am one who hunts (a hunter)... (59-10-87)

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.

(18) \[Vo=a \quad meqora \quad ta \quad [q=ta]_{RC/NP.} \quad ke=ve=ni \quad \text{Australia} \]

\[3sg.m=LIG \quad \text{child} \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3sg.m=SIT \quad \text{go=RMP=RELnf} \quad \text{Australia} \]

That child is the one who went to Australia.

76 Notice however, the relative clause is non-restrictive; although it has no referent, one can identify the category.
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 (2), (6), (7), (8), and (11) it is the O argument, and in (1), (9), (14), (15), (17), and (18), it is the S argument. In (4) and (16), it is the A argument. In (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.77

(19)  
\[ A=q=ea=la \quad [ko=a \quad \text{chainsaw}] \quad \text{chainsaw} \]
\[ [ke=kati=v=e=ma]_{\text{NP}} \quad 3pl=give=3sg.m.O=RMP=\text{RELf} \]

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 (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. 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 (20) below has the semantic role of possessor, and this is realised as an added object by valency increase: 'person' in (20) cross-

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77 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.

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references on the VP by the object clitic \( v \) (3sg.m.O) on the valency-increasing marker.
The second relative clause in (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.

(20) \[ Vo=a \quad maba \quad ko=ta \quad v=a \quad vou=vi=ni \]
\[ 3sg.m=LIG \quad person \quad 3sg.f=POSS \quad 3sg.m.O=VAL \quad die=RMP=RELnf \]
\[ o=reko|RC|NP \quad ta \quad matu \quad duki \quad o=ta \quad ev=a. \]
\[ 3sg.m=wife \quad TOP \quad very \quad sad \quad 3sg.m=SIT \quad become=PRES \]

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 “[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 complement clauses 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.\textsuperscript{78} This fits with the description of nominalised complements by Noonan presented 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.\textsuperscript{79}

\textbf{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 only future, and hence its VP contains either the near future tense marker or 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 \textit{tu}. The complement clause, preceded by \textit{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, complement clauses are underlined.

\textsuperscript{78} However, when a nominalised complement has two arguments, one of the arguments is expressed by a non-embedded NP (see §12.3.4).

\textsuperscript{79} 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, as 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.

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 the subject and the predicate is reversed; the predicate precedes the subject, and the subject, the complement clause, is preceded by the irrealis marker tu. The predicate can only be an adjective. Thus,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Irrealis marker</th>
<th>Complement clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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,

...uri tu a=ba mumae=m=ou siqo kale.  
...[it will be] good for me to go and get them lost in the bush. (16-1-12)
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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 pre-verbal 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 the subject is never expressed.

(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 (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.

(26) ...a=q=a zari=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 (26) is very similar to the structure of example (21), which is an example of a finite complement clause. The difference here is that there is no occurrence of a pronominal proclitic in (26) as this is a non-finite complement clause, while there is an occurrence of a pronominal proclitic in (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 (22), (23), and (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 (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.

(27) 'Uri tu niae=v=io 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 (28), the pronominal enclitic o expresses the subject and this is further expressed by an NP omadeu maba ‘one man’.

(28) ...pui [ko=male] omadeu maba o=bori=k=o...
    NEG 3sg.f=match one person 3sg.m=carry=3sg.f.O=NOM
    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 (28), ko does not have any referent. In (29-a) below, it has a referent.
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 (29-a) can be paraphrased as:

(29-b)  Pui ko=male [ke=bori=k=o].
       NEG 3sg.f=match 3pl=carry=3sg.f.O=NOM NEG 3sg.f=match

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 Clauses

A nominalised complement in Bilua is an NP headed with a nominalised verb. In the following example, the nominalised verb *saev=o* means ‘life’.

(30)  ...uri=a=ma saev=o qo=k=o=e.
       good=LIG=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 (31), the demonstrative *vo* (3sg.m) forms the possessor NP and this presents the subject of the nominalised verb, while in (32), the noun *mego* ‘bonito’ forms the possessor NP and this presents the object of the nominalised verb.

(31)  A=q=e=a vo=ko vouvat=o...
       1sg=3sg.f.O=see=PRES 3sg.m=3sg.f kill=NOM
I saw his killing (of someone)... (12-13-113)

(32)  Ko ikio mego=ko k=ov=o.
       3sg.f FOCsg.f bonito=3sg.f 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
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possessive NP which includes the subject expression always precedes the NP which expresses the object. In (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 (33), this is ‘the person (the woman)’.

(33)  
\[ \begin{array}{c}
V_0=ko \\
3sg.m=3sg.f \\
\text{vouvae}=k=o \\
\text{kill}=3sg.f.O=NOM \\
\text{ko}=a \\
3sg.f=LIG \\
maba \\
\text{person} \\
ta \\
\text{TOP} \\
\end{array} \]

matu ruqe.

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 (30), or a determiner as in (34), and also it can have any function: they are objects in (30) and (31), the predicate of a non-verbal clause in (32), the subject of a non-verbal clause in (33), and the subject of a verbal clause in (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 here 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).

(34)  
\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{komi}=a \\
\text{PROXsg.f=LIG} \\
\text{pazokini}=o \\
\text{fight=NOM} \\
ta \\
\text{TOP} \\
\text{ko} \\
3sg.f \\
\text{erei} \\
happenRMP \\
\text{siolotlu} \\
eight \\
\text{paizana} \\
hundreded \\
\text{year} \\
\text{keru.} \\
\text{TEMP} \\
\end{array} \]

...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 clauses 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.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{...} \\
\text{1pl.excl=can=PRES} \\
\text{IRR} \\
\text{3sg.f.O=get=NOM} \\
\text{3sg.f money} \\
\text{...we could get money... } (64-2-11)
\end{array}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{...} \\
\text{1sg=can=PRES} \\
\text{TOP} \\
\text{NEG} \\
\text{1sg=can=PRES=RELnf=1sg} \\
\text{walk.fastNOM} \\
\text{...I am not one who can walk fast or fly. } (15-1-6)
\end{array}
\]

**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.
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(37) \[ ... o = \text{tanit}\text{=}ake \quad \text{tali=}o... \quad \text{3sg.m}\text{=}begin\text{=}HIST \quad \text{walk=}NOM \]

...he started walking... (26-11-60)

(38) \[ \text{Melai pui o} \quad \text{epez=}a \quad \text{keru-kerue=}k=\text{o}... \quad \text{but} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{3sg.m} \quad \text{stop=}\text{PRES} \quad \text{REDUP-think=}3\text{sg.f.O=}\text{NOM} \]

But, he didn’t stop thinking about her... (27-23-152)

*Lupao* ‘to refuse’ is an intransitive verb but can still take an O NP but this requires the valency-increasing construction as in (39), while it can take an O complement clause without employing the valency-increasing construction as in (40).\(^80\)

(39) \[ ... \text{ko=}ta \quad \text{ng=}a \quad \text{lupao=}\text{vou.} \quad \text{3sg.f=}\text{SIT} \quad \text{2sg.O=}\text{VAL} \quad \text{refuse=}\text{FUT} \]

...she will refuse you. (27-4-22)

(40) \[ ... \text{a=}lupa \quad \text{rae=}v=\text{o}... \quad \text{1sg=}\text{refuse} \quad \text{marry=}3\text{sg.m.O=}\text{NOM} \]

...I refuse to marry him... (27-7-48)

*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.

(41) \[ \text{Ko=}\text{pai=}k=a \quad \text{nabul=}o. \quad \text{3sg.f=}\text{finish=}3\text{sg.f.O=}\text{PRES} \quad \text{bake=}\text{NOM} \]

She finished baking. (67-3-29)

*Zario* ‘to want’ is an intransitive verb, but it is always used in the valency-increasing construction and thus this takes two core arguments. *Madoeko* ‘to try’ and *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,

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\(^80\) *Lupao* ‘refuse’ with the present tense-marking enclitic, *lupao*=va (refuse=PRES) is often realised as *lupa*. 252
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’)

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 (42) and the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker preceding the verb zario ‘to want’ in (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 hypothesized 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. Example (22) is repeated from §12.3.2.

(44)  
We try to chase [wild animals] (but unsuccessfully)... (64-3-19)

(45)  
...I want to tell a folktale. (24-1-1)

81 As the translation in the brackets suggests, this is not a causative clause, and thus the verb ‘to study’ is not causativized.
Chapter 12 Dependent Clauses

The following table presents a summary of verbs which take finite and non-finite complement clauses.\(^2\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Finite/non-finite</th>
<th>Co-referentiality of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tanito/tanieko</td>
<td>non-finite</td>
<td>co-referential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epezo</td>
<td>non-finite</td>
<td>co-referential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lupao</td>
<td>non-finite</td>
<td>co-referential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roveo</td>
<td>non-finite</td>
<td>co-referential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paiko</td>
<td>non-finite</td>
<td>co-referential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madoeko</td>
<td>finite</td>
<td>co-referential or not co-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zario</td>
<td>finite</td>
<td>referential</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

---

\(^2\) 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:

...qo inainao=va tu [zio] kiaro kasi
    3du REDUP-get.ready=PRES IRR goNOM garden at
    saila-saliao=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’.

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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 and Longacre 1985: 177). Only temporal clauses can be substituted by a single word, whereas others cannot. They are also distinguished by the ability/inability to be a focus or a topic. Temporal clauses can be a topic or a focus, while others cannot.

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.

(47) ...kubo maba madu ke=kail=a keru kiaro kasi se
    many person COLL.pl 3pl=go.up=PRES TEMP garden at 3pl
    ta ke=rove=a tu barol=o se=ko peuru kale.
    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 (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 (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 (48).

(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 (49). A transitive verb never occurs in such a temporal clause (see below).

(49) 
\[ \ldots ke=beta \quad koazat=a \quad keru \quad inio, \quad ni=a \]
\[ 3pl=CONT \quad get=PRES \quad TEMP \quad FOCnf \quad PROXpl=LIG \]
\[ kana \quad madu \quad ta \quad ke=ta \quad baro=a. \]
\[ war \quad COLLpl \quad TOP \quad 3pl=SIT \quad arrive=PRES \]

...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 pre-verbal position.

(50) 
\[ [S \ NP \ VP] \ maqa \quad VP \Rightarrow V(=object \ clitic)=NOM \]
\[ So \quad keru \quad vo \quad teku \quad maqa \quad inio \quad kurou \quad ta \]
\[ that \quad TEMP \quad 3sg.m \ lie.downNOM \quad while \quad FOCnf \quad pigeon \quad TOP \]
\[ o \quad atait=ake. \quad 3sg.m \ count=HIST \]

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 (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.
Kasa ko=m=ai i=k=a se ke=matu
sight V=3sg.f=3pl.O=VAL put=3sg.f.O=PRES 3pl 3pl=very
mutai=va koi. So maqa inio se ta ke=pa
hide=PRES place that while FOCnf 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 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 pre-verbally.

\[
[(S NP/adjunctival phrase) VP] palate \Rightarrow V(=object clitic)=NOM
\]

Australia el=o palate inio a=qe=ve kubo
Australia stay=NOM palate while FOCnf 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 post-verbal position.

\[
puliako [(S NP) VP (adjunctival phrase)] \Rightarrow V(=object clitic)=NOM
\]

...puliako nioqa tada=o nio o ol=a
before 3du depart=NOM FOCnf 3sg.m go=PRES
o=pa k=o=a ko kokoro.
3sg.m=PROS 3sg.f.O=get=PRES 3sg.f 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.)

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Puliako komi=a lotu saev=o
before PROXsg.f=LIG Christianity survive=NOM

barol=o koi,
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 (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 (50), they are not co-referential. *Palate* can be used both when they are co-referential and when they are not co-referential. In (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 (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 *keru* has the meaning ‘while’, as in (49). On the other hand, when *keru* has the meaning ‘when’, as in (47) and (48), the situation is not presented as atelic, as the situation 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 (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, (50) and (52) 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 (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 pre-verbal position while an optional adjunctival phrase occurs in post-verbal position. Thus, the structure of a purposive clause is:

\[(O \text{ NP}) \text{VP}=\text{le} \ (\text{adjunctival phrase}) \rightarrow \text{VP} \Rightarrow \text{V (=object clitic)}=\text{NOM}\]

A purposive clause follows the main clause.

(55) \[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Vo} & \text{ta} & \text{o}=ta & \text{ke}=ve \\
3\text{sg.m} & \text{TOP} & 3\text{sg.m}=\text{SIT} & \text{go}=\text{RMP} \\
\end{array}
\text{leba vailizat}=o=\text{le}
\]

Malaita.

He went to Malaita to look for labourers. (12-2-14)

(56) \[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Ke}=\text{ta} & \text{kail}=a & \text{Koro-koroqanisi} & \text{kasi} \\
3\text{pl}=\text{SIT} & \text{go.up}=\text{PRES} & \text{REDUP-Korokoroqanisi} & \text{at} \\
\end{array}
\text{pazo-kini}=o=\text{le}.
\]

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.
Chapter 12 Dependent Clauses

(57) Counterfactual

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.

(58) Hypothetical

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’. 83

(59) Kailot=omo tea.

It was time to go up!

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:

83 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.
(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 and 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 pre-verbal position. An absolutive clause can either precede or
follow the main clause.

\[
\text{[(NP) VP] kale} \quad \text{VP} \Rightarrow \text{PRON=V(=object clitic)=NOM}
\]

(60) \(\ldots\text{megora me=baidae=k=0 ale ko=ta}\)
\begin{align*}
\text{child} & \quad \text{2pl=finish=3sg.f.O=NOM} \\
\text{raneo=vou} & \quad \text{in} \\
\text{sleep.overnight=FUT} & \quad \text{3sg.f=SIT}
\end{align*}
\begin{itemize}
\item \ldots\text{no good to eat up children, it’s going to be dawn. (47-2-90)}
\item \ldots\text{more literally ‘...no good to finish children, it will sleep overnight.)}
\end{itemize}

(61) \(\ldots\text{ko=k ko=ko vima ta pui ngo el=ou}\)
\begin{align*}
\text{3sg.f=3sg.f} & \quad \text{underneath} \\
\text{ko=a} & \quad \text{TOP} \\
\text{duruo ko=ng=ai} & \quad \text{NEG} \\
\text{raibizi=o} & \quad \text{2sg} \\
\text{kale.} & \quad \text{FUT}
\end{align*}
\begin{itemize}
\item \ldots\text{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)}
\end{itemize}

Example (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 his 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
- 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.

(1) Ne=a matu peuru ta matu kubo maba madu
PROXsg.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 (2), the two linked nouns form one constituent, and this is the head of the possessive NP.

(2) Ni o=zio=vou ko=a sinaqurusu=ko [mama] ni
and 3sg.m =go=FUT 3sg.f=LIG girl=3sg.f father
[mania] kidi kasi.
mother COLL.du at

He will go to the father and mother of the girl. (26-1-6)

Mama ni niania kidi in (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 (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.

(3) Ke inainae=k=0=a=ma ta [bolo] ni [mania]  
3pl get.ready=3sg.f.O=FUT=LIG=RELf 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 (3), the coordinator ni ‘and’ before meqo ‘bonito’ cannot be omitted, but the others can be omitted.84

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’.

(4) [Qo=sukati=k=a ko bita], ni [nioqa ta  
3du=fill=3sg.f.O=PRES 3sg.f string.bag and 3du TOP  
qo=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 ti/ta ‘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

84 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.
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. In (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.

(5) \[\text{Ko=a omolomolo o=viq=a keru, ma ko=a kora o=viq=a keru, inio ma ta o=ta matu pekao=ke.} \]

When he heard the echo or when he heard the sound, he danced hard. (26-13-74)

The following is another example.

(6) \[\text{Eri s.t.like.this k=i=o=la 'O' k=i=o=la.} \]
\[\text{Ti and.then 3sg.m=send=3sg.f.O=HIST k=i=a=la.} \]

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 (7), linked NPs form a possessor NP, and this is marked with a possessive marker ko (3sg.f).

\[\text{85 It may be said that coordinators here function like linking adverbials (see §10.6), but unlike linking adverbials which do not necessarily occur in clause initial position, that is, which may occur clause internally, coordinators can only occur clause externally.} \]
Chapter 13 Coordination

(7) NPs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Omuqa</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>COLLdu</td>
<td>FOCnf</td>
<td>push=FUT</td>
<td>omuqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>3sg.f=LIG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu</td>
<td>3du</td>
<td>stick-RECP=FUT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[ko=a rekorusu] ni [vo=a lasiverusu=ko]

Omuqa kidi tu qo=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)

(8) PPs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>quantity</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vella La Vella</td>
<td>udu</td>
<td>island</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kale=a=mu</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ke=ke=ve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[edo-edolo=a=ma]</td>
<td>zae poso kale</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[edo-edolo=a=ma]</td>
<td>tou-tou kale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vella La Vella people went to different areas and to various tribes. (12-9-84)

(9) Non-verbal predicates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ne=a utupe</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>[puli=a=ma seseu sa=la]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ni [puli=a=ma vo=ko] | zavu-zavu | ni [puli=a=ma]
| vo=ko taka | | |

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.')

13.2.3 Disjunctive Coordination

The disjunctive coordination connectives are not used in Wolof. The following are some examples of disjunctive coordination with different types of connectives. The conjunction has a different function than the use of a disjunctive NPs as illustrated below. When clauses are linked by a disjunctive connective, each linked clause may result in a change of tense in the matrix. In (11), the change of the tense results in the looking for fish before he went to the stream.
(10) Dependent clauses

So keru [ke] ilusi=v=e keru] ni worship=3sg.m.O=RMP TEMP and
[ke=lulue=v=e keru] ni worship=3sg.m.O=RMP TEMP and
3pl=follow-3sg.m.O=RMP 3pl=can=RMP

k=el=o ko ko=kati=m=e=ma quli ni ko 3sg.f.O=see=NOM 3sg.f 3sg.f=give=3pl.O=PRES=RELf thing and 3sg.f
ko=m=ai ruali=k=e=ma quli se=ko 3sg.m=3pl.O=VAL make it true=3sg.f.O=RMP=RELf thing 3pl=3sg.f
aza-aza=ma tuvevoput=o poso kale. REDUP-various=3sg.f believe=NOM PL in
That time, when they worshiped 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)

(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 sub-parts 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 (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 (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.
(12) Nouns

\[
\text{...n=ov=ou ko [niuniu] ma [bio]...}
\]

1pl.excl=3sg.f.O=get=FUT 3sg.f fish or shell

...we will get fish or shell... (64-2-12)

(13) NPs

\[
\text{...[nioqa=ko niania] ma [nioqa saidi] ta}
\]

3du=3sg.f mother or 3du family TOP

qo=kejue=k=a ko=a niania

3du=cook=3sg.f.O=PRES 3sg.f=LIG niuniu,

fish...their mother or two of the family cook the fish, (24-3-26)

(14) PPs

\[
O=ta ol=ala [kiaro kasi] ma [siqo kale].
\]

3sg.m=SIT go=RCP garden at or bush in

He went to the garden or to the bush.

(15) Non-verbal predicates

\[
\text{Vo ta [dokita] ma [nesi].}
\]

3sg.m TOP doctor or nurse

He is a doctor or a nurse.

(16) Dependent clauses (repeated from 13.2.1 above)

\[
\text{[Ko=a omolomolo o=viq=a keru]}, \text{ ma or}
\]

3sg.f=LIG echo 3sg.m=hear=PRES TEMP

[ko=a kora o=viq=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)

(17) Independent clauses

\[
\text{Vo=ko pekao ta ‘[kake ke=l=ati]
}\]

3sg.m=3sg.f danceNOM TOP INDpl 3pl=1sg.O=VAL

pesio] ma [kake ke=l=el=o,j]’ k=i=o=la...

speakNRFUT or INDpl 3pl=1sg=see=NRFUT 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, *ma* indicates variety/multiplicity.

(18)  
\[ Ke=ke=ve \quad [udu] \quad ma \quad [udu]. \]
3pl=go=RMP island or island

They went to an island or an island (various islands). (10-2-22)

(19)  
\[ ...nge=q=ov=ou \quad enge=ko \quad pade=ko \quad [kama] \quad ma \]
1pl.excl=3sg.f.O=get=FUT 1pl.excl=3sg.f house=3sg.f 1NDsg.f or

[**kama**]...

INDsg.f

...we will get something or something (various things) for our house... (64-2-9)

*Udu ma udu* ‘island or island (various island)’ in (18) and *kama ma kama* ‘something or something (various things)’ in (19) are similar to an English expression ‘this and that’ meaning ‘he wants lots of things’.

**13.2.4 Adversative Coordinator: *melai* ‘but’**

The adversative coordinator *melai* ‘but’ in general marks a contrast. When it links NPs, PPs, non-verbal predicates, or dependent clauses, *melai* always forms a complex coordinator with the negation marker *pui*. Usually, *pui* occurs in front of the first linked constituent and *melai* occurs between linked constituents, as in (20), (22), and (23). Linked NPs/PPs may occur discontinuously, and in such a case, both *melai* and *pui* occur in front of the second NP/PP. This is illustrated by example (21).

**20** NPs

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
Ni & se=a & kiada & maba & madu & se \\
SEQ & 3pl=LIG & all & person & COLL.pl.3pl & \\
vakil & melai & [se] & ta & ke=lupi=k=a & se=ko \\
troop & but & 3pl & TOP & 3pl=tie=3sg.f.O=PRES & 3pl=3sg.f & lezu \\
diri=a=ma & suma & kale. \\
red=LIG=3sg.f & cloth & in
\end{array}
\]

And all those people, not *Sito*’s troop, but they (all those people) tied red cloth around their heads. (12-5-45)

**21** PPs

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
...vo & ta & [o=potu & kale] & inio & o=k=o=a \\
3sg.m & TOP & 3sg.m=wound & with & FOcnf & 3sg.m=3sg.f.O=take=PRES \\
ko & niuniu, & melai & pui & [tali & kale]. \\
3sg.f & fish & but & NEG & fishing rod & with
\end{array}
\]

...he gets fish with his wound not with a fishing rod. (24-6-70)
(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)

(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.
FOCnf 1du.incl=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 or it functions as a coordinator by itself.

(24) Independent clauses

...[matu raisi-raisi ko=ta ev=a], melai
very REDUP-evening 3sg.f=SIT become=PRES but

[nioqa=vo mama ta pui o=baro=a] melai
3du=3sg.m fater TOP NEG 3sg.m=arrive=PRES

...even though it became late evening, their father didn’t arrive. (24-4-36)

(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 (26) meaning ‘but instead’.
(26) Independent clauses

\[ \text{NEG} \ 3\text{sg.m}=\text{call}=3\text{sg.m.O}=\text{PRES} \]

...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 and Longacre 1985: 199). In (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: \textit{inio} ‘sequentially/and then’

The sequential coordinator \textit{inio} ‘sequentially/and then’, glossed as SEQ, can only link independent clauses. It indicates a temporal, sequential relation. \textit{Inio} is often elided into nio.

(27) \[ \text{TOP} 3\text{sg.m}=\text{take}=3\text{sg.f.O}=\text{PRES} \]

\[ \text{REDUP}\text{-think} \]

...he got some thought and then he said something like this (24-2-18)

(28) \[ \text{TOP} 3\text{sg.m}=\text{say}=3\text{sg.m}=\text{PRES} \]

\[ \text{REDUP}\text{-think} \]

...he went down and then coiled the rope. (2-9-52)

It may be postulated that the sequential coordinator \textit{inio} ‘sequentially/and then’ and the focus marker \textit{inio} (see §14.3.2) historically have the same origin. \textit{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 \textit{inio}, it is sometimes ambiguous whether it is a focus marker or the sequential coordinator \textit{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 \textit{inio} forms one intonation unit with both the preceding VP and a clause which follows. In such a case, \textit{inio} is treated as a sequential coordinator in this thesis. On the other hand, if \textit{inio} and the preceding VP form one intonation unit of their own, \textit{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 (29). *Ti*, on the other hand, does not have such a connotation. There is no unexpectedness in (30).

(29) 

\[
\text{[Sainio] o=lilit=a} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{[kala] ziolo}
\]

\[
\text{therefore} \quad 3\text{sg.m} \text{=look.back=PRES} \quad \text{and.then} \quad \text{IND3sg.m} \quad \text{devil}
\]

\[
\text{lula=mu} \quad \text{ke=papue=v=e=ni} \quad \text{jari} \quad \text{topi].}
\]

\[
\text{before=3pl} \quad 3\text{pl}=\text{sit}=3\text{sg.m.O=RMP=RELnf} \quad \text{copra.shed top}
\]

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)

(30) 

\[
\text{...(ko=ta} \quad \text{surai=va} \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{[ko=ta} \quad \text{poda=k=a].}
\]

\[
\text{heal=PRES} \quad \text{and.then 3sg.m=SIT} \quad \text{come out=}3\text{sg.f.O=PRES}
\]

...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 *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.

(31) 

\[
\text{[Anga=ko keru-keru kale anga ta}
\]

\[
\text{a=qeru-keruto=a]} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{[ko=kue=va=ko taku ta}
\]

\[
\text{1sg=3sg.f REDUP-thought in 1sg TOP}
\]

\[
\text{1sg=REDUP-think=PRES} \quad \text{and.then 3sg.f=come=PRES=RELf time TOP}
\]

\[
\text{enge Vella La Vella udu kale=a=ma maba poso=ngela ta}
\]

\[
\text{1pl.excl Vella La Vella island in=LIG=3sg.f person PL=1pl.excl TOP}
\]

\[
\text{tapata nge=da el=ou].}
\]

\[
\text{hard 1pl.excl=SIT become=FUT}
\]

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)
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 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 (35) occurs in a story about traditional marriages in which situations described are generic.

...if you want [betelnuts] you yourself will climb [the betelnut tree]...

(more literally ‘...you want [betelnuts] and then you yourself will climb [the betel nut tree]...’ (59-8-68)
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 beta/be.

Again, the continuity marker here has the ‘sequential’ use.

Notice that in (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 says 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 (34) and (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 (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.

(37) 'koe ako so ta o=ta vou=vo inio
INTJ INTJ that TOP 3sg.m=SIT die=NRFUT FOCnf
anga=vo meqora vuat=o melai pui
1sg=3sg.m child eat=NOM too NEG
o=vuat=a sole,
3sg.m=eat=PRES that’s why

‘Oh, if it goes on like this he will die, my child, because he doesn’t eat either’, (27.5-27)

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 (30), (33), and (36). Second, in some of examples above, the topic marker does not necessarily mark a condition. For example, in example (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 thesis ta and ti are treated as coordinators when they follow a clause 86

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 (see Thompson and Longacre 1985: 190-191) and this is expressed by a clause followed by a causal coordinator as in the above examples. On the other

86 However, there appears to be no relationship between another topic marker melai and the adversative coordinator melai.
hand, imaginative conditions are expressed by a clause marked with a subordinator *te‘a* ‘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 (35). Present and past conditions are also expressed by a clause followed by *ta* or *ti*. Thompson and Longacre’s example for a present condition (1985: 190), ‘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 (38) below.

(38) 

```
[Esanioro]  ko=ta  ev=a  sai]  ti
maybenrain  3sg.f=SITbecome=PRESthereand.then
[anga=ko  car  ta  site-site].
1sg=3sg.f  car  TOPREDUP-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’.

(39) 

```
[Ko=ta  baro=a]  ti  [ko  ta  ko  ol=ala raro
3sg.f=SITarrive=PRESand.then3sg.fTOP3sg.fgo=RCPpot
pade  asi]  ti  [ko=zarupat=a]...
houseatand.then3sg.f=sweep=PRES
```

She arrived and she went to the kitchen and she swept... (59-6-52)

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).

(40) 

```
So  ti  so  vo=ko  saqor=o  kale  sipole  tiana
thatINTthat3sg.m=3sg.fsdescend=NOMnearmiddle
o=baro=ke  vo=ko  peuru  kale  aro  ti  saka
3sg.m=arrive=HIST3sg.m=3sg.fvillageinABLand.thenseaside
matu  peuru  kale  ta  tiana  vo  ta  o=dokol=ake.
biginTOPmiddle3sg.mTOP3sg.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)
...ke=ngavi=ko iruiruput=o maba poso ta matu
3pl=EMPH=3sg.f work=NOM person PL TOP very
ile-ile=a=ma kiti kasi azo ti lezu 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 *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 (42-a) 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* the second clause, which presents a goal.

(42-a) **Bilua eria ta Joroveto ju kasi azo ti**
Bilua area TOP Joroveto water at ABL and.then

ko=baro=a Koloa ju 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 (42-a) can be omitted and this results in (42-b), showing a similar structure to (40) and (41). Thus, *ti* can be treated as a causal coordinator when it occurs between an ablative PP and a locational PP that presents a goal.

(42-b) **Bilua eria ta Joroveto ju kasi azo ti**
Bilua area TOP Joroveto water at ABL and.then

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).

(43) **A iruiruput=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 (49) and (50)
NPs, PPs or VPs linked by *ti* always refer to a situation, and *ti* indicates intensity or persistence of the situation. For example, in (44) *ti* links two identical PPs, and it indicates the intensity of the fighting.

(44) PP

```
...[pazo-kini=o=le] ti [pazo-kini=o=le] ti
          hit-RECP=NOM=in INT hit-RECP=NOM=in

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 (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 only have 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 (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 (45), or the pronoun so ‘that’ which has a clause as its antecedent as in (46). In both examples, the linked NPs refer to situations.

(45)  ...[puze=v=o] ti [puze=v=o] ti

```
blow=3sg.m.O=NOM INT blow=3sg.m.O=NOM

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...

(more literally ‘...blowing it and blowing it, the claws became red...’

...
In (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 \( ti \) can 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, but \( ti \) cannot link clauses that contain constituents other than VPs.

(47) \[ \text{Ti} \ [o=ta] \ ol=a \] \[ \text{ti} \ [o=ta] \ ol=a \] \[ \text{ti} \ [o=ta] \ ol=a \] \[ \text{kingu} \ [o=ta] \ ol=a \]

... He went and went and went and went in the forest. (24-11-91)

(48) \[ \text{[Ke=kail=a]} \ \text{ti} \ [ke=kail=a] \] \[ ke=baro=ke \]

... 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 (49) or an adjective \( matu \) ‘big’ as in (50) below. The negation marker \( pui \) linked by \( ti \) indicates a strong negation.

(49) ... sole koi nio maba [pui] ti [pui] ngo el=o

... ‘so, truly you never stay here’, she said, (24-9-89)

Among all adjectives, only \( matu \) ‘big’ can be linked by \( ti \).
So, he looked back and he saw a very big coconut crab, (26-15-85)

Other adjectives cannot occur with the intensifying coordinator ti. With other adjectives, intensity can be indicated by a general modifier matu ‘very’ as in (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.

It might be hypothesized 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 thesis.

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 sub-parts. Clauses are normally linked by juxtaposition in fast speech or when the second of linked clauses presents an unrealised situation. Example (52) as the whole describes what the two do every morning and this has sub-parts.
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 (53), or a result, as in (54). The second clause can also be an imperative clause, as imperative clauses always present an unrealised situation. This is illustrated by (55).

(53)...

...she got ready in order that she will return again... (59-7-60)

(54) He will come, he will come, and truly (that will result in that) I will scold him. (24-8-82)

(55) ‘It’s not far away, leave it, she will go herself,’ she said. (27-22-140)
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_Tu_ is not a purposive/resultative subordinator; the second clause of example (53) contains a constituent marked with a topic marker, whereas a dependent clause cannot have a constituent marked with a topic marker. 87

Clauses linked by juxtaposition may express two simultaneous situations when the first clause has the verb _kelo_ ‘to see’ as in (56).

(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 (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 object of only Secondary verbs, and third, a Bilua finite complement clause immediately follows the VP of the main clause. Whereas, in (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 (56) cannot be treated as main plus complement clauses unless we establish another type of finite complement clause, which accommodates the structure of example (56). This, however, does not seem to be so motivating or economical, as such a complement clause would only occur with a clause containing _kelo_ ‘to see’. Furthermore, there is no syntactic/morphological marking of the second clause as a dependent clause. Therefore, it is better to treat example (56) as an example of juxtaposed clauses.

Two clauses are always linked by juxtaposition when the second of the linked clauses is an interrogative clause.

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87 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.
One might consider that the second clauses in the two examples above are interrogative complement clauses, as the English translations suggest this. Notice, however, the second clause in each example above contains a constituent marked with a focus marker: *noi* ‘how’ in (57) and *noniama saevo* ‘what kind of life’ in (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 thesis, 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 sub-types of accessible referents: textually accessible, situationally accessible, and inferentially accessible. This is summarised as follows (based on Lambrecht 1994: 109).

Figure 14.1 Different types of referent status

![Diagram showing the 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. These are 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. This is described in §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. This is schematised as:

![Figure 14.2 Topic Structure]

In the following, the term ‘topic constituent’ refers to a phrase marked with a topic marker. Note that it is not the case that the topic structure has 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 (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 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.

(1)  
\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{Vo ta}] & \quad [\text{qusini=ko varu o=k=o=a}] & \quad [\text{anga ta}] \\
3\text{sg.m TOP} & \quad \text{rope=3sg.f varu.tree} & \quad 3\text{sg.m}=3\text{sg.f.O=PRES} \\
\text{topic expression} & \quad \text{comment expression} & \quad 1\text{sg TOP} \\
\text{[bita=ko string.bag=3sg.f]} & \quad \text{ipupu ipupu.tree} & \quad \text{a=q=o=a}. \\
\text{comment expression} & \quad \text{comment expression} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

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88 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.
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 intra-clausal element. In example (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 (2), the topic constituent has a temporal adjunct status in relation to the predicate, and thus the topic and comment expressions form one clause.

(2) \[\text{Nio so keru ta bereti kio o=bori=k=a} \]
\[\text{and.then that TEMP TOP bread FOCf 3sg.m=carry=3sg.f.O=PRES} \]
\[\text{vo=a silo=a=la meqora...} \]
\[\text{3sg.m=LIG small=LIG=3sg.m} \]
And then as for that time [the second time], he carried bread, the small child...

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, extra-clausal element. In (3) below, the topic constituent is \text{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 \text{pesio} ‘to speak’ or \text{kelo} ‘to see’. Nor does it function as an adjunct of these clauses. Thus, in (3), topic and comment expressions do not form one clause.

(3) \[\text{Vo=ko peka=o ta ‘kake ke=l=ati pesi=o ma} \]
\[\text{3sg.m=3sg.f dance=NOM TOP INDpl 3pl=1sg.O=VAL speak=NRFUT or} \]
\[\text{kake ke=l=el=o,’} \]
\[\text{INDpl 3pl=1sg.O=sec=NRFUT} \]
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 extra-clausal element, regardless of whether the topic constituent has any relation with the predicate in the comment expression or not. In (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 two NPs in apposition; rekoama ‘the wife’ and voa sieleko reko ‘the wife of the dog’, and this is topicalised.

(4) ... reko=a=ma vo=a siele=ko reko ta, 
wife=LI G=3sg.f 3sg.m=LIG dog=3sg.f wife TOP

...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 extra-clausal element.

(5) ... enge=ko peuru kale ta matu kubo maba
lpl.excl=3sg.f village in TOP very many person

...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 extra-clausal element and the other may be an intra-clausal element. In such a case, the latter occurs closer to the comment expression. In (6), se=ko iruruput=o ‘their work’ is an extra-clausal element; it has no relation with the predicate in the comment expression. On the other hand, se ‘they’ is an intra-clausal element; it has a subject status in relation to the predicate in the comment expression. Consequently, se ‘they’ occurs closer to the comment expression.

(6) ... se=ko iruruput=o ta se ta ke iruruput=a
3pl=3sg.f work=NOM TOP 3pl TOP 3pl work=PRES

...as for their work, they, they worked in a garden. (26-1-4)

When two topic expressions are both intra-clausal 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 (7) an argument NP enge ‘we’ and a temporal adverb erisanga ‘today’ are both intra-clausal elements. They are a
core argument and an adjunct respectively. The former, an argument, occurs closer to the predicate than the latter, an adjunct.

(7) **Erisanga ta enge ta nge ukaka irurupput=a.**

today TOP 1 pl.excl TOP 1 pl.excl careless work=PRES

Today, we work carelessly. (10-19-164)

In (8) the first topic expression *aniqe ta* (1du.excl TOP) ‘we’ is treated as an extra-clausal element, even though the NP *aniqe* has a subject relation with the predicate in the comment expression. This is because this NP and the temporal adjunct *lea* ‘tomorrow’ do not take their usual positions — the NP precedes the adjunct. If the topic expression, *aniqe ta* ‘we’, was a part of the clause, it should occur after the other topic expression, *lea ta* ‘tomorrow’.

(8) **'Aniqe ta lea ta qe=pa barol=o anga=ko mama ni niania kasi saita.**

1du.incl TOP tomorrow TOP 1du.incl=PROS arrive=NRFUT lsg=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 (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 siqoa-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.
(1) So sole that that’s why ko=raneo=ke, 3sg.f=sleep.overnight=HIST ti and.then
ke=pitoe=k=ni=3 pl=choose=3 du.O=RMP=RELnf nioqa omuqa 3 du two maba kidi, person COLLdu
nioqa ta qo=ta kail=ake omadeu lekito. 3 du TOP 3 du=SIT go.up=HIST one early.morning
[2] Qo=kail=ake ti qo=kail=ake ti qo=kail=ake. 3 du=go.up=HIST INT 3 du=go.up=HIST
[3] Matu-kingu kale nio ne=a maba=ko peuru. big-forest in FOCnf PROXsg.m=LIG person=3sg.f home
[4] Qo=kail=ake qo=kail=ake ni qo=peati=k=ake 3 du=go.up=HIST 3 du=go.up=HIST and 3 du=go.over=3 sg.f.O=HIST
ko sopu, kadaule inio qo=baro=ke ne=a 3 sg.f hill instantly FOCnf 3 du=arrive=HIST PROXsg.m=LIG
siqo=a maba=ko peuru kale. bush=LIG person=3sg.f home in
[5] Ne=a siqo=a-maba ta sai o=peuru kale sai PROXsg.m=LIG bush=LIG-person TOP there 3 sg.m=home in there
nio o ev=a koi, sai nio vo=ko vinasa. FOCnf 3 sg.m stay=PRES where there FOCnf 3 sg.m=3sg.f heritage
[6] Qo=baro=ke sai ni eri k=i=qo=lake 3 du=arrive=HIST there and s.t.like.this 3 sg.f.O=say=3 du=HIST

Second, the speaker may employ the topic structure in order to draw attention to an event with a previously established topic referent. In example (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.
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(10) Ni puliako lotu tukeu vo ta
     and before Christianity be.longNOM 3sg.m TOP

\[ o=ta \quad \text{vou=ke.} \quad \text{Vo ta} \quad o=vae=m=a=ke \]
\[ \text{3sg.m=SI} \quad \text{die=HIST} \quad \text{3sg.m TOP} \quad \text{3sg.m=leave=3pl.O=PRES=HIST} \]

duki kale o=tou-tou ni o=meqorasaidi. Vo ta
sadness in 3sg.m=REDUP-tribe and 3sg.m=family 3sg.m TOP

\[ ke=daulae=v=ake \quad \text{sai Qao.} \]
\[ \text{3pl=bury=3sg.m.O=HIS there Qao} \]

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 \textit{ta}, \textit{ti}, and \textit{melai}

There are three topic markers in Bilua: \textit{ta}, \textit{ti}, and \textit{melai}. \textit{Ti} and \textit{ta} simply function as topic markers and have no semantic content. \textit{Ti} occurs in restricted environments. It occurs when the topic expression is an intra-clausal element and when the clause presents a habitual/generic situation. Example (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 \textit{ti}, not with \textit{ta}.

(11) \[ ...n1oga ti qo ol=a kiaro kale, go=mama ti \]
\[ 3du \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3du \quad \text{go=PRES} \quad \text{3du=father TOP} \]

\[ o ev=a pade kasi. \]
\[ 3sg.m \quad \text{stay=PRES} \quad \text{house at} \]

...as for the two, they went to the garden, and as for the father, he stayed at the house. (24-2-17)

\textit{Ti} can also occur when the topic constituent has an adjective \textit{kiada} 'all' as in the last example in (12).
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(12) 
\[\text{...enge ta nge=rove=a tu k=ov=o kubo...}\]
\[1\text{pl.excl TOP 1pl.excl=can=PRES IRR 3sg.f.O=get=NOM many}\]
\[sailao ivere kale, enge=ko kiaro kale=a=ma sailao food sea}\]
\[melai kubo melai uri siqo ore melai kubo too many garden in=LIG=3sg.f food...\]
\[kiada=ma quli ti ikoana. all=3sg.f thing TOP EXTsg.f...\]

...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 (12) is marked with ta, even though the topic expression here is an intra-clausal element and the clause describes a generic situation. On the other hand, topic expressions in example (9) are all intra-clausal elements and the clauses do not describe a habitual/generic situation. Therefore, the topic constituents can only be marked with ta. In (13) there are two topic expressions; the first one is an extra-clausal element, and so the topic constituent can be marked only by ta. The second one is an intra-clausal 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.

(13) 
\[\text{Melai vo ta kiada keru ta pui...}\]
\[but 3sg.m TOP all TEMP TOP NEG...\]
\[o=sisu=a=ni melai ko=a taku kale inio 3sg.m=have.fruit= PRES=RELnf but 3sg.f=LIG time in FOCnf...\]
\[omadeu pado ikiio vo=ko epa... one MESone FOCf 3sg.m=3sg.f fruit...\]

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 (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 sub-topic within the topic vo ‘it’. Kiada keru is not the topic of the second clause. The second clause does not have a sub-topic, and the topic is just vo ‘it’.

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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). 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) ...

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{vo=} & a & \text{siele=} & k=0 & \text{reko} & tuto \\
3\text{sg.m=LIG} & \text{dog=} & 3\text{sg.f} & \text{TOP} & \text{coconut.container} & \text{ale} \\
\text{k=0} & i=k=a & \text{ni} & niania=ka=ma & \text{melai} \\
3\text{sg.f} & \text{put=} & 3\text{sg.f.O=PRES} & \text{and} & \text{mother=} & \text{LIG=3sg.f} \\
\text{tuto} & \text{ale} & \text{ko} & i=k=a. \\
\text{coconut.container} & \text{in} & 3\text{sg.f} & \text{put=} & 3\text{sg.f.O=PRES} \\
\end{array}
\]

...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 and third clauses in (12) are non-verbal clauses, and their subjects are both marked by *melai*. *Melai* is employed here because these clauses present positive information about the subject, just as the first clause does.

### 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).

![Figure 14.3 The topic acceptability scale](image)

In Bilua only an NP which has an identifiable referent can be a topic constituent. Among identifiable referents, only active and identifiable 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 (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 (16) the referent of the topic NP *omuqa 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.

(15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Omadeu</th>
<th>3pl=3sg.f.O=VAL</th>
<th>kake</th>
<th>3pl.O=VAL</th>
<th>ta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>REDUP=elder=3pl</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>FOCnf</td>
<td>TOP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke=k=ai</td>
<td>REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES</td>
<td>bazu-bazuek-ini=a</td>
<td>komi,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl=3sg.f.O=VAL</td>
<td>PROXsg.f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke=k=ai</td>
<td>REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES</td>
<td>bazu-bazuek-ini=a</td>
<td>keru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl=3sg.f.O=VAL</td>
<td>komi,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lekasa</td>
<td>PROXsg.f</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chief</td>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>o=t=TOP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.m=POSS</td>
<td>m=a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lekasa</td>
<td>hear=HIST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

(16)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vo</th>
<th>3sg.m</th>
<th>ta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3sg.m</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>lake</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.m</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>=PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toupa kale</td>
<td>Nio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake</td>
<td>seq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o=soloe=k=a</td>
<td>3sg.m=POSS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.f.O=VAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toupa kale</td>
<td>omuqa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake</td>
<td>two</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o=tare=k=a</td>
<td>dangle=3sg.f.O=PRES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.m</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>=PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.m</td>
<td>wait=3sg.f.O=PRES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niuniu.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (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.
14.3 Focus

14.3.1 Introduction

Following Lambrecht’s definition of focus (1994: 213), 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 a 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 morphological 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 pre-verbal 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 pre-verbal 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. Whether this is marked by a focus marker or by a pre-verbal 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 pre-verbal position. In example (18), the focus constituent is a pre-verbal object NP ‘a big string of fish’.

(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 saqor=a.
    COM big=3sg.f REDUP-string.of.fish 3sg.m=3sg.f.O=VAL go.down=PRES

...when he came back with fish, he came down with a big string of fish. (24-3-23)

Example (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 (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 water’ in the fifth clauses are all objects. Each of these is the focus constituent of its clause and takes pre-verbal position. In the discourse where this example occurs, the son tells his mother to get

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89 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.
taro, embers, and coconut shells filled with water to go for a walk. The mother takes the actions described in (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.

(19)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ti</th>
<th>ko</th>
<th>i=ka,</th>
<th>ko=bori=ka,</th>
<th>bita=le</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>and.then</td>
<td>3sg.f REDUP-get.ready=3sg.f.O=PRES</td>
<td>3sg.f put=3sg.f.O=PRES</td>
<td>3sg.f carry=3sg.f.O=PRES</td>
<td>3sg.f string.bag=in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ina-inae=ka</td>
<td>rangauza</td>
<td>ko=bori=ka,</td>
<td>sakareju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.f</td>
<td>put=3sg.f.O=PRES</td>
<td>ember</td>
<td>3sg.f carry=3sg.f.O=PRES</td>
<td>coconut.shell.filled with water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti,</td>
<td>mau=le</td>
<td></td>
<td>ko=bori=ka=ka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and.then</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg.f carry=3sg.f.O=PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zouke</td>
<td>sakareju</td>
<td></td>
<td>ko=bori=ka,</td>
<td>three sakareju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg.f carry=3sg.f.O=PRES</td>
<td>coconut.shell.filled with water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakareju</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg.f carry=3sg.f.O=PRES</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 pre-verbal 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 pre-verbal position. The description of the focus structure so far suggests that the pre-verbal 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 pre-verbal 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. 90 The subject or the predicate of a non-

90 Incidentally, with this verb, the focus argument can only be the object. The subject of this verb never becomes the focus constituent.
verbal clause can also be a focus constituent, and these are also marked by a focus marker.

There are two focus markers in Bilua: \textit{inio} and \textit{ikio}, and they are often elided into \textit{nio} and \textit{kio} respectively. When a focus marker marks a constituent other than an NP, a focus marker is always realised as \textit{inio}, while when it marks an NP, it can be \textit{inio} or \textit{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>\textit{ikio}</td>
<td>3sg.f</td>
<td>unspecified number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{inio}</td>
<td>non-3sg.f</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, \textit{inio} (FOCm) rather than \textit{ikio} (3sg.f) is regarded as the default form, and it is because of this that \textit{inio} (FOCm) 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 \textit{ngavi} ‘self’ cliticised with a pronominal proclitic, PRON=\textit{ngavi} ‘by oneself, or an NP functioning as a complement of a VP is always marked with \textit{inio}. On the other hand, an NP headed with a quantifier is always marked with \textit{ikio}.  

In example (20), the constituent \textit{anga} ‘I’ is marked with a focus marker \textit{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 \textit{anga} ‘I’, and this is expressed by the second instance of the focus structure. Another presupposition

\[\text{Note that ‘unspecified number’ for non-human in Table 14.1 means that it can be any number – it does not mean that it cannot be specified for a number. Thus, there is no contradiction when \textit{ikio} is used for numerals.}\]
‘someone is the older one’ is deduced from extra-linguistic 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?’

(20) \[\text{kiada=qela ta qe=zio=vou anga inio kaka=ka=lala} \]
\[2du \quad \text{all}=2du \quad \text{TOP} \quad 2du=go=FUT \quad 1sg \quad \text{FOCnf} \quad \text{elder.sibling}=LIG=1sg\]
\[\text{anga inio koi a=dare=k=ou.} \]
\[1sg \quad \text{FOCnf} \quad \text{here} \quad 1sg=\text{wait}=3sg.f.O=FUT\]

Both of you, you will go, it is me who is older, it is me who will wait here.

(59-4-31)

Example (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.

(21) \[\text{O=beta saqor=a inio ko=a nene topi} \]
\[3sg.m=\text{CONT} \quad \text{go.down}=\text{PRES} \quad \text{FOCnf} \quad 3sg.f=LIG \quad \text{ngali.nut} \quad \text{top}\]
\[azo... \]
\[\text{ABL}\]

He came down from the top of the ngali nut tree... (2-8-47)

In (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 pregnant’ is given as a reason for the assertion expressed in the following clause ‘you will go and get water for her’.

(22) \[\text{\ldots ko ta molu=a=ma ikio tu} \]
\[3sg.f \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{pregnant}=\text{LIG}=3sg.f \quad \text{FOCf} \quad \text{IRR}\]
\[\text{ngo=ba k=a tobet=e,} \]
\[2sg=\text{PROS} \quad 3sg.f.O=\text{VAL} \quad \text{get water}=\text{IMPsg}\]

‘...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 pre-verbal 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

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92 This is one of the sub-function of it-clefts in English proposed by Prince; the it-cleft may suggest that one state of affairs is closely tied to another (1978: 902).
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 pre-verbal position and is marked with a focus marker.

(23) Nio sainio
SEQ therefore

nioqa=vo meqora ta o=ta
3du=3sg.m child TOP 3sg.m=SIT

mamul=a ta vo ta o=potu kale inio
be.suspicious=PRES and.then 3sg.m TOP 3sg.m=wound with FOConf

o=k=o=a ko niuniu melai pui tali
3sg.m=3sg.f.O=get=PRES 3sg.f fish but NEG fishing.rod

kale.
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 (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 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?’

93 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).
(24)  
\[O=l_ei\text{nio}l_ei\text{nio}e\ ti \ o=l_ei\text{nio}l_ei\text{nio}e\ ti \ o=l_ei\text{nio}l_ei\text{nio}e\ ti\]
\[3sg.m=REDUP\text{-lick} \ INT \ 3sg.m=redup\text{-lick} \ INT \ 3sg.m=REDUP\text{-lick}\]
\[o=\text{ta} \ v=a \ saivi=k=a \ ko=a\]
\[ti \ and.then \ 3sg.m=POSS \ 3sg.m.O=VAL \ heal=3sg.f.O=PRES \ 3sg.f=LIG\]
\[potu, \ ti \ vo=a \ maba \ ta \ dole \ inio \ o=beta\]
\[wound \ and.then \ 3sg.m=LIG \ person \ TOP \ snake \ FOCnf \ 3sg.m=CONT\]
\[ev=a. \]
\[become=PRES\]

...[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.

(25)  
\[...lai \ nio \ a=ba \ tare=k=ou’ \ k=i=a=la.\]
\[where \ FOCnf \ 1sg=PRES \ wait=3sg.f.O=FUT \ 3sg.f.O=say=1sg=PRES\]
‘...where shall I go and wait?’ I said. (2-5-30)

(26)  
\[Lala=nga \ inio \ ngo?\]
\[what \ thing \ FOCf \ 3sg.f\]

Who are you? (28-2-23)

However, in a non-verbal interrogative clause in which the question word is \textit{lai} ‘where’, that is, in a non-verbal interrogative clause that questions the location of the subject, \textit{lai} ‘where’ is never a focus constituent. Instead it is a topic constituent as in example (27).

(27)  
\[Lai \ ta \ ko?\]
\[where \ TOP \ 3sg.f\]

Where is she? (27-23-150)

It is rather peculiar that only an interrogative word \textit{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 \textit{lai} ‘where’ takes the predicate position of a non-verbal clause as in example (28).

(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 (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 (29) below, the subject NP is marked with a focus marker while the object NP takes a pre-verbal position, and thus both are focus constituents. The presupposition here is ‘someone told me something’.

(29) So *ino* *anga*=ko *kil*=o *meqora’, *k*=i=*ko*=ve,
that FOCnf 1sg=3sg.f come=NOM child 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.f=RMP

*anga*=ko *taite, *anga*=ko *nania* *kasi, *soinio,*
1sg=3sg.f g.parent 1sg=3sg.f mother at consequently

*a=niania* *ikio* *komi=a* *bazu-bazu*
1sg=mother FOCf PROXsg.f=LIG REDUP-story

*bazue=k=e,*
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 (29). Two focus constituents may both be marked with a focus marker, as in the last clause in example (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.

(13) *Melai* *vo* *ta* *kiada* *keru* *ta* *pui*
but 3sg.m TOP all TEMP TOP NEG

*o=sisu=a-ni*
3sg.m=have.fruit=PRES=RELnf

*melai* *ko=a* *taku* *kale* *ino*
but 3sg.f=LIG time in FOCnf

*omadeu* *pado* *ikio* *vo=ko* *epa*...
one MESone FOCf 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 (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 (30), the topic structure is employed in order to emphasise a contrast between the two: what the husband did and what the speaker did.

(30)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Qe-saqor=a} & \quad \text{inho,} & \quad \text{vo ta} & \quad \text{ju kale} \\
\text{1du.excl=go.down=PRES} & \quad \text{and.then 3sg.m TOP water in} \\
\text{o=vae=k=a,} & \quad \text{ko=a} & \quad \text{varu | anga ta} \\
\text{3sg.m=leave=3sg.f.O=PRES} & \quad \text{3sg.f=LIG varu.tree} & \quad \text{1sg TOP} \\
\text{nganiu ale a=vae=k=a,} & \quad \text{sun in} & \quad \text{1sg=leave=3sg.f.O=PRES} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 (11) and (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.94

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 (20) repeated below anga ‘I’ is chosen from three brothers, who were all candidates for the one who will wait. Similarly in (29) repeated below a=niania ‘my mother’ was selected from between the grandmother and the mother.

---

94 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.
Both of you, you will go, it is me who is older, it is me who will wait here.

(59-4-31)

In (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.

14.5 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,
Chapter 14 Discourse Organisation

Therefore, the mother, she said something like this in anger. (24-9-88)

In the preceding discourse of example (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 x)’ and ‘in anger’ replaces ‘emotion x’. 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 (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 x’ and the focus ‘at the end of the buni tree’ replaces ‘somewhere x’.

(32) ...vo ta sai buni=ko vaila inio o=beta papu=a.

...as for him, it was there at the edge of the buni 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,

(33) Nio nioqa saqe ta qo=kiada puli=a=ma nioqa=ko

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 also 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.

(34)  

\[
\text{Omedeu taku inio nioqa ta mata qo=ta kail=a.}
\]

One day, the two went up [to the garden] as usual.

In (34) the temporal adjunct occurs in clause-initial position 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.

(35)  

\[
\text{Vairutu anga ta a=q=a zari=a bazut=o}
\]

kama bazu-bazulao.

Now, I am going to tell a folktale.

Finally, the temporal adjunct *erisanga* ‘at present’ may occur clause initially in order to highlight the change of situation. In (36), *erisanga* ‘at present’ occurs in order to highlight that ‘he’, a coconut crab, who has been killing village people, died.
In summary, a temporal adjunct may precede a topic constituent, when it functions to link sentences, as in (33) or when it highlights a change, as in (34) and (36). It may also precede a topic constituent when it occurs as an introduction of a story, as in (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 sub-divided into textually accessible, situationally, and inferentially referents. Both subject and object NPs in Bilua can occur pre-verbally and post-verbally. 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 re-introducing 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 14.2 Pragmatic functions of unmarked NPs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic function</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Referent status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre-verbal</td>
<td>Post-verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re-introduction</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</td>
<td>active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus</td>
<td>re-introduction</td>
<td>textually accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>introduction</td>
<td></td>
<td>situationally/inferentially accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus</td>
<td>introduction</td>
<td>unidentifiable (both anchored and unanchored)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the primary function of an unmarked object NP in pre-verbal position is to present focus information, but when its referent is not active, it results in introducing or re-introducing a participant into the discourse.95

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 re-introduced into the current discourse.

The above table shows that an O NP in a pre-verbal position is a focus constituent. An S/A NP can also occur in a pre-verbal position but cannot be a focus constituent without being marked by a focus marker (see §14.3.2). This suggests that the pre-verbal position is a marked position for an O NP, whose unmarked, basic position is post-

95 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.
verbal. On the other hand, a pre-verbal 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 pre-verbal position for an S/A NP and a post-verbal position for an O NP, are the position each of them takes in order to re-introduce 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 pre-verbal 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 re-introduce 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 pre-verbal position or an object (O) NP in post-verbal position which has a referent other than an active or a textually accessible referent functions to introduce a participant into the discourse. Example (37) appears at the beginning of a story and thus the subject NP in pre-verbal position, 'pigeon and snail', has unanchored referents. In (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.

(37) **Omadeu** taku [kurou ni kobaka]s qe=beta
  one time pigeon and snail
  e=ke. Kurou ni kobaka ta
  stay=HIST pigeon and snail TOP
  baere-baere kidi.
  REDUP-friend snail TOP
  3du=CONT ur1=a=ma
  good=LIG=3sg.f

Once upon a time, there lived a pigeon and snail. The pigeon and the snail were good friends. (15-1-1/2)
...they tied their heads in a red cloth. (12-5-45)

A subject NP in a pre-verbal position and an object NP in a post-verbal position which has a textually accessible referent re-introduces a participant into the current discourse. The referent of the subject NP in a pre-verbal position, 'the mother' in (39), 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.

[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 post-verbal position, as in (40), as an S NP of the verb elo ‘to stay’, as in (37) above, or as the subject NP of an existential clause, as in (41) below. It is very rare for a new protagonist to be introduced into the discourse as an A argument. 96

96 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 (39), the A argument is not a new participant. It is a participant reintroduced into the discourse.

311
...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)

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 (37), (40), and (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.
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 (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. In the discourse where (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 re-introduction described in the last section since the NP re-introduces a referent into the current discourse.

(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 zuzzle-kin=ake ko=a
3sg.m Sito 3du TOP 3du=SIT squeeze-RECP=HIST 3sg.f=LIG

loloku kale. Matu taukavole, 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)

(43) ...qo=beta ol=a
     3du=CONT go=PRES

nio qo ol=a, ko=a reko=ko

peuru kale pade kasi qo ol=a,
  village in house at 3du go=PRES 3sg=LIG

mama ni niania kasi. Nio ko=k=e=a [ko
  father and mother at SEQ 3sg=3sg.f.O=see=PRES 3sg.f

kaka=ka=ma Amounts of
  elder.sibling=LIG=3sg.f 3sg.f=3sg.m.O=see=PRES 3sg.f 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 post-verbal 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.

(44) \[ ... \text{ne=a} \quad \text{vaiza} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{o=lulue=m=ou} \]
\[ \text{PROXsg.m=LIG} \quad \text{shark} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{3sg.m=follow=3pl.O=FUT} \]
\[ \text{o=lulue=m=ou} \quad \text{[vo=a \quad \text{vaiza}]} \]
\[ \text{3sg.m=follow=3pl.O=FUT} \quad \text{3sg.m=LIG} \quad \text{shark} \]

...this shark followed them, the shark followed them. (34-4-31)

(45) \[ ... \text{ne=a} \quad \text{vaiza} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{kiada} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{vo=ko} \]
\[ \text{PROXsg.m=LIG} \quad \text{shark} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{all place TOP 3sg.m=3sg.f} \]
\[ \text{tauvetzat=o} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{ere=k=e,} \quad \text{melai} \quad \text{omadeu} \quad \text{zae} \]
\[ \text{help=NOM 3sg.m make=3sg.f.O=RMP but one area} \]
\[ \text{kale inio ke=vouvae=v=e. Savo, Savo inio} \]
\[ \text{in FOCnf 3pl=kill=3sg.m.O=RMP Savo Savo FOCnf} \]
\[ \text{ke=vouvae=v=e [ne=a \quad \text{vaiza}]} \]
\[ \text{3pl=kill=3sg.m.O=RMP PROXsg.m=LIG shark} \]

...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 (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 (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.

(46) \[ ... \text{ngo ta} \quad \text{matu} \quad \text{si=lang} \quad \text{inio} \quad \text{ngo...} \]
\[ \text{2sg TOP very small=LIG=2sg} \quad \text{FOCnf 2sg} \]

...you are very small, you... (59-4-29)

14.6.4 Two Unmarked NPs in Pre-verbal 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 pre-verbal position.
It seems that in (47), the speaker wanted to make the subject NP *eqe* 'we' a focus as well as the object NP *uri=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 that 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, -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 such segmentation does not seem to 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.

The 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 |

The 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, niuam at ‘to spoil’ and niuame ‘to spoil’, share the root niuma and thus their 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.

Thus, 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 thesis, each combination is treated as a fully lexicalised form, that is, as a unalaysed 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=O relationship. This is also indicated in the table in the column for ‘Roots’. 

<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-z ‘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=A)</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=A)</td>
<td>tar-uan ‘to wait’</td>
<td>tar-e ‘to wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toilt ‘to wake’ (S=O)</td>
<td>toilat ‘to wake up’</td>
<td>toilat-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>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.t. up’</td>
<td>lojo-e ‘to stand s.t. 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 semi-reflexive 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 thesis.
Appendix 1

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.97

---

Appendix 2

Realisations of Tense/Mood Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense/Mood Markers</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A=da papu.</td>
<td>1sg=SIT sitNRFUT I am going to sit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A=q=a zari=a papu.</td>
<td>1sg=3sg,fo=VAL want=PRES sitNOM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

97 In this thesis, 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,
### 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, a elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near future tense</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>Ø / u, o elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future tense</td>
<td>ou / vou</td>
<td>ou / C, vou / V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recent past tense</td>
<td>ala / la</td>
<td>ala / C, la / V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote past tense</td>
<td>e / vi</td>
<td>e / C, vi / V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical tense</td>
<td>ake / ke</td>
<td>ake / C, ke / V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>on object clitics</th>
<th>on intransitive verbs</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imperative (sg)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>e / vi</td>
<td>e / C, vi / V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative (du)</td>
<td>oko / ko</td>
<td>oko / C</td>
<td>ko / V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative (pl)</td>
<td>omo / mo</td>
<td>omo / C</td>
<td>mo / V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 enclitization results in a sequence of identical Vs, this is realized as a single V. For example, the combination of *besizio* (to change)’ with a near future tense marker results in *besizio* (changeNRFUT).98

Table A.2 below presents some examples to illustrate the above generalization. The transitive verb *pazoko* ‘to hit’ is presented with a default object clitic *k* (3sg.f).

---

98 In this thesis, 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.
Morphemes in the square brackets merge with the preceding vowel and do not appear in the surface structure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table A2.2 Verbs with tense/mood markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (sg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (du)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (pl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 summarized in table 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 are never used. 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.

---

99 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.
### 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=vou</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=ev=ou</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=ka</td>
<td>k=ua=ke</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>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[=o]</td>
<td>kil=o</td>
<td>barol=o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>el=ou</td>
<td>zio=vou</td>
<td>kil=ou</td>
<td>barol=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>kev=e</td>
<td>kue=vi</td>
<td>baroi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>e=ke</td>
<td>ol=ake</td>
<td>ku=ake</td>
<td>baori=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>

100 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 A2.5 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>pusaiv=a</td>
<td>papu=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>zial=o</td>
<td>pial=o</td>
<td>pusail=o</td>
<td>papu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>zial=ou</td>
<td>pial=ou</td>
<td>pusail=ou</td>
<td>papu=vou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent past</td>
<td>zia=la</td>
<td>pia=la</td>
<td>pusail=a</td>
<td>papu=la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote past</td>
<td>zia=le</td>
<td>pia=le</td>
<td>pusai=ke</td>
<td>papu=ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>zia=ke</td>
<td>pia=ke</td>
<td>pusai=ke</td>
<td>papu=ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (sg)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>pusai=ke</td>
<td>papu=ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (du)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ola=ko</td>
<td>pusai=ko</td>
<td>papu=ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (pl)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ola=mo</td>
<td>pusai=mo</td>
<td>papu=mo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table A2.6 Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i ‘to say’101</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>

---

101 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. In these, present, recent past, and historical tense markers show regular realizations.
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 my 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 second text was told by a woman who was about 90 years old at the time of telling the story. The story is about how she and her husband used to collect *ngali* nuts\(^{102}\) 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).

English translations given here are free translations and are not necessarily same as those given in chapters of the thesis. 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.

\(^{102}\) *Ngali* nuts are of the *Canarium* species.
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.

There was a very big village in one area, and in that big village, there was a big chief, he was living there.

And there were many people there in that big village.
At the edge of this big village, there was a small village.

In that small village, there 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.
(11) **Siele inio vo=a meqora.**

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

**meqora sole ko=v=ati vail=a**

child that’s why 3sg.f=3sg.m.O=VAL watch=PRES

**ko=niae=v=a,**

3sg.f=feed=3sg.m.O=PRES that

**so ti so ti o=ta**

that that and.then 3sg.m=SIT

**rapu=k=a vo=a siele, siele-meqora.**

grow=3sg.f.O=PRES 3sg.m.O=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 ola kiaro, vo ta o=lulue=k=a**

3sg.f go garden at 3sg.m=arrive garden

**o=baroa kiaro kale inio vo ta o=marong=a**

3sg.m=arrive garden in SEQ 3sg.m TOP 3sg.m=sleep=PRES

**juli=ko raki ale.**

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 FOCnf 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.
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.
'Niania

mother

sole

that's why

nio

SEQ

vo

3sg.m

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.

Ka

pado

IND

MES one

kaka=ka=ma,

older=LIG

k=i=oi=la,

3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES

meqora,

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.

103 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 my 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 should be used, for example, example (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 her 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 may just be a mistake as well.
And then, ‘child’, the mother said, ‘you are not a human, but a dog, so she will not want, she will refuse you.

And 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.
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.  

And she cared for him.

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.

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104 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.
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.

She arrived there at the chief’s house, and then, ‘Oh, what do you want to say, come here, enter,’ the chief said.

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.

‘Oh, big chief, I came to ask for your daughter, my son wants to marry.
(32) **Melai vo=a meqora ta pui maba inio siele’,**
but 3sg.m=LIG child TOP NEG person FOCnf dog

*k=i=ko=la.*
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 uri,’**
INTJ very good SEQ 1sg TOP PROXsg.f FOCnf very good

*k=i=o=la,*
3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m= PRES

‘Oh, very good, for me, this is very good’, the chief said.

(34) **Nio ‘anga ta komi kio a=bori=k=ala, tu**
SEQ 1st TOP PROXsg.f FOCf 1sg=carry=3sg.f.O=RCP IRR

*a=qati=ng=ou, uri k=i=ko=vou ko=a meqora*
1sg= give=2sg.O= FUT good 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.f.= FUT 3sg.f=LIG child

**ta’ k=i=ko=la ti ko=v=a kase=k=a**
TOP 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.f.=PRES and then 3sg.f.=3sg.m.O=VAL show=3sg.f.O=PRES

**ko=a bakisa.**
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=IMPsg 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

**meqora, 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 inio.**
tell=3sg.f.O=PRES SEQ 3sg.f.=come=PRES 3sg.f.=come=PRES FOCnf

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.
The father said something like this.

'T Ngo ta
komi=vo meqora
o=k=a
2sg TOP PROXsg.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
melai vo=a
but 3sg.m=LIG
meqora ta pui maba inio siele inio'
child TOP NEG person FOCnf dog FOCnf
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.

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=lupa105
 that’s.why person 1sg=refuse NEG 1sg=PROS
pu i a=v=a
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
FOCf IRR 1sg=return PROXsg.f=LIG custom.money 3sg.f.O=VAL
vait=e'
return=IMPsg 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES 3sg.m=LIG chief
k=i=o=la
3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES

'Well, she refuses it, so, good, a problem, I return this custom money, take it home,’ the chief said.

105 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.
She carried the custom money and returned.

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. 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. She was coming by herself and so he lay and became sad.
Then, she arrived, the mother, and, ‘child’, said she, ‘this is what happened’.

She refused it, ‘she said “I refuse to marry him, because he is a dog not a human”, she refused you,’ the mother said.

And, ‘good, so, leave it,’ he said, he said, the son, the dog-child.

And then, it went on like that, on and on, and another time arrived.

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’.

And, ‘Oh, child,’ she said.
Appendix 2

(53) 'Kaka=ka=ma melai lula ko=ta lupao=la
older=IND=3sg.f too already 3sg.f=SIT refuse=PRES
sole visi=a=ma melai soinio 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=rorot=o melai uri’
that’s why leave=3sg.f.O=IMPsg NEG 2sg=marry=NRFUT but good
k=i=ko=la.
3sg.f.O=say=3sg.f=PRES

So, leave it, don’t marry, but good,’ she said.

(55) So ti o=ta kora-korai=va tu mata omadeu
that TOP 3sg.m=SIT REDUP-be.angry=PRES IRR again one
wiki ti niavo omuqawiki pui o=vuat=a, pui
week about 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=0 ti marong=0 ti
garden at therefore sleep=NOM INT sleep=NOM INT
marong=0 vo=a sile.
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
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.
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.

When she arrived there, she went to the chief, she went and said.

'I came again, to ask again because my son wants to marry very much.'
And then, that time, she didn’t give the custom money to him quickly, but she waited.

’Taruan=e’  
wait=IMPsg  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  FO CNf  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  FO CNf  3sg.m=tell  s.t.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.

’Ngo ta komi=vo  meqora o=ng=a zari=a
2sg TOP PROX.sg.f=3sg.m  child  3sg.m=2sg=VAL want=PRES
rae=ng=o  sole  uri  k=i=ngo=vou  ta
marry=2sg=NOM  that’s why  good  3sg.f.O=say=2sg=FUT  TOP
ngo=lulue=k=ou, nio ngo=rae=v=ou  komi=vo
2sg=follow=3sg.f.O=FUT SEQ  2sg=marry=3sg.m.O=FUT PROXsg.f=3sg.m
meqora  melai vo ta pui maba inio, melai siele’
child  but  3sg.m  TOP  NEG  person  FO CNf  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, a dog,’ he said.

’Ki matu uri’  k=i=ko=la  ko  visi=a=ma.
INTJ very good  3sg.f.O=say=3sg.f=PRES  3sg.f  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.
And, she followed the mother of the dog-child, and the two returned.

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.

And, the two arrived there, and he jumped around her, the dog’s way, he circled around her, and then the mother said something like this.

‘That’s him, who is my son,’ said she.
'Kio' k=i=ko=la  lekasa=ko  meqora,  
it i=ko= a  niania 3du  ko= 3pl  ta,  
and.then 3du  mother 3pl  child 3du  
qo=ko 3du  saila=saliaot=3du=le,  
3du  get.ready=PRES  IRR  goNOM  garden  at  
vo=a 3du  sailao 3du  nioqa.  
3du  dog-child  TOP  food 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.

O=baro=a  saï  nioqa 3du  sailao 3du  
3pl  arrive=PRES  there  TOP  food 3du  
koazat=a,  vo 3du  juli 3du  raki 3du  o=ta  
get=PRES  3sg.m  TOP  banana.tree  root  on  
marong=a.  
sleep=PRES  

He arrived there and the two got food, and he slept at the base of a banana tree.

Qo=pai=k=a  saïla-sailaot=o  3du  
3pl=SIT  finish=3sg.f.O=PRES  REDUP-get.food=NOM  and.then 3pl=SIT  
saïqor=a.  
go.down=PRES  
The two finished getting food and they went down.

Ke=ta  saïqor=a 3pl  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 3du  vo=k=a  ta  
food  3sg.f=cook=PRES  SEQ  3sg.m=3sg.f  TOP  
qo=v=a  3du  risae=k=a,  ko,  reko=a=ma  vo=a  
3du=3sg.m.O=PRES  throw=3sg.f.O=PRES  3sg.f  
sïele=ko  reko 3du  tuto  ale  
dog=3sg.f  wife  TOP  coconut.shell.container  
ko  i=k=a  niania=ka=ma  melai  tuto  
3sg.f  put=3sg.f.O=PRES  mother=LIG=3sg.f  too  coconut.shell.container  
ale  ko  i=k=a.  
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.
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.

One day, ‘mother,’ the son said.

‘Mother, you, you get ready taros, fire, and water, coconut shells filled with water, you carry coconut shells filled with water.

So that we will go for a walk, we go, there, far away, along the coast,’ he said.

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.
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 ke
and.then 3pl=CONT travel=PRES=RELnf FOConf and.then 3pl
ol=a ti ke ol=a, ti se ta
go=PRES INT 3pl go=PRES and.then 3pl TOP

Ke=lule=k=a, ka koi ke=baro=a, 'koi nio'
3pl=follow=3sg.f.O=PRES IND here 3pl=arrive=PRES here FOConf
k=i=ko=la 'koi pui' k=i=o=la.
3sg.f.O=say=3sg.f.O=PRES here NEG 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  kaala kele-kele
3pl=CONT go=PRES INDsg.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 FOConf
k=i=ko=la ko niania=ka=ma ta 'pui'
3sg.f.O=say=3sg.f.O=PRES 3sg.f mother=LIG=3sg.f and.then NEG
k=i=o=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 nio,
three=LIG=3sg.m REDUP-point 3pl=go.around=3sg.m=PRES FOConf
vo=a kele-kele ka rana inio, kala buni
3sg.m=LIG REDUP-point IND side FOConf INDsg.m buni.tree

Ta inevoana.
TOP EXTsg.m

They went around the third point, and at one side of the point, there was a buni
tree.
And then, 'here, we will bake taros.'

So, you, light a fire and bake, I will climb to top of this tree and will look at fish which pass,' he said.

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.

But, the *buni* tree went up, it went and went, and its end was in the middle of the ocean.
And there he sat and he looked at fish, and the two were peeling taros.

They peeled taros, and then he saw taros, and ‘Oh, soon, the taros will be cooked,’ he said.

It went on, and he saw taros, taros had cooked.

The two cooked the taros, they peeled them, again they left them there.

He saw them cooked and then he jumped off the buni tree.

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.
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.

He came out.

And then, ‘Oh, the food has already cooked,’ he said, and as soon as his wife looked back, she saw a very beautiful boy.

She ran, and then she went and hugged him, she was pleased with him, she kissed him, and afterwards she took him up.

And then, the mother saw him and she became very happy.
The dog skin, he threw away around there, and instead a very beautiful boy came.

Then, the three kept staying there in their village.

There, they stayed, it went on like that, and one day, she said something like this, the daughter, the chief’s daughter.

‘We, tomorrow, we will go and reach my father and mother, first.'
And then, that night, he told his mother, ‘mother,’ he said.

And then, that night, he told his mother, ‘mother,’ he said.

‘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.

‘But it’s OK, my wife said that we would not stay overnight, we would go and return,’ the son said.

‘Oh, you will be very careful, and so OK you want to 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.
‘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.

And then, the elder daughter saw the two, she saw him, the elder daughter, the one who refused him, and she got angry.

‘Younger ones, they are not ones who quickly marry, it is the older ones who marry first,’ she said.

She said, ‘this is the one you refused, you said that you refused a dog, you talked about him’.
And then, ‘good, so you will stay overnight here,’ the elder daughter said.

But, ‘No, No, we are not going to stay overnight, because his mother told us not to stay overnight,’ she said.

The evening came, and the two returned.

They reached home quickly.

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' k=i=ko=ve ko=k=ko**

2du=come=FUT and.then 2du=help=1sg.O=FUT 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.f=RMP 3sg.f=3sg.f

**meqora kiasi.**

child at

‘You will come and help me,’ she said to her daughter.

(123) **Nio komi kio ko=bazue=v=a, tu 'kama**

SEQ PROXsg.f FOCf 3sg.f=tell=3sg.m.O=PRES IRR INDsg.f

taku inio qe=tauve=l=ou, jokurat=o mabasisu=ko

time FOCnf 2du=help=1sg=FUT dig=NOM yam=3sg.f

**umatma, kubo mabasisu pui ko=papa=k=a**

bed many yam 3sg.f.O=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' k=i=o=la.**

and.then 3sg.f=tell=3sg.m.O=PRES TOP good 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES

And when she told him, he said, ‘good’.

(125) **'Uri qe=ziou=vou qe=pa tauve=k=ou'**

good 1du.incl=go=FUT 1du.incl=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=azio**

SEQ 3sg.f=arrive=PRES 3sg.f=LIG time and.then 3du=goNRFUT

**qo=pa tauve=k=o ko=a reko=ko niania,**

3du=PROS help=3sg.f.O=NRFUT 3sg.f=LIG wife=3sg.f mother

**tu mabasisu ko=papat=o k=i=qo=la keru, ta,**

IRR yam 3sg.f=plant=NRFUT 3sg.f.O=say=3du=PRES TEMP TOP

**vo=a siele-meqora=ko reko ta, lula molu=a=ma.**

3sg.m.=LIG dog-child=3sg.f wife TOP already be.pregnant=LIG=3sg.f

And the time arrived and when they said that they would go and help the mother so that she can plant yams, the wife of the dog-child was already pregnant.
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.

‘No, you will not go,’ said the mother, the mother of the dog-child.

But, ‘good, mother, we will not be long,’ said he, the son said.

‘You are not going to be long.

So, truly, you will not stay overnight, you will not relax with people,’ she said.

And, when the time arrived, the two went.
They went and went, and they went and fetched the chief’s wife, and they went up to the garden, and they planted.

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.

‘Mother, I want water, so someone should go and get water for me’, she said.

Go, go and get water for your younger sister,’ she said.

‘No, she herself should go,’ the elder daughter said.
‘Don’t say that, she is pregnant so you go and get water for her,’ she said.

‘It’s not far away, leave it, she will go herself,’ she said.

Because the elder daughter refused, she went herself.

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.

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
3sg.f.O=say=3sg.fo=PRES

keru inio ko ibae=k=e
TEMP FOCnf 3sg.f push=3sg.f.O=RMP
and.then 3sg.f.=SIT
ti ko=ta

jour=e sa-vasi.
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
die=RMP SEQ 3sg.f=all

kaka=ka=ma ko=kiada inio ko=vait=a
older =LIG=3sg.f 3sg.f=all FOCnf 3sg.f=return=PRES 3sg.f

She fell down somewhere around there, and she died, and then the elder sister returned by herself, she returned by herself.

(146) 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.

(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
INTJ 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES
sainio ke=ta iruriuput=a so
therefore 3pl=SIT work=PRES that

ti so raisi-raisí ko=ta
INT that REDUP-evening 3sg.f=SIT
bara=a.
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.
‘Lai ta ko noi nio pui kapiavole
where TOP 3sg.f how FOCnf NEG quickly
ko=kue=va’ k=i=o=la.
3sg.f.O=come=PRES 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES

‘Where is she? How come she hasn’t come back quickly?’ he questioned.

‘Ki esa inio ko=beta siusiut=a inio, soinio
INTJ maybe FOCnf 3sg.f=CONT swim=PRES FOCnf accordingly
pui ko=kue=va’ k=i=ko=la.
NEG 3sg.f.O=come=PRES 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.f=PRES

‘Maybe, she is still swimming, and so, she hasn’t come,’ she said.

Melai pui o epez=a keru-kerue=k=o sole
but NEG 3sg.m stop=PRES REDUP-think=3sg.f.O=NOM that’s why
o=ta ol=a, o ol=a ti o ol=a
3sg.m.m=SIT go=PRES 3sg.m go=PRES INT 3sg.m go=PRES

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And then
The mother of the dog-child, she stayed there, and the chief’s family, they stayed there as before.

And, that is the end.
Appendix 2

Ngali Nut Collection (Text 2)

(1)  Komi  kio  ko=a  taku  quisini  o=k=a
PROXsg.f  FOCf  3sg.f=LIG  time  rope  3sg.m=3sg.f.O=VAL
ere=k-a=ko  vo=a  qole  Qidiou  Tolapitu.
make=3sg.f.O=PRES=RELf  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  ipupu.
how  TOP  ldu.incl=go.up=PRES  REDUP-get.varu=NOM=PURP  and

ipupu.

‘How about going up to get bark of varu trees, and ipupu trees?’ [he said.]

(3)  Vo  ta  quisini=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  inio,  vo  ta  ju  kale
1du.excl=go.down=PRES  FOCnf  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  1sg  TOP
nganiu  ale  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  ko=ta  tabar=a  nio  anga  ta
SEQ  3sg.f=SIT  dry=PRES  SEQ  1sg  TOP
a=qailoe=k=a  ko=a  ipupu,  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.
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, 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.
Anga ta a=vuaroput=a ko bita.
I did string bag-knitting.

O erekat=a anga melai a erekat=a
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.

Nio qe=ta kail=a koit=o=le, ko nene.
And we went up there in order to climb ngali nut trees.

Vo inio o=koit=a.
It was he who climbed.

Anga ta koqu a ere=k=a nene=ko.
As for me, I made an enclosure, for ngali nuts.

Sainio vo ta o=koit=a ti o=koit=a
Then he climbed and climbed, he didn’t speak, he climbed, he harvested ngali nuts, and, as for me, I waited there.

Vo ta ko=a tini-tini ta koi nio
As for him, the bag is here, hanging from his neck

Duruo ta o=seri=k=a ko=ko kata topi.
As for a big string bag, he hung it on the branch of the tree.
And, when the bag was filled with *ngali* nuts, he poured them into the big string bag as always.

When it was filled, then he would speak.

He said something like this, he said ‘O’.

And I said ‘you send it down’.

He send it down, and ‘O’, he said.

‘I am here, send it down here’, I said.

‘O,’ he said.

‘Good, where is the place to wait, where shall I go and wait for it?’ I said.
'Uki ngo=bal somewhere there FOCnf 2sg=PROS 2sg.O=FUT but 2sg=VAL
ko=ng=ai 3sg.f=2sg.O=VAL
pio kale sole ko=k=ai 3sg.f=3sg.f
vima ta pui ngo el=ou ko duroo |
underneath TOP NEG 2sg. 2sg=FUT 3sg.f big.string.bag
ko=ng=ai 3sg.f=2sg.O=VAL
raibizi=o kale sole' 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES
k=i=0=la. 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES
pu1 ngo NEG 2sg.
raibizi=o pour.itself=NOM
kale melai but melai
ko=ko 3sg.f=3sg.f
sole ko=ko that’s.why 3sg.f.

‘There, you will go and wait for it but because it is not good if it falls on you, don’t stay under the big string bag, lest the ngali nuts pour down on to you,’ he said.

Sai nio o=soloe=k=a ti o=soloe=k=a there FOCnf 3sg.m=send=3sg.f.O=PRES INT 3sg.m=send=3sg.f.O=PRES
ti ‘mainio anga a=qil=ou saita’ k=i=a=la.
and.then later 1sg 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.

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 FOCnf 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.

Sainio cri=a tatac=k=o 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 ale, that TEMP 1sg=3sg.f.O=VAL go=PRES enclosure in
koqu kasi nio a=raibi=k=a.
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’ koqu k=i=a=la. SEQ 1sg=tie=3sg.f.O=PRES 3sg.f string.bag koqu enclosure 1 sg=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 o=sukati=k=a ko duruo. SEQ again 3sg.m=climb=PRES 3sg.m o=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 0 3sg.m=send=FUT 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 FOConf 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 piju=k=a. SEQ again 1sg go=PRES SEQ 1sg=PROS take.off=3sg.f.O=PRES

And then again, I went and took the bag off the rope.
Appendix 2

(44) So ti so ti so ti o=paizie=k=a ko nene. ngali.nut

It went 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 bita kio o=soloe=k=a, ti o=ta ten string.bag FOCf 3sg.m=send=3sg.f.O=PRES and.then 3sg.m=SIT

saqor=a inio. go.down=PRES FOCnf

He sent down ten string bags, and he came down.

(47) O=ta saqor=a inio ko=a nene topi azo 3sg.m=SIT go.down=PRES FOCnf 3sg.f=LIG ngali.nut top from

nio vo ta eri k=i=0=la. SEQ 3sg.m TOP s.t.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=0=la. 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=0=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 saqor=ou' nio 2sg=finish=3sg.f.O=PRES that's.why 2sg=SIT go.down=FUT FOCnf

k=i=a=la. 3sg.f.O=say=1sg=PRES

'You finished and so come down,' I said.

(51) 'Ee' k=i=0=la. yes 3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES

'Yes,' he said.
He came down and as for the rope, it was hanging from high up there, he came down and he coiled the rope.

He coiled and coiled it, he finished coiling it and he came with it.

He came to me.

‘We will go down, and tomorrow, again I will climb that tree,’ he said.

That is the way to go with ngali nuts.

That’s how he showed his bravery, that’s when he said ‘O’.

He said ‘O’. ‘O,’ said he.
(59) Ta o ikokoput=a keru inio 'o'
TOP 3sg.m show.bravery=PRES TEMPOCNFIN 3sg.m
k=i=0=la.
3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES
When he showed bravery, he said 'O'.

(60) 'So inio ko=ka=va=ni sole'
that FOCFIN 3sg.f=happen=PRES=RELFIN that's why
k=i=0=la.
3sg.f.O=say=3sg.m=PRES
‘Because that’s how it goes,’ he said.

(61) Nene=ko taku.
ngali.nut=3sg.f time
Time for ngali nuts.

(62) So tinia ma.
that about or
That’s about it?
References


References


