

TICS

ple who live in the Boumaa region of the Fijian island of Taveuni
dialect of Fijian that is mutually intelligible with Standard Fijian,
differing as much perhaps as do the American and British varieties
ish. During 1985, R. M. W. Dixon lived in the village of Waitabu and
the language spoken there. He found in Boumaa Fijian a wealth of
features unknown in commonly studied languages and on the basis
eldwork prepared this grammar.

e opening chapters, Dixon describes the Islands' political, social, and
ic organization, outlines the main points of Fijian phonology, and
s an overview of the grammar. In succeeding chapters, he examines a
of grammatical topics in greater detail, including clause and phrase
e, verbal syntax, deictics, and anaphora. The volume also includes a
abulary of all forms treated in discussion and three of the fifteen
orded from monolingual village elders on which the grammar is

ile Fijian has been preeminent—in terms of both speakers and stud-
ong Pacific languages for well over a century, Dixon's is the first
e grammar of any nonstandard Fijian language. Add to this the
of Dixon's style and the clarity of his exposition, and this becomes
pensable Fijian grammar, one that will interest Polynesian scholars
larly and linguists generally."

Geraghty, Institute of Fijian Language and Culture
ubstantial addition to the literature on Oceanic languages, Dixon's
ar is particularly valuable for its extensive treatment of syntax and for
ghtful exploration of the semantic bases of various syntactic features.
gued challenges to some established views of Fijian grammar are
ed, and the author has an eye for those features that are of most
to linguistic typology. Dixon does not, however, let doctrinaire
ical concerns dominate his portrayal of the genius of Boumaa."
rew Pawley, University of Auckland

on is renowned for his pioneering work on the indigenous languages
ralia, work that has revolutionized our understanding of the struc-
f these languages in addition to providing major contributions to
linguistic theory. Here Dixon turns his attention to Boumaa Fijian,
ng a masterly demonstration of how the parallel use of textual analy-
fieldwork elicitation can lead to a descriptive grammar far superior to
ng just one of these methods. He succeeds, moreover, in elucidating
pects of Fijian syntax that are most controversial and most relevant
ent theoretical debate."

ard Comrie, University of Southern California

W. DIXON is professor of linguistics and department chair at the
lian National University. He is the editor of the three-volume *Hand-
Australian Languages* and author of *The Dyrbal Language of North
land*, *A Grammar of Yidin*, and *The Languages of Australia*.

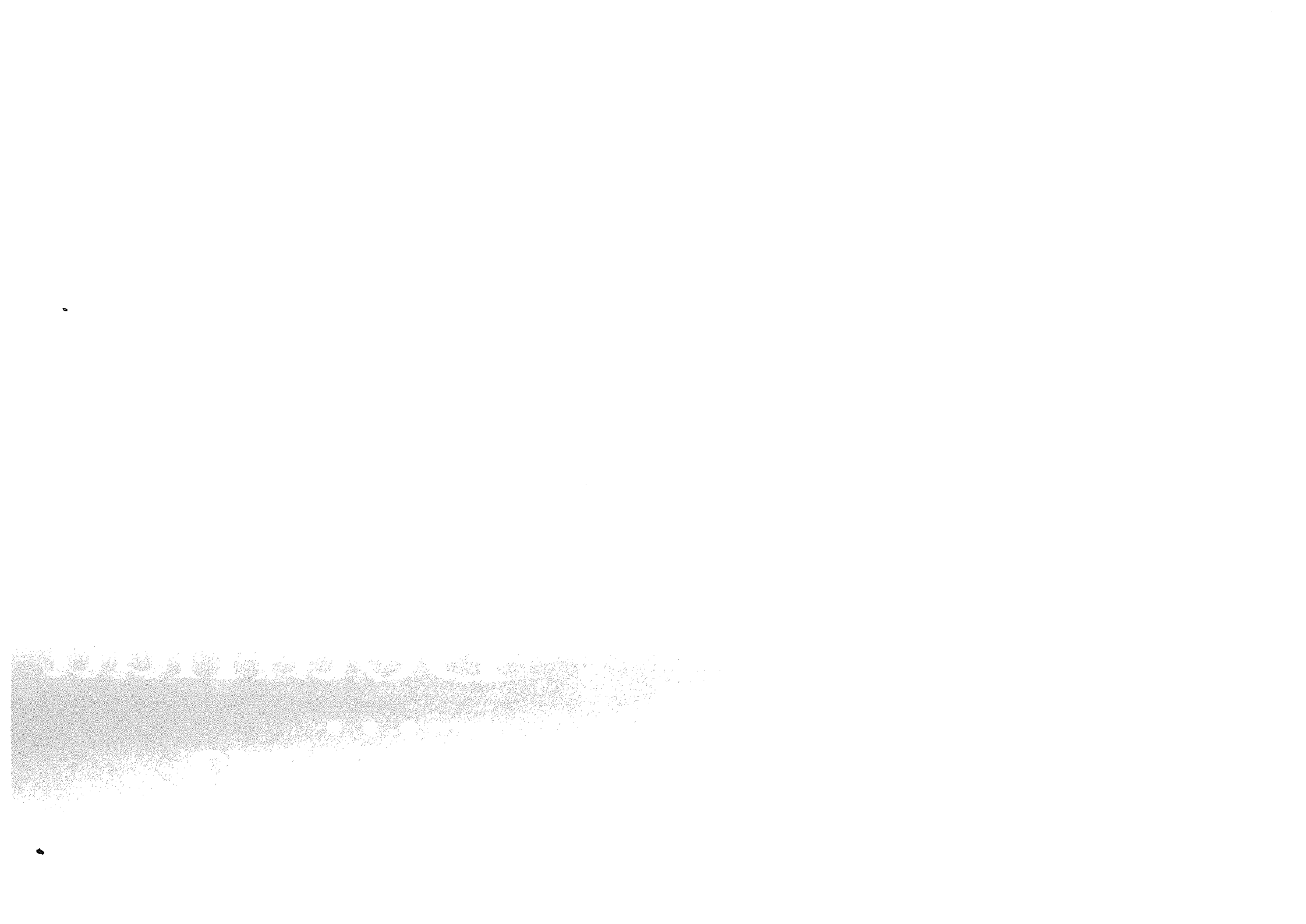
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

ISBN 0-226-15429-7

R. M. W. DIXON
A Grammar of
Boumaa Fijian

A Grammar of Boumaa Fijian





A Grammar of
Boumaa Fijian

R. M. W. Dixon

A Grammar of
Boumaa Fijian

The University of Chicago Press · Chicago and London

R. M. W. Dixon is professor of linguistics, Australian National University. He is the author of *The Dyirbal Language of North Queensland* (1972), *A Grammar of Yidin* (1977), *The Languages of Australia* (1980), and *Where Have All the Adjectives Gone? and Other Essays in Semantics and Syntax* (1982), and the co-editor of *Handbook of Australian Languages* (1979–83).

The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 60637
The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., London

© 1988 by The University of Chicago

All rights reserved. Published 1988

Printed in the United States of America

97 96 95 94 93 92 91 90 89 88 5 4 3 2 1

Contents

Acknowledgments xi
Organisation and Cross-references xv
Abbreviations xvi
Maps xvii

- 1 Introduction 1
 - 1.1 Political organisation 1
 - 1.2 Language and life in Boumaa 4
 - 1.3 Linguistic profile of Fijian 7
 - 1.4 Fijian within the Austronesian language family 9
 - 1.5 Data base for this study 10
- 2 Phonology 13
 - 2.1 Consonants 13
 - 2.2 Vowels and diphthongs 14
 - 2.3 Phonotactics 15
 - 2.4 Stress 16
 - 2.5 Intonation 18
 - 2.6 Diachronic change 19
- 3 Word 21
 - 3.1 Phonological word 24
 - 3.2 Grammatical word 25
 - 3.2.1 Roots 26
 - 3.2.2 Affixes 27
 - 3.2.3 Function items 29
 - 3.2.4 Pronouns 30
- 4 Syntactic Overview I—Clause and Phrase Structure. 32
 - 4.1 Word classes 32
 - 4.2 Predicate structure 33
 - 4.3 Noun phrase structure 35
 - 4.4 Clausal NPs 37
 - 4.5 Other subordinate clauses 38
 - 4.6 Semi-auxiliary verbs “not”, “can”, etc 40
 - 4.7 Peripheral clause constituents 40
 - 4.8 Fronting 41
 - 4.9 Relative clauses 43
 - 4.10 Derivational affixes 43
- 5 Syntactic Overview II—Verbs 45
 - 5.1 Syntactic orientation of verbs—A and O types 45

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Dixon, Robert M. W.

A grammar of Boumaa Fijian / R.M.W. Dixon.

p. cm.

Bibliography: p.

ISBN 0-226-15428-9. ISBN 0-226-15429-7 (pbk.)

1. Fijian language—Fiji—Mbouma—Grammar. I. Title.

PL6235 .95 M34D59 1988

499'.5—dc19

88-10001

CIP

	5.2 Verbs with two transitive forms	45
	5.3 The principles of verbal syntax	46
	5.3.1 Passive	47
	5.3.2 Reduplication	48
	5.3.3 Object incorporation	49
	5.3.4 <i>Va'a</i> -derivations	50
6	Pronouns	52
	6.1 Meanings	52
	6.2 Functions	53
	6.3 Forms	54
	6.4 Analysis	56
	6.5 Third person singular	57
7	Deictics	58
	7.1 Demonstratives	58
	7.1.1 Forms	58
	7.1.2 Function and meaning	59
	7.2 Deictic verbs	61
	7.3 Deictic noun	62
8	Predicate	63
	8.1 Predicate head	63
	8.1.1 Verbs and adjectives as predicate head	64
	8.1.2 Noun phrase as predicate head	65
	8.1.3 Pronoun as predicate head	67
	8.2 Prefatory material	68
	8.2.1 Subject pronouns	68
	8.2.2 Tense-aspect markers	69
	8.2.3 Discourse markers	73
	8.2.4 Order	74
	8.3 Modifiers	75
	8.3.1 Stance-aspect	76
	8.3.2 Finish and start	81
	8.3.3 Locational markers	82
	8.3.4 Directional comparatives	88
	8.3.5 Modal modifiers	90
	8.3.6 Markers of intensity	95
	8.3.7 "All" and "alone"	98
	8.3.8 Other modifiers	100
	8.3.9 Order of modifiers	107
	8.4 Adverbs	109
9	Noun Phrase	112
	9.1 Structure of simple NPs	112
	9.2 Structure of complex NPs	113
	9.3 Articles	114
	9.4 <i>Mataqali</i> "kind of"	116

	9.5 Lexical modifiers	117
	9.6 Grammatical modifiers and adverbs	118
10	Possession	119
	10.1 Parameters	119
	10.2 Constructions	119
	10.3 Alternative realisations	122
	10.4 NP <i>ni</i> NP	124
	10.5 Bound nouns	127
	10.6 Existential constructions of "having"	128
11	Clausal NPs	130
	11.1 Structure	131
	11.2 Function	134
12	Classifiers	135
	12.1 With nouns	136
	12.2 With adjectives	137
	12.3 With verbs	139
	12.4 Particular classifier contrasts	140
13	Numbers	141
	13.1 The number system	141
	13.2 Syntax	143
	13.2.1 As predicate head	143
	13.2.2 In a noun phrase	143
	13.2.3 In a prepositional NP	146
	13.2.4 With time and distance words	147
	13.2.5 <i>Lewe</i>	148
	13.3 Ordinals	148
	13.4 <i>Veimaamaa</i> "half" and fractions	149
	13.5 Distributives	149
14	Prepositions	151
	14.1 Form	151
	14.2 Functions of <i>i</i> and <i>mai</i>	152
	14.3 ' <i>Ei</i> "together with"	157
	14.4 The grammaticisation of <i>baleta</i>	162
	14.4.1 Preposition <i>baleta~baleti</i> "concerning"	162
	14.4.2 Conjunction <i>baleta ni</i> "because"	163
15	Time Expressions	165
	15.1 Time words	165
	15.2 Other time expressions	167
16	Interrogatives	169
	16.1 <i>Cei</i> "who"	170

- 16.2 *Cava* "what, which" 171
 16.3 *Ve* "where" 172
 16.4 *Vica* "how many/much, some" 173
 16.5 (*Na*)*ica* "when" 173
 16.6 *Uca* "to do what"; *va'a-cava* "to do how" 174
- 17** Word Derivations 175
 17.1 Prefix *vei-*, collective 175
 17.1.1 With nouns and time words 175
 17.1.2 With kin terms 176
 17.1.3 With verbs 177
 17.1.4 *Ve*, . . . *ya'ilya'ina* "all over the place" 181
 17.2 Prefix *va'a-*, causative, etc 181
 17.2.1 With greetings and interjections 182
 17.2.2 With nouns 182
 17.2.3 With time words 184
 17.2.4 With adjectives 184
 17.2.5 With numbers 184
 17.2.6 With verbs 185
 17.2.7 Partial reduplication, and prefix *-taa-* 190
 17.2.8 *Va'a-* and *vei-* together 191
 17.3 Prefix *+i-* deverbial 191
 17.4 Prefix *dau-* "habitually, often" 195
 17.5 Prefix *'ai-* "native of" 197
 17.6 Reduplication 197
- 18** Verbs 200
 18.1 Transitivity 200
 18.2 A-type and O-type verbs: semantic basis 204
 18.3 Verbs with more than one transitive ending 215
 18.4 Alternate syntactic frames 219
 18.5 The intransitive suffix *-na* 221
 18.6 Passives 222
 18.7 "Spontaneous" prefixes 225
 18.8 Object incorporation 226
- 19** Adjectives 230
 19.1 Types of reduplication 230
 19.2 Comparative and inchoative constructions 232
- 20** Word Classes 234
 20.1 Types of noun, and pronoun 237
 20.2 Criteria for open word classes 238
- 21** Clause 241
 21.1 Equational clauses 241
 21.2 Predicate clause—core constituents 242

- 21.3 Predicate clause—peripheral constituents 244
 21.4 Fronting 245
 21.5 Relative clauses 251
 21.6 Reflexives and reciprocals 255
- 22** Sentence 257
 22.1 Relators 258
 22.2 '*Eeva'aa~'ee* "if" 259
 22.3 *Dee* "in case, because . . . might" 260
 22.4 *Se* "or" 262
 22.5 *Ia* "well, then, but" 263
 22.6 Interjections 265
- 23** Complement Clauses 267
 23.1 Types of complement clause and their meanings 268
 23.2 The syntax of complement clauses 272
 23.3 Complement possibilities—semantic basis 274
 23.4 Semi-auxiliary verbs 279
- 24** The Relator *me* 286
 24.1 The uses of *me* 286
 24.2 Syntactic status of *me* 289
 24.3 Imperatives 293
- 25** Syntactic Organisation 295
 25.1 Sentence construction 295
 25.2 Anaphora 297
 25.3 Pivots 299
- Appendix—Previous Work on Fijian 303
 Texts 305
 Text 4 305
 Text 6 331
 Text 8a 351
 References 353
 Vocabulary 357

Acknowledgments

There are so many people to thank, in so many ways, that I scarcely know where to begin.

Elia Gavidi, the Tui Nasau, wise and benevolent chief of Waitabu, welcomed me into his village, and provided every possible comfort and assistance—e sega ni dua a leqa i na gauna tauco'o, au va'avinavina'a va'alevu Moomoo Levu.

Elia Waqa, leader of the Waiso'i Mataqali at Waitabu, gave help and encouragement and friendship—o aa solii i'o va'alevu vei 'eirau, e dua dina a 'aa ni maarau vei 'eirau, vina'a va'alevu Tata.

This grammar is based on texts—on the most wonderful narratives that were recorded by the late Falaavia Matavesi, by Siriloo Saabai, by Suliano Kaivei, by Elia Waqa, by Marika Likubuli (the Vuunisaa of Boumaa), and by Tui Nasau. My deep thanks to all of them.

Everybody in the village of Waitabu contributed to this study—by their friendship, by their readiness to explain things (and just by talking Fijian all the time!). A we'aku tauco'o, au saaqei va'avinavina'a va'alevu vei 'emunuu tauco'o—Felise, Pelasio, Keelepi, Atalemo, Paulo, Elia Gasaiwai, Iowane, Eroni, Mikaele Tauva, Mikaele Waqa, Saa'apoo, Benedito, Siiloo, Nana Maa, Nana Vero, Maria, Seelina, Melania, Teresia, Maria Va'ataiti, Elisabeta, Peerina, vata 'ei na sootale a tuuraga, a marama, a cauravou, a gone.yalewa, vate 'ei ira a gone tauco'o.

I can never properly acknowledge my debt to the family of Josefa Coo-kanacagi, who looked after me better than I have ever been looked after before. Most especially Aqela Bogi—Nei, au va'avinavina'a va'alevu sara gaa, e levu a 'aa'ana male'a i na veisiga—a waci, a dalo, a uto, a tiivoli, a bele, a 'umala, a raisi, a panikeke, a roti, e levu a i'a 'ei na soo tale a 'aa'ana waananavu. Nei, o dauva'asasaqa duadua dina. And everyone else in the family also—Peteroo, Maarawa, Elia, Qalo, Elena, Maritina, Filo (dausiwa), Mariana, Vilimaina, vata 'ei Amelia 'ei Kalisito.

Other people helped in other places. Akuila Waradi (Ai 'atolu ni Vuunivola, A mata 'ei Viti mai Ositerelia; Third Secretary, Fijian High Commission) provided advice and encouragement in Canberra. Jeff Siegel assisted with preliminary orientation. Jone Caginiliwalala gave an exemplary intensive-language course, in Suva. Teevita Nawadra, formerly Director of the Monolingual Fijian Dictionary Project (Ivolavosa Vakaviti) gave useful advice, in Suva. Sakinsa Basaa, in the village of Wai, explained the local political and social organisation. Back in Canberra, Roopate Qalo (from Natewa Bay), a PhD student in the Department of Political and Social Change, was generous in answering miscellaneous grammatical queries.

Paul Geraghty, current Director of the Monolingual Fijian Dictionary Project, surely knows more about more different varieties of Fijian than any other person ever has. Talking with him is a revelation, a profound intellectual experience.

Geraghty would be the best possible person to write a grammar of Fijian, but he has no present inclination to do so. He read most carefully through a draft of this grammar, correcting many points and suggesting further generalisations. His input has been considerable, and cannot adequately be acknowledged.

Father David Arms is perhaps the leading grammarian of Standard Fijian. He also read right through my draft and spent eight hours (in Suva) going over it with me, offering corrections, further examples, and more generalisations. Aubrey Parke spent many years in Fiji as a District Officer and, like Geraghty and Arms, speaks the language fluently; we had four or five long sessions together, in Canberra, in which he went through the grammar, chapter by chapter, helping me to amend and improve it.

I was at first hesitant to publish, partly in view of the recent long grammar of Standard Fijian by Schütz (1986). Geraghty, Arms, and Parke helped me refine every aspect of this work, and offered strong encouragement that I should go ahead and publish. Without their help and support I should not have wanted to do so.

Georg Bossong, Bernard Comrie, Matthew Dryer, and Anna Wierzbicka gave most useful comments on the complete grammar, while Kevin Ford, Ulrike Mosel, and Andrew Pawley did so on parts of it. My thanks are due to all of them. At a seminar in Canberra, in August 1985, I benefited from the useful comments of Bill Foley and Roger Keesing.

A special word of thanks is due to all those people who patiently answered my questions—Ranato Bulavakarua, Pelasio Rabeka, Veronika Qalo, and Filomena Veisaga in particular.

Inoke Soqo.o.viti provided unstinting help with every part of my work. He spent long hours helping to transcribe texts, going through lists of verbs, saying whether it was possible to say this, or that, and which one was better. Inoke's interest, his persistence, and his intelligence were a source of strength and inspiration. (For an illustration, please consult examples 8.31–4 and 8.43–5, in chapter 8.)

Josefa Cookanacagi (Sepo) is one of the busiest men I know. He has a large family (thirteen children in all) to provide for from his own garden. Sepo is one of the few people in Waitabu who knows English, and many people ask him for help in their dealings with the world outside. He is also a trained bookkeeper, looking after the accounts for the village store, the cooperative, the copra enterprise. Sepo plays a large part in the church and various Christian groups.

On top of all this, Sepo welcomed me into his family for a period of six months. He travelled all over Waini'eli and Boumaa, introducing me to the

best storytellers, providing introductions to all the most important and useful people, arranging attendance at district meetings. Sepo made time in his busy schedule to help transcribe some of the texts I recorded and to check the transcriptions of others.

Sepo provided a small house to live in. Then, when that had to be taken over for another purpose, he built—almost singlehandedly—another one. Many things happen in a Fijian village that can be bewildering to an outsider. Sepo always made a point of explaining them. Most of all, he explained the language—why it must be said this way and not that, how the dialects differ, the factors that are responsible for language change.

Almost every day, Sepo would come in, sit down, and ask if I had any questions (I always did have!). He had thought about language all his life, and now shared with me the insights he had attained. Together, we went through the grammar, topic by topic. Sepo seldom failed to produce illuminating examples, to explain a crucial contrast.

I sent him a typed draft in December 1985. When I returned to Waitabu the following June, Sepo had read the first eleven chapters and went through them with me, correcting some spellings and examples and suggesting further contrasts (such as that between *mai wai.tui* and *mai+na wai.tui* in §9.3). He carried on reading the grammar after I had returned to Canberra and in November 1986 sent me a notebook with comments and corrections on every chapter, and on the texts and vocabulary. This is, in a real sense, Sepo's grammar.

Moomoo, o ca'aca'a va'akaukaa—e levu a omu itavi. Ia, o aa veivu'e vei au i na veigauna. O aa va'ataavulici au va'avina'a—o i'o, o qase ni vuli duadua sara i na vuravura tauco'o. Au saa va'avinavina'a va'alevu vei i'o.

Annette Schmidt, who pursued a sociolinguistic investigation into language use and language variation, was my partner in fieldwork, an adventure into a new culture, very different from that in which we had been brought up—taro and breadfruit and cassava to eat (no bread or milk or cheese); Christian church twice a day and devils rampant on the beach on moonlit nights (but no show of affection permitted between people in public); sleeping on woven mats over coconut leaves on the floor of a reed hut (no furniture, no newspapers); bathing almost fully clothed, as instructed by the first missionaries, under a bamboo pipe a quarter of a mile from the village; carrying home water in a bucket (no electricity either); and five cyclones. Dulubu raygu, ginungu naja binjilbin muguymuguy.

March 1987

Organisation and Cross-references

Chapters 4 and 5 provide a quick overview of the main points of Fijian grammar; they could be taken alone, as a brief sketch grammar of the language. Later chapters each deal in turn with a particular grammatical topic, and presuppose the information given in chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 1 provides background information, and chapter 2 a summary of the phonology. Chapter 3, on the tricky topic of "word" in Fijian, occurs at its logical place but could well be read last of all (or the reader could just look at the first five pages of chapter 3, before going on to the grammar in chapters 4, 5, and following).

Cross-references are of three types:

- those preceded by § refer to chapter and section number, e.g. §4.6 is section 6 of chapter 4;
- those preceded by T refer to sentences from the three texts included at the end of the book, e.g. T4.6 is sentence 6 of text 4;
- those beginning with a number refer to examples in the grammar, which (from chapter 7 onwards) are numbered consecutively within each chapter, e.g. 8.6 is the sixth example in chapter 8.

Abbreviations

Pronouns are referred to by combinations of the following abbreviations:

1 first person	sg singular number	pl plural number ("many")
2 second person	du dual number	inc inclusive (of addressee)
3 third person	pa paucal number	exc exclusive (of addressee)
		("a few")

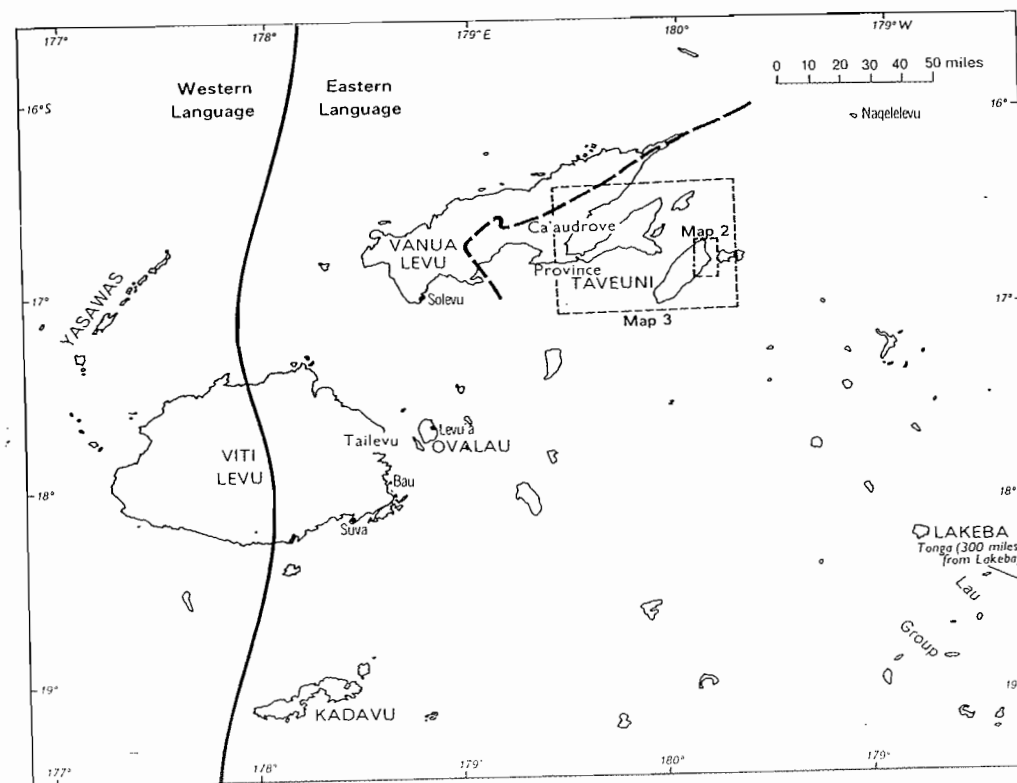
For example: 1excdu is first person exclusive dual; 3pa is third person paucal.

The following boundary symbols are used (they are fully explained in chapter 3):

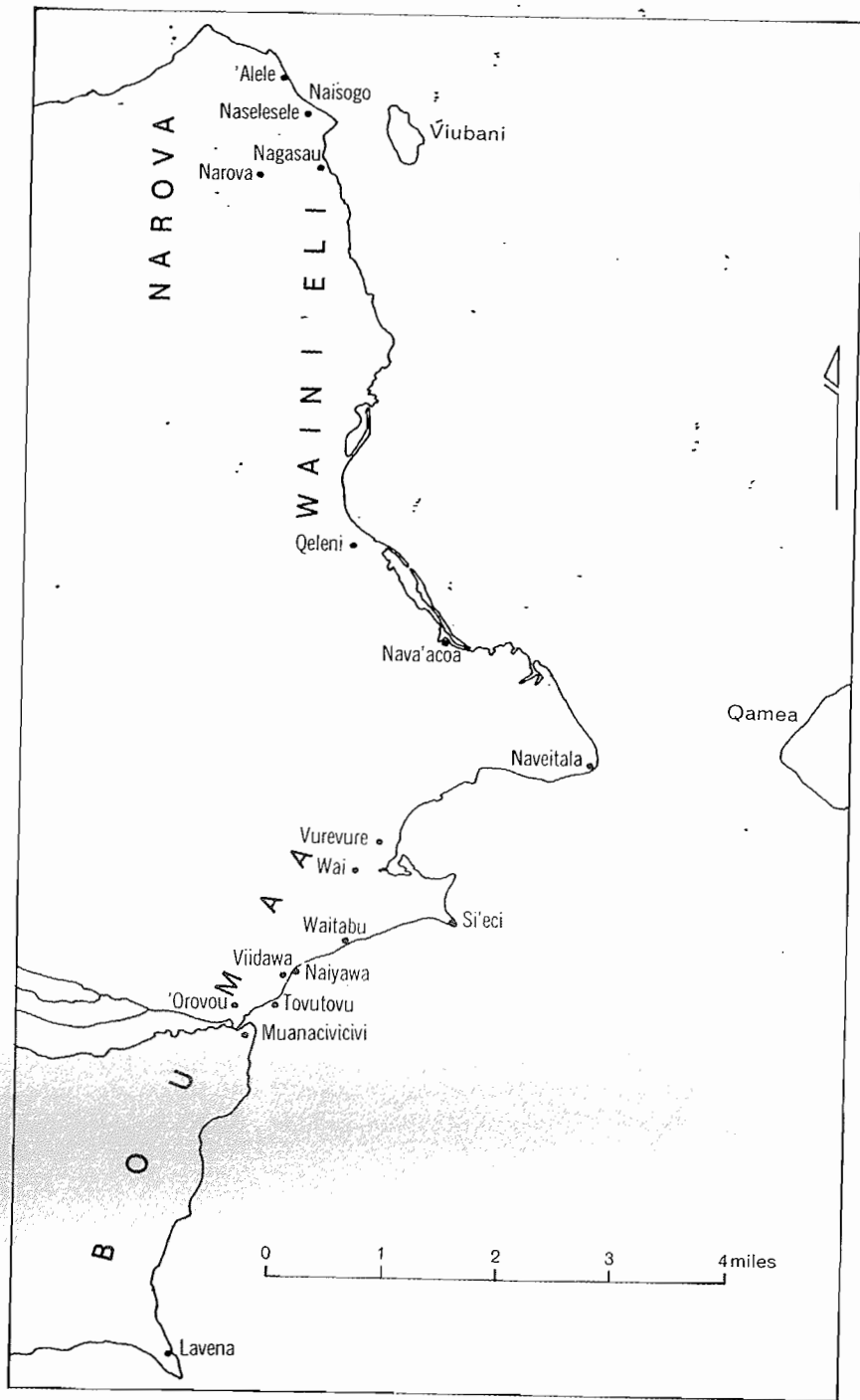
X-X, X- X	boundary between root and affix;
X+X	two grammatical words that make up one phonological word;
X+ Y	X is phonologically a clitic to Y;
X-	X is a bound noun (which must take a possessive affix, etc.; see §10.5);
#	separates phonological words within a grammatical word;
=	word boundary
	syllable boundary

Other abbreviations used are:

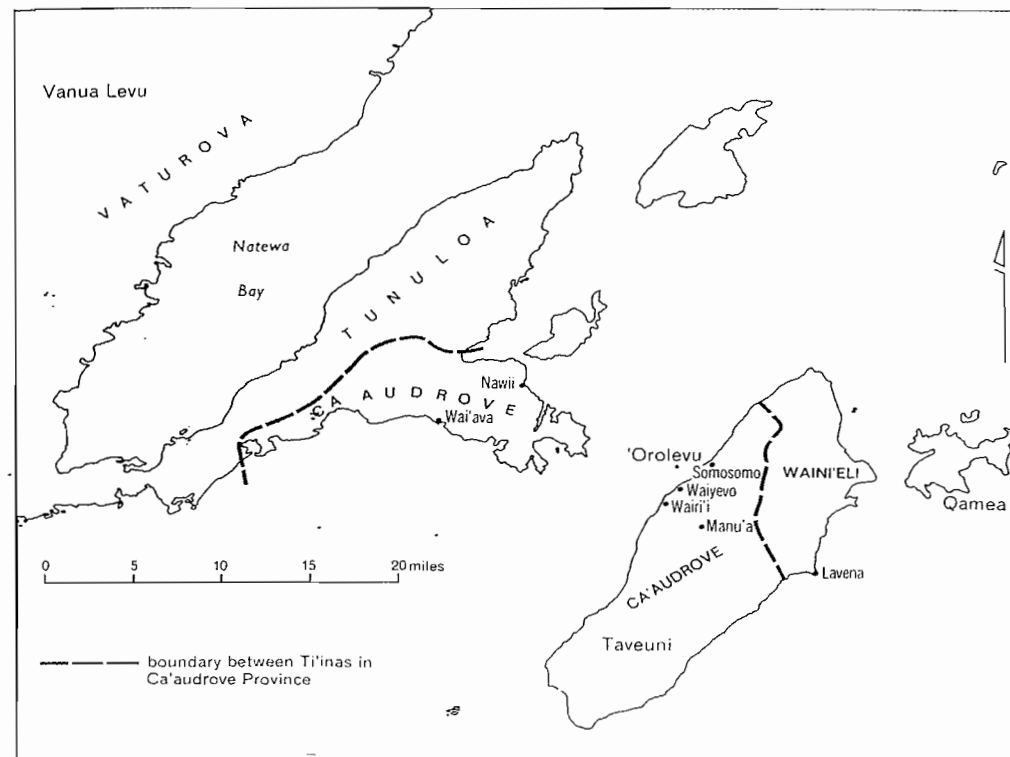
A	transitive subject function	OHF	Old High Fijian (church language)
ART	article	PASS	passive
ASP	aspect marker	PREP	preposition
B	Boumaa dialect of Fijian	REDUP	reduplication
C	Ca'audrove dialect of Fijian	S	intransitive subject function
CLASSIF	classifier	SPONT	spontaneous prefix
COLL	collective prefix	TR	transitive suffix
FUT	future	V	Standard Fijian
HABIT	habitual	and	primary stress
MODIF	modifier		secondary stress
O	transitive object function		



MAP 1 THE FIJI ISLANDS



MAP 2 NORTHEAST PART OF TAVEUNI (showing places mentioned in text 4)



MAP 3 SOUTHEAST VANUA LEVU AND TAVEUNI (showing places from the first part of text 6)

1 Introduction

There are (on linguistic criteria) two, closely related, languages spoken by the native population over the one hundred inhabited islands of the Fiji group (Pawley and Sayaba 1971). One is in the western part of the main island of Viti Levu and offshore islands to the west; the other is in eastern Viti Levu and on all islands to the south, northeast, and east (see map 1). Each of the two languages exists in a considerable number of dialects.

In 1835 missionaries came (from Tonga) first to Lakeba in the Lau Group, and then to the main island of Viti Levu. They soon realised that it would be a daunting task to translate the Bible into the many different local dialects and so decided to adopt Bauan, a dialect of the eastern language which had something of the status of a lingua franca, as the medium through which all evangelical work would be conducted.

The language used in Bible translation was in fact a modified form of Bauan. Some elements from the Lau dialect were (probably unwittingly) mixed in, and the missionaries introduced other features (such as the complex preposition *ki vei*), either in a conscious attempt to regularise paradigms, or simply because they had not achieved a full understanding of the grammar. This “church language” has been referred to by Paul Geraghty (1984:41) as Old High Fijian, or OHF.

There is now also a fully developed Standard Fijian. Although it is often called Bauan, the standard dialect is today not exactly the same as that spoken on the island of Bau. Standard Fijian is used—to the almost total exclusion of local dialects—in schools, in newspapers and books, in radio programs, and in government documents. It is also the lingua franca used for communication between people whose own dialects differ markedly.

This grammar deals with Boumaa, a dialect of the eastern language that is mutually intelligible with Standard Fijian. Some comparative notes are included on points where Boumaa differs from Standard Fijian.

1.1 Political organisation

The most important social and political unit in Fiji is the Yavusa, a group of people who all trace their origins to a single ancestor god. There are perhaps a thousand Yavusa over the whole of Fiji; each Yavusa is associated with a separate village.

Within each Yavusa there are several Mataqali (or clans); a Mataqali consists of a number of Ito'ato'a (extended family units); an Ito'ato'a will consist of a number of related families, each normally living in a separate house.

A group of three or four Yavusa is linked together into a Vanua (literally “land”, but here referring both to a social confederation and to the territory

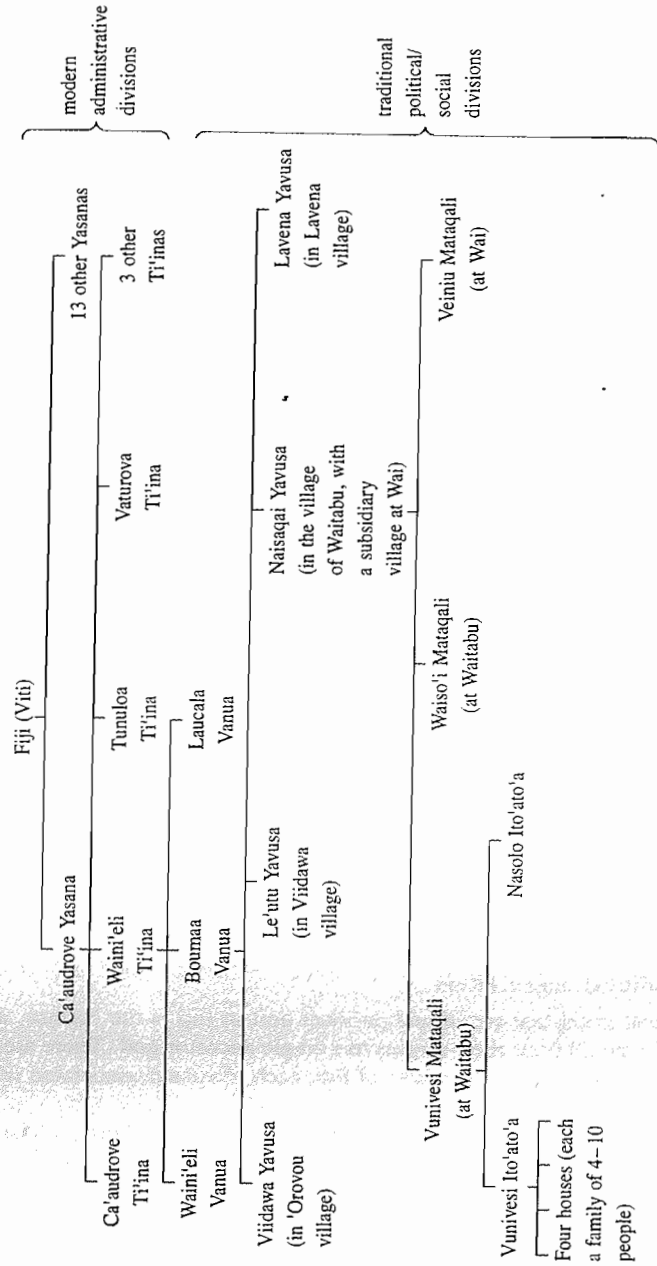


FIGURE 1 POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

the Yavusa occupy). A collection of contiguous Vanua may group together as a Mata-ni-tuu (confederation).

In recent times, colonial administrators divided Fiji into fourteen Yasanas (provinces) and each of these into a number of Ti'inas (districts). The modern political unit of Ti'ina often corresponds to a traditional Mata-ni-tuu. Figure 1 illustrates these various divisions. Note that there is a traditional head for each Ito'ato'a, Mataqali, Yavusa, and Vanua, and a government-appointed head for each Ti'ina and Yasana.

It will be seen that sometimes a "part" has the same name as a "whole", on the next higher line; this indicates that the chief of the whole comes from that part. For example, the head of the Vunivesi Ito'ato'a is also head of the Vunivesi Mataqali; he is in addition chief over the whole Naisaqai Yavusa. His title is Tui Nasau (literally: King of Nasau), after a village in which the Naisaqai people used to live in the last century, before moving down to the coast.

Tui Nasau is only a minor figure in the Boumaa Vanua. The head of this Vanua, called the Vuu-ni-Saa, is traditionally drawn from the Viidawa Yavusa; the village in which he lives—called 'Orovou, or sometimes just Boumaa—is the capital of the Vanua. The chief of the Waini'eli Vanua (called Tuei) is the most important chief in the Waini'eli Ti'ina. And Tui Ca'au, the chief of the Ca'audrove Ti'ina, is the paramount chief in Ca'audrove Yasana.

The name for Fiji is, in the Standard language, "Viti"; in many dialects a *t* is palatalised before *i*, giving Viji. Tongans use "Fisi". (The English-language name, Fiji, appears to be a blend of these last two.) Standard Fijian will be referred to here by the abbreviation V (for Viti).

From 7 January until 30 June 1985 (and again for a short period in June 1986) I lived in the village of Waitabu, under the protection of the Vunivesi Ito'ato'a, and studied the language spoken in that village. People throughout the five villages of the Boumaa Vanua say that they speak "the Boumaa language"; I never heard anyone suggest that there exist linguistic differences between villages. This is referred to here by the abbreviation B.

Some Boumaa people say that a slightly different dialect is spoken in the Vanua of Waini'eli, but I was never able to get any consistent statement of what the linguistic differences are (there may possibly not be any).

Boumaa Vanua is on the island of Taveuni. Waini'eli Vanua lies north of Boumaa on Taveuni and also includes the western part of the neighbouring island of Qamea. (The rest of Qamea belongs to the Laucala Vanua.) The remainder of Taveuni belongs to the Ca'audrove Ti'ina, which also extends to part of the large island of Vanua Levu.

The main dialect of the Ca'audrove Ti'ina (here referred to as C) shows some important differences from Boumaa-Waini'eli speech. C is the high-prestige dialect within Taveuni, mainly because it is the speech of the paramount chief, Tui Ca'au (who lives at Somosomo, on Taveuni); in addition, the local administrative offices, the main shops, and the three secondary schools

(one Catholic, one Wesleyan, and one run by the government) are located in the Ca'audrove part of the island.

1.2 Language and life in Boumaa

The glottal stop (as the middle of a Cockney English pronunciation of *butter*, "bu'er") does not occur in Standard Fijian (V), but over most of Taveuni and much of Vanua Levu there is a glottal stop corresponding to the *k* of the V dialect; thus *vina'a* "good" and *la'o* "go" in B and C correspond to *vinaka* and *lako* in V (the standard phonetic symbol for glottal stop is ʔ, but the symbol ' is employed in this book). There is a useful verb *gato* "use a glottal stop"; both B and C are Gato dialects.

Another phonetic feature of B is that there are a fair number of words with *p*—as in Tongan, and the Lau dialects of Fijian which come between Taveuni and Tonga, and some dialects in Vanua Levu, but not as in V. In some grammatical forms in B an initial *n* has been lost; the common article is mostly *a* (*na* in V), and "his" is *ona* (*nona* in V). Boumaa people characterise their dialect as being "shorter and lighter" than V.

B has almost exactly the same grammatical system as V; it is only some of the forms which vary a little (as just illustrated). The major difference concerns demonstratives (see chapter 7); all of V, C, and B have three series of demonstratives, with the same meanings but different forms.

Perhaps the most significant grammatical difference is that in V the passive form of a polysyllabic verbal ending is identical with one of the active forms (that used before a pronoun or name as object), while in B the two forms are distinct (see §5.3.1, §18.6).

On the lexical level it is clear that B has in recent years been moving closer towards V. Older residents of Waitabu mention original B forms like *viro* "return", but today only a few of the elders use *viro*, and then only occasionally; it has been almost completely replaced by the V root *lesu*.

It is likely that two or three generations ago B had about 80 percent of its vocabulary either identical to or closely cognate (substituting ' for *k*) with V. Due to the establishment of a local school, and increased opportunities for travel, some original B forms have been replaced, and the figure has risen towards 90 percent. B does, however, retain a definite set of distinctive dialectal features, which Boumaa people are proud to recognise as diagnostic of their mode of speech. There is little likelihood of the B dialect being lost in the foreseeable future.

All daily communication in Waitabu involves some variety of Fijian. No more than half-a-dozen of the 120 villagers speak passable English, and this is only used if a foreigner calls. (Almost all the people over fifty understand no English. The younger ones have been exposed to some English at school—which most of them have attended haphazardly for five or six years—but have only a rudimentary knowledge of it.)

There is a good deal of dialect mixing. Older people and very young children may speak the purest Boumaa. Children of school age tend to include a

lot of V features (since all school books and instruction are in V). Church services consist mostly of hymns and stylised prayers, in OHF; sermons and occasional extempore prayers may be at least partly in B. Every person's daily speech is a mixture, to a greater or lesser extent, of B, V, and also C, the prestige Gato dialect of Taveuni island. We have said that demonstratives constitute a major point of dialectal difference; demonstratives from all of B, V, and C may be heard mingled in a single utterance.

But people are generally aware of which features belong to which dialect. When a recording is played back, they will correct themselves, replacing intrusive C or V forms with the correct B equivalents; and they are quite consistent when doing this.

There are many useful accounts of Fijian culture, from Williams (1858, reissued 1982) to Ravuvu (1983), so that it would be inappropriate to include here more than the briefest sketch of life in Waitabu.

The Boumaa people are subsistence farmers, growing *dalō* "taro", *manioke* "cassava", *vudi* "plantain", *parasa* (B; *varasa*, V) "string onion", *uvi* "yam", *umala* "sweet potato", *bele* "edible hibiscus leaves," and also *waqona* (B; *yaqona*, V) "kava" in small patches cleared from the forest. The land in Taveuni is so rich that gardens need relatively little attention; about ten hours a week, spread over the year, is sufficient for a man to provide a full stock of food for his family. *Tiivoli* "wild yam", *weleti* "papaya, pawpaw", *uto* "breadfruit", and of course *niu* "coconut" grow freely in the forest and are harvested as needed. (They may also be planted, around the village and in forest plots.)

The main source of protein is fish, caught daily in the sea, mostly by women. For a special feast a pig may be purchased or even, if it is the wedding of the son of an important man, a cow.

Monetary income for Waitabu people comes from selling copra (smoked coconut kernels). With the proceeds from this, and also with money sent home by relatives who have regular jobs in Fijian towns, they buy sugar (which is consumed in prodigious quantities—about one kilo per person per week), rice, flour, salt, cooking oil, tea, curry powder, onions, garlic, yeast, soap, cigarettes, clothing, and kitchenware.

Besides the hereditary village chief (*tuuraga ni vanua*), who has the highest authority, there is also a village secretary (*tuuraga ni 'oro*), who is elected for a limited period and serves as a link between village and government. For one day each week all the men and women do "village work"—building a new store, cutting the grass between houses, cleaning and tidying the village, etc. Such work is organised by the village secretary and announced the previous evening in a message shouted from several points in the village (see text 8a).

Life in a Fijian village involves a succession of meetings: there are meetings of Ito'ato'a, of Mataqali, of the whole village, of the youths' committee, of the married women of one Mataqali, of the rugby players, and so on.

There are also many ceremonies. When a man begins to harvest any crop,

he must present (*sevu*) some to his older brothers or to his father, and the recipient must give thanks, often by presenting a whale's tooth (the most valued item in Fijian society). If anyone has committed a wrong, he must beg forgiveness (*soro*) in a special ceremony of atonement, presenting a whale's tooth. On betrothal, marriage, death, birth, or the first visit of a child to its mother's village, there is a solemn ceremony, with the presentation of whale's teeth, mats, or kava. A visitor to a village must make a presentation to the chief of kava or, if he is going to stay for any length of time, of a whale's tooth. And so forth.

All of these meetings and ceremonies are conducted in a ritualistic manner with fairly fixed speech formulas. Most of them are accompanied by the consumption of kava; the root is pounded to a powder and a drink made, which is offered to the participants according to a solemn convention of precedence. Kava is also drunk at social gatherings, which may take place several times a week and last for five or six hours, but even here the rules for preparation and serving must be faithfully followed.

Food is of paramount importance to Fijians. A family and guests must sit cross-legged, in strict order of hierarchy (men separated from women) along an eating mat, for even the most casual meal. Meetings and ceremonies are often accompanied by food. For any important occasion a feast (*magiti*) may be organised, with a group of women and men spending days in preparation for it.

Everything is to be shared in Fijian society. Accumulation of goods or food or money by one individual is considered antisocial and "bad". Anyone who has a lot of something should give most of it away; and anyone who lacks a certain commodity will go and 'ere'ere (B; *kerekere*, V), "request" or "beg" it from someone else. A 'Ere'ere cannot reasonably be refused, and there is no expectation that it should be specifically repaid.

Fijians have a classificatory kinship system: everyone in a Yavusa is "classed" into one of about fifteen kin types with respect to a given person. For example, father's brother is classed with father, and his children are treated as brothers and sisters. Kinship links at Waitabu divide into three types: (i) joking, e.g. certain cross-cousins, who can interact freely and are expected to "joke" with each other; (ii) avoidance, e.g. father-in-law, daughter-in-law, who are restricted to limited contact, with formal and very polite speech interchange; (iii) neither joking nor avoidance; this type can be realised as an authority relationship, as in the case of actual parent and child. (Schmidt 1988 has a full treatment of this topic, and also of the language of ceremonies and presentations.)

Before the coming of Europeans, the Fijians had a well-developed religion with a panoply of gods, most or all of whom were deified ancestors. They believed that there was an afterlife and that you entered it in the physical condition in which you left this world. This may partly explain why an old man whose health was beginning to fail might ask to be killed (by being buried alive) and why a wife would expect to be strangled when her husband died.

The Fijians were cannibals, of the very worst sort. A chief would order someone killed just because he wanted a feast of human flesh. The stories of cruelty are frightening: parts of a person's body might be cut off, cooked, and fed him while he was still alive; a canoe was once launched over the bodies of living people, killing them. A live man might be buried with each corner post of a chief's house, to lend it strength.

Then Christianity came, with a new, more powerful god. The missionaries persevered, and today everyone in Fiji has—at least, superficially—embraced the new religion. There is no choice involved, as there is not in most aspects of Fijian life. If a Fijian (or a visiting linguist) should fail to attend church at Waitabu, he or she would be regarded as a "bad person" and ostracised.

But, although people will seldom talk of it, the old religion lives on. All sickness is believed to be caused by spirits, implanted by witchcraft, of which every village has its suspected practitioners. (The alleged witches in Waitabu go to church more than anyone else—to try to prove that they are *not* witches.)

Thus, Christianity has not replaced the traditional religion. People simultaneously follow both paths, and invoke the Christian deity as an antidote for the wiles of their traditional gods (or devils, as they are now called).

Fijians have always been fierce and fearless fighters. Nowadays they serve with distinction in wars and in peacekeeping forces. The Fijian rugby team is a power to be reckoned with. And although life in a Fijian village is outwardly tranquil, if a fight should break out, hidden furies may be released that can lead to serious injury.

Fijians are said to have stopped eating people about 1870, but no rational, human decision was involved. It was just that Wesleyan missionaries and Catholic priests informed the Fijians that the new Christian god forbade the practice.

1.3 Linguistic profile of Fijian

Every syllable in Fijian has the structure CV or V (C = consonant, V = vowel). There are 22 basic phonemes, 17 consonants, and 5 vowels; 3 further consonants have limited distribution, mostly in loan words. A particular feature of Fijian is that the voiced stops are always pronounced with nasal onset, *mb*, *nd* and *ŋg*; thus the sound between the two vowels in Nadi counts as a single consonant even though it is pronounced as [nd], i.e. [naⁿdi].

It is necessary to recognise two units, "phonological word" and "grammatical word". One grammatical word may involve a number of phonological words, or vice versa, or a phonological word may consist of the whole of one grammatical word and a part of another.

Fijian is an agglutinating language with little allomorphic variation. There are no case inflections; tense and aspect are generally shown by independent clitics or words within the predicate complex. Fijian has a highly developed pronoun system with singular, dual, paucal, and plural in first, second, and third person; there is also an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person

non-singular. Third person singular is in several ways rather different from other pronoun combinations. Place names behave like personal names in some respects and like common nouns in other ways.

The Fijian clause is predicate-centred. A predicate involves obligatory reference to subject and (if transitive) to object; it can constitute a complete clause. Either subject or object (or, more rarely, both) can be expanded by a noun phrase, which usually comes after the predicate (“they are going, the chiefs”). There is a parallel between the structure of a clause and that of a noun phrase; there may be a possessive pronoun before the head noun and this can optionally be expanded by a full possessor NP after the head (“their food, the chiefs”). Quite naturally, a clause can be nominalised, to be subject or object of a main verb (“I saw [their coming, the chiefs]”).

It is important in Fijian to distinguish syntactic function (predicate, subject, object, etc) from word class (verb, noun, and the rest). There is a many-to-one correspondence between class and function; a verb can function as the head of a noun phrase (although not so often as it is predicate head), and a noun can fill the predicate head slot (although nothing like so frequently as it is head of an NP). It is possible to distinguish verb, noun, adjective, and other parts of speech with a fair degree of clarity in terms of syntactic and morphological criteria. In Fijian, numbers constitute a distinct word class, with greatest similarity to verbs.

A predicate will generally come first in any clause, followed by noun phrases. Where both subject and object NPs occur, subject-object and object-subject orders are equally common in texts, although object-subject is generally preferred in elicitation. Indirect-object, locational, temporal, and other peripheral NPs can come anywhere after the predicate. Any NP (sometimes even two NPs) can be topicalised and moved to the front of a clause, but there should normally be some “marker” of the NP(s) in the predicate.

Most verbs can be used both intransitively (root only) and transitively (root plus affix); it is not unusual for a verb to have two (or even three) different transitive forms (distinct affixes) with contrastive meanings. For about half the verbs intransitive subject (S) corresponds to transitive subject (A) e.g. *la'o* “go”, *la'o-va* “go for”; for the other half S corresponds to transitive object (O) e.g. *lo'i* “be bent”, *lo'i-a* “bend”.

There is a rich set of five complement types—clauses filling a subject or object slot for a verb like “hear”, “finish”, “know”, or “suffice”. Negation is shown by a verb, taking a clausal complement: “it is not the case that John went” (= “John didn’t go”).

Boumaa Fijian has only three prepositions, covering “to, at, concerning”, “from”, and “together with”. In many instances where other languages would use cases or just prepositions, Fijian employs a preposition plus a noun or verb—“on” is dealt with through *dela-* “top”; “until” through *yaco* “to reach”; “through” by *oti* “to end, finish”; and all of “between”, “during” and “inside” by *loma-* “interior”.

There is no deletion of a shared pronominal subject between two linked clauses—one must say “we plan for us to go” rather than “we plan to go”. Related to this, Fijian has no coreferentiality constraints on complex sentence constructions—for instance, a relative clause must have a noun phrase in common with the main clause, but it may be in any function whatsoever in either clause. There is no mark of reflexive, either in the form of a reflexive pronoun or of a reflexive marker on the verb—one simply says “I saw me”.

The vocabulary is rich in areas that have social significance. For example, cleanliness is greatly valued and we find a profusion of verbs for washing—*vulu.vulu* “wash hands”, *taavoi* “wash face”, *šava* “wash body, etc”, among others. There is also rich use of metaphors: the head is the most respected part of the body—¹to touch someone’s head is to invite a fight, and in days gone by touching a chief’s head might be punishable by death. *Ulu-* “head” is extended to mean “most important” or “most respected”—the kava ceremony is the *ulu* (most important) chiefly ritual; whale’s teeth are the *ulu* (highest) wealth for Fijians.

Fijian has many homonyms, among lexemes (see §18.1) and among grammatical elements (see chapter 20). Discourse often involves a fair amount of repetition, which can help to resolve uncertainties and ensure that in most cases the hearer understands the message intended by the speaker.

1.4 Fijian within the Austronesian language family

The Austronesian family is divided into two major subgroups—one comprising a handful of languages indigenous to Taiwan (Formosan) and the other including all other languages (the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup). Malayo-Polynesian is further divided into two extensive branches. There are over 300 languages in the western branch, spoken by more than 150 million people in Malaysia, Indonesia, Borneo, Malagasy, the Philippines, and part of Irian Jaya. The eastern, or Oceanic, branch comprises almost 500 languages in coastal areas of New Guinea and on islands in Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia; they are spoken by a total of only about two million people. The two closely-related Fijian languages, with about a quarter of a million speakers between them, are the most widely spoken of Pacific languages.

Proto-Oceanic (the reconstructed ancestor of all the languages in the eastern branch of Malayo-Polynesian) had a number of features that are retained in Fijian, as in many other modern languages: four numbers in pronouns (including a dual derived from **dua* “two” and a paucal from **tolu* “three”); three classifiers; a common noun marker (or “article”) *na*; a prefix *i-* deriving nouns from verbs; and transitive-type verbal suffixes *-(C)i* and *-(C)aki(ni)* (where C is a consonant).

Proto-Oceanic had five vowels (as does modern Fijian)—the three proto-Austronesian vowels **i*, **u* and **a*, and also *e* and *o*, which developed from proto-Austronesian **ay* and **aw* respectively.

Many aspects of family trees that have been proposed for the Oceanic

group are controversial. Some of the published schemes have been based on comparison of short vocabulary lists (léxicostatistics) or on slender phonological shifts. What does seem clear is that proto-Fijian (the ancestor of the two modern languages) was a close relative of Rotuman and of proto-Polynesian (the ancestor of Tongan, Samoan, Tahitian, Hawaiian, Maori, and other languages in the close-knit Polynesian family). Proto-Fijian and proto-Polynesian may have been spoken about three thousand years ago.

The Fijian-Polynesian relationship is evident from a number of features that these languages share. These include: the proper article *ko*; paucal pronouns ending in *-tou* (a development from original **-tolu*); Polynesian *fie* and Fijian *via* "want to"; Polynesian *tau* and Fijian *dau* "habitual, persistent"; a preposition *mai* in addition to a predicate modifier *mai* (the latter is found in other Oceanic languages); the incorporation of an object NP into the verb. Both Fijian and Polynesian languages usually have the predicate in clause-initial position, whereas proto-Oceanic probably had the subject noun phrase preceding the predicate. (Note that unlike such Polynesian languages as Tongan and Samoan, Fijian lacks an ergative marker on a transitive subject noun phrase.)

(The information in this section is largely based on Pawley 1972, 1974; Blust 1977; and Pawley and Green 1984.)

1.5 Data base for this study

This grammar is squarely based on a corpus of 13 texts that I recorded from 6 different informants, all aged at least 55 and all monolingual in Fijian. One storyteller came from Waini'eli and the others from Boumaa; all tended to mix in some features from the C and V dialects. I also recorded a meeting of chiefs from the Waini'eli and Boumaa Vanuas, and a number of announcements by the village crier.

An inductive approach was followed. I would first look at all examples of a construction type in the texts, and try to formulate appropriate grammatical generalisations and rules. Some grammatical elicitation was carried out at a late stage—checking hypotheses, filling gaps in morphological and syntactic paradigms, and checking the few points reported in earlier grammars that had not featured in my corpus.

I also did elicitation on a sample of 460 verbs—checking for each item whether it could be used intransitively and transitively, with what transitive endings, their meanings (and metaphorical extensions), case frames, and possible complement types. Results of this study are summarised in §18.2–4 and §23.3. The rich set of data obtained from this elicitation was also, of course, invaluable material for other parts of the grammatical study.

I heard Fijian spoken around me in Waitabu, and used it for almost all communication with villagers. What people said to me, and what I heard them say to each other, was another important data source. People would correct me when I did not speak quite grammatically or idiomatically, and these adjustments were also invaluable input to the analytic task.

I have *not* tried to describe the oldest and most conservative Boumaa speech (which would have involved asking the oldest people to speak in the way that their parents did, and basing my grammar entirely on this corpus). Many features that were originally distinctive for Boumaa (and, in some cases, for neighbouring dialects) have been lost from everyday conversation and replaced by a word or construction from the standard dialect (V). My aim has been to describe the language as it is used, today, in Waitabu village. (Just a few archaic features that are of particular linguistic interest are mentioned in the grammar, e.g. the negative *cau* in §23.4.)

Before going into the field, then again while living at Waitabu, and once more while writing this book, I consulted everything previously produced on Fijian grammar. I do owe a considerable debt to the works of Horatio Hale, David Hazlewood, C. M. Churchward, A. Capell, George Milner, David Arms, Andrew Pawley, Paul Geraghty, Albert J. Schütz, and others (see the Appendix).

This grammar is far from complete, either in the sense that an exhaustive description is given of the behaviour of each grammatical element, or in the sense that an exhaustive list is given of lexemes that have a certain property (verbs taking a *me* complement, for instance, or adjectives accepting the *va'a*-prefix). To have attempted the former task would have involved much more research and made the book huge and less accessible. And, concerning the latter task, work has been proceeding for about fifteen years on a Monolingual Fijian Dictionary, which when completed will hopefully contain full data on the grammatical properties of each lexeme.

Two long texts (nos. 4 and 6) and one village announcement (8a) are included at the end of the volume. Extensive reference is made to them (by T followed by text and sentence number). The reader is urged to follow up these references, in order gradually to build up a picture of how the elements of Fijian grammar interrelate.

For many grammatical problems, in Fijian as in other languages, I do not believe that there is any "unique solution." For instance, numbers could be described as a distinct word class, closely similar to verbs, or as a divergent subclass of verbs; *via* "want to, need to," might be regarded as a verbal prefix or as a syntactic modifier; and so on. I have tried to use explicit criteria, and to apply these consistently, in order to produce a coherent description of the main grammatical patterns of Fijian. But others might prefer a different methodology, which would yield rather different results.

My aim has been to present the main points of Boumaa grammar in a clear way for a general linguist who wishes to know how the language works. Particular attention is paid to syntax partly because this has not been dealt with at any length in previous grammars of varieties of Fijian.

2 Phonology

2.1 Consonants

The Boumaa (B) dialect of Fijian has 20 consonants; three of them (*k*, *f* and *j*) have restricted occurrence. Table 2.1 sets these out, in terms of the standard orthography which was devised by the early missionaries and has been in use ever since; it includes just one digraph, “dr” for the prenasalised trill. Phonetic values in terms of the International Phonetic Alphabet are placed in square brackets where they differ from the orthographic symbol. For the glottal stop a vertical stroke (ʻ) is employed, as in the regular alphabets of Tongan, Samoan, and Rotuman, with an apostrophe used when a vertical stroke is unavailable. This symbol has the disadvantage of not having a capital form; for a noun beginning with a glottal stop the second letter has to be capitalised e.g. the village of ʻOrovou.

/t/ and /d/ show the greatest allomorphic variation—they are realised as affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] before /i/ but always as just [t], [d] before /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/. The semi-vowel /w/ involves the back of the tongue being raised towards the soft palate but this is not accompanied by significant lip-rounding. The lateral /l/ has a clear quality before front vowels but is darker before back vowels. (Fuller information on phonetic realisations for the related V dialect is in Scott 1948.)

Both semi-vowels have restricted occurrence. /w/ occurs contrastively only after /a/, /i/ and /e/. A phonetic [w] is often pronounced between a back vowel and a following vowel, but is not contrastive in this position, e.g. [kaukauwa] ~ [kaukau], phonemically /kaukau/ “strong”. /y/ appears to be restricted to occurrence before /a/. /y/ is only optionally pronounced at the beginning of lexemes; /yalewa/ “woman” can be [yalewa] but more often just [alewa]. Nevertheless, /y/ does have phonemic status—it can never be omitted from the B demonstratives /yai/ “here”, /yaa/ “that (mid-distance)”, and /mayaa/ “that (far)”; and the fact that [ya] is not a morpheme-initial variant of /a/ can be seen from the distinct transitive suffixes -ya and -a, e.g. ta-ya “cut-TR” and vana-a “shoot-TR” (see also Biggs and Nayacakalou 1958:81 and Geraghty 1983:67–8).

The consonant inventory in Standard Fijian (V) differs from that of B in the following ways: (i) there is no glottal stop; (ii) *k* is a central member of the system; (iii) *p* has a low functional load (like *f* and *j*), occurring mostly in loans.

I have noted about 70 words in B that include *p*, showing that it has a fair functional load, although less than those of the other stop consonants. About one-third of my examples are loans from English, such as *pouta* “talcum powder”, *toopoi* “doughboy”, *Peritaania* “Britain”. Boumaa is geographically quite close to Tonga, whose language does have phonemic /p/, but only

TABLE 2.1 CONSONANT PHONEMES

	bilabial	labio-dental	apico-dental	apico-alveolar	dorso-velar	glottal
nasal	m		n		g[ŋ]	
voiceless stop	p		t		k	ʻ[ʔ]
prenasalised stop	b[m̥b]		d[n̥d]		q[ŋ̥g]	
trill				r		
prenasalised trill				dr[n̥r]		
voiced fricative	v[β]		c[ð]			
voiceless fricative		f		s		
affricate				j[tʃ, dʒ]		
lateral				l		
semi-vowel				y[j]	w	

about 15 items from my p-corpus can be recognised as Tongan loans, e.g. *pito* “navel”, *pato* “duck”. Half of the B words with *p* appear *not* to be loans—forms like *pono* “to catch an animal” and *pu'u* “angry”. Geraghty 1983:98–120 has a detailed and insightful discussion of *p* across the dialects of Fijian, concluding that there was a *p* in earlier historical stages; the B data support his conclusion.

There are three consonants in B that have restricted occurrence: *k*, *f*, and *j*.

(1) *k*. This sound is extremely common in V (a dialect which every speaker of B has greater or lesser familiarity with) but in most words B has a glottal stop in place of *k*, e.g. V *butako*, B *buta'o* “steal”.

There are, however, a number of B words that do show *k*:

(i) Most English loans e.g. *suka* “sugar”, *motokaa* “car”, *kaloko* “clock” are never pronounced with a glottal stop; but note *tapa'o* “tobacco” (a very early loan), which generally is.

(ii) A number of words borrowed in recent times from the V dialect are sometimes pronounced with a *k*, and sometimes not. Thus *mata'a* ~ *mataka* “morning” (originally *saubogi* in B), *ya'avi* ~ *yakavi* “evening” (originally *yavi* in B), *kece* ~ *'ece* “all” (see §8.3.7). In other loans from V, a *k* is invariably retained e.g. *kama(-ca)* “to burn” (originally *'ati-a* and *udre(-va)* in B).

(iii) There seems to be a preference *not* to have two glottal stops in successive syllables of a single word, and if a V form has two *k*'s then both may be retained in B, e.g. *kaukaua* “strong, hard”, *kaka* “to stammer”, *kaukamea* “metal”, *kaki* “to scrape skin (e.g. off a breadfruit)”; the B form *'aa'ana* “food” appears to be an exception, but this is in fact historically a compound of *'aa* “thing” and *'ana* “to eat” (“thing for eating”).

We see that although most *k*'s in V are replaced by ʻ in B, the phoneme /k/ does still have a place in the B phonemic system.

(2) *f*. I have noted only a dozen B words with /f/, which is, interestingly

enough, always given labio-dental articulation—in contrast to /v/, which is in Fijian a bilabial fricative. Half are loans from English, probably via Tongan (which does have a /f/ phoneme) e.g. *faele* “file”, *fika* “arithmetic” (from *figure*), *falawa* “flour”. Most of the remainder appear to be loans from Tongan itself, e.g. *fua* “elephantiasis”. /f/ has probably been introduced into the B consonant inventory recently and has a rather peripheral status within it.

(3) *j*. In V, /t/ is pronounced as an alveolar stop before all vowels; there is also a voiceless alveolar affricate, written *j*, that occurs in just a few loans, e.g. *jiaina* “banana” (from *China*), *Jone* “John”. In B, /t/ has the allophone [tʃ] before /i/ e.g. V [tiko], B [tʃi'o] “stay, reside”. A literate speaker of B told me that [tʃiaina] “banana” should in his dialect be written *tiaina*, i.e. he perceived the initial [tʃ] in terms of the phoneme /t/. There are, however, a few loan words in which [tʃ] (or [dʒ]) is followed by a vowel other than /i/—*Jone* [tʃone] “John”; *Josefa* [tʃosefa] “Joseph”; and *va'a-jaabolo* [va'a-dʒaa^mbolo] “naked, heathen” (based on the Greek word *diabolos* “devil”, used by the early missionaries for those Fijians who had not yet embraced both the European god and European-style clothing—note that an original sequence *di* has become [dʒ] in this loan). It seems that in addition to [tʃ] as an allophone of /t/ before /i/ and [dʒ] as an allophone of /d/ before /i/, we should also recognise a phoneme /j/ in B, with realisation [tʃ] or [dʒ], that has a highly marginal status.

2.2 Vowels and diphthongs

Like V, the B dialect has a five-vowel system:

	front unrounded	back rounded
high	i	u
mid	e	o
low	a	

The vowel /u/ is well rounded and /o/ partly rounded. /e/ spans cardinal vowels [e] and [ɛ], while /o/ covers [o] and [ɔ]. /a/ is closer to cardinal 4, [a] than to cardinal 5, [ɑ]. Vowels are often devoiced in word-final position.

All five vowels can occur in lengthened form, without significant difference in phonetic quality; a syllable involving a long vowel is always stressed. Long vowels are not marked in written Fijian, that is, in newspapers, books (including the Bible and school books), or government documents. Gramarians such as Milner (1956) and Schütz and Komaitai (1971) generally show length by a bar over the vowel—*ā*, *ū*, etc. Since the bar notation has most definitely *not* caught on, and since vowel length certainly *should* be marked, I follow here the suggestion of Biggs and Nayacakalou (1958) by writing a long vowel as a sequence of two short vowel symbols: thus *vana* “shoot” versus *vana-a* “shoot-TR”, and *matau* “stone axe” versus *maatau* “accustomed”.

There are seven diphthongs in Fijian. Six begin with a non-high vowel and finish with a high one—*ai*, *au*; *ei*, *eu*; *oi*, *ou*; the peak of the syllable is on the

first member, with the second part providing something like an off-glide. The realisations of the first elements of these diphthongs are raised from their normal position of articulation, to assimilate towards the second element—/au/ can be [ɔ^u] and /ou/ can be [o^u] (whereas plain /o/ between consonants, is often realised as [ɔ]). Diphthongs commencing with *a* are the commonest, e.g. *wai* “water”, *maarau* “happy”, although there are also a fair number commencing with mid-vowels, e.g. *dreu* “ripe”, *taalei* “precious”, *pulou* “to be covered”, *voivoi* “pandanus”.

The other diphthong is *iu*; here the second element is the syllabic peak with the *i* being realised partly as palatalisation of the preceding consonant and partly as an on-glide—thus /niu/, [ɲⁱu]. I only noted four occurrences of *iu*: three are in words that occur very frequently, *niu* “coconut”, *biu* “to be placed, left,” and *liu* “lead”, and the fourth is in the placename *Viubani*. (Capell’s dictionary also has *ciu*, *driu* and *siu* but these were not recognised by speakers of B).

2.3 Phonotactics

A syllable in B has the form CV or V, where C represents any consonant (note that all consonants can occur both word-initially and word-medially) and V is a short vowel, a long vowel, or a diphthong.

It appears that the only words which include a consonant and begin with a long vowel are loans from English, e.g. *aapolo* “apple” (many trisyllabic loans have, as in this word, a long vowel in the first syllable so that this syllable may carry stress, as it does in English). I know of no word that includes a consonant and begins with a diphthong. There are, however, some words that consist *just* of a long vowel or diphthong, e.g. *oo* “cloud” past tense *aa*, 1sg subject marker *au*, and some interjections such as *oi* “really” (see §22.6).

Not very many words begin with a short vowel. Initial *u* is most common (about 80 items in Capell’s dictionary) followed by *o* (65), *i* (40), *a* (20), and *e* (15). (Note that the dictionary lists, on average, more than 300 words beginning with each consonant.)

No word has a long vowel in the penultimate syllable where the final syllable has a short vowel. There are, however, some diphthongs in this position, e.g. *pulou-na* “cover-TR”. (Schmidt, 1988, describes how a phonetically lengthened penultimate vowel is an indexical feature of women’s speech in Waitabu.)

It is common to encounter a sequence of two vowels within a Fijian word. The twenty possibilities fall into three distinct types.

(1) if *a*, *e*, or *o* is followed by *i* or *u*, or if *i* is followed by *u*, within a phonological word, then these vowel sequences always constitute a diphthong (that is, they belong to one syllable). However, if any of these vowel sequences occurs across a phonological word boundary, then the two vowels will belong to different syllables. We now illustrate this, using “.” for a phonological word boundary and “=” for a syllable boundary.

A reduplication boundary is always a phonological word boundary; thus

ilo.ilo "glass" is pronounced =*í=lo=í=lo=*; since *i* and *o* belong to two different phonological words, they must also belong to two distinct syllables. But *voi.voi* "pandanus" is pronounced =*vóí=vóí=*, with *oi* being pronounced as a diphthong, in a single syllable. Although both would be written with the same vowel sequence, *iloilo* and *voivoi*, the phonological statuses and phonetic realisations are quite different.

(2) sequences *ua*, *oa*, *ea*, *ia*, *ui*, *ue*, *io*, and *ao* may freely occur, either within a phonological word or across phonological word boundaries; such a sequence always constitutes two distinct syllables (that is, they never make a diphthong). These eight sequences are (i) any vowel followed by *a*, e.g. *vanua* "place", *toa* "chicken", *voodea* "shallow", *lialia* "stupid"; (ii) *u* plus *i*, e.g. *sui* "bone" (note that *i* plus *u* within a phonological word is always a diphthong); (iii) a high vowel followed by a mid-vowel, where one is front and the other back, i.e. *ue* as in *sue* "cooking place at front of house" and *io* as in *dio* "rock oyster"; (iv) *a* plus *o*; the least common sequence of all in my data, being represented only by *maopo* "helpful" (together with *taao* "entangled" and the loan *paaoni*, in which one or both of the vowels are lengthened). There are just a few words that consist of two syllables, each a single vowel: *ua* "wave", the conjunction *ia* "well, then, but", and the interjection *io* "yes".

(3) *uo*, *oe*, *eo* and *ie* do not occur, either as diphthongs or as sequences of distinct syllables (Capell's dictionary quotes examples of *oe* and *ie*, but these are not recognised by speakers of B); *ae* occurs only in the interjection *ae* "hey".

It is also possible for a vowel to be directly followed by a diphthong—vowel and diphthong must then constitute separate syllables. From *lia.lia* "stupid" can be derived *vei-.va'a-.lia.lia-i* "to make a fool of (someone)"; here the suffix *i* does cohere with the preceding *lia* to form a single phonological word, which is pronounced =*véi=vá='a=lí=a=li=ái=*.

There are a number of dissimilatory tendencies within Fijian words; for example, it is rare to encounter successive syllables beginning with a dorsovelar consonant or a bilabial consonant. There is also the assimilatory tendency that successive syllables are only likely to involve the same consonant if they also have the same vowel (that is, there are many forms like *sasa* but few like *sasi*). For an excellent discussion, see Arms (1974:130ff) following Krupa (1966).

2.4 Stress

The stress rule is straightforward, but it involves reference to a further phonological unit "mora". Each syllable consists of one or two moras, depending on its vowel:

a short vowel counts as one mora;

a diphthong counts as two moras (i.e. each component counts one mora);

a long vowel counts as two moras.

The stress rule applies over a phonological word:

primary stress goes onto the syllable containing the *second mora from the end* (the penultimate mora) of the phonological word; secondary stress then goes onto the syllables containing the fourth and sixth moras from the end (I know of no phonological word containing as many as eight moras).

The phonetic correlate of what is perceived as stress in Fijian appears to be pitch-change. That is, the pitch of the syllable containing the penultimate mora is higher (with the vocal cords more tense) than the pitch of syllables which precede or follow.

We can first exemplify the stress rule for words that do not involve sequences of vowels or long vowels, that is, where each syllable is one mora:

- (i) *síga* "day" *butá'o* "steal" *rábe* "kick"
matá-qu "eye-1sg" *búta'ó-ca* "steal-TR" *rabé-ta* "kick-TR"

Here the stress goes on to the second, fourth, etc., syllables from the end of the word.

Turning now to words that include long vowels and/or diphthongs:

- (ii) *'ilā-a* "know-TR" *cāuravōu* "youth"
'ilā-i "know-PASS" *rāi-ca* "see-TR"

Remember that the complete syllable containing an even-numbered mora from the end of the word is stressed. In *'ilāa* it is the whole final syllable which receives primary stress, as also in *'ilāi* and *cāuravōu*. The penultimate mora is the *a* of *ai* in *'ilāi* and the *i* of *ai* in *rāica* but in each case it is the whole syllable which is stressed (and in each case the peak of the syllable is the *a* component of the diphthong, with the *i* being an off-glide; see Biggs and Nayacakalou 1958:81 and Geraghty 1983:68–9, 169ff). In *cāuravōu*, although the even-numbered moras are the *o* of *ou* and the *u* of *au*, the whole of the syllables *cau* and *vou* bear stress.

It will be seen that a long vowel or a diphthong must always bear stress; since long vowels and diphthongs each contain two moras, one of these must be even-numbered (from the end of the phonological word), which leads to the whole syllable being stressed.

The final set of examples of the application of the stress rule is of words with a sequence of two vowels that do not form a diphthong:

- (iii) *tālanóa* "to tell a story" *véa* "soft, overripe (of breadfruit)"
vuá-qu "grandchild-1sg"

Words of type (iii) behave like those of type (i): each vowel belongs to a separate syllable, and the penultimate mora is the complete vowel of the stressed syllable.

Whether a sequence of vowels comprises a diphthong or two successive syllables, it still counts as two moras. But there is a difference in the scope of the stress that is triggered by the mora-counting rule—compare *matúa* “mature” with *mataú* “stone axe”. The first of these consists of three syllables, each with a short vowel, and it is the middle one that bears stress, i.e. =*ma*=*tú*=*a*=. But the second has just two syllables, and it is the last of these, containing a diphthong, that carries the stress, i.e. =*ma*=*táú*=.

This difference is particularly noticeable with verbs that can add a monosyllabic transitive suffix (which is part of the same phonological word as the root). Thus, with numbering corresponding to that used above:

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (ii) | <i>táú</i> “touch down” | <i>pulóu</i> “be covered” |
| | <i>táú-ca</i> “touch down on-TR” | <i>pulóu-na</i> “cover-TR” |
| (iii) | <i>lua</i> “vomit” | |
| | <i>lua-ca</i> “vomit on-TR” | |

In the examples of set (ii) the stress does not change when a transitive suffix is added; the penultimate mora is the *a* of diphthong *au* in *táú* and the *u* of *au* in *táú-ca*, but in each case the entire syllable *tau* bears stress. Examples of type (iii) show a quite different pattern: a *u*-plus-*a* sequence must comprise two syllables and as transitive suffix *-ca* is added to *lua* the stress shifts from *u* to *a* (just as it shifts in words of type (i), from *rábe* “kick” to *rabé-ta* “kick-TR”).

2.5 Intonation

Intonation carries a heavy load in Fijian (as in all other languages) in indicating syntactic links between clauses, identifying speech acts, and marking co-referentiality as well as the mood and attitude of the speaker. The remarks that follow are very partial (based upon my own observations, but owing a good deal to Scott 1948: 746–52 and Milner 1972: 147–51). A full study of Fijian intonation remains a high priority for future research.

There are three basic intonation patterns:

(1) in a statement, an order, or a question involving an interrogative word such as *cava* “what”, *cei* “who”, or *vei* “where”, pitch will fall from the last stressed syllable of the clause. If the clause ends in a stressed syllable (containing a long vowel or diphthong) then pitch will fall steadily over it; if the last stressed syllable is followed by an unstressed syllable (with a short vowel) then pitch will start to fall on the stressed syllable and continue falling over the unstressed syllable.

(2) in Fijian, polar questions (expecting “yes” or “no” as answer) are marked only by intonation. The syllable immediately preceding the last stressed syllable in the clause will have a sharp pitch rise; this then falls a little

over the final stressed syllable (and the following unstressed syllable, if there is one). Although the pitch rise is quite great, it applies over a very limited syntagmatic extent (much shorter than for those yes/no questions in English which are marked only by intonation) and it can sometimes be hard for a learner to catch that a question *is* being asked. Some polar questions show a final tag element *ee*, that has rising intonation (e.g. T6.121).

(3) a non-final clause may have level or slightly rising pitch over its last two moras, providing an expectation that the sentence will be continued. For instance, if a main clause is interrupted by a relative clause, the end of the first part of the main clause will show this distinctive level or slightly rising pitch pattern, indicating that there is a constituent break coming. There may be a slight pause or pitch discontinuity as the relative clause is interpolated, perhaps pronounced a little faster than the main clause and completed with the same non-final pitch pattern, before the main clause is resumed.

It is interesting to note that village announcements, although shouted out so as to reach half-a-dozen houses, follow the same intonation pattern as narrative and conversation, with the single speech-register feature of a steep rise in pitch on the final *yai* with which such announcements always conclude (see T8a.6).

2.6 Diachronic change

There are a number of phonological differences between V and B, besides the phonetic discrepancy of /t/ and /d/ being pronounced as affricates—[tʃ], [ndʒ]—before /i/ in B but not in V. Detailed historical reconstruction is not yet available, and one must beware of uncritically assuming that the standard dialect provides the proto-system from which other dialects have diverged over time. Nevertheless, for points (1)–(3) below it does appear that B involves changes from an original state-of-affairs that is maintained in V.

(1) *k* > *ʔ*. This is an unconditioned change that has applied at all structural positions in all types of words. In §2.1 we mentioned that the *k*'s which still remain in B are mostly in loans (from English and also from V), which must have been borrowed after the change occurred, and in words with two *k*'s (there are no instances of a word with two *k*'s where one has changed to a glottal stop and the other remained as *k*).

(2) *n* > *∅* / #-. At the beginning of a phonological word, *n* is lost from some grammatical forms (but not from lexemes). There are in fact only a handful of grammatical forms that begin with *n* in Fijian:

(i) The proto-Oceanic common article *na* is retained in V, but in B it is reduced to *a* when it begins a phonological word. If a preposition occurs before the article, then *n* does not drop, e.g. *a vale* “the house”, *i+na vale* “in the house”. Here the article forms the second part of a phonological word *i+na*, and the *n* not does not drop in word-medial position.

(ii) The future tense-marker *na* never loses its *n*. It might be thought that this is to avoid the possibility of confusion with past tense marker *aa* (although there would still be a difference of vowel length). There is in fact a

simpler, phonological explanation. Future tense *na* must always be preceded by a subject pronoun or by aspect marker *sa* or *saa* (§8.2), to which it coheres to form the second part of a phonological word; future *na* never occurs at the beginning of a phonological word, the position in which *n* drops from grammatical items.

(iii) The homonymous relators *ni* (see §10.4, §21.3, §22.1, and chapter 23) never lose the initial nasal.

(iv) Possessive pronouns involving one of the three classifiers (chapter 12) begin with *no-* in V, for third, second, and inclusive first persons; these forms are always separate phonological words. In B the initial *n* is lost, e.g. V *no-na*, B *o-na* "CLASSIF-3sg i.e. his, hers".

(3) $n > w / \#-$ in grammatical items. The first person exclusive possessive pronoun corresponding to those mentioned in 2(iv) commences with *ne-* in V and in *we-* in B, e.g. V *ne-irau*, B *we-irau* "CLASSIF-1duex i.e. ours". There is also a classifier-plus-possessor affix form that is *ne-i* in V and *we-i* in B.

The data under formulas 2 and 3 suggest that at the beginning of a phonological word the following changes have applied to grammatical forms:

- $n > \emptyset / \#-a, o$ that is $na > a, no > o-$
 $n > w / \#-e$ that is $ne > we-$
 $n > n / \#-i$ that is *ni* unchanged

It is, however, unwise to generalise this far, since there is only one example for each of the vowels *a*, *o*, *e*, and *i* (and no examples of *n* plus *u*).

The changes $na > a$ in 2(i), and $no > o-$ in 2(iv), have applied widely in the eastern part of Fiji, but their isoglosses do not quite coincide. There are two small areas where only $na > a$ has operated, and one where only $no > o-$ has applied (as mapped by Geraghty 1983:253).

(4) The first person inclusive non-singular pronoun roots all begin with *t* in B (dual *taru*, paucal *tatou*, plural *ta*) but with *d* in V (*daru*, *datou*, *da*).

(5) The preposition *e* "at, on" in V corresponds to *i* in B. Here it appears that B retains an older form, reflecting proto-Eastern-Oceanic *(*q*)*i* and that V has undergone a shift from *i* to *e*.

3 Word

Criteria for recognising a unit "word" differ only in detail from language to language; they fall into three sets:

(1) GRAMMATICAL CRITERIA, e.g. *cohesiveness*: all the parts of a word must occur together, and cannot be scattered through the sentence; *order*: the parts of a word may not be permuted within the word, or else not without a significant difference in meaning (e.g. Matthews 1974:163 on Turkish).

(2) PHONOLOGICAL CRITERIA, e.g. *stress*: there will be a certain stress pattern applying over the unit word; *phonotactics*: there may be different possibilities for phoneme sequences within a word from those over word boundaries.

(3) GENERAL CRITERIA, e.g. a word is generally a "minimal free form" (Bloomfield 1933:178), the smallest unit that can be pronounced as a complete utterance; a word will usually have *psychological reality* for speakers—they will talk of the meanings of words, less often of the meanings of constituent morphemes; they will dictate word-by-word (or syllable-by-syllable), not morpheme-by-morpheme; breaths and interpolations of things like swear words are more likely to occur between words than in the middle of a word.

In some languages these criteria do not coincide, and the linguist must recognise two distinct units—*phonological word* and *grammatical word*. This is the case for the Australian language Yidiñ, where there is a simple relation of inclusion: a grammatical word consists of one or more (a whole number of) phonological words (see Dixon 1977a:88–98, 1977b:25–9).

It is necessary to recognise two types of word in Fijian, and here the relation between grammatical word and phonological word is more complex. Often the two units do coincide; a form like *síga* "day" or *rabé-ta* "kick-TR" (a verb with a monosyllabic suffix) are each both one grammatical word and one phonological word. But a trisyllabic verbal affix forms a separate phonological word from the root (the stress rule operates independently in each part)—thus *ré'i-ta'ína* "rejoice at-TR" is one grammatical word that consists of two phonological words. The preposition *i* "at" and the common article *na* are grammatically separate words, but they cohere phonologically to form a single unit that has just one stress *í+na*—it is a phonological word that consists of two grammatical words.

The final and most complicated kind of relation between the two types of word in Fijian involves the affix *i-*. This is a derivational affix; it is added to a verb root and derives a noun, e.g. *sele* "to cut, slice" → *i-sele* "a knife", *talanoa* "to tell a story" → *i-talanoa* "a story" (see §17.3). The interesting point is that *i-* coheres phonologically with a preceding common article *a~na* and forms a phonological word with it. Thus

grammatical words:	ART NOUN (a) $\overline{a+i}$ - $\overline{séle}$	PREP ART NOUN (b) $\overline{i+na+i}$ - $\overline{tàlanóa}$
phonological words:	1 2 "the knife"	1 2 "in the story"

In noun phrase (a) the article *a* and the deverbal prefix *i-* form a diphthong \overline{ai} , and constitute a monosyllabic phonological word, which consists of the whole of one and a part of another grammatical word; similarly, the grammatical word *i-sele* consists of part of one and the whole of another phonological word. Noun phrase (b) shows that a preposition also adds on to the first phonological word (the common article has form *na* after a preposition and *a* elsewhere), forming $\overline{inái}$, a phonological word that consists of the whole of two and part of a third grammatical word.

The early missionaries to Fiji found it hard to decide where to write the word boundary in a phrase like (a). There are three possibilities:

- (i) *ai sele*, (ii) *a i sele*, (iii) *a isele*.

Hazlewood (1850), in his grammar, opted for (i). Churchward (1941) criticised this and preferred (ii). Then Milner (1956) went to the other extreme and used (iii). The Bible translation and most spontaneous written material works in terms of (i); when speakers dictated material or helped me transcribe texts, they would say "*ai—pause—sele*" and stoutly maintain that *ai* is one word and *sele* another (showing that it is the phonological word that is assigned major psychological reality in this particular instance).

There is merit in each of these alternatives; (i) shows the phonological word, (iii) the grammatical word, while (ii) simultaneously recognises both kinds of word boundary.

In this grammar I attempt to combine the insights shown in each of (i), (ii), and (iii) by use of the symbols:

- linking an affix to a root within a grammatical word;
- + linking two forms that belong to different grammatical words but form one phonological word.

Thus *a+i-sele* (the word boundary is shown where native writers put it).

One further symbol is needed—a full stop, or period, is used where a grammatical word consists of a whole number of phonological words, to mark the phonological word boundary within the grammatical word.

The full possibilities for combinations of grammatical and phonological units are:

(1) a compound grammatical word, where each component will be a distinct phonological word e.g. *góne.vúli* ("child.learn") "student", *cági.lába* ("wind.murder") "cyclone";

(2) a productively or inherently reduplicated word (where at least two moras are reduplicated)—the reduplication boundary is always a phonological

word boundary e.g. *butá'o* "to steal", *búta.butá'o* "to steal constantly"; *báta.bátáa* "cold" (there is no unreduplicated form *bataa*);

(3) root plus affix that together form one phonological unit e.g. *rabé-ta*;

(4) root plus affix where each comprise a separate phonological word e.g. *ré'i.-ta'ína* "rejoice at-TR", *véi.-drée* "COLLECTIVE-pull". (These could equally well have been written *ré'i.-ta'ína* and *véi.-drée*; where a full stop and a hyphen co-occur I adopt the convention of writing the full stop, or period, next to the root.)

(5) two grammatical words that cohere to form one phonological word, e.g. *i+na* "PREP+ART", *sá+na* "ASPECT+FUTURE"; here the whole combination is treated as a single unit for purposes of stress. Speakers maintain that *sá+na* is a single word (and similarly in other cases), and I write it as such here;

(6) if a single-mora grammatical word does not enter into a combination as in (5), it will become a clitic to an adjacent phonological word. That is, it does not enter into the stress assignment pattern of the host word, but is added on, as an extra unstressed syllable, after the stress rule has applied (see Scott 1948:744). Such clitics can be written with + and a space separating them from the host word (putting a word space where native speakers do), e.g. *me+ drée* "SHOULD+ pull";

(7) the situation described above, where a phonological word takes in one(or two)-and-a-bit grammatical words, and vice versa: $\overline{a+i}$ - $\overline{séle}$, $\overline{i+na+i}$ - $\overline{tàlanóa}$;

(8) the derivational prefix *i-* coheres to a preceding common article to form a phonological word but it does not cohere phonologically with any other type of word. A possessive pronoun can intervene between article and noun. Compare:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| (i) $\overline{a+i}$ - $\overline{séle}$, | (ii) <i>a+ ona i- séle</i> |
| | ART his PREFIX cut |
| "the knife" | "his knife" |

In (i) we get a diphthong *ai*, but in (ii) the final *a* of *ona* and the *i* of *i-sele* belong to different syllables. In (ii) the article *a* is a clitic to *ona* (situation (f) above); and the prefix *i-* is also a clitic to the following phonological word, this being shown—as in (6)—by the use of a word space, *i-sele*. (Note that the Bible translators overgeneralised. They correctly wrote the derivational affix *i-* as one word with the article *na*, i.e. *nai*; but they wrongly also joined it to a possessive pronoun, e.g. *na nonai sele* (this would be *a onai sele* in B) "his knife" and *na nomui sele* (*a omui sele* in B) "your knife". Native speakers dictate "*ai—pause—sele*", but "*a—pause—ona—pause—i-sele*", differing in the latter case from the conventions followed in the Bible.)

Thus, in summary, the possibilities are:

- (1) *góne.vúli* ROOT plus ROOT (each one phonological word)

- (2) *búta.butá'o*, *báta.baiáá* REDUPLICATED FORM (each part one phonological word)
- (3) *rabé-ta* ROOT plus SUFFIX (altogether one phonological word)
- (4) *ré'i.-ta'ína*, *véi.-drée* ROOT plus SUFFIX, PREFIX plus ROOT (each part is one phonological word)
- (5) *i+na*, *sá+na* TWO MONO-MORA GRAMMATICAL WORDS (altogether one phonological word)
- (6) *me+ drée* MONO-MORA GRAMMATICAL WORD plus ROOT (one phonological word, with adjoined clitic)
- (7) *á+i.-séle* ARTICLE plus PREFIX *i-* plus ROOT (first two items form one phonological word, the root another)
- (8) *i.-séle* PREFIX *i-* plus ROOT (one phonological word, with adjoined clitic)

These boundary symbols will be retained in examples through the grammar and in the texts at the end, with one exception. The “+” in situations of type (6) will generally be omitted. Whenever a mono-mora form is not linked to anything else, it can be taken as a clitic to the following phonological word (although the speaker does always have the choice of stressing it—the vowel is then lengthened and the form stands as a phonological word in its own right).

After this general introduction to the difficult topic of “word” in Fijian, we will look at criteria for the two kinds of word, and examine the interrelations between different types of grammatical and phonological units.

3.1 Phonological word

There are two criteria by which we recognise a succession of morphemes as one phonological word in Fijian:

(A) STRESS—the stress rule operates over a phonological word. We can tell that a trisyllabic transitive suffix forms a distinct phonological word from the verbal root by observing that in *ré'i.-ta'ína* there is primary stress on *re* (the penultimate syllable of *re'i*) rather than secondary stress on *i* (the fourth syllable from the end of the complete grammatical word). In contrast, *caqé-ta* has stress on the second syllable of the root, because this is the penultimate syllable of the phonological word.

(B) DIPHTHONG FORMATION—a sequence *ai*, *au*, *ei*, *eu*, *oi*, *ou*, or *iu* will form a diphthong within a phonological word but not across a phonological word boundary; thus *'ilá-i* “know-TR”, *íá-isi* “SPONT+tear”.

As already mentioned, a full reduplication boundary is always a phonological word boundary, e.g. *tú'i.tu'i-a* “REDUP-pound-TR”, where the stress rule applies independently to the two parts. The diphthong criterion confirms this: compare *ílo.ílo* “glass” where the *o* and *i*, although contiguous, belong to separate syllables, with *vóí.vóí* “pandanus”, where the *oi* each constitute a diphthong. Similarly, a sequence of two identical vowels will be pronounced as a long vowel within a phonological word but not across a phonological

word boundary; the only example I have of the latter situation is *únu.únu* “to gargle” (related to *únu* “to drink”).

As a further illustration we can consider the possessive suffix *-i* (which is normally followed by a proper name, §10.1). This can be seen to cohere phonologically with a bound nominal root to which it is attached (§10.3), on both the stress and diphthong formation criteria. Consider

<i>a maíá-i</i> <i>Jone</i>	<i>a yamé-i</i> <i>Jone</i>	“John’s tongue”
ART eye-POSS John	<i>a domó-i</i> <i>Jone</i>	“John’s throat”
“John’s eyes”	<i>a batí-i</i> <i>Jone</i>	“John’s teeth”
	<i>a ulú-i</i> <i>Jone</i>	“John’s head”

In *maíá-i*, *yamé-i*, and *domó-i* the suffix *-i* completes a word-final diphthong; in *batí-i* the suffix completes a final long vowel. Only in *ulú-i* do root-final vowel and suffix belong to separate syllables, since *ui* is not a possible diphthong in Fijian. But in *ulú-i*, as in the other four examples, the stress goes onto the syllable containing the penultimate mora (which is the last mora of the root), showing that root plus suffix do constitute a single phonological word.

Looking now at the form of a phonological word, we can first note that it must contain at least two moras; this is necessary for stress to appear on the syllable containing the penultimate mora. Minimal words are CVV forms like *cáá* “bad”, or VV ones like *úa* “wave” and *óó* “cloud”. There are grammatical words of form CV or V, with just one mora; when one of these forms is cited, then its vowel is lengthened—for example, someone wishing to talk about the relator *ni* would say *a vósa nū* “the word *ni*”. And when the alphabet is recited, each vowel is lengthened, and each consonant augmented by *aa*, that is: *áá*, *báá*, *cáá*, *dáá*, *éé*, *fáá*, *gáá*, . . .

It was mentioned above that some mono-mora grammatical words are not part of a phonological word but function as clitics that loosely attach to an adjacent phonological word. Clitics do not take part in the stress assignment rules of their host word (they are always unstressed), nor can they enter into a diphthong, e.g. *me+ butá'o* “SHOULD steal” (where the *me* is not stressed) and *me+ úvu* “SHOULD blow” (where the *e* and *u*, although contiguous, do not form a diphthong but belong to separate syllables).

3.2 Grammatical word

A lexical root (or compound) will be the core of a grammatical word; if it takes an affix this will be part of the same grammatical word.

Fijian has a number of kinds of word that provide extra specification of lexical roots, or link them together syntactically. They include prepositions, articles, demonstratives, conjunctions and other relators, tense and aspect markers and many types of modifiers in a predicate and in an NP (e.g. “all”, “truly”, “respectively”, “only”). We can refer to these as “function items”;

each is a separate grammatical word. Unlike lexical roots, function items do not take affixes.

As stated, a root-plus-affix will always be one grammatical word. The affix sometimes belongs to the same phonological word as the root; sometimes it comprises the whole of another phonological word; sometimes it is part of another phonological word; and sometimes it is a clitic. A function item sometimes makes up one phonological word, sometimes it is part of a phonological word, and sometimes it is a clitic.

The next subsections look in turn at the different realisational possibilities—in terms of phonological word and clitic—for root, affix, and function item. Pronouns have rather special properties and are dealt with in a final section. The remainder of this chapter goes into a fair amount of detail. It could well be skipped over on a first reading, and returned to after the rest of the book has been digested.

3.2.1 Roots

The lexical classes of Fijian are Verb, Adjective, Noun, Number and Time Word; there are also closed classes of Pronoun and Demonstrative. Most lexical roots are disyllabic and comprise one phonological word, e.g. *gōne* “child”, *'olū* “dog”. The few that have four or five syllables are almost all compounds or reduplicated forms (at least historically) and make up two phonological words; this can be seen from the stress placement in *yālo.vosōta* “patient”, *'āra.'arāwa* “blue”.

All lexical roots have at least two moras. If they are monosyllabic, then there must either be a diphthong, e.g. *vōu* “new”, or a long vowel, e.g. *ōō* “cloud”, *cāā* “bad”.

There are some monosyllabic verb roots with a long vowel. The root vowel is shortened when a monosyllabic transitive suffix is added:

<i>drēē</i> “pull”	<i>cāā</i> “bad”
<i>drē-ta</i> “pull-TR”	<i>cā-ta</i> “hate/consider bad-TR”

There are two ways of dealing with this. One would be to take the root as involving a short vowel (*dre* and *ca*), and then specify that this vowel must be lengthened in the absence of an affix, since each lexical word must be a full phonological word and a phonological word must consist of two moras. The other would be to say that the root involves a long vowel (*dree* and *caa*) and that this vowel loses its length when a monosyllabic affix is added because, as mentioned in §2.3, a long vowel is never found in the penultimate syllable of a word in Fijian followed by a short vowel (that is, *dree-ta* and *caa-ta* are not permissible Fijian words).

Now there is a derivational process, applying to a small set of adjectives, which reduplicates the initial consonant and the following vowel mora of the root (§19.1) e.g.

<i>lévu</i> “big”	<i>lelévu</i> “lots of big things”
<i>vōū</i> “new”	<i>vovōū</i> “lots of new things”
<i>cāā</i> “bad”	<i>cacāā</i> “lots of bad things”

If the root were *ca*, this reduplication should give *cāca*, which has two moras, and so length would not have to be added. The fact that the reduplicated form is *cacāā* shows that the root should be taken as *caa*, rather than as *ca*. This vowel is then shortened, to accord with the prohibition on penultimate long vowels, when an affix follows.

There are also some disyllabic roots with underlying vowel length in the first syllable, e.g. *siivi* “exceed”. In this case the length is retained when a transitive suffix is added, i.e. *siivi-ta*; but the long vowel must be shortened when the root is used without a suffix, because of the rule that a long vowel may not occur in a penultimate syllable followed by a short vowel, i.e. *sivi*.

3.2.2 Affixes

In most languages “what is an affix” can be determined on phonological grounds. In Fijian, however, all putative affixes consisting of more than one mora form a separate phonological word from the root; they are phonologically indistinguishable from modifiers in syntactic relation with the root. Consequently, some alternative criterion must be sought to define “what is an affix”. (Note that all affixes are derivational; Fijian has no inflections.)

I adopt here a fairly restrictive definition—a form which, when added to a root, changes the syntactic potential of that root is regarded as an affix. Compare:

(i) <i>vá'a-</i> <i>'olū</i>	(ii) <i>vía</i> <i>qíto</i>
MAKE dog	WANT play game

'Olii belongs to the word class noun, but *va'a-'olii* is a derived verb, with the meaning “own a dog”, and so *va'a-* is taken as a prefix (see §17.2). But *via qito* “want to play a game” has exactly the same functional possibilities as *qito* “play a game”, and so *via* is regarded as a syntactic modifier (§8.3.5) and not an affix. (If the criteria for affix were extended further it would be hard to know where to draw the line. If *via* were called an affix, a case could be made out that all of the thirty-odd predicate modifiers should be, and they include some forms like *ti'o* and *dina* that also function as lexical roots—§8.3.)

A full list of the affixes in B is now given, with comments on their phonological realisations:

(1) AFFIXES CONSISTING OF JUST ONE MORA

(i) Monosyllabic transitive suffixes *-Ca*, *-Ci*, *-a*, *-i* (where *C* is a consonant). These form part of the same phonological word as the root, as can be seen from stress placement (*rabé-ta*, *būta'ó-ca*) as well as diphthong and long vowel formation (*'ilā-a*, *'ilā-ī*).

(ii) Monosyllabic verbal prefixes *ta-*, *'a-*, *ca-* and *ra-* (§18.7). These only attach to two-mora roots (without any transitive suffix), and so their phonological status cannot be elucidated by the stress criterion—*'a-músu* “be broken” would have the same stress pattern whether *'a-* were part of the same phonological word or a proclitic to it. However, these prefixes do occur with roots that begin with *i* and *u*, and elicitation reveals that a diphthong is usually formed across the prefix-word boundary, e.g. *tā-uru* “become slack” and *tā-isi* “be torn”, showing that the prefix does belong to the same phonological word as the root.

(iii) The possessive suffix *-i* (see chapter 10) also forms part of the same phonological word as the root when it is attached to a bound noun (but usually not on the odd occasions when it is attached to a free noun or adjective—see §10.3); this was discussed in §3.1.

(iv) The classifier morphemes *we-~o-*, *'e-* and *me-* (chapter 12) may be followed by a pronominal element or by the possessive suffix *-i*. In each case the two elements form one phonological word, as can be seen from the diphthongs and stress placement in *wē-ī*, *ò-datóu*, *wē-imāmi*, etc.

(v) The form *+i-*, as discussed at length above, must definitely be considered a prefix, since it derives a noun from a verb. But *+i-* is unique among Fijian prefixes in that it forms a phonological word with an immediately preceding article if there is one, and if there is not it becomes a clitic to the following phonological word (the root to which it is grammatically a prefix). *+i-* may be preceded by a further prefix *va'a-*; it does *not* cohere with *va'a-* (there is no diphthong *ai*, and stress goes on the first syllable of *va'a-*). Thus from the verb *tí'o* “to stay, reside” is derived a noun *i-tí'o.tí'o* “residence” and from that a verb *vá'a-i-tí'o.tí'o* “make a residence”, where the *i-* is a clitic to the first occurrence of *tí'o*.

(vi) When *i'a-* is added to a cardinal number, an ordinal is formed, e.g. *i'a-lima* “fifth”. The first part of *i'a-* could be recognised as the prefix *+i-*, since it coheres with an article e.g. *ā+i-* *'a-lima* “the fifth”. The phonological status of the residual *'a-* cannot be determined; it only occurs with numbers, all of which have two moras and none of which begins with the diphthong-closing segments *u* and *i*—the criteria for determining whether an affix belongs to the same phonological word as its root do not in this case yield any results.

(2) MULTI-MORA AFFIXES

(i) Trisyllabic transitive affixes *-Ca'ina*, *-Ca'ini* (where *C* is a consonant) form a separate phonological word from the verbal root, as can be seen from stress placement e.g. *tālanōa-ta'ina* “relate-TR”. These affixes have a disyllabic passive form, which is also a distinct phonological word, e.g. *rē'i-tā'i* “rejoice at-PASS”.

(ii) There are a number of two-mora prefixes (all involving a diphthong or long vowel, except for *va'a-*) and each forms a phonological word separate from the root. They are *vei-*, collective (§17.1); *dau-*, habitual (§17.4), *'ai-*,

“native of” (§17.5), *yaa-*, distributive (§13.5); *va'a-*, which has many functions (§17.2); and also *lau-* (§18.6) and *-taa-* (§17.2.7). The separate phonological status of *va'a-* is easy to demonstrate, on the criterion of stress, e.g. *vá'a-yakávi* “evening meal”) and the non-formation of diphthongs across prefix-root boundary (e.g. *vá'a-itāaméra* “huge, monstrous”). The other prefixes all involve a diphthong or long vowel which, as noted in §2.4, always bear stress, at whatever position in a phonological word they occur. However, they do show primary—rather than secondary—stress e.g. *vēi-drēe* “COLL-pull”, and on this evidence they constitute a phonological word distinct from the root.

In conclusion, it will be seen that all mono-mora affixes cohere with, and are part of the same phonological word as, the root, with the exception of deverbal *+i-*, and that all multi-mora affixes make up the whole of a separate phonological word.

3.2.3 Function items

Function items comprise closed systems of items that modify the meaning of a predicate or NP head, or else relate together syntactic constituents.

(1) Pre-head and post-head modifiers within a predicate or NP (§8.3) always consist of at least two moras and always form a distinct phonological word.

(2) Prepositions *i*, *mai*, and *'ei* (chapter 14) will cohere with a following common article to form one phonological word: *i+na*, *mai+na*, *'ei+na*. If a preposition is followed by a place name, no article will intervene; *mai* and *'ei* then function as independent phonological words while *i* becomes proclitic to the place name (although it can exceptionally be stressed—the vowel is then lengthened and functions as an independent phonological word).

(3) The common article *a~na* (§9.3) will form a phonological word with a preceding preposition, or with a following instance of the derivational prefix *+i-*, or with both. If neither are present it will be proclitic to the following phonological word.

(4) The proper article *o* (§9.3) is normally proclitic to the following personal or place name or pronoun.

(5) Of the four tense-aspect forms (§8.2.2), past tense *aa* is normally a distinct phonological word. Aspectual *saa* or *sa* and future tense *na* can co-occur, in that order, and then form one phonological word, *sāa+na* or *sā+na*. Any of *saa*, *sa*, or *na* may be followed by the discourse marker *qei*, forming one phonological word with it: *sāa+qēi*, *sa+qēi*, *na+qēi*. Otherwise *sa* or *na* will generally be proclitic to the following phonological word, e.g. *āu+na+lá'o* “I will go” (although *āu+na+lá'o* can also be heard).

(6) Of the discourse markers (§8.2.3), *qei* may combine with *saa*, *sa*, or *na* but otherwise is a complete phonological word; *mani* is always a full phonological word.

(7) Two of the relators (chapter 22) have long vowels and are generally

independent phonological words—*dee* “might” and *'ee* “if”. *'Eeva'aa* “if” is always a separate phonological word. Relators *ni* “that, when; associated with”, *me* “should”, and *se* “or, whether” are generally proclitic to the following phonological word but can form a phonological word with a pronoun (see §3.2.4); *se* is often emphasized and then forms a phonological word in its own right, with vowel lengthened, *seé*.

3.2.4 Pronouns

There is a rich array of pronominal forms in Fijian, and they have different phonological possibilities (the full paradigm is given in §6.3).

(1) Object pronouns and cardinal pronouns are each always a complete phonological word.

(2) Subject pronouns are distinct phonological words in most circumstances. There are a number of variations:

(i) Most first person inclusive and third person non-singular forms begin with *e*, but have an allomorph without the *e*; the *e*-less form must be used after a monosyllabic relator. Relators *me* and *ni* cohere with these pronouns to form a single phonological word (written as such by native speakers) e.g. *ní+da* “THAT-1incl”, *mè+ratóu* “SHOULD-3pa”, *ní+ra* “THAT+3pl”.

(ii) 3sg subject pronoun *e* can never be more than a clitic to the following word; it must be omitted after a monosyllabic relator, and can be omitted in other circumstances.

(iii) 1sg subject pronoun has the basic form *au* but after a monosyllabic relator it becomes *u* and forms one phonological word with it (if the relator included a long vowel, this is shortened), i.e. from *dee*, *'ee*, *ni*, *me*, and *se* plus 1sg are formed *déu*, *'éu*, *núu*, *méu* and *seú*.

(iv) Second person subject pronouns begin with *o* (2sg is just *o*), which merges with *me* to give *mo* (this is normally proclitic to the next word).

(v) Possessive pronouns must take a classifier prefix, with which they form one phonological word, e.g. *wé-iráu*, *mè-dra*.

(vi) Possessive suffixes, occurring with bound nouns, are more complex:

(a) First person non-singular forms behave like proper names—the possessed noun takes the suffix *-i* (this is all one phonological word), and the cardinal form of the pronoun follows as a second phonological word, e.g. *ligá-i 'eiráu* “the arms of us two (exc)”, *ligá-i 'eētáru* “the arms of us two (inc)”.

(b) The other forms act grammatically as suffixes to the possessed noun. They plainly form part of the same phonological word as the lexical root, stress being assigned by the regular rule. Thus, with *liga-* “arm”:

<i>ligá-qu</i>	1sg	<i>ligà-mudráu</i>	2du	<i>ligà-dratóu</i>	3pa
<i>ligá-mu</i>	2sg	<i>ligà-mudóu</i>	2pa	<i>ligá-dra</i>	3pl
<i>ligá-na</i>	3sg	<i>ligà-munúu</i>	2pl		

All of these suffixes have one or three moras. There is a single possessive suffix that has two moras (*-drau*, 3du), and here the final vowel of the root is

obligatorily lengthened, thus bearing stress (Geraghty and Pawley 1981: 162). Compare:

<i>ligá-qu</i> “my arm”	<i>ligáa-draú</i> “their (two) arms”
<i>dàligá-qu</i> “my ear”	<i>dàligáa-draú</i> “their (two) ears”

Note that this final lengthening engenders a regularity in the possessive paradigm—the possessed noun always bears (primary or secondary) stress on its final root syllable.

4 Syntactic Overview I— Clause and Phrase Structure

This chapter and the next provide a quick overview of the main points of Fijian syntax. More details, exemplification, and justification of individual points are given in later chapters.

4.1 Word classes

We need to recognise, for Fijian:

Open lexical classes

1. Verb (including a subset of semi-auxiliary verbs—*segā* “not”, *rawa* “can” etc.—see §4.6, §23.4)
2. Adjective
3. Noun, with subclasses: Personal Name, Place Name, Common Noun (the latter are further subdivided into free and bound nouns—see §10.5)

Semi-open classes

4. Number
5. Time word

Closed classes of shifters

6. Pronoun
7. Demonstrative

Closed grammatical systems

8. Article
9. Preposition
10. Tense-aspect markers
11. Discourse markers
12. Predicate (and NP) modifiers, arranged in a number of subsystems
13. Classifiers
14. Relators
15. Interjections

Time words are similar in their grammatical behaviour to Nouns, and Numbers to Verbs; but there are enough differences to justify recognising separate word classes here (see chapters 15 and 13).

There are interrogative forms corresponding to Verb, Adjective, Noun, Number, Time word, Pronoun, and Demonstrative; for some purposes they demand to be grouped together as a pan-parts-of-speech word class—see chapter 16.

Place Names behave grammatically like Common Nouns in some respects and like Personal Names in others; Personal Names share many grammatical properties with Pronouns—see §20.1.

Justification for setting up these word classes—especially the lexical classes Verb, Adjective, and Noun—is given in §20.2.

4.2 Predicate structure

There are two types of clause in Fijian. The minor type, equational clause, basically involves two NPs; it is discussed in §21.1.

The major clause type includes a predicate, which usually comes at the beginning of the clause. Every other constituent is optional.

A predicate must have a head, which is usually (but not necessarily) a verb. And the initial element in the predicate is a subject pronoun, e.g.

au la'o “I am going”

era la'o “they are going”

The reference of this subject pronoun (within the predicate) can optionally be expanded by a subject NP, following the predicate. This will generally contain a noun as head if the subject is third person, and may also involve adjective(s), possessor, demonstrative, relative clause, etc. Thus, with the subject NP within square brackets:

era la'o [*a gone*] “the children are going (lit: they are going, the children)”

era la'o [*e walu a gone lalai yai*] “these eight little children are going”

A subject NP may have a (cardinal) pronoun as head, and is then included mostly for emphasis (the pronominal subject within the predicate *cannot* be omitted, no matter what is included in the post-predicate NP):

au la'o [*o yau*] “I am going”

era la'o [*o ira*] “they are going”

A subject NP can be in two parts, the first part with a pronoun head and the second part with a noun head:

era la'o [[*o ira*][*a gone*]] “the children are going”

Fijian has a rich pronominal system, distinguishing singular, dual, paucal (“a few”), and plural in first, second, and third persons. There is also a contrast between inclusive (i.e. including addressee) and exclusive (not including addressee) in first person non-singular. Each pronoun has a cardinal form (for use as head of an NP), subject and object forms (which occur in the predicate), and various possessive forms (which usually occur within an NP). Full details are in chapter 6.

Third person singular is the “unmarked” person-number combination. The 3sg subject pronoun, *e*, was, in grammars up to and including Milner (1956), not regarded as a pronoun at all but just as a marker of the predicate.

The root form of a verb functions as head of an intransitive predicate (one which has a subject but no object). But an adjective, a number, a noun, a noun-plus-adjective (really, a complete NP), a personal name, a place name,

a possessor pronoun, or a cardinal pronoun can also function as head of an intransitive predicate—see §8.1.

Verbs (and only verbs) take special suffixes, and then function as head of a transitive predicate, with subject and object. The unmarked form of a transitive suffix ends in *-a* and has 3sg reference:

INTRANSITIVE:	<i>au la'o</i> "I am going"	<i>au rai</i> "I am looking"
TRANSITIVE:	<i>au la'o-va</i> "I am going for (it)"	<i>au rai-ca</i> "I see (him/her/it)"

If the object is not 3sg, or if it is a personal or place name, then the suffix ends in *-i* and is immediately followed by the object:

<i>au rai-ci ira</i> "I see them"	<i>au rai-ci Jone</i> "I see John"
<i>e rai-ci au</i> "He/she sees me"	<i>au rai-ci Waitabu</i> "I see Waitabu"

(As Arms 1974:28–34 and Pawley 1986 have pointed out, the *-i* form of the transitive suffix is historically prior and 3sg. *-a* was originally added to this. But *rai-ci-a* has reduced to *rai-ca* in the modern language, and it is in this form (not *rai-ci*) that a transitive verb is cited by speakers.)

The 3sg object pronoun *'ea* can, optionally, be stated, and then the *-i*-final form of the suffix is used:

au rai-ci 'ea "I see him/her (or, possibly, it)"

But, much more frequently, 3sg is shown just by suffix-final *-a*, *au rai-ca*.

There is one important difference between subject and object marking. If the subject is a personal name or place name it can only be mentioned in a separate NP after the predicate:

e la'o [o Jone] "John is going"

But, as already stated, if the object is a personal name or place name then it must occur *in* the predicate, in the same slot as pronominal object, after the *-i*-final form of the transitive suffix, i.e. *au rai-ci Jone* "I see John". Note that the proper article *o* must be included before a name in an NP, but *cannot* occur when the name is transitive object, within the predicate.

Just as the subject marking within the predicate can be referentially expanded by a separate NP, after the predicate, so can third person object marking within the predicate be expanded by a following NP:

au rai-ca [a gone] "I see the child"
au rai-ci 'ea [a gone] "I see the child"
au rai-ci ira [a gone] "I see the children"

Note that here the number of the object—singular or plural—is shown only by the object pronoun; the referential identity of the object is shown only by the noun *gone* within the NP.

If both subject and object are third person and there is only one NP after the predicate, then the clause will be ambiguous; the NP could be expanding the reference of the subject or of the object:

e rai-ca [a gone] "he/she/it sees the child" OR "the child sees him/her/it"
e rai-ci ira [a gone] "he/she/it sees the children" OR "the child sees them"

If both subject and object are expanded by post-predicate NPs, then (so speakers state in elicitation sessions) object will usually precede subject:

e rai-ca [a gone] [a cauravou] "the youth sees the child"

But the NPs can occur in the reverse order in a textual context; this sentence can mean "the child sees the youth". See §21.2.

In Fijian texts, over 70 percent of clauses are intransitive. Only about 10 percent of those clauses that are transitive show both subject and object NPs, outside the predicate. Discourse in Fijian tends to be a little repetitive, with new information being introduced just a bit at a time (§25.1). Although sentences like the last three quoted are potentially ambiguous, the way discourse is constructed makes real ambiguity or confusion rare.

Besides its head, and subject and object pronominal markers (both of which are obligatory), a predicate in Fijian may include many other (optional) elements. The full structure is:

- pronominal subject marker
- tense-aspect marker(s) (not obligatory but usually included—if a speaker of B were reading this chapter he might prefer to insert aspect marker *saa* or *sa* between the subject pronoun and verb for each sentence quoted so far; but the sentences as given are also quite acceptable)
- discourse marker(s)
- pre-head modifier(s)
- head
- pronoun, personal name or place name as object
- adverb*
- post-head modifier(s)
- demonstrative etc
- adverb*

Note: adverb can occur in either of the positions marked with an asterisk, only very seldom in both.

A full account of the structure of the predicate is given in chapter 8.

4.3 Noun phrase structure

A noun phrase begins with what is generally called, in the Fijian linguistic tradition, an "article". If the head is a common noun, then the article is *a* (which becomes *na* after a preposition); if the head is a personal name, a place name, or a pronoun, then the article is *o* (which is dropped after a preposition). Thus:

a 'oro "the village" *o Waitabu* "Waitabu"
i+na 'oro "in the village" *i Waitabu* "in Waitabu"

the article *a~na* very roughly corresponds to the definite article in English. There is no indefinite article in Fijian; it is sometimes appropriate to translate an English indefinite article through the number "one": *e dua a 'oro* "a village" (here *dua* "one" is a predicate head, literally "the village which is one"). See §9.3.

A common noun as NP head may be followed by an adjective (very rarely, by more than one adjective) and/or a demonstrative, e.g. *a 'oro vina'a yai* "this good village (ART village good this)"—see chapter 9. A relative clause can come at the end of an NP, e.g. *a gone [e ti'o i+na 'oro yai]* "the child who lives in this village"—see §4.9, §21.5. Number specification is included in an NP by a special type of relative clause construction that precedes the article, e.g. *e rua a 'oro* "two villages"—see chapter 13.

An NP can also show possession. There are five different constructions for showing types of possession and part-whole relationship in Fijian:

(1) If the "possessor" is non-human, then the relator *ni* "associated with" is used, e.g. *a mata ni cina* "bulb associated with lamp".

(2) If the possessor is a proper name and the possessed is a bound noun (which are, basically, body parts and kin terms) then *-i* is suffixed to the possessed noun and is followed by the possessor, e.g. *a mata-i Jone*, "John's eye", *a tama-i Mere* "Mary's father".

(3) If the possessor is a proper name and the possessed is not a bound noun then *-i* is preceded by a classifier element *we-*, *'e-* or *me-*. The choice of classifier depends on a number of factors, such as whether the possessed has been or is to be eaten or drunk, whether it is owned or controlled by the possessor (see chapter 12). E.g. *a uto 'e-i Jone* "John's breadfruit", *a loga we-i Mere* "Mary's mat".

(4) If the possessor is a pronoun and the possessed is a bound noun, then a pronominal suffix must be added to the bound noun e.g.

<i>a mata-qu</i> "my eye"	<i>a tama-mu</i> "your father"
<i>a mata-dra</i> "their (pl) eyes"	<i>a tama-dra</i> "their (pl) father(s)"

(5) If the possessor is a pronoun and the possessed is not a bound noun, then a separate possessor word is included in the NP, between article and head (which codes the possessor). The first part of this possessor word is a classifier (as under (3)) *we~o-*, *'e-* or *me-*, and the second part is a pronominal element:

<i>a o-dra loga</i> "their (pl) mat"	<i>a o-na waqa</i> "his/her boat"
<i>a 'e-dra uto</i> "their (pl) breadfruit"	<i>a 'e-na falawa</i> "his/her flour"

This is a very brief summary of the ways of marking possession. There is a full discussion in chapter 10, mentioning the overlaps that exist between the various construction types.

Let us focus now on (5), which is the most common possessive construc-

tion. The NP begins with the common article, *a*; this is followed by a pronominal element marking the possessor; then comes the head (the possessed). Notice a similarity with predicate structure where there is a pronominal marker of subject, followed by the head.

We saw that the subject marker in a predicate can optionally have its reference further specified by an NP, which comes after the predicate, e.g.

e la'o "he is going"
e la'o [a cauravou] "the youth is going"

In exactly the same way, the pronominal marker of a possessor in an NP can optionally have its reference further specified by an NP coming after the head:

a o-na waqa "his/her boat"
a o-na waqa [a cauravou] "the youth's boat"

4.4 Clausal NPs

In English we can have a POSS-ING-clause as the object or subject of a verb. Corresponding to the main clause *John ran down the path* there is the complement clause *John's running down the path* (as in *I noticed John's running down the path* or *John's running down the path surprised me*). Here the possessive ending *'s* goes onto the subject, while the verb loses its tense inflection and takes *-ing* instead.

There is a very similar construction in Fijian. Corresponding to a clause (here consisting of just a predicate) like

o lesu mai "You return here"
 2sgSUBJECT return HERE

we can get a clausal NP as object (or subject) of a verb:

au aa rai-ca [a o-mu lesu mai]
 1sgSUBJ PAST see-TR ART CLASSIF-2sgPOSSESSOR return HERE
 "I saw your returning here"

It is a simple matter to form this type of NP from an independent clause: (a) the common article *a* must be included at the beginning; (b) the appropriate pronominal possessor word is substituted for the pronominal subject marker—here *o-mu* "yours" for *o* "you". All else remains unchanged—tense/aspect, pre-head and post-head modifiers, adverbs, and demonstratives (if these were present in the independent clause); the predicate head becomes NP head (*lesu* in the example above).

We have seen that a pronominal subject marker in a predicate may be further specified by a subject NP coming after the predicate, and that a pronominal possessive marker in an NP may be further specified in exactly the same way by an NP coming after the head. This parallel between clause and NP structure enables post-predicate parts of a clause to pass over into a clausal NP. Thus, corresponding to the independent clause

e samu-ti i'o [a cauravou yai]
 3sgSUBJ beat-TR 2sgOBJ ART youth THIS
 "this youth beat you"

we can have a clausal NP as in:

*au aa rai-ca [a o-na samu-ti i'o [a
 1sgSUBJ PAST see-TR ART CLASSIF-3sgPOSS beat-TR 2sgOBJ ART
 cauravou yai]]*
 youth THIS
 "I saw this youth's beating you"

The NP [*a cauravou yai*] expands the subject *e* in the independent clause, and the possessor *o-na* (into which the subject has been mapped) in the clausal NP.

There are other types of clausal NP, corresponding to possessive constructions (1) and (3); full details are in chapter 11.

4.5 Other subordinate clauses

There are four types of complement clause in English—clauses which can be the subject or object of a main verb. Besides the POSS-ING type we get complements introduced by THAT, e.g. *I doubt that John will go*; by TO, e.g. *I want (John) to go*; or by a WH- word, e.g. *I wonder whether John will go, I wonder who will go*.

Fijian has at first sight five types of complement clause (one more will be added in chapter 24). There are clausal NPs, just mentioned, which have the internal structure of an NP (beginning with the common article, and including a possessive pronoun). The other complement types have the structure of a clause (i.e. no article, and they maintain a pronominal subject marker)—they are introduced by a relator, *ni* "that"; *dee* "that . . . might"; *se* for any kind of interrogative complement; and *me* "should, so that". Exemplifying these:

(1) *ni*-complements are very common, e.g.

(T4.69) *au va'a-bau-ta [ni+ra saa ti'o tauco'o i le'utu]*
 1sg believe-TR THAT+3pl ASP stay ALL IN forest
 "I believe that they are all staying (at a village) in the forest"

There is a difference in meaning between clausal NP and *ni*-complement comparable to that between POSS-ING and THAT clauses in English:

au aa rogo-ca [a o-dra qaaqaa a cauravou yai]
 1sg PAST hear-TR ART CLASSIF-3pl win ART youth THIS
 "I heard these youths' winning (e.g. I heard the full commentary on the match over the radio)"
au aa rogo-ca [ni+ra qaaqaa a cauravou yai]
 1sg PAST hear-TR THAT+3pl win ART youth THIS
 "I heard that these youths had won (i.e. I just heard the result)"

The relator *ni* can also introduce both "when" and "because" clauses (§21.2). (There is a homonymous form *ni* which links together two NPs with the sense "associated with", e.g. *a bilo ni tii*: "a cup for tea, a teacup"—see §10.4.)

(2) *se* has two functions: (i) *se* "or" can link syntactic constituents of any size—two clauses, two phrases, two words, etc. (§22.4); (ii) *se* must be used to introduce an interrogative complement clause—this covers both "whether" clauses, as in

*au na vaa-'aasama-ta'ina mada [se-u na la'o
 1sg FUT think over-TR PLEASE WHETHER-1sg FUT go
 (se sega)]*
 OR NOT
 "I'll think over, if you please, whether I'll go (or not)"

and also complement clauses with an interrogative word such as "who", "what", "when" etc., e.g.

au saa 'ila-a [se aa ca'a-va mayaa o cei]
 1sg ASP know-TR COMP PAST do-TR THAT ART who
 "I realise who did that"

(3) *dee* marks a complement clause when the subject of the main clause is not certain of something, e.g.

au saa 'ila-a [dee na+qei mate a qase yai]
 1sg ASP know-TR MIGHT FUT+THEN die ART old person THIS
 "I realise that this old person might die"

If the speaker were certain that the old person *would* die, then he should use *ni* in place of *dee* to introduce the complement clause.

Dee can also function in a coordinate construction, specifying something (pleasant or unpleasant) that *might* happen; the adjoined clause may specify what should be done to ensure or avoid this (§22.3), e.g.

volo mada, dee na+qei rai-ci i'o a ovisa
 hide PLEASE MIGHT FUT+THEN see-TR 2sg ART policeman
 "please hide, in case the policeman sees you"

(4) At first sight *me* "should" appears to be a further complementiser, corresponding roughly to "to" in English, e.g.

*au vina'a-ta [me+u tini-a a qou
 1sg want-TR SHOULD+1sg conclude-TR ART CLASSIF+1sg
 i-talanoa]*
 story
 "I want to finish my story"

However, a closer examination shows significant differences between the syntax of *ni*, *se*, and *dee* complements, on the one hand, and *me* clauses, on the

other. *Me* can co-occur with *se* (and with *'eeva'aa* “if”), for instance, whereas *ni* cannot. The exact syntactic status of *me* is discussed in some detail in chapter 24.

Besides the types of complement clause, there are also “when” clauses introduced by *ni* (§21.3), “because” clauses introduced by *ni* or by *baleta ni* (§21.3, §14.4.2), purposive clauses introduced by *me* (chapter 24), and “if” clauses introduced by *'eeva'aa* or by *'ee* (§22.2). And there is a conjunction *ia* “well, then, but” that has a wide range of functions (§22.5).

4.6 Semi-auxiliary verbs “not”, “can”, etc

In Fijian, negation is shown by a verb, *sega*. It can take an ordinary NP as subject and is then translatable by “there are no—”, e.g.

e sega a 'olii (i+na 'oro yai)
3sg not ART dog IN+ART village THIS
“there are no dogs (in this village)”

In order to add negation to a predicate, the predicate must be put into a complement clause, introduced by *ni*, which then functions as the subject of *sega* (and can then be translated “it is not the case that—”):

e sega [ni la'o o Jone]
3sg not THAT go ART John
“John is not going (literally: it is not the case that John is going)”

This is the *only* way in which a verb can be negated—in a construction *e sega ni* VERB. (The 3sg subject marker *e* is deleted after *ni*.)

But although the head of a predicate is usually a verb, it can be almost any type of word, e.g. a noun. Note the contrast between a noun as head of the predicate in a *ni* complement clause which is the subject of *sega*:

e sega ni 'olii “it isn’t a dog (it may be a cat)”
and the noun as head of an NP which is subject of *sega*:
e sega a 'olii “there is no dog”

Sega has some, but not all, the properties of a verb, so that we call it a “semi-auxiliary verb”. There are just a few other items in this subclass. *'Ua* “don’t” is the negative used in imperatives and after *me*, e.g.

'ua ni la'o! “don’t go!”

Rawa “can” has similar syntax, e.g.

e rawa ni la'o o Jone “John can go”

A full discussion of these and of the semi-auxiliary verbs *dodonu* “must, be necessary” and *bese* “don’t want to, refuse to” is in §23.4.

4.7 Peripheral clause constituents

A clause must have a predicate and must include (within the predicate) information about the person and number of the subject and, if it is transitive, information about the object. Subject and object may additionally be specified

by NPs that come after the predicate. We can refer to the predicate, subject, and object as the “core” of a clause.

Any clause can also contain one or more peripheral elements. These can be phrases introduced by a preposition (they have the structure of an NP, with the preposition preceding the common article or replacing the proper article)—*i* “to, at, concerning” and *mai* “from, at”, e.g.

'eimami aa la'o [mai Suva]
1exclpl PAST go FROM Place
“we went from Suva”

A preposition may mark some motion or location, or it can convey a more abstract, grammatical relation, e.g. of recipient with “give”, or as in:

sa+na qali i Toga o Viti
ASP+FUT subservient TO Tonga ART Fiji
“Fiji would then have been subservient to Tonga” (if they’d lost the war)

Here *o Viti* is the subject of the intransitive verb *qali*, and *i Toga* is the indirect object. (Note that the third subject marker *e* can optionally drop before *sa*.)

The prepositions *i* and *mai* occur before common nouns and place names; before personal names and pronouns, *i* is replaced by *vei*, and *mai* by either *vei* or *mai vei*. The third preposition *'ei* “together with” has the same form with all types of noun and pronoun. For a full discussion of prepositions and their semantic ranges, see chapter 14.

A prepositional phrase can come anywhere after the predicate—before subject and/or object NPs, between them, or after them (see the discussion of 11.13 in §11.1).

A special “fused” form *'ina* occurs in place of any of the three main prepositions plus the 3sg pronoun. It is used for anaphoric reference, as in:

e mate [mai Wairi'i], e lau-vana 'ina
3sg dead AT Place 3sg PASS-shoot AT+3sg
“he died at Wairi'i, he was shot there”

Here *'ina* refers back to *mai Wairi'i*. The form *'ina* always occurs towards the end of (and as a part of) the predicate, just before a demonstrative (see §4.2 and chapter 8).

A clause can also contain temporal elements—a time word like *ni'ua* “today”, a phrase like *i+na gauna ni cagi.laba* “in the time of the cyclone”, or a temporal clause like *ni liwa a cagi.laba* “when the cyclone blows”. There is again great freedom as to where in clause structure these elements occur.

4.8 Fronting

Although the norm situation, as inferred from study of texts and from native speakers’ intuitions, is for the predicate to be clause initial, any NP can be topicalised and moved to the front (i.e. left) of the predicate.

If a core NP is fronted, then pronominal reference to it is retained in the predicate. Compare

au via talanoa.-ta'ina [*a+i- talanoa lailai*] [*vei 'emudrau*]
 1sg WANT tell-TR ART+story little TO 2du
 "I want to tell a little story to you two"

with the version in which the object NP is fronted and becomes the topic:

[*a+i- talanoa lailai*] *au via talanoa.-ta'ina* [*vei 'emudrau*]
 ART+story little 1sg WANT tell-TR TO 2du
 "there is a little story that I want to tell to you two"

If a peripheral NP is moved to the left of the predicate, then its preposition is sometimes fronted with it and sometimes not (for a full discussion, see §21.4). There is usually a marker *'ina* (the fusion of preposition and 3sg pronoun) inserted at the end of the predicate. Thus, from

'eimami saa qaaqaa [*a 'ai-Boumaa*] [*i+na*
 1exmpl ASP victorious ART NATIVE-Place CONCERNING+ART
drano]
 lake
 "we, the natives of Boumaa, were victorious concerning the lake
 (the Somosomo people reluctantly agreed that it does lie in our
 territory)"

the prepositional phrase can be fronted (in this example, which comes from a text, the preposition was not fronted as well), and *'ina* included in the predicate:

[*a drano*] *'eimami saa qaaqaa 'ina* [*a 'ai-Boumaa*]
 ART lake 1exmpl ASP victorious PREP+3sg ART NATIVE-Place
 "the lake, we the Boumaa people were victorious concerning it"

There are examples in the texts of two NPs being fronted within one clause, e.g.

[*i+na vei-.vanua*] [*a tabua kece*] *e*
 IN+ART COLL-place ART whale's tooth ALL 3sg
dau-va'a-cabo-ri 'ina
 HABITUAL-MAKE-present-PASS PREP+3sg
 "in many places, many whale's teeth are presented (in the ceremony
 of welcoming a high chief)"

Here *'ina* marks the fronting of the locative NP *i+na vei-.vanua* (which here carries its preposition with it); the subject NP *a tabua kece* of this passive clause has also been fronted, and is still cross-referenced by the third singular (and unmarked) subject pronoun *e* in the predicate.

4.9 Relative clauses

A relative clause will normally come straight after the NP that it qualifies. Thus, if we have two simple clauses sharing an NP:

'eitou 'ani-a [*a pua'a*]
 1excpa eat-TR ART pig
 "we (several) ate the pig"
'eirau 'au-ta [*a pua'a*]
 1excdy bring-TR ART pig
 "we (two) brought the pig"

the second clause can be embedded in the object NP of the first:

'eitou 'ani-a [*a pua'a* [*'eirau 'au-ta*]]
 1excpa eat-TR ART pig 1excdy bring-TR
 "we (several) ate the pig which we (two) brought"

Note that the occurrence of the shared NP is deleted from the relative clause.

If the shared NP were in peripheral function in the relative clause, then the marker *'ina* should be included in the predicate of the relative clause, e.g.

au ti'o.-ra'ina [*a vatu*] [*i+na gauna* [*au tiidara 'ina*]]
 1sg sit on-TR ART stone AT+ART time 1sg slip PREP-3sg
 "I sat down (hard) on a stone at the time when I slipped"

A straightforward way of describing the formation of relative clauses is to say that the shared NP is fronted within the subordinate clause and this clause is then placed after the shared NP in the main clause. This would yield *au ti'o.-ra'ina a vatu i+na gauna* [(*i+n*)*a gauna au tiidara 'ina*] with two consecutive occurrences of the shared NP, one of which is deleted. Such a treatment would work for all types of relative clause and would explain the inclusion of *'ina* when the shared NP is in peripheral function in the relative clause. For a full discussion of relative clauses, see §21.5.

4.10 Derivational affixes

(i) *lau-* is a prefix that has semantic effect similar to a passive, and refers to some action which adversely affects the deep object, e.g. *lau-.sivi* "badly carved"—see §18.6.

(ii) *ta-*, *'a-*, *ca-*, and *ra-* are verbal prefixes that either mark an action as happening spontaneously, or else something which has an adversative effect, e.g. *'a-dresu* "become torn"—see §18.7.

(iii) *'ai-* is a prefix that can be added to any place name and derives a common noun that describes a native of that place, e.g. *'ai-Boumaa* "person from Boumaa", *'ai-Merekee* "American"—see §17.5.

(iv) *dau-* "habitually, often" is prefixed to a verb and derives an adjective, e.g. *qito* "play a game", *dau-qito* "habitually playing games"—see §17.4.

(v) *+i-* is prefixed to a verb (which is sometimes reduplicated, sometimes

not) and derives a noun that may refer to an instrument, a place, a result, or a mode of activity, e.g. *cula* “to pierce”, *i-cula* “needle”—see §17.3.

(vi) *vei-* is a “collective” prefix. When added to one of a smallish set of nouns, it indicates a collection of their referents, e.g. *vei.vale* “every house”. A verb prefixed with *vei-* is always intransitive, and the subject NP encompasses the collection of people involved in the activity (agent, patient, etc.). Reciprocals are a special kind of *vei-* construction. See §17.1.

(vii) *va'a-* has the widest possibilities of all. It can be prefixed to a greeting or an interjection and then forms a verb “to use that greeting or interjection”. Prefixed to a noun it may form an adverb, e.g. *va'a-.Viti* “Fijian”; or a derived verb, e.g. *va'a-.teevoro* “worship spirits (i.e. traditional gods)”. With a number, *va'a-* forms an adverb, e.g. *va'a-.rua* “twice”. With an adjective, *va'a-* will derive a causative verb. *Va'a-* can be prefixed to verb roots and then has two quite distinct syntactic effects, as described in §5.3.4, §17.2:6.

Reduplication is an important morphological process in Fijian. The types of reduplication with adjectives are discussed in §19.1, and of numbers in §8.3.7. Verbal reduplication has a critical syntactic role—see §5.3.2, §17.6.

5 Syntactic Overview II—Verbs

5.1 Syntactic orientation of verbs—A and O types

Most verbs in Fijian have both an intransitive form (root only) and a transitive form, which is root plus affix *-Ca~Ci*, or *-Ca'ina~Ca'ini*. *C* is a consonant, the identity of which is determined by the root (§18.1); whether final *-a* or *-i* is used depends on the nature of the object (§4.2). The suffix *-ta'inali* is the productive transitive ending, used with introduced verbs such as loans, e.g. *draiva-ta'inali* “to drive-TR”.

There are two different ways in which the intransitive form of a verb may relate to the transitive form. For some verbs, intransitive subject (S) corresponds to transitive subject (A), e.g.

Type (i) A = S

- (a) *e la'o* [*a marama*]_S “the woman is going”
e la'o-va [*a suka*]_O [*a marama*]_A “the woman is going for sugar”
- (b) *e dree* [*a cauravou*]_S “the youth is pulling”
e dre-ta [*a waqa*]_O [*a cauravou*]_A “the youth is pulling the boat”
- (c) *e tadra* [*a gone*]_S “the child is dreaming”
e tadra-a [*a 'aa.'ana*]_O [*a gone*]_A “the child is dreaming of food”

For other verbs, S corresponds to transitive object (O), e.g.

Type (ii) O = S

- (d) *e lo'i* [*a kaukamea yai*]_S “this (piece of) metal is bent”
e lo'i-a [*a kaukamea yai*]_O [*a cauravou*]_A “the youth is bending this (piece of) metal”
- (e) *e tawa* [*a 'oro yai*]_S “this village is inhabited”
e tawa-na [*a 'oro yai*]_O [*a vuulagi*]_A “strangers live in this village”
- (f) *e wili* [*a+i- lavo yai*]_S “this money is counted”
e wili-'a [*a+i- lavo yai*]_O [*a gone*]_A “the child is counting this money”

These patterns are quite definite; that is, each verb is of A = S (hereafter just A) type or else of O = S (hereafter, O) type. It is possible to say, referring to (f), *e wili a gone*, but this would then mean “the child is counted (i.e. included in some group of people)”; it could *not* mean “the child is counting”.

I examined the syntax of about 460 Fijian verbs. Of those that existed in both transitive and intransitive forms (about 80 percent of the sample), slightly more than half were of A type, and slightly less than half of O type. Detailed study revealed that there *is* a semantic basis to the division of verbs into A and O classes—see §18.2.

5.2 Verbs with two transitive forms

Some verbs (the great majority of them belonging to the A type) can take two distinct transitive endings, and these almost always carry syntactic and/or se-

mantic differences. The most common pattern is for there to be one monosyllabic transitive suffix, with the object being what is affected by the action, and a trisyllabic affix, where a more peripheral NP comes into the object slot, e.g.

yaqa-va "crawl along like a crab *to* (e.g. a doorway)"
yaqa.-ta'ina "crawl along like a crab *with* (e.g. a gun)"
pu'u-ca "be angry *at* (a person)"
pu'u.-ca'ina "be angry *about* (what was done)"
vana-a "shoot (*at*) (e.g. a pig)"
vana.-ta'ina "shoot (*with*) (e.g. a gun)"

With one group of verbs (and these include O as well as A representatives), the trisyllabic transitive form has a more "intensive" meaning, e.g.

sere-'a "untie, undo (e.g. loosen one screw in a machine)"
sere.-la'ina "untie, undo a lot (e.g. loosen all the screws in a machine)"

Some verbs take two monosyllabic endings, with a meaning difference. In most cases, if a verb has more than one transitive suffix, all these suffixes are of the same type, A or O—that is, the S of the intransitive verb corresponds either to the A for *all* transitive forms, or to the O for *all* transitive forms based on that root. There are just a few verbs where S corresponds to the A of one transitive form and to the O of another (involving a different transitive suffix); a full discussion will be found in §18.2–3.

5.3 The principles of verbal syntax

If the intransitive form of a verb is taken as basic, then a number of verbal syntactic properties appear complicated and difficult to explain—the incorporation of an object NP into the verb, the formation of reduplicated verbs, the two construction types found when *va'a-* is prefixed to a verb root, and the formation of passives.

If, however, the transitive form of a verb is taken as basic, the syntax of derived forms is perfectly straightforward. It is then found that verbs behave in a uniform way for most syntactic properties, independently of whether they have A or O orientation.

Taking a transitive form as basic, we then derive the intransitive form by deleting the transitive suffix; and at this stage we must recognise the two types of intransitive verb: A (i.e. S = A) and O (i.e. S = O). (There may be some historical—in addition to synchronic-syntactic—justification for taking the transitive form of a verb as basic. Ancestor languages of Fijian allowed syllable-final consonants, and the initial segment of a modern-day transitive suffix may originally have been the final segment of the root.)

We can now describe the main types of verbal derivation.

5.3.1 Passive

A passive is formed from an active transitive clause in Fijian as follows:

- (i) the underlying O NP becomes passive S;
- (ii) the underlying A NP is normally deleted, although it can be retained in the passive as a peripheral NP marked by the preposition *vei* or *mai vei*;
- (iii) the transitive ending on the verb shifts to the passive form—a monosyllabic suffix *-Ca* becomes *-Ci*, and a trisyllabic *-Ca'ina* reduces to disyllabic *-Ca'i*.

We mentioned in §4.2 that a transitive suffix, in the active voice, ends in *-i* if the object is a personal name, a place name, or an explicit pronoun, e.g. *au rai-ca* "I see (him/her/it)" but *au rai-ci Jone* "I see John". It will be seen that for a monosyllabic transitive ending the passive form is the same as the active before a name or pronoun object (i.e. *rai-ci* "is seen"). But for a polysyllabic suffix the passive is disyllabic (e.g. *liu.-ta'i-* "commanded") whereas both active endings are trisyllabic (e.g. *au liu.-ta'ina* "I command (him/her/it)", *au liu.-ta'ini Jone* "I command John"). In this respect B differs from V, where the longer transitive ending has two syllables in active (*-Caka*, *-Caki*) and in passive (*-Caki*) so that one of the actives coincides with the passive, just as it does for monosyllabic transitive suffixes.

A passive clause is a derived intransitive. The predicate contains subject—but not object—pronominal marker.

The important point to note is that passive acts in exactly the same way on both A and O verbs. (This is because the A-versus-O distinction applies to intransitive verbs, and the passive is derived from the transitive.) Thus

- (i) A-type verb, transitive *dre-ta*, intransitive *dree* "pull"

TRANSITIVE	<i>e dre-ta</i> [<i>a waqa</i>] _O [<i>a cauravou</i>] _A "the youth is pulling the boat"
INTRANSITIVE, A → S	<i>e dree</i> [<i>a cauravou</i>] _S "the youth is pulling"
PASSIVE, O → S	<i>e dre-ti</i> [<i>a waqa</i>] _S "the boat is being pulled"

For A verbs, the intransitive and passive are complementary; one takes the A NP and puts it into the S slot, while the other marks the O NP as S.

- (ii) O-type verb, transitive *kama-ca*, intransitive *kama* "burn"

TRANSITIVE	<i>e kama-ca</i> [<i>a+i- sulu</i>] _O [<i>a cauravou</i>] _A "the youth is burning the garment"
INTRANSITIVE, O → S	<i>e kama</i> [<i>a+i- sulu</i>] _S "the garment is burning"
PASSIVE, O → S	<i>e kama-ci</i> [<i>a+i- sulu</i>] _S "the garment is being burnt"

For an O verb the intransitive and the passive have the same syntactic effect, with O becoming S (and there is no straightforward intransitive form with A → S; but see §5.3.2). For many O verbs the intransitive and passive forms are largely substitutable one for the other; but there *is* a *potential* difference of meaning. The intransitive verb states that the object is in a certain activity or position (described by the verb); no human action need necessarily have been

involved. The passive, on the other hand, always implies an agent (even though it is unusual to state it in an actual passive construction). In the example here, *e kama a+i- sulu* describes some garment burning; there is no specification as to how it got to be in that state—the matter is left open as to whether it was ignited by a stray spark or deliberately set alight by someone. The meaning of *e kama-ci a+i- sulu* is more definite—the garment is being burnt deliberately by a specific agent.

Some verbs have a transitive but no simple intransitive form (e.g. *tu'u-na* “tell”, *nanu-ma* “think”, *tere-ga* “touch”); such verbs always have a passive and often also a reduplicated intransitive form.

For a full discussion of passive, see §18.6.

5.3.2 Reduplication

Most verbs can be used in reduplicated form; generally, just the first two syllables are repeated before the verb, e.g. *tala.talanoa* (T4.40). For full details of the form of verbal reduplication, see §17.6.

Syntactically, reduplication is most usefully seen as a derivation from the transitive form of the verb:

- (i) a reduplicated form is normally intransitive (without any suffix);
- (ii) the transitive A becomes S of the reduplicated form;
- (iii) a reduplicated verb indicates “multiplicity” of action (Arms 1974: 77), that the agent (or agents) do something several times, or do something over a long period.

Reduplication is most useful and most used with O verbs since it is the only way of deriving an intransitive form that has the underlying A NP in S function. Thus, from the O verb *cula(-a)* “pierce, sew”

TRANSITIVE		<i>e cula-a [a+i- sulu yai]_O [o Maria]_A</i> “Maria is sewing this garment”
INTRANSITIVE, O → S		<i>e cula [a+i- sulu yai]_S</i> “this garment is being sewn”
REDUPPLICATED, A → S		<i>e cula.cula [o Maria]_S</i> “Maria is sewing away”

With A verbs a reduplicated form differs from the plain intransitive only in semantic effect, e.g. *rabe-ta* “kick something”, plain intransitive *rabe* “kick”, reduplicated *rabe.rabe* “do a lot of kicking”.

Summarizing the syntactic effects of passive and reduplication (and remembering that reduplication always carries, in addition, the semantic sense of “multiplicity”):

TRANSITIVE	A	O	verb root plus transitive ending
PASSIVE	↓	S	verb root plus passive ending
REDUPPLICATED	S		reduplicated verb root

Both of these processes apply in exactly the same way to all verbs.

When we also include the formation of a plain intransitive:

	A-type verb		O-type verb	
TRANSITIVE	A	O	A	O
INTRANSITIVE	S		S	
PASSIVE		S		S
REDUPPLICATED	S		S	

It can be seen that for an A-type verb intransitive and reduplicated forms have the same syntax (intransitive subject, S, corresponds to transitive subject, A) and differ only in meaning (like the *rabe* example just given), while for O-type verbs it is the intransitive and passive that have the same syntax (intransitive subject, S, corresponds to transitive object, O) and differ only in meaning (as in the *kama* example in §5.3.1).

(Other, minor, types of verbal reduplication are described in §17.2.7, §17.6, and §18.7.)

5.3.3 Object incorporation

There is a further form of the Fijian verb, a compound stem that has as its first element the verb root and as its second element a common noun referring to the object, e.g. *'ana.dalo* “eat taro”.

There is a contrast between a transitive clause (*'ana* “eat” has a slightly irregular transitive, *'ani-a*) and the corresponding construction with an incorporated nominal:

- (i) *e 'ani-a [a dalo]_O* “he is eating the taro”
- (ii) *e 'ana.dalo* “he is taro-eating”

In (i) *a dalo* is an independent object NP and must begin with an article. In (ii) *dalo* is part of the predicate head and cannot involve an article. A verb with an incorporated nominal, as in (ii), is always intransitive; there cannot be any independent object in syntactic construction with the predicate. (Grammatical justification for this is given in the full discussion of object incorporation, in §18.8; see also Pawley 1986:99–100.)

A verb with an incorporated object has an indefinite, general meaning—in (ii) he is eating some taro, whereas in (i) he is eating a definite piece of taro. *Yai* “this” can be added to *a dalo* in (i), but not to *dalo* in (ii).

With an A verb, like *'ana* “eat”, the incorporated object form has a similar meaning to the plain intransitive:

- (iii) *e 'ana* “he is eating”

It is just that (ii) contains information about the type of eating.

Verbs of O-type can also form incorporated nominals. Consider transitive *'au-ta* “carry”, intransitive *'au* “to be carried” (with modifier *mai* “to here”):

- (iv) *e 'au-ta mai [a+i- vola yai]_O [a cauravou]_A* “the youth is delivering this letter”
 - (v) *e 'au.i- vola mai [a cauravou]_S* “the youth is letter-delivering”
- And compare the object-incorporated form with the plain intransitive:
- (vi) *e 'au mai [a+i- vola yai]_S* “this letter is being delivered”

Like passives and the reduplicated form of the verb, the object-incorporated version is best viewed as derived from the transitive form:

- (a) an object-incorporated verb is always intransitive;
- (b) a nominal object replaces the transitive suffix;
- (c) underlying A NP becomes derived S.

Then, an incorporated object verb is syntactically quite different from an O-type intransitive—see the different S NPs in (v) and (vi). But it differs only in semantic specification from an A-type intransitive—compare (ii) and (iii). There is further discussion of this in §18.8.

5.3.4 *Va'a-* derivations

The syntax of *va'a-* is a little more complicated. It has two senses, the first of which relates to the intransitive form of the verb; also, it is sensitive to the division into A and O types. (There is a correlation between these two properties, for it is intransitive verbs, not transitives, that are classified as A or O.)

(i) CAUSATIVE *va'a-*. This can be exemplified for the A verb *vuli(-ca)* “learn, study” and its causative *va'a-vuli-ca* “teach”:

TRANSITIVE	<i>au saa vuli-ca [a fika]_O</i> 1sg ASP learn-TR ART arithmetic “I’m studying arithmetic”
INTRANSITIVE	<i>au saa vuli (i+na fika)</i> 1sg ASP learn CONCERNING+ART arithmetic “I’m studying (arithmetic)”
CAUSATIVE	<i>e saa va'a-.vuli-ci au [o Jone]_A (i+na fika)</i> 3sg ASP MAKE-learn-TR 1sg ART Person “John is teaching me (arithmetic)”

The S NP of the intransitive becomes O of the causative and an additional participant (John) is brought in as A in the causative clause. The O NP of the transitive clause (*a fika* “arithmetic”) can be included in the causative clause as a peripheral NP (marked by the preposition *i*) in just the same way that it can be included in the intransitive.

A causative is formed by prefixing *va'a-* to the verb and also adding a transitive suffix. The suffix is sometimes the same as on the plain transitive (as it is in *va'a-vuli-ca* and *vuli-ca*), but other times a different suffix is used on the causative, e.g. *yaco* “arrive, happen”, transitive *yaco-va* “arrive at, reach to (e.g. place)” and causative *va'a-yaco-ra* “make happen, perform”.

A causative of an A verb is very different from the straightforward transitive, as can be seen from the examples given. Now many O verbs also take causative *va'a-*; intransitive S becomes O of the causative, just as it is O in the simple transitive, and the A NPs also coincide. The difference between the causative and the transitive of an O verb is purely semantic, e.g.

<i>sogo(-ta)</i>	“close (e.g. a door)”
<i>va'a-.sogo-ta</i>	“try hard to close (e.g. a door that may not fit too well into the door frame)”
<i>rogo(-ca)</i>	“hear”
<i>va'a-.rogo-ca</i>	“listen to”

(For all the examples I have of O verbs, the transitive ending that co-occurs with *va'a-* is the same as the simple transitive suffix.)

The “causative” version of an O verb implies special volition or effort on the part of the agent—one may “hear” a noise involuntarily, but “listening” involves intent. (Note that such special volition or effort on the part of the agent is also present in the causative of an A verb, e.g. *va'a-vuli-ca* “teach”, literally “exert an effort to make (someone) learn”.)

All O verbs that accept the prefix *va'a-* take it in the causative sense. Most A verbs (like *vuli* and *yaco*) do. But some A verbs enter into a quite different type of *va'a-* construction:

(ii) NON-CAUSATIVE *va'a-*. *Va'a-* is prefixed to the verb root and the regular transitive suffix is retained; A and O NPs are the same as in the simple transitive. The *va'a-* form carries an extra semantic nuance, indicating that special effort went into some activity, e.g.

<i>taro-ga</i>	“ask”
<i>va'a-.taro-ga</i>	“ask many times (either ask many people, or repeatedly ask the same question of one person)”
<i>muri-a</i>	“follow (e.g. follow a person you can see)”
<i>va'a-.muri-a</i>	“follow, where there is some difficulty involved (e.g. follow just a track, or follow a coastline around every bay and promontory)”

Those A-type verbs which take non-causative *va'a-* do not have any derived causative form. The only way of saying “make follow” is by specifying *what was done* to make the person follow (e.g. “told him to follow”, “forced him to follow”), using a biclausal construction.

It seems most appropriate to derive causative *va'a-* from the intransitive form of the verb. Non-causative *va'a-*, on the other hand, relates to the transitive form, just adding an extra volitional or agentive meaning to it. In fact, the different syntactic origins of the two *va'a-* construction types—one from intransitive, where S becomes O and a new causative agent (A) is introduced, and the other from transitive, where the existing A is specially marked for agency—perfectly explain the differences between them. For further discussion and exemplification of *va'a-*, see §17.2.6.

6 Pronouns

The pronominal system of Fijian is as rich as that in any language in the world—in terms of the semantic systems the pronouns carry, the number of forms there are of each pronoun, and the way the pronouns are used to mark special social and kin relations.

6.1 Meanings

There are the usual three persons—first person (speaker), second person (addressee), and third person (all other). Third person pronouns (in all numbers) can refer to anything—human, non-human, animate, or inanimate. 3sg refers to a message in T4.177, to a residence in T6.73; in other parts of my corpus 3du refers to two cars, and 3pl to a collection of buckets. The paucal third person pronoun is almost confined to human reference; it *can* be used for non-human animates, or for inanimate things, but only very occasionally is.

There are two series of non-singular first person pronouns—inclusive (including addressee) and exclusive (not including addressee). Thus *'eetaru* is the inclusive dual “you and I”, as opposed to the exclusive form *'eirau* “he or she and I”; similarly for the paucal and plural.

Four numbers are distinguished—singular (referring to one participant), dual (two), paucal (a few), and plural (a lot). Earlier grammarians have referred to paucal as “trial”; it *is* used to refer to a group of three participants, but it is by no means restricted to this number.

There is no fixed number of people below which it is appropriate to use a paucal pronoun and above which a plural should be employed. The way in which the two sets of pronouns are utilised depends upon the context—what is being talked about, the emphasis that is being given, the attitude of the speaker, and other factors. The only constraint is that plural must refer to *more* participants than paucal. (The quantitative reference of singular and dual is quite fixed; except for the polite use of 2du to refer to one person.)

Text 8a provides an enlightening example of the contrastive usage of paucal and plural pronouns. It is an announcement about village work, which every adult person must do each Tuesday. The message is called out, by Suliano, three times, each in a different part of the village; it should reach the ears of one-third of the villagers each time. Suliano uses the paucal second person pronoun in addressing his listeners—you (*dou*, 2pa) listen, our (*odatou*, 1incpa) people in this part of the village. Then he says: I'm calling out the tasks of you (*omunuu*, 2pl), the women, for today because this is our (*oda*, 1incpl) day for village work; here the pronouns are plural, referring to everyone in the village. Paucal is used when addressing one-third of the adult villagers (twenty or so people), but plural when referring to the whole village (perhaps sixty adults).

A number specification must be made if the referents of a pronoun are human, but is optional otherwise. That is, 3sg *can* be used to refer to two, or a few, or a lot of *things*—see §6.5, §13.2.2.

There is one further dimension to pronoun use, that of respect. All three non-singular second person pronouns can be used for addressing just one person, according to the Boumaa conventions of social interaction. There are types of relation towards whom a constrained “avoidance” type of behaviour is mandatory. One type of avoided relation (actual or potential mother-in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law, or daughter-in-law) should be addressed with the 2du pronoun. Another type (brother or sister of the opposite sex) is addressed with the 2pa form; this can also be used with an elder sibling of the same sex, to show special respect. Other types of relation are addressed with the 2sg form.

Great respect is accorded the village chief, and one mark of this is to address him using the 2pl pronoun, e.g. T4.187. As a gesture of respect, 2pl can be used to any old person. It is also possible respectfully to refer to someone by 3pl, as in T4.215.

A full discussion of socially-determined pronoun use in Boumaa is in Schmidt (1988). Milner (1972:42) describes the conventions in Standard Fijian (V), which are slightly different.

6.2 Functions

There are five forms for each pronoun (although for some person-number combinations two or more forms fall together).

(1) CARDINAL FORM—used when a pronoun occurs as head of an NP, e.g. 3pl *ira* in the S NP of:

era sa la'o [o ira] “they are going”

A cardinal pronoun is preceded by the proper article, *o*, but this is not included after a preposition, e.g. *vei* in

au aa soli-a [a niu] [vei ira] “I gave the coconut to them”

(2) SUBJECT FORM—the first constituent of a predicate, e.g. *era* and *au* in the last two examples.

(3) OBJECT FORM—follows the *-i*-final form of a transitive verbal suffix, e.g. 3pl *ira* in

o aa biu-ti ira “you (sg) left them”

(4) POSSESSIVE SUFFIX—goes onto bound nouns (body-part and kin terms, and a few more). There are pronominal suffixes for second and third persons and for 1sg. For first person non-singulars the possessive suffix *-i* is added to the bound noun, and the cardinal pronoun follows as a separate word (possessives then being formed exactly as they are with proper names).

(5) POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS—separate words that precede the NP head (which refers to the “possessed”). The pronominal element in these forms is preceded by a classifier morpheme *we-~o-*, *'e-* or *me-*. (The semantics of the classifier system is described in chapter 12.)

6.3 Forms

The earliest published grammar of Fijian, by Horatio Hale (1846), gives information on pronouns in the dialects of Lakemba, Mbua, Somiosomo, and Rewa. Later grammars, from Hazlewood (1850) on, deal just with Bauan (which had been adopted as the medium for missionary work) and mostly ignore dialectal differences, although these can be fairly considerable in the case of pronouns and deictics.

The B pronouns differ in several respects from those in V and in C (cf §2.6). But, as mentioned in §1.2, there is a good deal of dialect mixing. Pronominal forms from V and C are used side-by-side with those from B by even the oldest and most conservative speakers.

In the paradigm presented in table 6.1, those forms attested by speakers as belonging to the B dialect are given first; C and V forms follow if they differ from B—an asterisk marks a C or V form that is used in my corpus. (What is not shown in the table is that all V forms have *k* in place of the glottal stop in

TABLE 6.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

SINGULAR	1	2	3	
subject	<i>au~u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	
object	<i>au</i>	<i>i'o</i>	<i>'ea</i> (V <i>koya</i>)	
cardinal	<i>yau</i>	<i>i'o</i>	<i>'ea</i> (V <i>koya</i>)	
suffix	<i>-qu</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>-na</i>	
possessor 1	<i>qou</i> (V <i>noqu*</i>)	<i>omu</i> (V <i>nomu*</i>)	<i>ona</i> (V <i>nona*</i>)	
2	<i>qau</i> (V <i>kequ~qau</i>)	<i>'emu</i>	<i>'ena</i>	
3	<i>meqau</i> (V <i>mequ</i>)	<i>memu</i>	<i>mena</i>	
DUAL	1 inc	1 exc	2	3
subject	<i>(e)taru</i> (CV <i>'edaru*</i>)	<i>'eirau</i>	<i>(o)mudrau</i> ~(o)drau (V (o)drau)	<i>(e)rau</i>
object	<i>'eetaru</i> (CV <i>'eedaru*</i>)	<i>'eirau</i>	<i>'emudrau</i>	<i>rau</i>
cardinal	<i>'eetaru</i> (CV <i>'eedaru*</i>)	<i>'eirau</i>	<i>'emudrau</i>	<i>(i)rau</i>
suffix	<i>-i</i> CARDINAL (CV <i>-daru</i>)	<i>-i</i> CARDINAL	<i>-mudrau</i>	<i>-drau</i>
poss 1	<i>weetaru</i> ~ootaru (C <i>oodaru</i>) (V <i>noodaru</i>)	<i>weirau</i> (V <i>neirau</i>)	<i>omudrau</i> (V <i>nomudrau*</i>)	<i>oodrau</i> (V <i>noodrau</i>)
poss 2	<i>'eetaru</i> (CV <i>'eedaru</i>)	<i>'eirau</i>	<i>'emudrau</i>	<i>'eedrau</i>
poss 3	<i>meetaru</i> (CV <i>meedaru</i>)	<i>meirau</i>	<i>memudrau</i>	<i>meedrau</i>

TABLE 6.1 (CONTINUED)

PAUCAL	1 inc	1 exc	2	3
subject	<i>tou</i> (CV <i>'edatou*</i>)	<i>'eitou</i>	<i>(o)mudou</i> ~(o)dou	<i>(e)ratou</i>
object	<i>'etatou</i> (CV <i>'edatou*</i>)	<i>'eitou</i>	<i>'emudou</i>	<i>iratou</i>
cardinal	<i>'etatou</i> (CV <i>'edatou</i>)	<i>'eitou</i>	<i>'emudou</i>	<i>(i)ratou</i>
suffix	<i>-i</i> CARDINAL (CV <i>-datou</i>)	<i>-i</i> CARDINAL	<i>-mudou</i>	<i>-dratou</i>
poss 1	<i>wetatou</i> ~otatou (C <i>odatou*</i>) (V <i>nodatou</i>)	<i>weitou</i> (V <i>neitou*</i>)	<i>omudou</i> (V <i>nomudou</i>)	<i>odratou</i> (V <i>nodratou</i>)
poss 2	<i>'etatou</i> (CV <i>'edatou</i>)	<i>'eitou</i>	<i>'emudou</i>	<i>'edratou</i>
poss 3	<i>metatou</i> (CV <i>medatou</i>)	<i>meitou</i>	<i>memudou</i>	<i>medratou</i>
PLURAL	1 inc	1 exc	2	3
subject	<i>(e)ta</i> (CV. <i>'eda*</i>)	<i>'eimami</i>	<i>(o)munuu</i> ~(o)nuu (V <i>o(mu)nii</i>)	<i>(e)ra</i>
object	<i>'eta</i> (CV <i>'eda*</i>)	<i>'eimami</i>	<i>'emunuu</i> (V <i>kemunii</i>)	<i>ira</i>
cardinal	<i>'eta</i> (CV <i>'eda</i>)	<i>'eimami</i>	<i>'emunuu</i> (V <i>kemunii</i>)	<i>(i)ra</i>
suffix	<i>-i</i> CARDINAL (CV <i>-da</i>)	<i>-i</i> CARDINAL	<i>-munuu</i> (V <i>-munii</i>)	<i>-dra</i>
poss 1	<i>weta~ota</i> (C <i>oda*</i>) (V <i>noda*</i>)	<i>weiflami</i> (V <i>neimami*</i>)	<i>omunuu</i> (V <i>nomunii</i>)	<i>odra</i> (V <i>nodra*</i>)
poss 2	<i>'eta</i> (CV <i>'eda</i>)	<i>'eimami</i>	<i>'emunuu</i> (V <i>kemunii*</i>)	<i>'edra</i>
poss 3	<i>meta</i> (CV <i>meda</i>)	<i>meimami</i>	<i>memunuu</i> (V <i>memunii</i>)	<i>medra</i>

Notes (by function row)

SUBJECT. After a relator, 1sg becomes *u* and forms one phonological word with the relator (e.g., *ni* plus 1sg is *niu*), 1 inc and 3 forms drop the initial *e* and phonologically cohere with *me* and *ni* (e.g., *ni* plus *e* gives *ni*, *ni* plus *(e)ra* gives *nira*, *me* plus *(e)taru* becomes *metaru*). *Me* plus *o* becomes *mo*. The short form *nuu* of 2pl is the one generally used for respectful address of a chief.

OBJECT. 3sg *'ea* is optionally used (3sg being generally shown by an *-a*-final form of the transitive suffix); Cammack (1962:55) even suggests that *'ea* (V *koya*) behaves grammatically more like a proper name than like a pronoun.

CARDINAL. Preposition *vei* plus 3sg *'ea* produces a fused form *vuaa* (used in free variation with *vei 'ea*).

SUBJECT AND CARDINAL. Where an initial *e*, *i*, or *o* is in parenthesis, the form can occur with or without this vowel.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIX. As pointed out in §3.2.4, 3du *-drau* (the only possessive suffix to consist of just two moras) lengthens the final vowel of a root to which it is attached.

POSSESSIVES. Older forms of the 1sg possessives in B are remembered but no longer much used. They are 1 *qo'oyau*, 2 *qa'ayau*, 3 *meqa'ayau* (corresponding to modern *qou*, *qau*, *meqau* respectively).

B and C. According to Milner (1972:99), all cardinal pronouns in V have an initial *i*, but this is a description of the missionaries' Old High Fijian rather than of the standard dialect as it is spoken.)

6.4 Analysis

Morphological analysis is most straightforward for the non-singular pronouns. We can recognise the following roots (R stands for root; for third person pronouns we recognise two roots, R₁ and R₂):

	linc (R)	lexc (R)	2 (R)	3 (R ₁)	3 (R ₂)
dual	<i>taru</i>	<i>irau</i>	<i>mudrau</i>	<i>rau</i>	<i>drau</i>
paucal	<i>(ta)tu</i>	<i>itou</i>	<i>mudou</i>	<i>ratou</i>	<i>dratou</i>
plural	<i>ta</i>	<i>imami</i>	<i>munuu</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>dra</i>

The forms are now:

	linc	lexc	2	3
subject	(<i>e</i>)R~R	'eR	(<i>o</i>)R	(<i>e</i>)R ₁
object	'eR	'eR	'eR	R ₁ ~iR ₁
cardinal	'eR	'eR	'eR	(<i>i</i>)R ₁
suffix	-i CARDINAL	-i CARDINAL	-R	-R ₂
poss 1	<i>we</i> R~ <i>o</i> R	<i>we</i> R	<i>o</i> R	<i>o</i> R ₂
poss 2	'eR	'eR	'eR	'eR ₂
poss 3	<i>me</i> R	<i>me</i> R	<i>me</i> R	<i>me</i> R ₂

Notes

(i) For lincpa *tu* is used as subject form (i.e. R, not (*e*)R), *ta* in all other forms; other linc pronouns have (*e*)R as subject form.

(ii) For second person, *mu* can optionally be dropped from subject forms.

(iii) For third person subject, we get R₁ for dual but iR₁ for paucal and plural.

(iv) The vowel in the first syllable of all dual linc pronouns (except for subject) and of all dual 3 possessives is lengthened; in these cases the root consists of just two moras, and a lengthened vowel ensures that stress falls on the first syllable. Note that, leaving aside parenthesised (*e*), (*i*) and (*o*) (and 3pa, 3pl cardinals *ratou*, *ra*), all non-singular object, cardinal, and free-form possessives (and all singulars save 1sg poss 3 *meqau*) consist of an even number of moras, and take stress on the initial syllable.

The first element of the pronouns (the part which signals function) is thus:

SUBJECT: 'e for lexc; (*e*) for 3, lincdu and lincpl; (*o*) for 2

OBJECT: 'e for linc, lexc and 2; *i* for 3pa, 3pl

CARDINAL: same as object except for third person, where the initial *i* is optional for all cardinals, obligatory for 3pa, 3pl objects and not included in 3du object

POSSESSIVE SUFFIX: the plain root, except for 1 where -i is suffixed to the root and the cardinal form follows

POSSESSIVE PRONOUN 1: *o*- with 2 and 3 (roots beginning with *m* and *dr* respectively); *we*- with lexc (root beginning with *i*); and both with linc (root beginning with *t*)

POSSESSIVE PRONOUN 2: 'e- plus root

POSSESSIVE PRONOUN 3: *me*- plus root

The singular forms show much more irregularity. 2sg *-mu* and 3sg *-na* are regular roots for the possessive suffix and in the three possessive forms (with classifier prefixes *o*-, 'e- and *me*-), but all forms in the first person column, as well as subject, object, and cardinal forms in second and third persons, are too idiosyncratic for morphological analysis to be worthwhile.

For a discussion of the formal differences between V and B forms see Schmidt (1988). Geraghty (1977) is a masterly discussion of the likely proto-system for some eastern Fijian pronouns, showing how the variety of pronoun systems across modern dialects may have evolved.

6.5 Third person singular

Grammarians from Hale (1846) to Milner (1956) did not associate a 3sg meaning with the pre-predicate-head clitic *e*, or with the final *-a* of a transitive suffix. (These insights came, independently, from Arms 1974, and Pawley 1986 [first draft 1975].)

The earlier grammarians' failure to make the associations is understandable. Although *e* does refer to 3sg subject and *-a* to 3sg object, these are the unmarked forms of subject and object cross-referencing in the predicate, and they do also have a wider use (see Pawley 1986:97).

A complement clause as subject will be cross-referenced by *e* and as object by *-a* (§23.2), e.g.

e tabu [*ni la'o*] "it is forbidden for him/her to go"

au nanu-ma [*ni la'o*] "I think that he/she is going"

A type of complement clause occurs with semi-auxiliary verbs such as *sega* "not" and *rawa* "can". In a sentence like (cf. 23.54b in §23.4)

e rawa [*ni+ra la'o*] "they can go (lit: it is possible that they go)"

The *e* cross-references the complement clause *ni+ra la'o* "that they go".

The 3sg forms have a number of special properties. 3sg subject *e* is always deleted after a relator (e.g. after *ni* in the first two examples above); it is often dropped before *sa* or *saa* (§8.2.4) and may in fluent speech be dropped in other circumstances (see text 4). No other subject pronoun can be omitted in this fashion. Subject marker *e* is used with a number, within an NP (e.g. *e rua a gone* "two children"), where a 3sg interpretation would scarcely be appropriate—see chapter 13. And *e* can be used to refer to a group of more than one in the case of inanimate subjects (see §13.2.2).

At an earlier stage 3sg object marker *-a* was added to the basic *-i* form of a transitive suffix, i.e. *-Ci-a*. In most dialects of Fijian this has now reduced to *-Ca*, which is the citation form for a transitive verb. There is a full 3sg object form 'ea that is only used for special emphasis (e.g. in reflexives—§21.6).

Third person singular, and no other pronoun, has special fused forms with prepositions

i/mai + 'ea → 'ina

vei + 'ea → vuaa

7 Deictics

Fijian has the following deictics:

(1) demonstratives, which can come at the end of a predicate or of an NP, or after a preposition; they involve a three-term distance system and also have strong anaphoric use;

(2) deictic verbs 'ena~'ene(ii) "do like this", va'aa(.-ta'ina) "relating to, like", meva'aa "just as, like";

(3) a deictic noun 'amu "that sort of, that one".

7.1 Demonstratives

7.1.1 Forms

Standard Fijian (V) has two series of demonstratives, with different syntactic functions:

	(a) this/here (near speaker)	(b) that/there (mid-distant; often near addressee)	(c) that/there (distant)
I—at the end of a predicate or NP, or as an NP	(o)qoo	(o)qori	(o)yaa
II—after a preposition (the demonstrative then refers to a place)	kee	keri	keaa

In B there is a single series, spanning both functions:

	(a)	(b)	(c)
I & II	yai (~ii)	yaa	mayaa

Speakers of B also make use of demonstratives from C, which, like V, has two series:

	(a)	(b)	(c)
I	qoo	qore	} maa
II	qee	qere	

Other dialects from parts of Vanua Levu appear to have different demonstratives, which may be used from time to time by speakers of B. Thus, in going over texts I might be told that *i'ee* was a Tunuloa form "(at) here" (this would be the Gato version of V *i kee*). I did not attempt a systematic study of demonstratives beyond the B, C, and V systems.

Dialect mixing is more marked with demonstratives than with any other grammatical category; speakers switch at a bewildering pace between B and C systems (with odd intrusions from other dialects). It can be hard to tell, on occasion, exactly what deictic reference is intended—thus *yaa* could be the mid-distant B term or the far-distant, series I, V form. One has simply to

make a guess, based on what other forms are being utilised at that point in the text (and sometimes it may not matter—for the communicative efficiency of the speech-act—which of the two "there" choices was intended).

In text 4, Falaavia Matavesi uses B demonstratives most of the time; thus *yaa* in T4.6, 8, 10, etc, is taken to be "mid-distant" because it occurs close to *yai* and *mayaa*. But she does sprinkle around a few C forms, e.g. *qoo* in T4.63, 108 etc; *qore* in 105, 118, etc; *qere* in 113, 133; *maa* in 94, 106. We even find B and C forms in the same sentence, e.g. T4.63 *a cauravou yai, e babalavu a vanua qoo* "this youth, these parts (of his body i.e. his feet) are very long"; see also T4.228–9.

In text 6, Siriloo Saabai mainly uses C forms, and in text 8a Suliano Kaivei employs only B demonstratives. But in another, longer narrative that Suliano recorded, B *yai* and C *qoo* were freely mixed.

In the everyday speech of Boumaa people, B, C, and V (as well as other) demonstratives are inextricably intermingled. *Yai* is the most frequently used "here" form, at least for older people. But the normal hesitation devices in conversation at Waitabu, *a cava qoo* "what now" and *o cei qoo* "who now" (used when a topic or a personal name cannot immediately be remembered), both involve the C form *qoo*.

7.1.2 Function and Meaning

Demonstratives can either (i) refer to the position of some object, person or place in space or time (referential use); or (ii) refer back to something already introduced into the discourse (anaphoric use).

(i) Referential use

When it occurs at the end of an NP and has a referential sense, a demonstrative can be glossed by "this" or "that", and, at the end of a predicate by "here" or "there". Thus text 4 begins (T4.2) . . . *i+na vanua qoo o Boumaa* "in this place, Boumaa (which is where the narrative was recorded)". In T4.158 the central character, the Raavouvou of Boumaa, is six or seven miles distant from Boumaa at Nava'acoa, and here *mayaa* is used to complete the predicate *qei la'o ca'e ti'o mayaa* "as he was going up there". In T6.20 (text 6 was recorded at Qeleni, on Taveuni) the narrator uses the mid-distance demonstrative *qore* to refer to Nawii, a place on Vanua Levu quite close to Taveuni; but in T6.42 he refers to the other side of the Tunuloa peninsula from Nawii and here employs the far-distant form *yaa*. (There are many other examples of demonstratives in the texts; and note the use of *yai* "here" in the village announcement, 8a.)

Grammars of V describe the middle term (o)qori/keri as "near addressee". It is indeed used with this meaning; on one occasion Sepo could see (from his own house) Inoke sitting inside the open doorway of my house and, wanting to find out whether I was also in the house, shouted out to Inoke: *Roopate*

qore? “Is Roopate there, near you?” But it is often used simply as a mid-distance marker, with no reference at all to the location of the addressee.

There is no objective measure of distance, governing the use of the two “that/there” choices (just as there is no objective number governing the use of paucal and plural pronouns—see §6.1). The terms are relative—one from column (b) (see 7.1.1 above) always implies a nearer distance than one from column (c). In the examples quoted above, (c) is used in text 4 for a place six or seven miles away; but, in text 6, (b) refers to a place about twenty miles away, and (c) to a place thirty miles away.

There are examples in texts of a demonstrative following a third person pronoun, e.g. T6.63 *vei ira qoo*, lit “of them these”; T4.163 *o 'ea mayaa*, lit “that she”.

After a preposition, a demonstrative will always have a referential meaning. See, for instance, *i yai* “at (this place) here” in T4.25; *i yaa* “at (your place) there” in T4.45; *i maa* “at (that place) there” in T4.118; *i qee* “at (this place) here” in T6.45; and *i qere* “at (that place) there” in T6.49.

An equational clause (one without a predicate—§21.1) involves two elements—the second must be an NP, and the first can be an NP or a prepositional phrase, which may involve a demonstrative. Examples of preposition plus demonstrative beginning an equational clause are in T6.14, 44, and 113, and of demonstrative alone in T4.79, T6.34.

A demonstrative at the end of a predicate may have temporal (rather than spatial) reference. The most frequent examples are column (a) forms, with the meaning “now”, e.g. in T6.27. Forms from columns (b) and (c) can refer to mid-distant and far-distant past (cf Milner 1972: 19–20) but these are far less common.

(ii) Anaphoric use

A most important role of demonstratives is to refer back to participants or events previously mentioned in a text, e.g. T6.11–12 “a large Tongan army was formed . . . well, this (*qoo*) formation (of the army) or the declaration of war with this (*qoo*) army . . .”; other examples are at T4.147 and T6.43. In T6.74 the narration is interrupted by “at that (*yaa*) time the Catholic Church arrived at Lau”, and here *yaa* relates to the time being described at that point in the narrative.

Demonstratives are also used for sequencing—that is, just moving a narrative on to the next event; text 4 contains many instances of *oti yaa* “finished that”, i.e. “after that”, with the mid-distance demonstrative referring to an event that had just been described in the story, e.g. T4.5–6 “they sang songs . . . and then after that (*oti yaa*) one day the Raavouvou of Boumaa said . . .”

Referential (referring to time) and anaphoric uses of demonstratives almost merge on occasion. In T6.72 Siriloo Saabai says, “the chiefly residence which I am talking of at this (*qoo*) time, which was established from that (*yaa*) time, still stands today.” Here *qoo* has a referential sense, referring to

the time at which the story was being told. *Yaa* could be said to have an anaphoric sense, referring to the time that had been described in the narrative, or a referential sense, “that” time in contrast to “this” (*qoo*). Which of these senses this instance of *yaa* is taken as having would matter not at all to the understanding of the narrative.

7.2 Deictic verbs

(i) *'ena~'ene(ii)* “do like this” can be used either alone or with a demonstrative from the B system or line 11 of the C system as second element. The nearest equivalent in V involves the prefix *vaka-~vaa-* with a demonstrative from line 1, i.e.

B	<i>'ene(ii).-yai</i>	<i>'ene(ii).-mayaa</i>
C	<i>'ene(ii).-qee</i>	<i>'ene(ii).-maa</i>
V	<i>vaa-.qoo</i>	<i>vaka-.yaa (~vaa-.yaa)</i>
	“do like this”	“do like that”

(The form *'eneii* may be derived from *'ena+yai*, with phonological blending and assimilation; but nowadays *'ene(ii)* can be followed by any of the demonstratives e.g. *'eneii.-qee* in T4.7, etc., *'eneii.-maa* in T4.86. Before *-yai*, the form is generally just *'ene-*, as in T4.67.)

An *'ene(ii)* verb can be predicate head, as in

- (7.1) *e 'eneii.-mayaa a 'e-na i- va'a-.rau i Taveuni*
 3sg DO LIKE THAT ART CLASSIF-3sg custom ON Place
 “that’s the way the customs⁹ (of greeting a visiting high chief) are carried out on Taveuni”

but it more often functions as a predicate modifier, e.g. “look like this” in T4.22,29, “cry like that” T4.86. Not infrequently an *'ene(ii)* verb can be both head and one of the modifiers in a predicate, e.g. T4.24 “(speak) like this”, T4.206 “did like this” (accompanied by a mime of what he did—speared all the warriors of Waini’eli, one by one).

In T4.205,212, Falaavia Matavesi used the transitive form *'eneii.-ta'ina* “do like this to” (although some other speakers told me that this was rather unusual). The transitive form can only be predicate head, and it can be accompanied by plain *'eneii* as modifier, as in T4.212.

(ii) *va'aa* and *va'aa.-ta'ina* “relating to, like”. These are both transitive verbs and are used to indicate similarity or relationship, as in:

- (7.2) *e va'aa/va'aa.-ta'ina tuu a draa a+i-ro'a ni*
 3sg JUST LIKE ASP ART blood ART+colour ASSOC
tagimaucia
 flower sp.
 “the colour of the Tagimaucia flower is just like blood”

- (7.3) *i+na vanua e va'aa a ulu 'ina*
 IN+ART place 3sg RELATING TO ART head PREP+3sg
 "at the place relating to, where (his) head (lay) (i.e. the first kava
 plant grew from a place just above the head of a buried chief)"

The form *va'aa.-ta'ina* also corresponds to the intensive use of "self" in English, e.g.

- (7.4) *au aa ca'a-va [a ca'a.ca'a levu yai] [o yau*
 1sg PAST do-TR ART work big THIS ART 1sg
 [*va'aa.-ta'ini au*]
 RELATING TO 1sg
 "I did this big job by myself"

The subject of 7.4 is the cardinal pronoun *o yau*, plus a relative clause which has the verb *va'aa.-ta'ina* in reflexive form with object *au* "me", literally: "I, relating (only) to myself, did this big job."

(iii) *meva'aa* "just as, like". Although this looks formally as if it is a combination of relator *me* and the verb *va'aa*, *meva'aa* behaves like an independent verb, e.g. T6.104 and

- (7.5) *sa+qei biu i+na loma ni 'ato.taga.taga*
 ASP+THEN placed IN+ART interior ASSOCIATED box-bag-REDUP
drau.ni.niu, meva'aa au aa tu'u-na 'ina
 coconut leaf JUST LIKE 1sg PAST tell-TR PREP+3sg
 "it was then placed inside a long basket of coconut leaves, just like I told of"

This sentence comes from a text about food preparation, and the narrator is here referring back to a text he had recorded a few days earlier, about the making of baskets from coconut leaves.

7.3 Deictic noun

The B form *'amu* "that sort of, that one" can be head of an NP, as in T4.36, or a modifier following the head, as in T8a.5. Semantically, it may introduce some restriction of reference, e.g. T6.84 "all the high chiefs of Fiji were assembled, including *'amu* (those who) owed allegiance to Tui Ca'au". Or *'amu* may simply have an anaphoric role, as in

- (7.6) *e totolo ca'e ti'o [a waqa yai] [mai+na 'amu*
 3sg fast MORE ASP ART boat THIS THAN+ART THAT ONE
mayaa]
 THAT
 "this boat is faster than that one"

When *'amu* is head of an NP, the common article (*na*) may be included before it, as in 7.6, but is more often omitted.

8 Predicate

The predicate is the heart of a Fijian clause. It has rich structural possibilities. These are, in order from left to right:

1. PREFATORY MATERIAL—pronominal subject; tense-aspect marker(s); discourse marker(s)
2. PRE-HEAD MODIFIER(S)
3. HEAD—a lexical root is the central part of the head; it may optionally be preceded by one or more prefixes (see chapter 17), and followed by a transitive suffix, and pronoun or name as object
4. ADVERB (either here or slot 8; very seldom in both slots)
5. POST-HEAD MODIFIER(S)
6. PRONOMINAL MARKER *'ina* (effectively a fusion of preposition and 3sg pronoun—see chapter 9 and §21.4)
7. DEMONSTRATIVE (§7.1)
8. ADVERB (either here or slot 4; very seldom in both slots)

There is one further possible modifier—the deictic verb *'ena~'ene(ii)* "do like this" (§7.2). This comes after post-head modifiers, but I have not observed it co-occurring with *'ina*, a demonstrative or an adverb. Paul Geraghty, however, tells me he believes that *'ena~'ene(ii)* follows the adverb, in a slot 9.

A predicate must contain a head_o(3) and, except in an imperative, some prefatory material (1); all other constituents are optional.

The possibilities at predicate head are discussed in §8.1. I then list the types of prefatory material and their relative ordering, in §8.2. Although some predicate modifiers precede and some follow the head, a number of semantic systems span these two position classes; it is revealing to discuss all the modifiers together, according to their semantic types, and to detail the ordering preferences as a final step—this is done in §8.3. Finally, §8.4 deals with adverbs. (Note that most modifiers, and adverbs, can also occur in an NP—§9.6.)

8.1 Predicate head

There is a clear division into two types of predicate, marked on the head element:

(i) *Transitive predicate*—shown by an affix *-Ca~Ci*, or *-Ca'ina~-Ca'ini* on the predicate head. Only a verb can take one of these transitive suffixes, and so only a verb can be head of a transitive predicate.

(ii) *Intransitive predicate*—shown by the absence of a transitive suffix. The head of an intransitive predicate can be a verb, an adjective, an NP (which can minimally be just a noun), a personal name, a place name, a cardinal pronoun, or a possessor pronoun. There is even an example of an adverb

(which must be a derived form, with prefix *vā'a-*) as predicate head, in T4.86. (The only lexical items that can *not* function as predicate head in Fijian are time words such as *ni'ua* “today”, (*ni*) *saubogi* “tomorrow” and (*i*) *nanoa* “yesterday”.) A verb-plus-incorporated-object may also function as head of an intransitive predicate—§18.8.

8.1.1 Verbs and adjectives as predicate head

The predicate head most commonly consists of a single verb (which may be a compound or derived form). If it is transitive there will either be a transitive suffix ending in *-a* (the unmarked and 3sg object form), or else a suffix ending in *-i*, which must then immediately be followed by a pronoun or name as object, e.g. *biu-ta* “leave (him/her/it)”, *biu-ti Jone* “leave John”, *biu-ti Viti* “leave Fiji”.

Where two verbs co-occur, the second has a secondary, modifying function. A fair number of verbs can occur as intra-head modifier in this way; the most common is *lesu* “return”, as in

(8.1) *au rai-ca lesu tale* “I look back (from today, at bygone times)”

Note that only *rai-ca* “see-TR” bears the transitive suffix, and that *lesu* is followed by the modifier *tale* “again, another” (§8.3.8), as it often is when functioning alone as predicate head.

The corpus contains instances of a succession of transitive verbs, each with a transitive suffix; often, some of these are repetition of the same verb. The intonation pattern suggests that they be regarded as a succession of predicates (rather than a complex predicate involving a succession of transitive verbs), e.g. *cele-a, cele-a, 'au-ta ca'e* “uncovered (the corpse), uncovered (the corpse), carried (it) up” in T4.123, and *qili-a, qili-a, qili-a, drama-ta'ina* “rubbed and twisted (the leaf), rubbed and twisted it, rubbed and twisted it, and threw it” in T4.150.

A simple adjective is the second most common type of predicate head. It is also possible to have two adjectives of equal syntactic status; these will usually have related meanings, and reinforce each other semantically, as do *macala ma'ari* “intelligible, clear” in T6.10.

An adjective may occur after a verb (or after another adjective) with an intra-head modifying function. The most common example is *vina'a* “good”, e.g. T8a.1,5, 10.41, 18.32 and:

(8.2) *e 'ila-i au vina'a sara*
ART know-TR 1sg good MODIF
“he knows me very well”

(8.3) *qarau-ni i'o vina'a*
look after-TR 2sg good
“take care! (lit: look after yourself well!)”

It is interesting to compare this use of *vina'a*, as a modifier within the head, with the corresponding adverb *va'a-.vina'a* “well”, which can go into slot 4

or 8 in the predicate. *Vina'a* and *va'a-.vina'a* can often be substituted one for the other. They could be substituted in 8.2 and 8.3; and note T6.96, where the storyteller asks, in an aside to Sepo, *sa ma'ari va'a-.vina'a ti'o tavale* “is (the narrative) properly clear, cousin?” and Sepo replies, *io, ma'ari vina'a, io* “yes, it's good and clear, yes”. The question involved adverb *va'a-.vina'a* and the reply adjective *vina'a*, both modifying *ma'ari* “clear”.

Sometimes only one of *vina'a* and *va'a-.vina'a* may be appropriate. For instance, *bula.bula* is “having health”; to enquire whether someone is in good health one must add *vina'a*, as in *saa bula.bula vina'a ti'o mai?* “is he getting better?”. *Va'a-vina'a* could *not* be used in this sentence.

Generally, there is a preference for *va'a-.vina'a* to be used with an agent-oriented predicate (a transitive verb or an A-type predicate) and *vina'a* with a stative predicate (O-type intransitive or adjective). In the following, the O verb *vava* “carry baby on back” is used intransitively in a question (plus *vina'a*) and transitively in the answer (plus *va'a-.vina'a*):

(8.4) *sa vava vina'a a gone yaa?*
ASP carried on back good ART child THAT
“is that child being carried on the back properly?”

(8.5) *io, au sa vava-a va'a-.vina'a a gone yai*
YES 1sg ASP carry on back-TR well ART child THIS
“yes, I'm carrying this child on (my) back properly”

But it is only a preference; *vina'a* and *va'a-.vina'a* are often substitutable. (We call *vina'a* part of the predicate head, and *va'a-.vina'a* a post-head adverb; but a case could be made for them falling into the same slot in predicate structure—probably slot 4.)

8.1.2 Noun phrase as predicate head

In Fijian any noun can function as predicate head. In fact, it goes much further than this: the predicate head can have the structure of an NP. That is, the predicate head can consist of noun plus adjective, of noun plus demonstrative, of possessive pronoun plus noun, etc; minimally, it can just be a noun. (The common article must be omitted, but the proper article is retained.) For almost anything that can occur after the copula *to be* in English, the corresponding phrase can be a predicate head in Fijian.

Thus, bracketing the predicate head, and also post-predicate phrases:

(T4.5) *saa+qei [o-dra ca'a.ca'a] ti'o [i+na vei-.siga]*
ASP+THEN CLASSIF-3pl REDUP-do ASP IN+ART COLL-day
[a vucu]
ART song
“then (singing) songs was their occupation during each day”

Constructions with *sega* “it is not the case” clearly show the contrast between an NP as subject of *sega*, and the same NP as predicate head in a complement clause that is subject of *sega*—see §4.6, §23.4.

Everything from an NP (excepting the common article) can occur in the predicate head position, e.g. a modifier adjective as in 8.103 and

- (8.6) *sa [marama sava.savaa] sara gaa [o Aneta]*
 ASP lady clean MODIF MODIF ART Person
 "Aneta is a very clean lady"

Contrast this with a clause in which just the adjective from this NP makes up the predicate head:

- (8.7) *sa [sava.savaa] [o Aneta], i+na o-na sa siisili*
 ASP clean ART Person AT+ART CLASSIF-3sg ASP bathe
oti
 FINISH
 "Aneta is clean, (because) she has (just) finished bathing"

An NP can have a quite complex structure. One possibility is for it to consist of two NPs joined by *ni* (§10.4). An NP of this type can be a predicate head, as in T6.37 and

- (8.8) *au 'ere.'ere vei i'o me sa [[i-oti.oti] ni*
 1sg REDUP-beg to 2sg SHOULD ASP last ASSOCIATED
 [o-mu 'ana.tamata] qoo]
 CLASSIF-2sg eat-person THIS
 "I beg of you that this be the last (instance) of your eating people" (a priest is entreating a Fijian chief to give up cannibalism)

The possibilities for constituents filling diverse functional slots are very wide in Fijian. The formation of a clausal NP from a free clause was described in §4.4—predicate head becomes NP head, and the subject pronoun becomes possessor pronoun in the NP. Such a clausal NP can, just like a simple NP, function as predicate head.

Post-head predicate modifiers also occur as post-head modifiers within NPs (§9.6). It is thus difficult, or perhaps impossible, to decide whether items like *ti'o* in T4.5, *sara gaa* in 8.6, or *qoo* in 8.8 relate to the underlying NP (i.e. are part of the predicate head constituent) or whether they are post-head constituents of the predicate. Such grammatical indeterminacy makes no difference whatsoever to the semantic interpretation, or understanding, of these clauses.

NPs occur as predicate head relatively rarely, and some nouns might very seldom be found in this slot. But the possibility is always there. In their important review of Milner's grammar, Biggs and Nayacakalou 1958:81 cite *ose* "horse", *kolii* "dog", and *vale* "house" as examples of nouns "which can occur only with nominal particles" (that is, only in an NP, not in a predicate). However, these and all other nouns can be head of the predicate in a complement clause which is subject of *sega*, e.g. *e sega ni 'olii* "it isn't a dog" (see §4.6). And anyone with a bent that way can say, perfectly grammatically:

- (8.9) *au via ose* "I wish I was a horse"

Via "want to" can only function as a pre-head predicate modifier, and so *ose* must here be predicate head.

Sometimes there is a choice of constructions available, with little or no difference in meaning, between an adjective as predicate head and a noun as its subject, on the one hand, and the noun-plus-adjective NP filling the predicate head slot, on the other, e.g.

- (8.10) *e rui [caa] [a dra'i]*
 3sg MODIF bad ART weather
 "the weather is unusually bad"
- (8.11) *e rui [dra'i caa]* "it is unusually bad weather"

Note that 8.11 has the unmarked form *e* as pronominal subject, corresponding to the dummy "it" in the English translation. *Rui* is discussed in §8.3.6.

A personal or place name will usually make up the whole of an NP, together with the proper article, *o*. Such an NP can be predicate head, as in 24.12 and the following, where the name is predicate of a complement clause that is subject of *sega* "it is not the case":

- (8.12) *e sega ni o Viidawa, e ca'a mai 'Orovou a soqo*
 3sg not THAT ART Place 3sg do AT Place ART meeting
 (Correcting someone who has announced that he's going to a meeting at Viidawa:) "it's not Viidawa, the meeting is being held at 'Orovou"

Exactly similar examples involve personal names, e.g. *e sega ni o Jone* "it's not John (it's Mary)".

8.1.3 Pronoun as predicate head

Just like a name, a cardinal pronoun can—with the proper article—make up an NP that functions as predicate head:

- (8.13) *e sega ni o yau* "it's not me (someone else must have done it)"

This is in fact the only way of negating a pronoun. It is not possible to have a pronoun as the NP subject of *sega*:

- (8.14) **e sega o yau*

The only meaning that could be attached to 8.14 is (cf §4.6) "there isn't a me", which is nonsensical. (Paul Geraghty has pointed out that it is possible to say *o yau e sega*—or, perhaps *e sega o yau*—as a semi-elliptical response "I don't", "I'm not", etc.)

Any cardinal pronoun can occur as predicate head, e.g. 3sg *'ea* in:

- (8.15) *'eirau sa la'o, ni sa 'udrou a we-irau 'olii, sa*
 1excd ASP go WHEN ASP bark ART CLASSIF-1excd dog ASP

[o 'ea] tauco'o sara gaa
ART 3sg ALL MODIF MODIF

“we two went on when our dogs barked—they all barked at once”

A possessive pronoun may also be predicate head, as in the complete sentence *saa* [omu] “it’s (now) yours”. In an account of a dispute between Boumaa and Somosomo about who owned a lake on top of the mountains in the middle of Taveuni, the narrator described how a conference was held:

(8.16) . . . me 'ila-i [se o cei e [o-na]], o
SHOULD know-PASS WHETHER ART who 3sg CLASSIF-3sg ART
Somosomo se o Boumaa
Place OR ART Place
“. . . to find out (lit: be known) whose (lake) it is—Somosomo or Boumaa”

Here the complement clause introduced by *se* is subject of the passive predicate 'ila-i. Within this clause the subject NP *o cei* is fronted before the predicate, whose head is the 3sg possessor pronoun *o-na*.

8.2 Prefatory material

8.2.1 Subject pronouns

The subject pronoun (as set out in §6.3) is an obligatory constituent of the predicate in Fijian. It may, optionally, be expanded by an NP (with noun, or cardinal pronoun, or both, as head) after the predicate.

There is in Fijian no general provision for deleting a subject pronoun if it is identical to the subject of the previous clause; a subject marker must be included in the prefatory material of every predicate. Thus in lines 8 and 9 of text 4 we find “the two of them took hold of their spears, the two of them headed up the coast, the two of them started at Naiyawa, the two of them went along . . .”; here the 3du subject pronoun *rau* is stated in four successive clauses.

The unmarked and 3sg subject pronoun *e* has a rather special status: it is obligatorily dropped after a relator, and can optionally be omitted before aspect marker *sa* or *saa*. Apart from these circumstances, speakers maintain that *e* should always be included for a clause with 3sg subject—and it is, in the most formal style (of which text 6 is an example). But in informal conversational style (e.g. text 4), *e* often is omitted. (Since *e* is always unstressed and proclitic to the following phonological word, it is sometimes hard to tell whether a speaker intended to pronounce it or not.)

Any subject pronoun is likely to be omitted if the corresponding cardinal pronoun immediately precedes it (as part of a fronted NP)—see §21.4. Apart from this, subject pronouns other than *e* may be omitted in the most informal styles, but only very occasionally. We do find, in T4.21, *saa la'i te'vevuu i Qeleni, erau saa yaco sara yane i Nagasau* “(the two of them) went and

started at Qeleni, and the two of them reached as far as Nagasau (on their travels that day)”—here the 3du form *rau* has been omitted from the first clause; but it was stated twice in the previous sentence (and nineteen times before that in the text) and is included in the second clause quoted here.

In formal style a subject pronoun in the predicate is quite obligatory, irrespective of whether there is a post-predicate subject NP, even if this should feature a cardinal pronoun, e.g.

(T6.106) au vina'a-ta me+u va'a-dewa mada o yau
1sg want-TR should+1sg translate PLEASE ART 1sg
“I want to make the translation, if you please (lit: I want that I should make the translation . . .)”

But in conversational practice a subject pronoun is sometimes omitted from the predicate if there is a post-predicate cardinal subject pronoun, e.g.

(T4.220) qei tu'u-na o ira, era saa soro sara va'a-vina'a
THEN tell-TR ART 3pl 3pl ASP ask for peace MODIF well
gaa
MODIF
“then they told (him) that they well and truly begged for peace”

The inclusion of *o ira* allows (*e*)*ra* to be omitted before *tu'u-na* (but note that it is included in the following clause).

In T4.47 the narrator includes cardinal pronouns in two successive clauses and explicitly contrasts them, at the same time omitting subject pronouns from the predicates:

(T4.47) la'o o ira a marama; la'o mai o rau
go ART 3pl ART woman go HERE ART 3du
“(after the group of women and the two men had finished eating together, they separated,) they (plural), the women went (home to Waini'eli) and they (dual) (i.e. the men) came here (home to Boumaa)”

Many of the instances of omission of 3sg *e* are where there is post-predicate information about the identity of the subject—either by a cardinal 3sg pronoun, as in T4.65, or by a common noun or name, as in T4.82.

8.2.2 Tense-aspect markers

A predicate may include one of the four forms *aa* “past”, *na* “future” (covering also “would”, “might” etc), *saa*, which contrasts this moment with a previous one, or *sa*, which contrasts this moment with a later one. *Saa* or *sa* may co-occur with either of the other forms—they come after *aa* but before *na* (with which *sa* and *saa* phonologically cohere).

The tense-aspect slot may thus contain *aa* or *na* or *saa* or *sa* or *aa saa* or *aa sa* or *saa+na* or *sa+na*. But it may perfectly well be left empty, espe-

cially in conversation and informal narrative (less often in formal speech). Tense (especially past tense) is often only marked once, early in a narrative, and then omitted from later clauses. (In English a repeated subject may be deleted, but a repeated tense must be retained, e.g. *I came in and then sat down*. Fijian works in the opposite way—a repeated tense may be deleted, but a repeated subject is retained, e.g. *au aa curu mai, au qei dabe*, literally: “I came in, then I sit down”.)

(1) *saa* and *sa* (*se* in V corresponds to *sa* in B). The grammars of Hazlewood (1850), Churchward (1941) and Milner (1956) did not distinguish between these two markers, and there has been an editorial tradition of writing both *saa* and *se* as “*sa*” in written V (where vowel length is not usually marked). But, as Arms (1978) has demonstrated, there is clear contrast between them. *Saa* contrasts this moment with a previous one, whereas V *se* and B *sa* contrast this moment with a later one.

Saa is extremely common in all styles of B speech, as can be seen from the texts. (In this respect B differs from V, where *saa* is said to be relatively little used between Fijians but to be specially featured in the variety of V used between Fijians and Europeans.)

Saa often refers to an action that is taking place in the present and will extend to the future, but was not happening in the immediate past. It occurs very frequently with *moce* “sleep” (in T4.12, 16, 18, 77, and 148 but not in T4.49) and quite often with *'ana* “eat” (e.g. T4.11, 37, 39). *Saa* is also heard in such everyday phrases as *saa oti* “it is finished”, *saa rau-ta* “it’s enough, it will do”, and *saa vina'a* “it’s good, it’s all right”—e.g. T4.179, 187, 197.

Sa often refers to an activity that is just coming to an end, e.g. 8.21 and T6.127 *o sa+qei talanoa.-ta'ina oi* “which you have just finished narrating”—here the present and past are contrasted with the future.

The semantic contrast between *saa* and *sa* can be clearly seen with the verb *bera* “be late (for appointed time)”. Thus *saa bera* “he is late (i.e. he wasn’t late in the past but is now and will be in the future)” versus *sa bera* “he is not yet here (he wasn’t here in the past, isn’t at the present moment, but is expected to arrive shortly). More fully:

(8.17) *saa bera* [*a o-na yaco mai a basi*]
ASP be late ART CLASSIF-3sg arrive HERE ART bus
“the bus is late arriving (lit: the arrival of the bus here is late)”

(8.18) *sa bera* [*ni yaco mai a basi*]
ASP be late THAT arrive HERE ART bus
“the bus has not yet arrived (lit: that the bus arrives is not yet)”

Note that the subject of *bera* in 8.17 is a clausal NP and in 8.18 the subject is a corresponding *ni* complement clause (cf §4.4–5, and chapters 11 and 23).

Speakers of B do sometimes say *se bera* for “not yet” (*bera* is the only verb I have heard used with *se*) but, when questioned, state that this is a V intrusion.

Although there is a contrast between *saa* and *sa*, which will be carefully adhered to in a context where either is possible, the two forms sometimes blend into each other. *Saa* may be pronounced with quite a short vowel, and the vowel of *sa* can be slightly lengthened, when the meaning (i.e. which aspectual choice is intended) is clear from other information in the context of use.

(2) *na*—this also has a wide semantic range, corresponding in fact to several of the English modals, “will”, “shall”, “would”, and parts of the senses of “might” and “should”:

(i) SIMPLE FUTURE, a statement of intention or prediction, e.g. T4.46, 188, 198, 211, 225, and

(8.19) *au nanu-ma ni na la'o mai ni saubogi*
1sg think-TR THAT FUT GO HERE IN tomorrow
“I think that he will come tomorrow”

Note that *na* can be used to refer to the immediate future (in a situation where many languages would employ a present tense form), e.g. in T6.6 the narrator asks: *sa+na te'evuu sara 'ina* “shall it be started now?” (that is, “shall I start my story now?”). One speaker ended his tale (or rather, asked for permission to end it, according to the conventional politeness of Fijian society) by

(8.20) *au 'ere.'ere vei 'emudrau ni sa+na oti 'ina a*
1sg REDUP-beg TO 2du THAT ASP+FUT finish PREP+3sg ART
qou i- talanoa vei 'emudrau i+na gauna qoo
CLASSIF+1sg story TO 2du IN+ART time THIS
“I beg of you two that my story for you two shall end at this time”

A *ni* “when” clause may include *na* if it refers to the future (see T8a.4) as may an *'eva'aa* “if” clause (see §22.2).

In English, a “will” in direct quotation becomes “would” when this is put into reported speech; in Fijian, *na* is retained in the reported clause. Thus in T4.211 the Raaluve of Waini'eli declares, “where my people died, I will (*na*) die there”. The prediction proves correct, for the Raavouvou of Boumaa thrusts his spear through her, then carries the body up to her father and reports to him the girl’s final speech, T4.216, “she told me that in the place where her people had died, she would (*na*) die there too”.

(ii) Intentions about what SHOULD/UGHT to be done may also be marked by *na*:

(8.21) *drau na muri-a ti'o a waa'olo.tuu . . . drau sa+na*
2du FUT follow-TR ASP ART path.permanent 2du ASP+FUT
'ida-ca 'ina
encounter-TR PREP+3sg
“you two should follow the main path . . . so that you will encounter it (the wild pig you want to hunt) there”

Note that *na* also occurs in the second clause of 8.21, with the predictive sense “will”.

An habitual or obligatory action may also be marked by *na* (even if, as in the narrative here, it is referring to past time):

- (8.22) . . . *ni+ra saa 'ana, vei-taalía gaa o cei : e*
 WHEN+3pl ASP eat freely choose MODIF ART WHO 3sg
la'o mai, o ira na 'aci: "mai 'ana!"
 GO HERE ART 3pl FUT call COME eat

“whenever (our ancestors) ate, it didn’t matter who came by (lit: whoever chose to come by), they would call out: ‘come and eat!’”

(iii) *na* can mark some hypothetical event (in the past). Consider:

- (8.23) *sa oti gaa a+i-valuⁱ Ca'audrove, me sa+na*
 ASP finish MODIF ART+war IN Place SHOULD ASP+FUT
samu-ti o Ca'audrove, saa+na qali. i Toga
 beat-TR ART Place ASP+FUT.subservient TO Place
o Viti
 ART Fiji

“at the conclusion of the war in Ca'audrove, (if) Ca'audrove should have been beaten, (the whole of) Fiji would have become subservient to Tonga”

Note here that *na* occurs both in the clause “if Ca'audrove should have been beaten” (with *me* “should”) and in the final clause “Fiji would have become subservient to Tonga”.

(iv) In other instances of use, *na* marks something that *might* happen, e.g. the end of T6.13, or which *might have* happened, see 22.5.

Na may be included in an imperative, indicating that this is a command to do something at a future time. Contrast:

- (8.24-a) *mo la'o mada yane* “please go there (now)!”
 (b) *mo na la'o mada yane* “please go there (later on)!”

If there is a sequence of clauses such that *na* might appropriately be included in each of them, then it *must* appear in the first, but need not be stated in later clauses.

(3) *aa*—this has a narrower meaning than *na*, referring just to past time, and it is used much more sparingly.

The time locale of a narrative may be established by a phrase like *i+na gauna ma'awa* “in olden times”, and the past tense marker may not be used at all. Past tense *aa* does not occur once in text 4, for instance. Commonly, *aa* may be used early on, to establish temporal reference to the past, and may seldom or never recur in the narrative. In text 6, sentence 11 begins the story

proper and includes *aa* (in addition to the specification “between 1865 and 1866”). Thereafter *aa* occurs only half-a-dozen times, in a relative clause such as T6.75 “this thing that he had told him before”, in an aside, e.g. T6.72 etc.

Past tense *aa* occurs with greater frequency in conversation, where there are many short utterances (but even here the perfective marker *oti*, §8.3.2, may be used as an alternative to *aa*, to establish that something has been done).

Either past *aa* or future *na* may co-occur with *saa* or *sa*; *aa* precedes *saa/sa* whereas *na* follows (a handy mnemonic is to think of the order “past-present-future”). The combination *aa sa* may indicate some durative action in the past, as in

- (8.25) *au aa sa taa.niu oti i+na mata'a ni'ua*
 1sg PAST ASP chop.copra FINISH IN+ART morning today
 “I was cutting copra this morning (and have) completed (the job)”

Saa+na may refer to something that will continue into the future, while the frequently used *sa+na* indicates something that will soon be finished (e.g. 8.20) or which will just be done for a limited time (e.g. T4.188); see also T4.183, 225 and T6.6, 10, 13, 24.

8.2.3 Discourse markers

The final slot in the prefatory part of the predicate may be filled by either or both of a pair of forms that mark the development of the discourse:

(1) *qei* (the B correspondent of *qai* in V) is extremely common in all styles of speech. It can be glossed “and then” or “and the next thing was” and marks the sequence of events in a narration, e.g. *au aa taubale i+na lope, au qei bale* “I walked in the mud and then (i.e. as a result) I fell down”; and T4.90 “they went and asked her, *qei* she told them”; T4.153–4, one eye of the god remained alight “*saa+qei* he rubbed leaves again and again, and threw many times, *saa+qei* it was extinguished (by the leaves)”. See also T6.16 and many other examples throughout the texts.

In conversation, an utterance may begin with a predicate that features *saa+qei*, meaning “then (something new)”, e.g. *saa+qei va'a-yaco-ra oti a ca'a.ca'a* “the work has just been done”; or *sa+qei*, meaning “just now (immediate past)”, e.g. *au sa+qei lesu mai* “I’ve just come back”; or *na+qei* “then later”.

There is a further context in which it is appropriate to use aspect marker *saa* together with *qei*. If, when two people are talking, one mentions a certain person and the other cannot immediately recall him, the second speaker may say: *au sega ni mani-a* “I don’t remember him”. Then, if the remembrance suddenly comes flooding back, he may exclaim: *au saa+qei mani-a* “now I do remember”.

(2) *mani* “so, consequently” may be included in a clause that describes some significant high-spot of a narrative. In T6.94 the great Fijian leader Ca'obau was *mani* afraid. Another text described how cannibalism had once been widespread in Fiji but then a Catholic priest asked the chiefs to cease this practice because, as he said, all men are made by God and it is forbidden to kill (that which God has made); the story continues:

- (8.26) *era sa mani va'a-.bau-ta a tuuraga.bete*
 3pl ASP THEN believe-TR ART priest
 “so they believed the priest (and never ate another person)”

Mani may mark some particular contrast that is vital to the development of a story, e.g. in T4.39 “they all (plural) ate together, *mani* just the two of them (the couple in love) chatted together”.

Mani may mark the culmination of a sequence of events. One text described a hunt for a wild pig, when eventually:

- (8.27) *'eirau mani va'a-.mate-a a pua'a va'a-.itaamera qoo*
 1excdl THEN MAKE-dead-TR ART pig huge: THIS
 “the two of us finally killed this huge pig”

Another function of *mani* is to signal the response to some offer or question. T4.56 described how the people of Narova went to ask for the hand in marriage of the Raaluve of Waini'eli for their own Raavouvou, and “*mani* the proposal was accepted”. In T6.31–2, Father Lorenzo offered a wooden cross to the great chief Tui Ca'au if he would carry it into battle as his flag of war: “*mani* Tui Ca'au agreed to accept it, *mani* Father Lorenzo gave it to him”.

Qei and *mani* can co-occur (in this order, in my corpus), e.g. T6.105.

8.2.4 Order

The normal order of the prefatory elements in a predicate is:

1. Pronominal subject (one of the 15 forms listed in §6.3)
2. Tense-aspect—*aa*, *na*, *sa*, *saa*, *aa sa*, *aa saa*, *sa+na* or *saa+na*
3. Discourse markers—*qei*, *mani* or *qei mani*

Item 1 is normally obligatory; both 2 and 3 are optional. But the unmarked and 3sg subject form *e* can be (and mostly is) omitted before *sa* or *saa*. Thus, 3sg may be shown by *e*, or by *sa* or *saa* (as in T4.61), or by *e sa* or *e saa* (as in T6.13, T4.62).

The combinations *sa+na*, *saa+na*, *sa+qei*, *saa+qei*, and *na+qei* are each realised as one phonological word (and generally written as one word by native speakers).

Grammarians of V (e.g. Milner 1972: 17, 33–4; Arms 1986) mention an alternative ordering, with tense-aspect preceding pronominal subject. This does also occur in B, but it is rather rare. My one textual example is from a description of how to grow plantains:

- (8.28) . . . *sa vua a vudi, sa matua, sa taa, sa ra 'ani-a,*
 ASP fruit ART plantain ASP mature ASP cut ASP 3pl eat-TR
sa bera ti'o a cagi
 ASP not yet ASP ART wind
 “(Just before the cyclone season arrives) plantain is in fruit, it is mature, it is cut (harvested), they eat (it), (when) the winds are not yet here”

Here *a vudi* “plantain” is the topic running through the string of clauses. The first has the noun *vua* “fruit” as predicate head, the second the adjective *matua* “mature”, the third the intransitive O verb *taa* “be cut”, and the fourth the transitive A verb *'ani-a* “eat”. Now the subject for *vua*, *matua*, and *taa* is 3sg *a vudi*, and these predicates begin with *sa*. But *'ana* must have 3pl subject *ra*, referring to the people who eat it. Here *ra* is placed after *sa*. In this way, every one of the four clauses begins with *sa*, which builds up a strong rhetorical force.

Out of a corpus of some thousands of clauses, I have noted just five deviations from the ordering described above:

1. *sa+qei mani ra toso* (“move”)
2. *sa mani rau toso* (“move”)
3. *mani ra ta-vu'i* (“turn”)
4. *sa+qei mai rau 'ato-na* (“record”), T6.128
5. *mani 'eimami sa su'a* (“disperse”)

In 1–4 the subject pronoun—3pl *ra* or 3du *rau*—occurs after the tense-aspect and discourse markers, instead of before them; in 4, *rau* even follows a pre-head modifier *mai* (see §8.3.3); 5 is more anarchic, with the discourse marker coming first, then 1excdl subject pronoun *'eimami*, and then aspect marker *sa*. These are deviations from the norm, rather than “errors”. Note that four of them involve *mani* (which is not terribly common in texts), and it is in each case put earlier in the predicate than it normally would be. In fact, the syntactic-semantic function of *mani* is similar to forms like *ia* “well, then, but”, and the relators, which must come at the beginning of a clause. There may be a tendency—which could perhaps be the beginnings of a diachronic shift—to move *mani* to or towards the beginning of the predicate.

(David Arms has suggested that short forms—among subject pronouns, tense-aspect and discourse markers—need to cliticise, and this may hamper their movement possibilities. Longer forms such as *'eimami*, 1excdl (in 5) and *mani* can make up a whole phonological word and have wider possibilities of movement.)

8.3 Modifiers

There are more than thirty elements that can occur in a predicate, modifying the meaning of the head. Some precede and others follow the head; there is a

fairly strict ordering among the latter set. It seems most useful to discuss these modifiers not according to the order in which they occur (which may just reflect the way and the time that they developed into predicate modifiers) but according to their semantic effect. Their ordering within the predicate is discussed in §8.3.9.

About half the modifiers can also function as (or a homonym can also function as) a lexical verb; the remainder occur only as modifier. Most of those that follow the head may also function as post-head modifier within an NP—§9.6.

8.3.1 Stance-aspect

Five verbs that can occur as lexemes referring to stance or motion or existence also form a system of post-head predicate modifiers; in this function they describe the temporal duration, etc., of the activity or state referred to by the predicate head. Just one member of the system may be chosen in a given predicate. They are set out in table 8.1 in order of frequency; frequency of occurrence as a lexeme roughly coincides with frequency of occurrence as a modifier.

Many instances of modifiers *ti'o*, *tuu* and *to'a* and some of *noo* appear in the texts. I also carried out systematic elicitation (with three different informants), testing which of these five modifiers could be used with a sample of forty verbs and adjectives that span all semantic fields. *Ti'o* was possible with every word in the sample; *tuu* and *to'a* with almost all; *voli* with almost all verbs but no adjectives; *noo* was acceptable with the smallest number, but even that could co-occur with more than half the sample.

When used as modifier, these five forms sometimes maintain their literal “stance” meaning and sometimes have an “aspectual” sense. Again there is variation. *Ti'o* always has the aspectual meaning when used as a modifier, and

TABLE 8.1 STANCE-ASPECT MODIFIERS

meaning as lexeme	aspectual meaning as modifier
(a) <i>ti'o</i> “reside, remain; sit; be (i.e. exist) at a place” (see also §10.6)	happening continuously during <i>this</i> period of time, but not necessarily before or afterwards
(b) <i>tuu</i> “stand; be (i.e. exist) at a place (of tall things, e.g. trees, people)” (see also §10.6)	<i>either</i> be permanently in a condition; <i>or</i> something happened over an extended period (and is now finished)
(c) <i>to'a</i> “sit on the heels, squat; be (i.e. exist) at a place”	half-do, try to do, do on an interim basis; with adjectives: not fully, quite (neither at one pole nor at the other, e.g. neither good nor bad)
(d) <i>noo</i> (and <i>'oto</i>) “be lying down”	brought to a (successful) conclusion
(e) <i>voli</i> “go round and round, move around”	a change in some habitual activity, or (with <i>gaa</i>) something contrary to expectations

tuu and *to'a* mostly do, while *noo* and *voli* both maintain the literal meaning more often than they take on an aspectual one.

These forms may, in their aspectual sense, modify a stance verb as predicate head. Thus *dabe* “sit” can co-occur with *ti'o*, as in *au dabe ti'o i+na loma ni vale* “I’m sitting inside the house” (simple progressive meaning), or with *tuu*, as in *e dabe tuu* “he always sits (said of a sick individual, who can neither stand nor lie)”, or with *to'a*, as in *au aa dabe to'a i+na dua a dela ni vatu* “I was sitting on a stone” (the fact that this was an interim resting place, probably none too comfortable, is indicated by the modifier *to'a*). (In elicitation, informants state that *dabe* and *tuu* should not be used together; they are thinking of the lexical meaning of *tuu*, which is incompatible with that of *dabe*. But these two forms do co-occur, as head plus aspectual modifier.)

(1) *ti'o* is the commonest and also the most straightforward member of this modifier system. It refers to something that is going on at the time of the speech event (or the time referred to in a narrative), but not necessarily at other times, in the past or future. An entreaty such as

(8.29) *'ua ni vacu-'i au ti'o*
 don't THAT punch-TR 1sg ASP
 “don't keep on punching me!”

would be addressed to someone who is already raining blows on the speaker and is being asked to stop. If the assailant were merely threatening to hit, and had not yet struck a blow, then the *ti'o* would have to be omitted. Many instances of *ti'o* will be found throughout the texts.

(2) *tuu*, as a modifier, can signal stance, as in T4.203, *ma'i tara-a tuu a o-na moto* “(he) came and stood (modifier *tuu*) holding (predicate head *tara-a*) his spear (*a ona moto*)”. But generally it refers to something that applies over a long period of time, or even permanently. One day I called on Pelasio Rabeka to ask him questions on this very topic, first enquiring whether he was *galala* (“free”) to talk at that time. Now Pelasio had recently suffered a stroke, which meant that he couldn't garden and just had to sit at home all day. He replied, *au sa galala tuu* “I'm always (*tuu*) free”.

The actual length of time indicated by *tuu* will, of course, depend on the context. In T4.1, *e dau-tu'u-ni tuu* “as it used to be told (by our ancestors)” could refer to a period of generations, while in

(8.30) *e pu'u tuu o Jone*
 3sg angry ASP ART name
 “John was angry for a long time”

tuu refers to a person being angry for, perhaps, a period of some hours.

The contrast in meaning between modifiers *ti'o* and *tuu* can be exemplified with the verb *sota-va* “meet up with, encounter”:

(8.31) *au sota-va ti'o a cagi.laba* “I experienced a cyclone”

(8.32) *au sota-va tuu a bula dree.dree* "I've had a hard life"

The cyclone (*a cagi.laba*) lasted for a definite but limited period of time, whereas 8.32 describes the whole of the speaker's life (*bula*) being hard (*dree.dree*). Another pair of sentences involves *nui.-ta'ina* "hope for":

(8.33) *au nui.-ta'ina ti'o ni na yaco mai a qou i- vola*
 1sg hope-TR ASP THAT FUT arrive HERE ART CLASSIF+ 1sg letter
 "I hope my letter will come"

(8.34) *au nui.-ta'ina tuu ni+daru na sota tale*
 1sg hope-TR ASP THAT+ linclu FUT meet AGAIN
 "I hope that we two will meet again"

In 8.33, with *ti'o*, the letter is expected now and should arrive in a few days or weeks; but in 8.34, with *tuu*, the speaker expresses the permanent wish that our paths will cross again, at some time in the remainder of our lives.

Tuu, as a modifier, may refer to something that extended for a considerable period of time (but may now be over, as shown by the past tense marker in 8.35).

(8.35) *au 'aa 'ila-a tuu mai Suva a+i- ca'a.ca'a*
 1sg PAST know-TR ASP AT Place ART+method of work
ni tara.vale
 ASSOCIATED build-house
 "I used to know in Suva how to build a house (i.e. I had this knowledge when I lived in Suva but have now lost it)"

In this sense, *tuu* may co-occur with the modifier *oti* "finished" (§8.3.2), as in

(8.36) *o i'o sa bera mai, 'eitou sa siisili oti tuu*
 ART 2sg ASP too late HERE lexcpa ASP bathe FINISH ASP
 "you've come too late (to join in), we've finished our (extended) bathe"

(3) One lexical meaning of *to'a* is "squat with knees bent, only the feet touching the ground". This is an uncomfortable position, likely to be adopted if the ground is wet or dirty, and it would only be maintained for a short time. The metaphorical sense of *to'a* is related to this literal meaning—something is done on a temporary basis, or is done casually, or is half-completed, or is not a typical or satisfactory example of that type of activity. With *dredre* "laugh" we get *e dredre to'a*, describing someone giving a nervous or guilty or half-hearted laugh (perhaps at being found out in some misdemeanour or deceit, or because the joke was not really very funny).

With an adjective, *to'a* may be glossed "quite", i.e. not fully this property but not fully without it, e.g. *sa loaloo to'a a 'umi-mu* "your beard is black in places (i.e. it is going grey)".

The contrast between *ti'o* and *to'a* can be seen in:

(8.37) *au sa dree ti'o a dali* "I'm pulling on the rope (to drag the boat to shore)"

(8.38) *dree to'a mada* "please pull it for a moment (give it a bit of a pull)!"

Here 8.37 describes the speaker pulling a boat for a fairish (but limited) period; 8.38, with *to'a*, might be used to ask someone just to hang on to the rope for a moment (perhaps while the speaker fetches his knife from the boat). Another example involves *rai-ca* "see, look at":

(8.39) *au sa rai-ca ti'o a.waqa.vu'a* "I'm watching a plane (fly by)"

(8.40) *au sa rai-ca to'a a manu.manu* "I saw an animal (e.g. a bat in a tree)"

Ti'o in 8.39 indicates that the plane is watched for a while, as it flies over; but *to'a* in 8.40 implies that the speaker just caught a glimpse of the animal as it moved around in the branches of the tree.

The difference in meaning between *tuu* and *to'a* is brought out with *rau-ta* "to be enough, sufficient":

(8.41) *sa rau-ta tuu a o-datou ca'a.ca'a ni'ua*
 ASP suffice-TR ASP ART CLASSIF- lincpa work today
 "that's enough of our work for today"

(8.42) *sa rau-ta to'a mada qore, edatou na+qei*
 ASP suffice-TR ASP PLEASE THAT lincpa FUT+THEN
va'a-oti-a tale
 MAKE-finish-TR AGAIN

"that's enough for now, if you please, we'll finish it later"

Sentence 8.41 could be said at the end of the day, after the whole task had been finished, whereas 8.42 would be an appropriate thing to say on stopping for a short rest or a meal part-way through the day.

The three modifiers *ti'o*, *tuu*, and *to'a* may all be used with adjectives. With *vina'a* "good" we get *saa vina'a tuu* "it's perfect (i.e. good for all time)", *saa vina'a to'a* "it's quite good (neither particular good nor particularly bad)", and *saa vina'a ti'o* "it's good for the time being, but that may change" (e.g. news of the weather). And with *levu* "lots":

(8.43) *e levu ti'o a va'a-.soosaa* "there's plenty of noise (lit: annoyance) just now"

(8.44) *e levu tuu a i'a mai waitui* "there's plenty of fish in the sea (always has been and always will be)"

(8.45) *e levu to'a a+i- yaa.yaa i+na sitoa* "there are some things in the store (maybe just enough for our needs)"

(4) *davo* is the most used lexeme for "lie down" in V; *koto* functions as a

modifier in V, thus *davo koto*; *noo* is an alternative to *koto* as modifier, with no apparent difference in meaning.

The verb *davo* does not occur in B; in this dialect the usual lexeme “lie down” is *'oto* and the preferred modifier is *noo*—corresponding to V *davo koto*, B has *'oto noo*, as in T4.107, 112, 214. In T4.29, *noo* follows *uabale* “(smoke) drifts right across”, again with the literal sense of “lie”. (Some speakers said that *'oto* could also be used as a modifier, an alternative to *noo*, in B; but it is much less frequent than *noo* in this function. In one text I did record *'oto noo* in sequence, as modifiers.)

Noo is not so frequent as *ti'o*, *tuu*, or *to'a* and is more likely to have a stance sense when used as modifier. But it can bear an abstract meaning—referring to something brought to a successful conclusion. If you were watching a race and your favourite was in third place, coming close to the finish, you might call out:

- (8.46) *bau 'ada va'a-totolo noo*
 MODIF run quickly ASP
 “try and run quicker (to win)”

The modifier *noo* in 8.46 adds the extra element of meaning: “to win the race”.

The contrast between *ti'o* and *noo* can be exemplified for two people in hospital. One might have only been mildly ill; to say that he is now progressing well, the sentence *sa rau-ta ti'o* (lit: “it suffices now”) would be appropriate. Suppose that the other person had been more gravely ill, near death's door; to say that he is almost better again *sa rau-ta noo* would be the right thing to say (the *noo* indicating a successful recovery, from a critical state).

(5) *voli* will generally retain its literal sense when used as a modifier, adding “going round and round” to the meaning of the predicate head. Thus:

- (8.47) *au aa biu-ta voli a qou bulumakqu, me 'ana*
 1sg PAST leave-TR ASP ART CLASSIF+ 1sg cattle SHOULD eat
va'a-vei-taaliala
 at will

“I let my cattle wander, to eat as they choose”

- (8.48) *e sa rogo voli a+i-talanoa ni va'a-caa.caa*
 3sg ASP heard ASP ART+story ASSOCIATED make-REDUP-bad
ni cagi.laba mai Viti.levu
 ASSOCIATED cyclone ON Place

“the news is going around about the damage caused by the cyclone on Viti Levu”

Voli can have a more abstract sense, referring to someone changing their habits and/or doing something contrary to expectation. Thus *e saa ca'a.ca'a voli o Mika mai Ositerelia* “Mika is now working in Australia (he had previously worked only in Fiji)” and

- (8.49) *'eimami aa nui.-ta'ina voli ni dou na qaa.qaa i+na*
 1exclpl PAST hope-TR ASP THAT 2pa FUT win IN+ART
o-mudou qito
 CLASSIF+ 2pa game
 “we were hoping that you would win your game”

This could be said to a team who had lost, the *voli* marking the difference between the actual result and the speaker's hopes and expectations.

All five stance-aspect modifiers can directly follow *sega* “not”. With *voli*, plus the further modifier *gaa* (§8.3.8), there is a clear meaning of “contrary to expectations”, as in

- (8.50) *e sega voli gaa a wati-i Iowane*
 3sg not ASP MODIF ART spouse-POSS PERSON
 “John still has no wife (lit: there is still not a spouse of John)
 (although he is over 30, and of an age when a man is expected to be married)”

Finally, we can note that there is some degree of overlap and substitutability between the five terms in this modifier system. In helping me transcribe texts, a speaker would sometimes remark that another modifier could just as well have been used as the one that was employed. Compare T4.50, where the verb *wele* is followed by *to'a*, with T4.176, where the same verb, used to describe the same event, takes *ti'o*.

However, there is only sometimes a choice involved; by and large the various stance-aspect modifiers do have definite and contrastive meanings, as we have described.

8.3.2 Finish and start

(1) *Oti* is a lexical verb “be completed, be over”; it occurs as predicate head in T4.13, 51 and in 8.23; its transitive correspondent *va'a-.oti-a* is in 8.42. *Oti* can also occur as a post-head modifier within the predicate, with very similar meaning, “it is done, finished”, e.g. 8.25 (where it co-occurs with past tense *aa*) and

- (8.51) *e sava.savaa a liga-qu ni-u saa vulu.vulu oti*
 3sg clean ART hand-1sg BECAUSE-1sg ASP wash hands FINISH
 “my hands are clean because I've completed hand-washing”

It is often appropriate to translate the modifier *oti* by “already”, e.g.

- (8.52) *au saa 'ila-a oti a+i-tu'u.tu'u gore*
 1sg ASP know-TR FINISH ART+news THAT
 “I already knew that (piece of) news”

The temporal orientation of some part of a narrative may be indicated by a *ni* “when” clause (which can include *oti*), or else just by a clause that includes modifier *oti*—see T4.18, 42, 61, and

- (8.53) *i+na gauna saa bulu oti 'ina*
 IN+ART time ASP buried FINISH PREP+3sg
 “in the time after he had been buried”

The verb *mate* “die” is often accompanied by *oti*, indicating that death is a state from which there is no return. (Alternative emphatic ways of referring to dying are *mate sara*, in T6.55, and *mate va'a-.dua*, in T4.214—see §8.3.6, §8.4.)

Sentences involving *oti* as predicate head, and *oti* as predicate modifier, can have essentially the same meaning, as in

- (8.54) *sa oti a gou ca'a.ca'a* “my work is completed”
 (8.55) *au sa ca'a.ca'a oti* “I have finished working (completed the work)”

These differ just in syntactic orientation, as do the English translations.

(2) *te'evuu* “start” (the V form is *te'ivuu*) is an O-type lexical verb. When the intransitive form is used as predicate head the subject is whatever had started, e.g.

- (8.56) *saa te'evuu a bose* “the meeting has started”

And the transitive form *te'evuu-na* has the person who starts it as subject, and what-is-started as object:

- (8.57) *au na+qei te'evuu-na a no-qu ca'a.ca'a ni saubogi*
 1sg FUT+THEN start-TR ART CLASSIF-3sg work IN tomorrow
 “I’ll start my work tomorrow”

But *te'evuu* may also function as a pre-head modifier:

- (8.58) *au sa+qei te'evuu 'ana* “I’ve just started eating”

Note that the only way to talk about the agent starting to do or finishing doing something, with an intransitive verb (i.e. object unspecified) is to use *te'evuu* or *oti* as a modifier; this is because *te'evuu*, and also *oti* with respect to the causative *va'a-.oti-a*, have O orientation.

8.3.3 Locational markers

There are two systems of locational modifiers—one occurring before the head and one after—that have related meanings. A predicate can contain one member from the first system and/or one member from the second system:

PRE-HEAD	POST-HEAD
<i>mai</i> “come and”	<i>mai</i> “to here”
<i>la'i</i> “go and”	<i>yane B (yani V)</i> “to there”

(The historical development of *la'i* from lexeme *la'o* “go” and preposition *i* “to” is discussed under (4) below.) Each of the four modifiers also has a more abstract sense, in addition to its locational meaning.

(1) Pre-head *mai* and *la'i*

These orientate to some locational focus. The focus may shift as a narrative progresses, but in most of the texts I have recorded it does remain constant. Thus, in text 4, Falaavia Matavesi describes events in Boumaa and Waini'eli; she recorded the story in Boumaa and occurrences of *mai* and *la'i* in their locational senses relate to this focus. With *tu'u-na* “tell” we find in sentence 171 *la'i tu'u-na* for a messenger going to Waini'eli to report to the King of Waini'eli, and then in 174 *mai tu'u-na* to describe the messenger coming to Boumaa to deliver a declaration of war to the King of Boumaa.

Mai, in pre-head position, can also function as a clause linker, indicating that the action referred to by the predicate head “follows on from” some previous event—as a natural step in an expected sequence of events rather than as some logical consequence. (*Mai* has, in this sense, a similar function to *qei*; it co-occurs with it only quite rarely.) Thus T4.12 “after finishing eating, they *mai* sat around”; T4.83–4, seeing that her husband, lying beside her in bed, was dead, “she *mai* cried”.

As an alternative to its locational meaning, *la'i* can have the more abstract sense “it comes to be”, as in T4.109 *sa la'i yaco* “(the time of the burial) arrived (lit: came to happen)”. In a story about catching a wild pig, the animal was cornered by dogs and the hunters had to wait until the dogs were standing off before moving in for the kill (to avoid hurting a dog); this is described by:

- (8.59) *gauna gaa e la'i galala 'ina va'a-.lailai a pua'a*
 time MODIF 3sg GO free PREP+3sg small extent ART pig
 “at a time when the pig came to be relatively unencumbered (by dogs, my friend slit its throat)”

The contrast between *mai* and *la'i* is often exploited in discourse. In T4.50, *la'i* is used to say that the Raavouvou of Boumaa did not go and fish one day; the narrator then says how he sat doing nothing (*wele*) at home. She modifies the verb *wele* with *mai*, not because there was any “coming” involved, but just in contrast to *la'i* in the previous clause. (In T4.176 we find *la'i wele* describing the same activity; “he came to be sitting negligently”.)

Pre-head *mai* and *la'i* occur freely with verbs referring to concrete actions; they are little used before adjectives or abstract verbs (“know”, “think” etc) as predicate head.

One of the commonest uses of *mai* is in an invitation. If someone passes the front door of a house while you are eating, it is mandatory to call out *mai 'ana* “come and eat”. If you happen to be away from home—say, on the opposite side of the village—and a child brings the message that food is ready, then, as Elia Waqa described it for me in a text on etiquette, you must invite along anyone with whom you happen to be working or talking, saying:

- (8.60) *tou mai la'i 'ana!*
 lincpa COME go+TO eat
 “come, let us go and eat!”

This might at first sight appear to be an instance of *mai* and *la'i* occurring as modifiers before the same predicate head. However, as described under (5) below, *la'i* can abbreviate predicate head *la'o* and a following preposition *i*; and, as mentioned in §14.2, §22.1, the preposition *i* can be used to link clauses, with the meaning “in order to”. Thus, 8.60 is actually an abbreviation of a two-clause sentence [*tou mai la'o*] *i* [*'ana*] “[let us go] in order to [eat]”.

(2) Post-head *mai* and *yane*

The verb *la'o* in Fijian corresponds to both “go” and “come” in English, with *mai* and *yane* supplying the orientation: *la'o mai* “come here” and *la'o yane* “go there”. (The sequence *la'o yane* can in B be shortened to *la'ane*—see T6.19.) The unmarked sense of *la'o*, without either post-head modifier, is “go”, as in T4.47.

Mai and *yane* occur with a wide variety of verbs, not only those referring to motion (e.g. '*au-ta mai* “bring it here”, '*au-ta yane* “take it there”) but also forms such as *vacu(-'a)* “punch”:

(8.61) *sa vacu-'i au mai* “he punched me”

(8.62) *au sa vacu yane* “I punched (out)”

In 8.61, with the transitive verb *vacu-'i*, *mai* indicates that the blow came “to here”, towards the speaker, while in 8.62, with intransitive *vacu*, *yane* is appropriate for a blow which the speaker delivered away from himself, towards someone else.

Post-head *mai* and *yane* can refer to motion “to here” or “to there” performed *after* the activity referred to by the predicate head. With *vesu-'a* “tie up, catch” we can have:

(8.63) *au sa+qei vesu-'a mai* “I've just caught it (e.g. a pig) (and brought it) here”

(8.64) *au na+qei vesu-'a yane* “I'll tie it up (and take it) there”

Sentence 8.64 could be said over the telephone by someone who had been paid for a pig but had not yet delivered it—he is promising to fulfil his part of the bargain.

Yane occasionally has a more abstract sense; it can mark a response to some offer or challenge, e.g. T4.188a *saa+qei tu'u-na yane* “then he said in response”.

Mai, in post-head position, can have an inchoative sense “becoming”, e.g. *sa maamaca mai* “it's getting dry”. In this meaning it is often accompanied by the “progressive” aspect marker *ti'o*, e.g.

(8.65) *saa toso voole'a ti'o mai*
ASP move close ASP HERE
“it's getting close”

(8.66) *o saa vu'u ti'o mai*
2sg ASP clever ASP HERE
“you're getting clever”

Ca'e “up, more” or *sobu* “down, less” may also be included in this type of construction—see §19.2.

(3) Connections between the two systems

We often find a post-head locational modifier in one clause, and the corresponding pre-head form in a subsequent clause, e.g. T4.203 *qalo mai, mai tara-a tuu a o-na moto* “(he) swam to here, came and stood holding his spear”; see also T4.192, 194 and T6.40.

It is relevant to enquire whether pre-head *mai* or *la'i*, and post-head *mai* or *yane*, can co-occur in the same predicate. Three of the four possible combinations are found:

(i) *mai* HEAD *yane* is a common combination—e.g. T4.28, 50, 56, 84, 107, 155. *Mai* may be marking discourse sequence “it follows on from”. Or, if an invitation is sent to someone to attend a meeting, the messenger could say, according *mai* its locational sense:

(8.67) *mai. la'o mada yane!*
COME go PLEASE THERE
“come, and go there, if you please!”

(ii) *la'i* HEAD *mai* will normally relate to the “it comes to be” sense of *la'i*—see T4.141, 197. If you tell someone to ask someone else if they will come, it would be appropriate to say:

(8.68a) *tu'u-na mada vei Elia me la'i la'o mai!*
tell-TR PLEASE TO Person SHOULD GO go HERE
“please tell Elia to come here!”

(iii) *la'i* HEAD *yane*. This can be used much like the last example, except that the messenger is to tell the third party to go somewhere:

(8.68b) *tu'u-na mada vei Elia me la'i la'o yane!* “please tell Elia to go there!”

There is an example of a slightly different type at T4.174.

Only the combination of pre-head *mai* and post-head *mai* appears impossible. This may be because of semantic implausibility, or for reasons of felicity (to avoid having the same form twice in one predicate), or a combination of the two reasons.

(4) Development

As already mentioned, the unmarked meaning of the verb *la'o* is “go”. There are many examples of *la'o* as predicate head in one clause, and a pre-head

modifier *la'i* following on from this in a subsequent clause, e.g. T4.14, 190. It is clear that verb *la'o* plus preposition *i* “to, in order to” (§14.2) developed into the modifier *la'i*. That is, a biclausal sequence such as

- (8.69) *e sa la'o i siwa*
3sg ASP go TO fish
“he is going, to fish”

would have developed into a single clause:

- (8.70) *e sa la'i siwa*
3sg ASP GO+TO fish
“he is going to fish”

It may well be that the post-head forms *mai* and *yane* developed as modifiers first, with pre-head *mai* and *la'i* following at a later historical stage. Walking around a Fijian village one hears both the invitation *la'o mai, 'ana!* “come here, and eat!” (with *mai* as post-head modifier to *la'o*) and also *mai 'ana!* “come and eat!” (where *mai* is a pre-head modifier to *'ana*). The second could easily have developed from the first. (Comparative evidence supports this genetic schema. *Mai* functioned just as a post-head modifier in proto-Eastern-Oceanic (Pawley 1972) and has taken on the additional function of pre-head modifier during the development from proto-Eastern-Oceanic to modern Fijian.)

Yane is used rather more sparingly than post-head *mai*, simply because the unmarked sense of the verb *la'o* is “go”. It is quite plausible to suggest that one pre-head modifier *la'i* “go and” should have developed from the verb *la'o* (whose unmarked sense is “go”), and the other, *mai*, from the marked post-head modifier, *mai*.

Modifier *la'i* can nowadays co-occur with *la'o* as predicate head (e.g. 24.10 and T4.179) but *la'i* then usually has the sense “intend to do” (related to “it comes to be”), e.g.

- (8.71) *au saa la'i la'o* “I am going to go”

(Note that the two senses of *la'i* “go and (do)” and “going to (do)” bear a remarkable similarity to the two meanings of *going to* in English, as in *I'm going (up the hill) to fetch a pail of water* and *I'm going to get up soon.*)

(5) *la'i* as predicate head

The form *la'i* can function without a following predicate head, and must then be regarded as itself being the head (see 8.60). Compare clauses with *la'o* as head:

- (8.72) *au na+qei la'o i 'Orovou* “I will (eventually) be going to 'Orovou”
(8.73) *au na+qei la'o i vale* “I will (eventually) be going to the house”

and those with *la'i*:

- (8.74) *au na+qei la'i 'Orovou* “I will go to 'Orovou”
(8.75) *au na+qei la'i vale* “I will go to the house”

Speakers said that 8.72 is not fully synonymous with 8.74, nor 8.73 with 8.75. 8.72–3 indicate that the speaker is planning to go or expecting to go, whereas 8.74–5 imply that he is about to go.

Now *la'i* in 8.74–5 is clearly an abbreviation of verb *la'o* and preposition *i*, from 8.72–3. This position is supported by consideration of the form the common article takes in sentences with *la'i* as predicate head.

An NP with a common noun as head will normally include a common article, which has the form *na* after a preposition and *a* elsewhere. Some common nouns may be used as ad hoc place names—as *vale* “house” in 8.73 and 8.75—and then omit the common article after a preposition (§9.3). Let us now substitute for *vale* in 8.73 and 8.75 the noun *'oro* “village”, which *cannot* omit the common article after a preposition (see also T4.56):

- (8.76) *au na+qei la'o i+na 'oro* “I will (eventually) be going to the village”
(8.77) *au na+qei la'i na 'oro* “I will go to the village”

Note that the post-prepositional form, *na*, of the article is retained in 8.77, showing that *la'i* is still treated as if it were a sequence of verb plus preposition. (There is another example in T6.89a *la'i na soli* “go for cession (lit: the giving)”.)

(6) Distinguishing between modifier *mai* and preposition *mai*

There is a preposition *mai* “from, at” (see chapter 14) identical in form to *mai* the predicate modifier. A *mai* occurring immediately after the predicate head could be either the preposition or a modifier (if the verb had a final *-a* transitive suffix, and the *mai* was followed by an NP).

The different constituent statuses of these two varieties of *mai* can clearly be seen if we once more focus on the form of the definite article. Compare:

- (8.78) [*āu sa 'āu-ta māi*] [*a 'āto*]
1sg ASP carry-TR HERE ART box
“I'm bringing the box here”
(8.79) [*āu sa 'āu-ta*] [*māi+na 'āto*]
1sg ASP carry-TR FROM+ART box
“I'm bringing it from the box”

Example 8.78 has *mai* as the last element of the predicate; there is then an object NP *a 'ato* “the box”, cross-referencing the 3sg object ending *-ta* on the verb. But in 8.79 the object is only shown, as 3sg, by the final *-a* of the verbal suffix, and there is a prepositional NP introduced by *mai* “from”. Note that the common article that accompanies *'ato* is phrase-initial in 8.78 and then has the form *a*, but in 8.79 it follows the preposition *mai* and is then *na*.

(In 8.78 *a* is proclitic to *'ato*, and in 8.79 *na* makes up the last syllable of a

phonological word with *mai*; but in each sentence *mai* is stressed and the article unstressed, so that the constituent difference is only apparent from the form of the article, *a* or *na*.)

Note that in Fijian the post-head modifier *mai* cannot be immediately followed by the preposition *mai*. However, a sequence of these two *mai*'s is possible in the related Polynesian language Samoan (U. Mosel, private communication).

8.3.4 Directional comparatives

There is a system of four modifiers *ca'e* "up", *sobu* "down", *tani* "away", and *laivi* "away", from which any predicate may choose one member. We discuss them in pairs.

(1) *ca'e* "up" and *sobu* "down"

These two forms also function as lexemes, but of different types. *Ca'e* "up, east" contrasts with *raa* "down, west"; these two forms generally occur after prepositions and are probably best regarded as a special subclass of nouns. *Sobu(-ta)* is a verb "alight from, step down from (boat, bus, plane, etc)"; it is the opposite of *vodo(-'a)* "board, mount". However, when functioning as modifiers *ca'e* "up" and *sobu* "down" are complementary terms in a system. They have a fair range of senses:

(i) The literal reference is to vertical height, e.g. T4.123 *'au-ta ca'e* "(the corpse) was brought up (from the grave)". The modifier *ca'e* commonly occurs with stance verbs, e.g. *tuu ca'e* "stand up", *mata ca'e* "sit up", *tara ca'e* "pick up" (*tara* is "hold/take in the hand"). In T4.107 *yadra ca'e* is "wake (and rise) up". T4.131 has a predicate *sigā ca'e mai*, with *sigā* "sun, day" as predicate head, modified by *ca'e* "up" and *mai* "to here", meaning "(when) the sun was up" i.e. "early morning".

(ii) The front door of a Fijian house is regarded as the "low" part, and the sleeping quarters at the opposite end the "high" part (see Ravuvu 1983: 14–24). Any motion towards the high part is *ca'e* "up" and in the opposite direction *sobu* "down". Thus, someone might say:

(8.80) *toso-ya sobu mada a bilo yai!*
 move-TR DOWN PLEASE ART cup THIS
 "pass this cup down, if you please (i.e. down the eating mat towards the door)!"

(iii) The island of Taveuni has high mountains in the centre, and all travel is around the coast. The direction of motion is described as follows:

clockwise motion—*ca'e*
 anti-clockwise motion—*sobu*

Thus (see map 3) from Lavena to Somosomo around the north of the island is *la'o sobu* "go anti-clockwise", and the return journey is *la'o ca'e* "go clock-

wise". Text 4 describes frequent journeyings between Boumaa and Waini'eli and makes much use of the clockwise/anti-clockwise senses of *ca'e* and *sobu*, e.g. T4.94 *saa baci la'o sobu tale o 'ea* "he again travelled anti-clockwise (i.e. from Boumaa to Waini'eli)", and then T4.106 *saa la'o ca'e mai* "he came back clockwise (back to Boumaa)".

The vertically-up/down and clockwise/anti-clockwise senses of *ca'e* and *sobu* can lead to potential ambiguity: if someone is standing on a small hill, then *la'o sobu* could mean "go down (to lower ground)" or "go around the island anti-clockwise". However, the surrounding text will usually provide disambiguation. Text 4 contains a liberal quantity of both senses of both modifiers, and there is no confusion present.

(iv) Nowadays, an instruction to turn a radio up or down will use the verb *biu-ta* "put, leave" plus *ca'e* or *sobu*.

(v) *Ca'e* also has a comparative sense "more". It can modify a verb of motion, as in T6.43 and (cf 25.4–5):

- (8.81) *saa toso ca'e va'a-lailai a' gou 'ila-a a*
 ASP move MORE a little ART CLASSIF+1sg know-TR ART
vosa va'a-Boumaa i+na vei-sigā
 language ADVERB-place IN+ART COLL-day
 "my understanding of the Boumaa language moves forward a little more each day (i.e. improves a little each day)"
- (8.82) *saa tubu ca'e mai a lotu*
 ASP grow MORE HERE ART church
 "the church began to grow more"

The most typical use of *ca'e* "more" is with adjectives—see 8.93. The stance-aspect modifier *ti'o* (§8.3.1) and *ca'e*, used together, mean "getting more", e.g. *sa vina'a ca'e ti'o gaa* "getting better and better".

Ca'e is also used in comparative constructions, with the object of comparison introduced by the preposition *mai*, here glossed "than", e.g. 7.6 and

- (8.83) *e 'ata.'ata ca'e o Viti mai vei Peritaania*
 3sg hot MORE ART Fiji THAN Britain
 "Fiji is hotter than Britain"

For some adjectives—e.g. *lailai* "little" and *caa* "bad"—some older speakers use *sobu* as a marker of comparison in place of *ca'e*. For a full discussion of this point, and of comparison generally, see §19.2.

(2) *tani* "away" and *laivi* "away"

Tani occurs only as a post-head modifier. *Laivi* is etymologically the passive of the verb *lai-va* "leave, let go, permit, allow", but has a specialised meaning when functioning as a modifier.

Semantically, *tani* might appear to contrast *either* with the locational markers *mai* and *yane* (§8.3.3)—compare *la'o mai* "come here", *la'o yane*

“go there (where some definite destination is understood)”, and *la'o tani* “go away (just away from here, but often with unpleasant overtones, similar to “bugger off” in English)”—or with *ca'e* “vertically up” and *sobu* “vertically down”, *tani* being “horizontally out” (cf the system *gala, gali, galu* in the Australian language Dyirbal—Dixon 1972:48). Syntactically, *tani* and *laivi* fit into the same slot in predicate structure as *ca'e* and *sobu*, and are mutually exclusive with them; they can co-occur with *mai* or *yane* (e.g. *laivi yane* in T8a.3).

Speakers say that *laivi* is the B equivalent of *tani* in V (*laivi* is also attested in V, with a similar function to that which it has in B). However, both forms are freely used in B today; there is often a meaning difference, with *laivi* having a stronger and more negative overtone:

(8.84) *biu-ta tani a 'aa.'ana qore me+qei va'a-.yaga.-ta'i*
 put-TR AWAY ART food THAT SHOULD+THEN MAKE-USEFUL-PASS
ni saubogi!
 IN tomorrow

“put that food away, to be used tomorrow!”

(8.85) *biu-ta laivi a 'aa.'ana qore, ni sa caa* “throw that food away,
 because it's bad”

Other examples of *laivi* include *bote laivi* “tear down (an old building)”, *'ari laivi a du'a* “scrape the dirt (off a coconut)”, and in T4.77 *druti-a laivi a yame-na* “tear out his tongue (to kill him)”.

When modifying a noun or *dua* “one”, *tani* can have the meaning “different, strange, foreign”, that is, “another of a quite different type” (as in T4.172), -contrasting with *tale* “another of the same type”—see §8.3.8 and Milner 1972:38, 115. Thus *a tamata tani* “a strange, unfamiliar person”. The semantic connection between the two senses of *tani* can be seen from:

(8.86) *a+i- yaa.yaa tani* “foreign goods”

(8.87) *a+i- yaa.yaa 'au tani mai* “goods brought here from far away”

(8.88) *a+i- yaa.yaa buli mai vanua tani* “goods made in some foreign place”

In 8.86 and 8.88 *tani* “foreign” modifies a noun—*i- yaa.yaa* “goods” or *vanua* “place”. In 8.87 *tani* “away” modifies the verb *'au* “to be carried” (plus modifier *mai* “to here”). These three sentences provide equivalent descriptions of an imported item.

8.3.5 Modal modifiers

This section discusses the modifiers *rawa* “to able to”, *via* “want to, need to”, *via.via* “pretend to be”, *va'a-.rau* “ready to”, *rai.rai* “seem to”, *dina* “truly”, *wale* “without proper effect”, and *be'a* “about, perhaps”. They are not mutually exclusive—that is, more than one can be included in a predicate (§8.3.9). These modifiers are grouped together here because they have a degree of semantic similarity.

(1) *rawa* “be able to”

There is a semi-auxiliary verb *rawa* “can” that takes a *ni* (or *me*) complement clause, similar to *sega* “it is not the case”—see §4.6, §23.4. *Rawa* can also function as a post-head modifier, with very similar meaning “be able to”—there are examples in T6.78. The difference between these two uses of *rawa* is that the semi-auxiliary verb often refers to some general state-of-affairs, as in 23.65 and

(8.89) *e sega ni rawa ni wili.i-vola o Pio* “Pio (a half-wit) can't read
 books”

whereas the modifier often specifies some particular instance, as in T6.51 *e sega ni tu'u-ni rawa* “it really can't be told (how fierce the fighting was on that day)” and

(8.90) *au sega ni wili-'a rawa a vosa yai* “I can't read this word”

There is, overall, a degree of overlap of meaning and of substitutability between the two construction-types for *rawa*. (See also Arms 1986, especially his examples (22a–b).)

(2) *via* “want to, need to”

“Want” can be expressed in two ways in Fijian. Either by the transitive verb *vina'a-ta* “want” (related to *vina'a* “good”), which can have as object a noun, e.g. *au vina'a-ta a ose* “I want a horse”, or a complement clause, e.g. *au vina'a-ta mo la'o yane* “I want you to go there”. Or by the modifier *via* “want to”, which must be followed by a predicate head.

(It is a characteristic of Pidgin Fiji, spoken mostly by Fiji Indians, to use *via* as a main verb and to say *o yau sa via a ose* for “I want a horse”. In fact a sentence such as *au via ose* can only mean “I want to be a horse”, with *ose* filling the predicate head slot; the common article *a* does not appear with a noun in predicate head position.)

With intransitive verbs of O type, *via* has the sense “need to”, e.g.

(8.91) *sa via nasu a bulumakau yai* “this cow needs to be tied up”

With intransitive verbs of A type and with transitive verbs it is best translated “want to” (although “need to” may still occasionally be appropriate)—thus *via mate* “want to die” in T4.209, 215; *via vala* “want to fight” in T4.219; *via vei-.wa'i* “want to muddle it up” in T6.104; *via 'ani-a* “want to eat it” in 8.134; and

(8.92) *au via nasu-'a a bulumakau yai*
 1sg WANT tie-TR ART cow THIS
 “I want to tie up this cow”

With adjectives, *via* may be translated “inclining towards”. Sometimes this has a semantically passive sense, e.g. *via pa'u* “a bit sour” and sometimes there is a sense of becoming, e.g.

- (8.93) *saa via levu ca'e mai a wai*
 ASP INCLINE big UP HERE ART water
 "the water is rising (as the tide comes in) (lit: the water is inclining more towards being big up here)"
- (8.94) *sa via rere o ira a gone*
 ASP INCLINE frightened ART 3pl ART child
i+na+i- talanoa yai
 CONCERNING+ART+story THIS
 "the children are getting (i.e. inclining towards being) frightened by this story (you are telling them)"

It is instructive to compare *via* with the lexical verb *voole'a* "near, close, about to", when it takes a *ni* complement clause:

- (8.95) *sa voole'a [ni bale a vuu.ni.niu yai]*
 ASP near THAT fall ART coconut tree this
 "this coconut tree is nearly falling over (i.e. it has almost been uprooted by the cyclone and one more strong gust should send it toppling)"
- (8.96) *sa via bale [a vuu.ni.niu yai]*
 ASP NEED fall ART coconut tree this
 "this coconut tree needs to fall (i.e. it is in a dangerous state, being ready to fall, and should be got rid of before it hurts someone)"

There are a number of verbal derivations that involve *via*—with *'ana* "to eat" we get *via.'ana* "hungry"; with *unu* "to drink", *via.unu* "thirsty"; and with *moce* "to sleep", *via.moce* "sleepy".

(3) *via.via* "act like, try to be, imagine oneself to be"

This reduplicated modifier has a fairly limited use—typically with nouns such as *gone* "child" or *tagane* "male", forming *via.via.gone* "acting as if young" and *via.via.tagane* "be a tomboy". It is also used with adjectives and then has a similar meaning to *via*, e.g. *via loa.loa* and *via.via loa.loa* can both be glossed "starting to get black".

(4) *va'a-rau* "ready to, about to"

Va'a-rau "to prepare" is a lexical verb, as in

- (8.97) *sa va'a-rau oti a va'a-ya'avi*
 ASP prepare FINISH ART evening meal
 "the evening meal is ready (lit: the evening meal has been prepared-finished, or, the preparation of the evening meal is completed)"

It also functions, with similar meaning, as a pre-head modifier:

- (8.98) *au saa va'a-rau 'ana* "I'm about to eat"
 (8.99) *'eimami saa va'a-rau la'o* "we (exclp) are ready to go"

(5) *rai.rai* "seem to"

From the verb *rai(-ca)* "to see" is derived the verb *rai.rai* "to appear" and noun *i-rai.rai* "appearance"; these feature in idioms such as *rai.rai vina'a* "nice looking" (from *vina'a* "good") and *rai.rai toto'a* "pretty looking" (*toto'a* "pretty").

Rai.rai may be predicate head, and then usually takes a *ni* complement clause as subject:

- (8.100) *e rai.rai ni+ra vina'a-ta me+ra la'o*
 3sg appear THAT+3pl want+TR SHOULD+3pl go
 "they appear to be wanting to go (they may be packing their bags)"

Arms 1986:202 states that *ni* may be omitted from 8.100; the 3pl subject pronoun will then move to the beginning of the sentence, giving *era rai.rai vina'a-ta me+ra la'o*, with the same meaning as 8.100. By such an omission, *rai.rai* has become a pre-head modifier, with the meaning "seem, appear", to *vina'a-ta*, which is now head of the predicate of the main clause.

Other examples of *rai.rai* functioning as pre-head modifier include:

- (8.101) *e rai.rai vaa-'aasama bii.bii a tamata yai*
 3sg SEEM think serious ART person THIS
 "this person seems to be thinking deeply"
- (8.102) *a tamata yai e rai.rai 'ani-a e* "this person seems to be eating
dua a gata a snake"
- (8.103) *e rai.rai marama vu'u o Mere* "Mary seems intelligent (lit: Mary seems to be a clever woman)"

Note that in 8.103 the predicate head is the noun-plus-adjective NP *marama vu'u* "woman clever"—cf 8.6 in §8.1.2.

(6) *dina* "truly"

The post-head modifier *dina* "truly", as in T4.68 "this village is *certainly* empty" and in 8.118, is close in meaning to the adjective *dina* "true, genuine", as in *a+i- talanoa dina* "the true story".

The modifier *dina* can be used to draw attention to something that is unusual or surprising. Thus, if a Fijian had seen a strange animal on a ship in port, he might report to his friends:

- (8.104) *au sa rai-ca dina sara gaa e dua a elefadi* "I really did see an elephant"

As another illustration of the use of *dina*, suppose someone has planned to go to Suva on Monday but finds the plane full and has to return home again. The same thing happens on Tuesday. Then on Wednesday, as he prepares once more to leave, his friends say: *o i'o saa+qei la'o dina?* "are you *really* going (today)?"

Dina may be, as in 8.104, followed by other modifiers, *sara* (§8.3.6) and/or *gaa* (§8.3.8).

(7) *wale* “without proper effect”

T4.44 describes how a group of fisherwomen give the Raavouvou of Boumaa the best of their catch (the correct behaviour towards someone of high status) and then: *viro wale* “return home empty-handed” (lit: “return home without the supply of fish one would expect them to bring”). Other examples are *vodo wale* “board (e.g. a bus) without paying the fare” and *vosa wale* “talk uselessly, blither”.

The combination of *wale* plus *gaa*, meaning “only”, is discussed in §8.3.8 (8).

(8) *be'a* “about, perhaps”

The post-head modifier *be'a* signals “about, approximately” with a number as predicate head, e.g.

(8.105) *e tini be'a a luve-na* “he has perhaps ten children (lit: his children are perhaps ten)”

An alternative and often preferred construction is to have the verb *rau-ta* “it is enough, it is the size of” as predicate head, with the number in the object NP. *Be'a* is then grammatically a modifier to *rau-ta*, as in T4.63 and

(8.106) *e rau-ta be'a ni dua a aua*
3sg be size ABOUT THAT one ART hour
“about an hour (lit: one hour is about the size of it)”

With a verb as predicate, *be'a* may be glossed “possibly” or “probably”, e.g.

(8.107) *au nanu-ma ni+ra la'o be'a* “I think that they're probably going to Lavena”

(8.108) *o 'ea va'a-.i- ti'o.ti'o be'a mai* “he probably lives (lit: makes residence) in Australia or New Zealand”
Ositerelia se mai Niusiladi

Sometimes *be'a* is used simply to moderate a question, for the sake of politeness (similar to the insertion of *might*, as in the English translations here):

(8.109) *i vei be'a a positoovesi* “where might the post office be?”

(8.110) *a cava be'a e leqa i+na qou idini*
ART WHAT MIGHT 3sg trouble IN+ART CLASSIF+ 1sg engine
“what might be wrong with my engine? (said to a garage mechanic)”

It is important (especially for a foreign learner) to realise that although *be'a* may qualify the meaning of the complete clause, there is a preference (pointed out to me by Paul Geraghty) for it to be placed at the end of the first constituent

of the clause, whether this be a predicate, as in 8.105–8, or an NP, as in 8.109–10. There is even a tendency to raise it from a subordinate clause to the first constituent of the main clause—thus, an alternative to 8.107, with the same meaning, is *au nanu-ma be'a ni+ra la'o i Lavena*.

One day, when Sepo and I were walking along the road, a car came by and he remarked:

(8.111) *a motokaa be'a mai Waibula* “the car is perhaps from Waibula”

Note that, in this sentence also, *be'a* comes at the end of the first constituent.

Be'a itself does not function as a lexeme, but there is a derived transitive verb *va'a-.be'a-.ta'ina* “to be unsure of, to express uncertainly about”.

8.3.6 Markers of intensity

There are three modifiers which add a measure of intensity to the reference of the predicate head: *rui* “more than a usual amount”, *soti* “a lot”, and *sara* “very; (go) right on; immediately”. These all function only as modifiers (that is, there are no cognate lexemes). *Rui* comes before the predicate head, and *soti* and *sara* after it.

(i) *rui* has the meaning “to a high degree, more than normal”; it often carries the implication “more than appropriate, too much”.

Rui may only qualify an adjective, or an adverb derived from an adjective. Examples of *rui* with an adjective as predicate head include 8.10, 21.9, and

(8.112) *e rui totolo a lotu ni ya'avi yai*
3sg LOTS early ART church IN afternoon THIS
“the church service is unusually early this afternoon”

(8.113) *o saa rui yalo.vuni.vuni* “you're too modest”

In 8.11 *rui* qualifies an adjective which is modifier in an NP functioning as predicate head. Examples of *rui* qualifying an adverb are:

(8.114) *sa rui 'ila-a va'a-.vina'a* . . . “he knows exceedingly well (that . . .)”

(8.115) *o i'o rui 'ana va'a-.levu* “you're eating an awful lot”

(8.116) *o i'o rui vosa va'a-.balavu* “you're talking far too long”

Note that 8.114–6 would not be grammatical if the adverb were omitted, since *rui* is modifying *va'a-.vina'a* “well”, *va'a-.levu* “greatly”, and *va'a-.balavu* “lengthily” here, and not the verbs ‘*ila-a* “know it”, ‘*ana* “eat”, or *vosa* “talk”.

The prefix *dau-* derives an adjective from a verb. One of the reasons for assigning this grammatical function to *dau-* is that a *dau-* form (but not the underlying verb, used alone) can be qualified by *rui*. Thus, from ‘*ada* “run” we derive *dau-'ada* “habitually running”, which is predicate head in:

(8.117) *e rui dau-'ada a tamata mayaa* “that person runs pretty fast”

Forms *pu'u* “be angry” and *maarau* “be happy” belong to the class of verb (and not adjective) in Fijian. This can be seen from the fact that to modify them by *rui* we must also include an adverb, such as *va'a-.levu* “greatly”:

(8.118) *sa rui pu'u/maarau dina va'a-.levu* “he is truly very angry/happy”

The sentence is not grammatical if the adverb is omitted.

(ii) *soti* “a lot” has quite restricted function—it can be modifier only after an interrogative, or after either of the negative verbs *sega* “not” or *'ua* “don’t” (§23.4).

Soti can be glossed “all” when it is post-head modifier in an NP which has an interrogative as head—with *o cei* “who” we get *o cei sotu* “who are all of them?”; with *a cava* “what”, *a cava sotu* “what are all of those?” and with *vei* “where”,

(8.119) *i vei sotu a vanua edatou na la'o 'ina?*
 AT WHERE ALL ART place Iincpa FUT go PREP+3sg
 “where are all the places we are going to?”

Soti can also modify *cava* when the interrogative is itself a post-head modifier “which”:

(8.120) *a gauna cava sotu o dau-'ana 'ina mai*
 ART time WHICH LOTS 2sg HABITUALLY-eat PREP+3sg AT
Ositerelia?
 Australia
 “what are your meal-times in Australia? (lit: what are the times at which you habitually eat in Australia?)”

Note that *soti* cannot be used with the interrogative (*na*)*ica* “when”; a construction like 8.120 would be employed instead.

With *sega* “not” we get *sega sotu* “not a lot of, not very”. Just like *rui*, *sega sotu* demands an adjective (which can be a *dau*-derived form) or an adverb derived from an adjective—this must be in the *ni* complement clause which functions as subject of *sega*, e.g. *e sega sotu ni balavu* “it is not very long”; and

(8.121) *au sega sotu ni vu'u me tautavata 'ei Sepo*
 Isg not LOT THAT clever SHOULD same WITH Person
 “I’m not as clever as Sepo (lit: I am not very clever, to be the same as Sepo)”

(8.122) *au sega sotu ni 'ana va'a-.levu* “I don’t really each much”

(8.123) *e sega sotu ni dau-.vei-.vacu* “he’s not such a good boxer”

Soti may also follow the negative imperative verb *'ua* “don’t”, as in

(8.124) *'ua sotu ni dau-.la'o va'a-.balavu!* “don’t travel for such a long time!”

The normal position of *soti* is immediately after *sega* or *'ua*, as in 8.121–4, but it can quite acceptably follow the predicate head of the *ni* clause, with no difference in meaning. Thus people say *sega sotu ni vina'a* or *sega ni vina'a sotu* “not so good”, and an alternative to 8.122 is *au sega ni 'ana sotu va'a-.levu*. (David Arms informs me that it is also possible to move *soti* from an interrogative, to the predicate of that clause.)

(iii) *sara* “very; (go) right on; immediately” is very common in all styles of speech (there are more than 50 instances in text 4, for instance). It may be used by itself, or with one or more other predicate modifiers, such as *dina* “truly” (§8.3.5), *gaa* “particularly” (§8.3.8)—see 8.104. *Sara* has a wide functional range, and its meaning depends on the type of predicate head it is modifying:

(a) With adjectives, *sara* can be glossed “very”, e.g. *vina'a sara* “very good” in 8.2. *Sara* can also modify an adjective within an NP, e.g. (*a+i-*)*talanõa bii.bii sara* “a most important story”.

(b) With verbs of motion, *sara* has the meaning “go right on, without delay” e.g. T4.29, 34, 73, 90, 123, 135, 191, and

(8.125) *'ua ni la'i taao tale i Viidawa, la'o sara i*
 DON'T THAT GO held up AGAIN AT Place go MODIF TO
'Orovou!
 Place

“don’t get held up at Viidawa (a place en route, where there may be some enticing event in progress), go straight on to 'Orovou!”

Once Sepo and I were walking towards the main road when the noise of a lorry could be heard; we wondered if it would turn off along the side-track to Waitabu. Sepo listened, and said:

(8.126) *e saa la'o sara a motokaa* “the car is going straight on (not turning off)”

(c) With other verbs, *sara* most often has the sense “immediately, at once”—see T4.36, 38, 43, 58, T6.6, especially T4.170, and

(8.127) *'eitou yaco gaa yane, 'eitou sa* “we (excpa) just arrived there,
'ana sara (and) we ate at once”

In some contexts *sara* appears just to have an emphatic effect, e.g. T6.114, T8a.3.

(d) With *sega* “not” and *'ua* “don’t”, *sara* emphasises the negative sense, e.g. T4.81 *sega sara ni dua* “no one at all” (lit: absolutely not a one) and T8a.5 *me 'ua sara ni dua e rogo.cala to'a 'ina* “don’t anyone at all mistake this”.

(e) *sara* can be used with a verb like *'ena~'ene(ii)* “do like this” (§7.2) to introduce direct speech, implying that something is reported *exactly* as said, e.g. T4.67.

Rui and *sara* may both modify adjectives:

- (8.128) *e rui levu a i'a yai* “this fish is more than enough”
 (8.129) *e levu sara a i'a yai* “this fish is large”

Rui and *sara* describe different kinds of parameters. *Sara* indicates “very” in terms of some norm (e.g. the average size of a fish), whereas *rui* relates to how much is needed or is considered appropriate. It is thus not sensible to ask which of *rui levu* and *levu sara* indicates the bigger quantity (when I did this, on different occasions, quite different answers were obtained).

Rui and *sara* may co-occur, e.g. *e rui levu sara a i'a yai* “this fish is huge, much more than enough”. *Rui* and *soti* also co-occur with the predicate head *sega* “not”, as in

- (8.130) *e sega soti ni rui levu* “just enough, just the right amount (lit: not a lot more than usual)”

Soti and *sara* also co-occur, as in *e sega soti ni levu sara* “it’s not that huge”.

8.3.7 “All” and “alone”

A predicate can contain *tauco'o* “all”, or *kece~'ece* “all”, or a reduplicated number, X, with the meaning “all X”.

(1) *tauco'o*, *kece~'ece* “all”

In V there are two post-head modifiers with slightly different meanings—*kece* “all” and *taucoko* “wholly, completely” (see Churchward 1941:47). Speakers of B state that their dialect originally used *co'o.co'o* “all” but this has now been replaced by *tauco'o*, corresponding to V *kece* (and presumably also to V *taucoko*). But—maybe through recent dialect mixing (§1.2)—*kece* also occurs in B with apparently the same meaning as *tauco'o*; sometimes it retains the initial *k*, but sometimes a glottal stop is substituted. In Text 4, Falaavia Matavesi uses all three forms *tauco'o*, *kece*, and *'ece*.

Taucu'o or *kece* provides qualification of subject or object. They do sometimes appear in the subject or object NP but much more frequently are included in the predicate itself—see T6.84 *era saa soqo kece a tuuraga* “all the chiefs assembled”; and T6.41, 94, T4.191, 214.

In sentence 15 of text 6, Siriloo Saabai included *tauco'o* as a predicate modifier and *kece* as an NP modifier; both refer to the object, and reinforce each other:

- (T6.15) [*saa tau-ra tauco'o mai*] [*a vei-.yasa-i Viti kece*]
 ASP take hold-TR ALL HERE ART COLL-side-POSS Fiji ALL
 “he had taken (conquered) all parts of Fiji”

Plainly, a transitive verb with *tauco'o* or *kece* will be ambiguous as to whether “all” applies to subject or to object, e.g.

- (8.131) *era sa 'ani-a tauco'o* [*a 'aa.'ana*]_O [*a gone*]_A
 3pl ASP eat-TR ALL ART food ART child
either “all the children ate the food”, *or* “the children ate all the food”

When *tauco'o* or *kece* relates to a prepositional NP it must occur after the head of that NP, rather than in the predicate, as in:

- (8.132) *'eitou aa 'ana i+na vei-.vale tauco'o sara i+na*
 lexcpa PAST eat IN+ART COLL-house ALL MODIF IN+ART
'oro yai
 village THIS
 “we have eaten in every house in this village”

Taucu'o can also function as a predicate head:

- (8.133) *sa tauco'o va'a-.vina'a a lewaa ni we-datou*
 ASP all well ART decision ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-1incpa
bose
 meeting
 “the decisions of our meeting are all going well”

(2) Reduplicated numbers

Reduplicated numbers function as predicate modifiers with the meaning “all the [number]”, e.g.

- (8.134) *au via 'ani-a tolu.tolu a i'a yai*
 1sg WANT eat-TR three-REDUP ART fish THIS
 “I want to eat all three of these fish”

Exactly as with *tauco'o* and *kece*, a reduplicated number may refer to either subject or object. Example 8.134 is not ambiguous since the subject “I” is specified as singular, and *tauco'o* can only refer to the object; but many sentences with a reduplicated number are potentially ambiguous, e.g.

- (8.135) *erau saa 'ani-a rua.rua either* “the chiefs are both eating fish”,
 [*a i'a*] [*a tuuraga*] *or* “the two chiefs are eating both fish”

This sentence could be disambiguated either by using an incorporated object construction, cf 18.84 in §18.8; or by moving *rua.rua* to the appropriate post-predicate NP, i.e. *erau saa 'ani-a a i'a rua.rua a tuuraga* “the two chiefs are eating both fish” or *erau saa 'ani-a a i'a a tuuraga rua.rua* “the two chiefs are both eating fish”.

(3) *dua.dua* “alone, unique”

The reduplicated form of *dua* “one”, *dua.dua*, has an additional meaning. With a verb as predicate head it can be glossed “alone”, e.g.

- (8.136) *au via vola.vola dua.dua gaa* “I just want to write alone (without being disturbed)”

Dua.dua can occur with a non-singular subject. Comparison with *rua.rua* is instructive:

- (8.137) *erau sa la'o rua.rua* “the two of them are both going”
 (8.138) *erau sa la'o dua.dua* “the two of them are going alone (with no one else)”

With an adjective, *dua.dua* means “uniquely”, as in T4.172 *e ba-balavu dua.dua* “(the Raavouvou of Boumaa’s feet) are uniquely long (i.e. long like no other)”, or else “best, foremost”.

Tau.dua “alone” is an alternative to *dua.dua* in V (Churchward 1941:52); *tau.dua* does not occur in B.

8.3.8 Other modifiers

- (1) *dui* “differently, separately, each . . . respectively”

Dui is a pre-head predicate modifier marking the fact that each person referred to by the (necessarily non-singular) subject behaves in a distinctive manner:

- (8.139) *eratou dui ti'o i+na vei.vale.vale*
 3pa MODIF live IN+ART COLL-REDUP-house
 “each of them lives in a different house”
 (8.140) *o 'eda, eda dui vina'a-ta a vei-mataqali 'aa.'ana*
 ART lincpl lincpl MODIF want-TR ART COLL-kind food
 “as for us, each of us likes different kinds of food”
 (8.141) *eda dui livi-a a me-da tii*
 lincpl MODIF pour-TR ART CLASSIF-lincpl tea
 “each of us pours our own tea”

Note that the collective prefix *vei-* (§17.1.1) occurs in the prepositional NP in 8.139 and in the object NP in 8.140—there is a comparison of *dui* and *vei* at the end of §17.1.3. In 8.141 the object contains a possessor pronoun *me-da* “our” which agrees in person, number, and inclusivity with the clausal subject.

Dui does not itself occur as a lexeme. But the reduplicated form *dui.dui* can be either an NP head, with the meaning “difference”, or a predicate head “different”, as in

- (8.142) *erau dui.dui [a vudi vata 'ei+na tiaina]*
 2du different ART plantain TOGETHER WITH+ART banana
 “plantain and banana are different”
 (8.143) *e dui.dui [mai+na tiaina] [a vudi]*
 3sg different FROM+ART banana ART plantain
 “plantain is different from banana”

Note the different distributions of *vudi* and *tiaina* into NPs, which exactly parallel the syntax of the English translations.

- (2) *mada* “first of all, if you please”

B has a verb *mada* “go first, precede” (see T4.71), which corresponds to *liu* in V (but, through dialect mixing, *liu* is used interchangeably with *mada* by present-day speakers of B). *Mada* is often used like a time word, introduced by the preposition *i*, e.g. *la'o i mada* “go first”, *i+na gauna i mada* “in the time before”, and 8.152.

Mada, as a post-head modifier, has two distinct semantic effects. It can have a meaning related to that of the verb, “do first of all”, as in T6.12 *saa vei.vala.-ta'ina mada* . . . “they first made war against (other parts of Fiji, before turning to Ca'audrove)”.

However, *mada* is more frequently used just to add a measure of politeness to a question or statement (somewhat similar to *be'a* “perhaps”—§8.3.5); it can best be glossed “if you please”. In T4.7 the Raavouvou of Boumaa suggests to his attendant: *taru saa la'o mada* “let us two go, if you please”; he then turns to his other companions, who are to be left behind, and states: *'eirau saa la'o mada* “we two are going out, if you please”. In T6.106 a priest asks, at the cession conference “I want to make the translation, *mada* (if you please)”. See also T4.1, T6.1, 77, T8a.1, 2, 3.

It would be rare to hear a direct imperative without *mada* (unless it were an order given by the chief); such a command would be too abrupt, and rude. (Examples of commands with *mada* include 8.38, 68, 146.) One must say *la'o mada!* “go, if you please!” rather than simply *la'o*. But if someone should say to you, *au sa la'o mada* “I’m going, if you please”, then a suitable response would be just *io, (o) la'o!* “yes, (you) go!” (with no *mada*).

Mada is used in direct speech, and can also be carried over into reported speech e.g. T6.54, T4.140, 179. It is used very rarely in straight narrative; there is one example at T6.95: “Ca'obau was afraid, and his ambassadors came *mada* with a gift of atonement (to Tui Ca'au)”. Here *mada* marks the extreme deference with which the mission of appeasement was carried out.

The normal way of saying that it is time to stop any activity is: *sa rau-ta mada* “that’s enough, if you please”.

Mada can follow *sega* “not” with the overall meaning “not even”—T4.50.

- (3) *tei* “do first, and speedily”

This pre-head modifier has a similar meaning to the concrete sense of *mada*—something should be done first, and without delay, so that other things may be done afterwards. It can co-occur with *mada*:

- (8.144) *tou tei unu.tii mada!* “let us (lincpa) have a quick breakfast first (and then go!)”

Tei has a much more restricted occurrence than *mada*; it does not share the latter's "politeness" function.

(4) *taumada* "do first"

This post-head modifier is used to refer to the subject doing something before anyone else does it, e.g. *'eirau na la'o vata taumada* "we two will go together first (and the rest can follow on behind)". David Arms tells me that in praying *taumada* would be used to mark something that is especially prayed for (i.e. that is first in order of priority, as well as first in order of mention).

(5) *vata* "together"

Vata is a post-head predicate modifier indicating that a number of people or things were involved "together" as subject or object (Churchward 1941:56 suggests that it is the opposite of *dui* "individually"), e.g. T4.32 *ra la'o vata* "they go together", and T4.38, T6.16, 40.

With a transitive predicate, *vata* can refer to the subject:

- (8.145) *'eimami aa buli-a vata a motokaa yai*
 Iexmpl PAST build-TR TOGETHER ART car THIS
 "we built this car together"

or to the object:

- (8.146) *va'a-'abi-ta vata mada a drau ni pepa yai*
 MAKE-stick-TR TOGETHER PLEASE ART sheet ASSOC paper THIS
 "please stick these sheets of paper together (with paste)"

As with *tauco'o*, *kece*, and reduplicated numbers (§8.3.7) it is possible to find sentences in which *vata* is ambiguous as to whether it refers to subject or to object.

The group of people or things that are linked "together" by *vata* can all be referred to by the subject pronoun; but there may also be a post-predicate NP providing *partial* specification, and it will then be introduced by the preposition *'ei* "with", e.g.

- (8.147) *a tiaina e tei vata gaa 'ei+na vudi*
 ART banana 3sg planted TOGETHER MODIF WITH+ART plantain
 "bananas are planted together with plantains (in the same garden plot)"

- (8.148) *ira saa sota vata 'ei 'eirau mai Vure.vure*
 3pl ASP meet TOGETHER WITH Iexcd AT Place
 "they all met up with us two at Vurevure"

In these examples *vata* belongs to the predicate and *'ei* to an NP (as can be seen from the modifier *gaa* coming between them in 8.147). But, in addition,

there is a compound preposition *vata 'ei*, which is developing as an alternative to simple *'ei*—see 8.142 and the full discussion in §14.3.

Vata may also be used to mark other sorts of link, such as that between a person and their language, e.g.

- (8.149) *e sucu vata mai 'ei+na vosa.vosa yai*
 3sg born TOGETHER HERE WITH+ART REDUP-language THIS
 "she was born with (this sort of) language (explaining why someone who came from another part of Fiji maintained her original way of speech, and had not assimilated to the Boumaa dialect)"

The verb *'umu(-na)* "to gather, amass, pile up" almost invariably takes the modifier *vata*, e.g.

- (8.150) *o Roopate sa 'umu-na vata ti'o* "Roopate is gathering together all
a o-na i- tu'u.tu'u his stories"

But *soqo(-na)* "to gather, assemble", although it has a very similar meaning, is used much more sparingly with *vata*.

Vata can be used following the head of an NP and then has the sense "the same". I recorded one story on a Saturday and the narrator began:

- (8.151) *e dua a siga, siga va'a-.rau.-wai vata sara gaa ni'ua,*
 3sg one ART day Saturday SAME MODIF MODIF today
au saa cabe i le'utu
 1sg ASP go up TO forest
 "one day, a Saturday just like today, I went up to the forest"

Another example is:

- (8.152) *a yava-qu e mosi ti'o i+na vanua vata gaa e aa*
 ART foot-1sg 3sg sore ASP IN+ART place SAME MODIF 3sg PAST
mosi 'ina i mada
 sore PREP+3sg IN before
 "my foot is sore in the same place it was sore in before"

The form *tautauvata* "the same" plainly involves *vata*, and has similar syntactic behaviour—see 8.121.

(6) *bau* "a little more, somewhat"

There appear to be two distinct forms *bau* in Fijian. One behaves like an adjective or adverb and has limited distribution, typically with *dua* "one" or *sega* "not"—*e dua bau* "just one"; *e sega bau a i'a* "no fish at all (not even one)".

There is also a pre-head modifier *bau* which has the meaning "a little more". If you were speaking to someone who was building a house for you, it would be proper to say:

- (8.153) *au 'ere-a me bau totolo to'a a o-mu tara.vale*
 1sg ask-TR SHOULD MODIF fast ASP ART CLASSIF-2sg build-house
 "I ask you to please build a little quicker (lit: I ask you to please speed up your house-building)"

See also 8.46.

Sometimes *bau* may have the sense "include", marking the addition of someone to a group of people, and is then likely to co-occur with *tale gaa* "another":

- (8.154) *me-u bau la'o tale gaa* "include me in the party of travellers (lit: may I please go as well)"
 (8.155) *e bau vacu-'i au tale gaa* "he also punched me (in addition to the others)"

Bau frequently has a general "toning down" effect—like *maða* or *be'a*—making a statement or question less abrupt and more polite; it could then be glossed "somewhat" (see Churchward 1941:52, Milner 1972:116).

- (7) *baci* "again", *tale* "again; another"

Baci is a pre-head and *tale* a post-head modifier (there is also a verb *tale-va* "to return"). *Tale* occurs more frequently; one of its senses is very close to that of *baci*.

Tale can refer (i) to some established activity being repeated, with the same participants, e.g. T4.114 "he opened up the grave *again*", and T6.71; or (ii) to some new participant becoming involved in an established activity, e.g. T4.216 "she said she *also* would die (where her people had perished)", and T6.66. As Schütz (1986:302) has pointed out, there is a definite tendency for *tale* to be followed by the modifier *gaa* in sense (ii), but not in sense (i).

Tale gaa may follow the semi-auxiliary verb *rawa* "can, be possible". One day the chief of Waitabu village was explaining how a high-born lady should run with a whale's tooth as part of the Rova ceremony to honour a visiting high chief. He was asked if a man could run with the whale's tooth, and replied:

- (8.156) *e rawa tale gaa ni+ra 'ada.-va'ina a tuuraga*
 3sg can ALSO MODIF THAT+3pl run with-TR ART man
 "it is also possible for men to run with it"

In a description of gardening, Elia Waqa said how plantain is best planted between June and September, and then went on to add:

- (8.157) *e rawa tale gaa me tei i+na Okotopa* "it can also be planted in October"

In 8.156 *tale gaa* refers to "another" as subject of the *ni* complement clause, and in 8.157 to "another" as time phrase.

A frequently-heard enquiry² is: *o i'o tale gaa?* "you, too?", to which the reply might be: *io, o yau tale gaa* "yes, me too".

One common phrase involves the number *dua* "one" and *tale*—*e dua tale* "one more thing"—as in

- (8.158) *sa+qei ra to'i tale mai i Na'ade, e dua*
 ASP+THEN 3pl move house AGAIN HERE TO Place 3sg one
tale a vanua
 ANOTHER ART place
 "then they moved again to Na'ade, another place"

Baci has a similar meaning to (i) of *tale*. One speaker summed up the two senses of *tale* and one of *baci* as follows: *au sa baci tu'u-na vei i'o* and *au sa tu'u-na tale vei i'o* both mean "I tell you again", whereas *au sa tu'u-na tale gaa vuua* means "I also tell him/her".

There are a number of occurrences of *baci* in the texts. In text 4, the Raavouvou of Narova is murdered and his burial announced; then his body is dug up and returned to the wedding bed. The burial is *again* announced, T4.108, *saa baci tu'u-ni ca'e mai* . . .

The use of *baci* and *tale* in sentences 150–4 of text 4 is striking: (a) the Raavouvou of Boumaa rubbed and twisted (*qili-a*) a leaf and threw it into the village to extinguish one of the eyes of the olden-days god guarding the corpse of the Raavouvou of Narova (neither *baci* nor *tale* used); (b) he rubbed and twisted another leaf (*baci qili-a*); (c) he rubbed more leaves (*baci qili-a tale*). In this particular instance *baci* marks a repetition of the action, and *baci-plus-tale* yet another repetition. (In other instances *tale* is used for the first repetition, and then *baci plus tale* for a further repetition.)

The directional modifier *tani* "away" can have the meaning "something of an unfamiliar type", contrasting with *tale* "another one of a familiar type"—see §8.3.4. These two modifiers can co-occur, as in

- (8.159) *sega ni o yau, e dua tani tale* "it wasn't me, it was another, different person"

Older speakers of B say that their original dialectical form was *ube*, corresponding to *tale* in V. But *ube* is only remembered, not used; it has been entirely supplanted by *tale*.

- (8) *gaa* "particularly, only, just, still"

Gaa only occurs as a modifier (not as an independent lexeme). It is extremely frequent—occurring more than 50 times in text 4, for instance—and often co-occurs with other modifiers. (See Arms, 1986.)

The general semantic effect of *gaa* is to focus attention on the particular activity referred to by the predicate—*this* is happening, and not something else. It can sometimes be translated by "only" or "just", e.g. T6.99, *e rawa*

gaa ni Tui Tailevu “he can *only* be King of Tailevu (not of other parts of Fiji)”; and T4.163, 193; 8.50, 8.127, 8.136.

On one occasion I heard a visitor who had been offered some food decline by saying: *au unu.tii gaa* “I’ll just drink tea”. Another day I called to see my Fijian uncle at about 7 A.M. (when the whole village had been up and about for an hour), only to be told by his wife: *Moomoo sa moce gaa* “Uncle, he is still asleep”—here *gaa* highlights the fact that he had done *nothing* that day *but* sleep. (The focussing effect of *gaa* cannot easily be rendered in English translation.)

Gaa can follow most other post-head modifiers. It is particularly common with the stance-aspect form *tuu* (§8.3.1) where *gaa* emphasises the permanency of a condition—see T4.129, 141, 204. With *oti* “completed” (§8.3.2), *dina* “truly” (§8.3.5) and *sara* “very” (§8.3.6), *gaa* also intensifies the meaning of the modifier—thus *vina'a* “good”, *vina'a sara* “very good”, *vina'a sara gaa* “very good indeed”. See also T4.170, *saa 'ila-a sara gaa* “then he *immediately* knew”; and 8.104, 8.151.

The combinations of *gaa* with *tale* and with *wale* have a special meaning, different from the sum of their parts:

(i) As mentioned under (6) above, *tale* refers to an activity being repeated with the same participants, but *tale gaa* to an established activity with a new participant.

(ii) When *wale* “without proper effect” occurs in the same predicate as *gaa*, the combination indicates “only”, similar to the meaning of *gaa* used alone. This occurs in T4.147 and

(8.160) *e soo wale gaa a vosa au nanu-ma ti'o*
3sg few MODIF MODIF ART word 1sg remember-TR ASP
“I only remember a few words (of that language)”

In describing the advent of Cyclone Eric on Thursday 17th January 1985, closely followed by Cyclone Nigel on Saturday 19th, *wale gaa* was included twice:

(8.161) *erau vei-.sivi wale gaa o Eric 'ei Nigel i+na*
2du COLL-PASS MODIF MODIF ART Cyclone WITH Cyclone AT+ART
dua wale gaa a bogi
one MODIF MODIF ART night
“Eric and Nigel were only separated by only one night”

For all of these co-occurrences of *gaa* with another modifier, each will occur at its appropriate place in order, as set out in §8.3.9. They occur in the same predicate, but not necessarily contiguously.

(9) *luu*, interrogative marker

Just one example of this modifier occurred in a text:

(8.162) *o sa bau rogo-ca luu?* “have you heard it (a song about kava)?”

I was told that *luu*, besides its interrogative role, has a softening function, similar to *be'a* and *mada*. It is the B correspondent of *lii* in V (Churchward 1941:54–5, 60; Arms 1986:201, 224).

There are a number of predicate modifiers reported for V which do not occur in B—among others, *tawa* (Churchward 1941:25, 54; Milner 1972:117; Schütz 1986:217–8), *saka* (Milner 1972:109, Schütz 1986:292–3), *bagi* (Schütz 1986:300), and *rii* (Arms 1986).

8.3.9 Order of modifiers

Modifiers are strictly classified into those that precede the predicate head, and those that follow it.

(1) Pre-head

The following modifiers may come between the prefatory material and the head:

te'evuu “start”—§8.3.2

the locational system *mai* “come and”, *la'i* “go and”—§8.3.3

modal modifiers *via* “want to, need to”, *via.via* “act like”, *va'a-.rau* “ready to, about to”, *rai.rai* “seem to”—§8.3.5

marker of intensity *rui* “more than a usual amount”—§8.3.6

dui “differently, separately, each . . . respectively”; *tei* “do first and speedily”; *bau* “a little more, somewhat”; *baci* “again”—§8.3.8

It is unusual to hear more than one pre-head modifier in a predicate, and I have never heard more than two—*baci la'i* occurs in T4.13, and *baci mai* in T4.107. Because of this, it is not—in my opinion—a fruitful task to try to work out some definitive “relative ordering” for pre-head modifiers. (Such a task would be likely to involve difficult elicitation, with prefabricated and unnatural sentences.)

Indeed, some pairs of modifiers may occur together in either order, with a difference of meaning, as *via* and *la'i* (see also (4a–b) in Arms 1986:203) in

(8.163) *au via la'i sara.i- yalo.yalo* “I want to go and see a film (i.e. I want to make the journey to the cinema)”

(8.164) *au la'i via sara.i- yalo.yalo* “I’m going to try to (lit. want to) see a film (i.e. I’m going to the cinema but I may not get in because there have been reports that the film is playing to full houses)”

There are a number of ordering preferences (but not constraints) among pre-head modifiers; e.g. *via la'i* in 8.163 is a more “natural” order in this context than *la'i via*, in 8.164.

(2) Post-head

Post-head modifiers present a quite different picture—up to four or five may occur in a predicate. In text 4 there are several score sequences of two post-head modifiers and a dozen or so sequences of three in a row. Here there is a fairly strict order in which the modifiers should appear (within slot 5 of the general predicate structure presented at the beginning of this chapter):

- (i) *vata* “together”—§8.3.8
- (ii) the directional-comparative system *ca'e* “up, more”, *sobu* “down, less”, *tani* “away”, *laivi* “away”—§8.3.4
- (iii) *oti* “completed”, §8.3.2; modals *rawa* “be able to”, *wale* “without proper effect”—§8.3.5
- (iv) *tauco'o*, *kece*~*ece* “all”; reduplicated numbers—§8.3.7
- (v) modal *dina* “truly”—§8.3.5
- (vi) marker of intensity *sara* “very; (go) right on; immediately”—§8.3.6
- (vii) *tale* “again, another”—§8.3.8
- (viii) the stance-aspect system *ti'o*, *tuu*, *to'a*, *noo*, *'oto*, *voli*—§8.3.1
- (ix) modal *be'a* “about, perhaps”—§8.3.5; *mada* “first of all, if you please”—§8.3.8
- (x) *gaa* “particularly, only, just, still”—§8.3.8
- (xi) the locational system *mai* “to here”, *yane* “to there”—§8.3.3

It appears that only one can be chosen of the modifiers shown for each slot.

Soti “a lot”, §8.3.6, has very restricted occurrence, with negatives and interrogatives, and is not placed in this ordering. *Taumada* “do first”, §8.3.8, appears after *vata* (i) and before *sara* (vi); it has not been possible to locate it more exactly in the ordering. (Note that although *taumada* appears to be historically related to *mada*, these two modifiers do occur in distinct slots.) I have only one textual example of the interrogative modifier *luu*, §8.3.8; it is not the type of element about which elicitation would be likely to be fruitful, and has not been placed in the ordering.

Many of these orderings can be seen in the texts, e.g. *vata* (slot i) *sara* (vi) *to'a* (viii) in T4.38; *ca'e* (ii) *sara* (vi) *mai* (xi) in T4.91; *rawa* (iii) *ti'o* (viii) in T6.78; *wale* (iii) *tuu* (viii) *gaa* (x) in T4.83; *kece* (iv) *sara* (vi) *mai* (xi) in T4.191; *sara* (vi) *to'a* (viii) *yane* (xi) in T4.50; *mada* (ix) *gaa* (x) in T4.71; *mada* (ix) *mai* (xi) in T4.179; *gaa* (x) *mai* (xi) in T4.11. There are also instances of post-head modifiers followed by the pronominal marker *'ina*, or by a demonstrative (see the table of predicate structure at the beginning of this chapter), e.g. *to'a* (viii) *mai* (xi) *'ina* in T4.189; *mai* (xi) *qore* (“that”) in T4.118.

It is in fact a useful exercise for the interested student to go systematically through the post-head modifier sequences in text 4, and see how much of the ordering can be reconstructed from this one—albeit exceptionally rich—narrative.

The order of modifiers given here is very similar to that in Arms 1986. He has *wale* (my slot iii) between slots iv and v, and both *oti*, *rawa* and *mada*,

be'a in separate slots (in that order). My ordering was inferred from texts, augmented by a small amount of judicious elicitation and by the way people corrected me when I inadvertently put modifiers in an unacceptable order when trying to speak Boumaa Fijian.

Just one instance has been noted of alternative orderings of post-head modifiers. The forms are *ca'e* and *rawa*, and there is a meaning difference involved:

- (8.165) 'eirau sa la'o ca'e rawa mai, ni bera ni 'eirau
 lexdu ASP go UP BE ABLE HERE WHEN NOT yet THAT lexdu
 la'o ca'e i Lavena
 go UP TO Place
 “we can first go up here (to call at some intermediate place) before
 we go up to Lavena”
- (8.166) 'eirau sa la'o rawa ca'e, drau qei muri yane
 lexdu ASP go BE ABLE UP 2du THEN follow THERE
 “we can go first, you follow on behind”

It may be, in fact, that some of the orderings listed above are definite constraints, and others just preferences. Further work is required on this topic.

In most instances, a post-head modifier does directly modify the meaning of the predicate head. But in 8.165 *rawa* clearly modifies the head-modifier sequence *la'o ca'e*. When *sara* “very” follows *dina* “truly”, it modifies the modifier. And in many of its occurrences with other modifiers, *gaa* modifies the modifier (although when it is the only post-head form it does directly modify the predicate head). For further discussion see Arms 1986.

8.4 Adverbs

Adverbs in Fijian are all derived forms, beginning with the prefix *va'a-* (but not all *va'a-* forms are adverbs—see §17.2).

An adverb occurs either immediately after the predicate head (slot 4 in the structure given at the beginning of this chapter) or right at the end of the predicate (slot 8); only very seldom are adverbs found in both positions—see Arms 1986:205. That is, either an adverb immediately precedes post-head modifiers, as in T6.96, T4.214, and 8.46, or it follows modifiers, *'ina* and demonstratives, as in T6.54, T4.207, 232, and 8.81. (See also §19.2.)

Adverbs are formed from adjectives, numbers, common nouns, and place names. Although adverb-formation, by prefixing *va'a-* to a root, is potentially unlimited, a limited set of forms account for the great majority of adverb occurrences. The most important (see also §17.2.3) include the following.

- (i) From adjectives of dimension: *levu* “big, a lot”, *va'a-levu* “greatly, to a great extent”—in T6.9, 8.115, 8.122; *lailai* “small, a few”, *va'a-lailai* “to a small extent”—in T6.125; *balavu* “long”, *va'a-balavu* “lengthily”—in 8.116, 8.124.

(ii) From adjectives of speed and physical property: *va'a-totolo* “quickly” in 8.46; from *bii.bii* “heavy, serious” there is *va'a-bii.bii* “seriously”.

(iii) From *dodonu* “correct” we get *va'a-dodonu* “correctly”, as in T6.124.

(iv) From adjectives of value: *vina'a* “good”, *va'a-vina'a* “well, properly”—in T6.96, 109, 8.114, 8.133; *caa* “bad”, *va'a-caa* “badly”—in T6.104. (Note that *va'a-caa* means “badly” when following a verb but “very” when following an adjective—compare *'ana va'a-caa* “eat terribly (to the point of malnutrition)” with *'ana vina'a va'a-caa* “eat terribly well”.)

(v) From numbers: the adverb means “that number of times”. Compare a reduplicated number modifier such as *vitu.vitu* “all seven” with a number adverb *va'a-vitu* “seven times”, (both of these occur in T4.152). Fijian arithmetic uses these adverbs, e.g.:

(8.167) *e rua va'a-vitu e tini-'a-vaa*

3sg two seven times 3sg fourteen (lit: ten and four)

“two times seven is fourteen (lit: two seven times is fourteen)”

The adverb *va'a-dua* “once and for all”, from *dua* “one” is very common—see T6.69, 17.33.

(vi) From the noun *tuuraga* “chief”: *va'a-tuuraga* “chiefly, noble, respected”. From *vanua* “place”: *va'a-vanua*, which can have a literal meaning “traditional, relating to the place” (as in T6.51) or an honorific sense similar to that of *va'a-tuuraga*.

(vii) From place names: e.g. *va'a-Viti* “Fijian”, *va'a-Toga* “Tongan”, as in *dabe va'a-Toga* “sit cross-legged, Tongan-style”, *a+i-sulu va'a-Toga* “Tongan-style garment”.

In the texts that I recorded and transcribed, more than 80 percent of adverb occurrences were accounted for by just five words. These are, in order of frequency: *va'a-tuuraga*, *va'a-levu*, *va'a-lailai*, *va'a-vina'a*, and *va'a-dua*.

Nevertheless, an adverb can, if needed, be formed from almost any common noun or place name. A few examples will illustrate the semantic and social principles involved:

(a) From *boto* “frog” we get *va'a-boto*, as in *lade va'a-boto* “jump like a frog”.

(b) From *dranu* “fresh (water)” is formed *va'a-dranu*, as in *siisili va'a-dranu* “bathe in fresh water (rather than in the sea)”; *va'a-dranu* can be used as a predicate head (without *siisili* “bathe”) with the same meaning.

(c) There is a verb *gato* “to speak a dialect that has a glottal stop”; from the name *kaa* for the letter of the alphabet “k” we get the adverb *va'a-kaa*, as in *vosa va'a-kaa* “speak a dialect that has a k sound”.

(d) From *gone* “child” is derived *va'a-gone* “like a young person, childish”; with the verb *vaa-'aasama* “think” we get *vaa-'aasama va'a-gone* “think young (i.e. like a young person, with an open mind)”.

(e) From the loan word *nasi* “nurse” there is *va'a-nasi*, which occurs in the idiomatic phrase *'ana va'a-nasi* “eat like a nurse”, to describe someone eating daintily, with just two fingers, instead of tucking in heartily to a meal with both hands, which is the polite thing to do in Fiji—see Ravuvu 1983:32.

A good deal of humour in Fiji is generated by special collocations of adverb with noun or verb. Boumaa people rightly think of themselves as generous—*veimaamaa va'a-Boumaa* “a Boumaa-style half” refers to a cup that is three-quarters full. Among Boumaa villages, Waitabu has the reputation of always having its meals late—thus, *unu.tii va'a-Waitabu* “breakfast Waitabu-style” describes eating at nine or ten o'clock (rather than the accepted breakfast hour of eight o'clock).

9 Noun Phrase

A noun phrase normally follows the predicate (although any NP can be fronted—see §4.8 and §21.4). If it is not introduced by a preposition, an NP must be providing expansion of the obligatory pronominal reference, within the predicate, to subject or object. If it is marked by a preposition, then an NP will specify location, or time, or a syntactic relation such as indirect object, benefactive or instrumental (see chapter 14, on prepositions).

There are four types of simple noun phrase, according as the head is a common noun, a (personal or place) name, a pronoun, or a verb or adjective. Structures of the first three types are discussed in §9.1, and of the last type, clausal NPs, in chapter 11. An NP may consist of a number of simple NPs in apposition; this structure is described in §9.2. The remaining sections of this chapter deal with elements of NP structure: articles; *mataqali* “kind of”; lexical modifiers (adjectives); and grammatical modifiers and adverbs. Possesives are discussed in chapter 10, and numbers in chapter 13.

9.1 Structure of simple NPs

Type (a): common noun as head

This is the most frequent and also the most syntagmatically extensive type of simple NP. Its maximal structure is:

1. *e* (3sg subject marker) plus Number (becomes article *na* plus Number, after a preposition)—see chapter 13
2. common article: *na* after a preposition, *a* elsewhere
3. *mataqali* “kind of”
4. possessor pronoun—see chapter 10
5. common noun as HEAD
6. one (or, very seldom, more) lexical modifiers (which include adjectives)
7. one or more post-head grammatical modifiers, as in predicate structure
8. adverb
9. demonstrative—see §7.1

The only freedom in ordering is that *mataqali* (3) and possessor pronoun (4) can occur in either order—§9.4. The article (2) and head (5) are normally obligatory (although the article is omitted in certain specific environments, listed in §9.3); all else is optional.

If there is a possessor pronoun, (4), or a possessive suffix to the head noun (5), its reference can be optionally expanded by the inclusion of a separate NP which comes at the end of the NP (and is a part of it)—see chapter 10.

Type (b): (personal or place) name as head

As with type (a) there are two obligatory elements:

1. proper article *o*
2. name as HEAD

Most often, an NP of type (b) will contain *just* these two elements. However, there are just a few examples in my corpus of a place name being followed by a lexical modifier—*o Ca'audrove raaraba* “the whole of Ca'audrove (province)” in T6.125; by one or more grammatical modifiers—*i Viti tauco'o sara* “in really all of Fiji” (here *tauco'o* “all” modifies *Viti*, and *sara* “really” modifies *tauco'o*); or by an adverb—*o Tunuloa va'a-dua* “the entire district of Tunuloa”, in T6.41.

Type (c): pronoun as head

Even though there must be pronominal reference to subject and object in the predicate, these references can be augmented by a cardinal pronoun in a separate NP. And of course prepositional NPs may involve pronouns. The basic structure is the same as type (b):

1. proper article *o*
2. cardinal pronoun as HEAD

The head can be followed by one or more grammatical modifiers. The commonest are *tale gaa* “also” as in *o yau tale gaa* “me too”; *kece* “all” as in *o ira kece* “all of them”; or a reduplicated number, e.g. *o 'ea dua.dua* “he, uniquely” in T4.64, *o yau dua.dua* “I, by myself” in T4.188, 198, or *'emudrau rua.rua* “both of you”

9.2 Structure of complex NPs

Two or more simple NPs can be apposed, and function as a single complex NP (if there is a preposition it appears only once, at the beginning of the complex NP). The possibilities are as follows:

(a) Two simple NPs, each with a common noun as head

These NPs will be alternative descriptions of the same person or thing, e.g.

- (9.1) [a koila] [a o-na kuruse ni tuuraga]
ART flag ART CLASSIF-3sg cross ASSOCIATED god
“the flag, his cross of God (referring to a cross given by a Catholic priest to a Fijian chief, for him to take into battle as his flag of war)”
- (9.2) [a 'e-dra 'aa.'ana] [a uvi] “their foodstuff, the cultivated yam (uvi)”

(b) Two simple NPs, one with a common noun and the other with a name as head

This structure may involve a place name, as in T4.2 *i+na vanua qoo o Boumaa* “in this place, Boumaa”, or a personal name, e.g. T6.57 *o Wainiqolo a qaa.qaa* “Wainiqolo the conqueror”. The common and place NPs may occur in either order (textual examples are about equally divided).

- (c) Two simple NPs, one with a common noun and the other with a pronoun as head

This structure is a standard means of marking number within an NP; the pronominal component invariably comes first. The most frequent pronoun in this type of structure is third person (of any number), e.g. T4.76 *o rau a va'a-.wati* “they two, the married couple”, and 8.94.

If a human noun occurs in a prepositional NP, it is normal to include the appropriate pronoun as well, e.g. T4.1 *vei ira a we-ia qase* “by them, our ancestors”.

There are also examples of first and second person pronouns in this structure, e.g. *o kemunii na tuuraga.bale* “you, the most exalted chief” (addressing God), from the grace in V, said at the beginning of text 6 (T6.2).

- (d) Two simple NPs, one with a name and one with a pronoun as head

Here again the pronoun usually comes first, e.g. *vei 'emudrau o Mere 'ei Jone* “to the two of you, Mary and John”.

- (e) Three simple NPs, one with a pronoun, one with a common noun, and one with a name as head

The three parts occur in this order in the textual examples, e.g. T6.128 *o rau a tuuraga vei-.wati-ni o Roopate vata 'ei Aneta* “they two, the chiefly couple, Roopate and Aneta”.

9.3 Articles

The common article *a~na* is used with common nouns, and the proper article *o* with pronouns and the names of people or places. (It is an established part of the Fijian grammatical tradition to use the term “article” here, although it is being used in an unusual sense.) Many place names are based on an NP with common noun as head and begin with *na* (originally the common article), e.g. *Naveitala* in T4.17, *Narova* in T4.52, and many other place names in the texts. Like other place names, these take the proper article, e.g. *o Naveitala*.

The common article is basically unmarked for definiteness (see Arms 1974:61–3); it can often be translated by the definite article *the* in English and sometimes by the indefinite article *a(n)*, e.g. T6.57 *i+na me'e i+na gauna yaa* “in a *me'e* (song) of that period”. A construction with the number *dua* “one”, *e dua a* NOUN (see chapter 13) is in some instances an appropriate translation of the indefinite article *a(n)*, e.g. T4.15 *e dua a+i-vua* “a yoke (of fish)”. A rough rule is this: if *a* or *an* in English can be replaced by *one* (as

in *I own a pig*), it can be translated by *e dua a* NOUN; otherwise, just use the Fijian common article *a* (e.g. *I'm a schoolteacher*).

There is a little overlap between common and proper articles: with kin terms and a few nouns like *vura.vura* “world” either a *a* or *o* could be used, sometimes with a slight meaning difference—see Milner 1972:73–4 (following Hazlewood 1872:4–5 and Churchward 1941:65–6). The proper *o* is used with *mata.ni.vanua* “messenger, ceremonial leader” in T4.170, 181 and with *tavale* “cousin” in T6.92, treating these like personal names. In T4.90 *wati-na* “her spouse” occurs with *o* early in the sentence and with *a* at the end. And in T6.116 the common article *a* is used with *Mirada*, the name of a British warship (it is a name, but not of a person or place). In text 6, *Tui Ca'au*, the title of a Fijian chief, is sometimes preceded by *o* (sentences 22, 78, etc) and sometimes by *a* (sentence 71 etc).

The article *a* is omitted in one set of syntactic environments, and *o* in a different set of environments. Table 9.1 summarizes these environments. Note that some speakers do not accept sentences in which an NP is fronted to come between *dee* and the predicate (§22.3); those that do, retain both types of article. Note also that when a common noun object is incorporated into a verb (§5.3.3, §18.8), it does not take an article; and when a name (or pronoun) is included as object after a transitive verb, in a predicate, it also does not take an article.

Some common nouns referring to places can be used as ad hoc place names with a preposition *i* “to, at” or *mai* “from”, and *no article* then intervenes between preposition and noun. Thus *i waa'olo.levu* “on the main road” in T4.165. Nouns that may omit a preposition after *i* or *mai* include:

vale “house”, and all compound nouns beginning with *vale*, e.g.
vale.ni.'uro “kitchen”, *vale.ni.vei-.vesu* “prison”
waa'olo “road, track” and *waa'olo.levu* “main road”
'aa.tuba (levu) “door” and *'aa.tuba (le'a)* “window”
raa.raa “village green” *ca'au* “reef”
le'utu “deep forest” *sawana* “beach”

TABLE 9.1 RETENTION OR OMISSION OF ARTICLES

	Common Article, <i>a</i>	Proper Article, <i>o</i>
after a preposition	retained (form <i>na</i>)	omitted
after <i>ni</i> , in NP <i>ni</i> NP	omitted	omitted
in an NP functioning as predicate		
head	omitted	retained
after <i>se</i> “or”	optionally retained	optionally retained
in a fronted NP after complementisers		
<i>ni</i> , <i>se</i>	omitted	retained
in a fronted NP after complementiser		
<i>dee</i>	retained	retained

<i>coo.coo</i> "forest, bush"	<i>mataavura</i> "waterfront near village,
<i>ulu.ni.vanua</i> "mountain"	landing place"
<i>waga</i> "boat"	<i>mataadravu</i> "open fire, hearth"
<i>wai.tui</i> "sea"	

When I was discussing this topic with Sepo, he pointed out that there is a contrast involved. Talking about someone coming from the sea one would say *mai wai.tui* "from (the) sea", treating *wai.tui* like a place name. But if one were taking something (e.g. an octopus) out of the sea, then it would be most felicitous to say *mai+na wai.tui* "from the sea", treating *wai.tui* as a common noun, and including the common article *na*.

The noun *vanua* can be used to mean "land" (as opposed to "sea") and then generally does not take a common article when it occurs with a preposition, e.g. *i vanua* "on land" in T4.31. Alternatively, it can describe a particular spot (usually further specified by a relative clause) and is then likely to include the common article, e.g. *i+na vanua qawa tuu 'ina a bu'a* "to the place where the fire was burning" in T4.34. Similarly, *wai* "water" will not take an article with a preposition when it refers to a geographical water feature, e.g. a river, but it will include a preposition when it describes a bucket of water or the like.

The common article may optionally be omitted after a preposition with body part terms used for parts of the environment, such as *bati-* "tooth, edge" (compare T4.4, 11, 203), *da'u-* "back", *ucu-* "nose, promontory" (compare T4.23, 163 with T6.74), and also *loma-* "inside, interior". A number of locational nouns such as *tuba* "outside", *ca'e* "up", and *raa* "down" never take a common article when used with a preposition, e.g. *i ca'e* "to high ground", never **i+na ca'e*.

The article is never omitted from *i+na 'oro* "to/at the village" or *mai+na 'oro* "from the village". It could be that *na.'oro* is functioning as a single lexeme here. We noted above that many village names begin with *na*, e.g. *Narova*; the same principle may on occasion apply for the generic term for "village".

The common article is only omitted when an appropriate noun would immediately follow, e.g. *i vale* "in the house". If there is any other constituent intervening between article and noun, then the noun cannot be used like a place name and the article cannot be dropped, e.g. *i+na we-irau vale* "in our (exclu) house" (not **i we-irau vale*).

9.4 *Mataqali* "kind of"

There are many nouns that can occur as the first element of a compound in Fijian, e.g. *bilo.tii* "cup of tea" (see §10.4), *pookete.wai* "bucket of water". Forms like *bilo* and *pookete* are restricted to a limited number of specific compounds. *Mataqali* differs from these in that it is quite productive and can be followed by virtually any noun. Thus, *mataqali* is here considered to be

a syntactic modifier within an NP, e.g. *a mataqali 'aa.'ana* "these sorts of food" (and see T4.172). Apart from number and possessor pronoun, *mataqali* is the only modifier that can precede the head of an NP.

Mataqali can either follow a possessor pronoun:

- (9.3) *a qou mataqali i- sele* "my kind of knife (said by a maker of knives)"

or precede it, with an appropriate difference of meaning:

- (9.4) *e dua a mataqali 'e-dra 'aa.'ana vina'a a*
3sg one ART kind of CLASSIF-3pl food good ART
we-imami qase
CLASSIF-1excl ancestor
"(it was) one of the favourite kinds of food of our ancestors (lit: one of the kinds of their favourite foods . . .)"

To enquire "what sort of?", *mataqali* precedes the head noun and *cava* "which" follows it:

- (9.5) *a mataqali 'aa.'ana cava o vina'a-ta* "what kind of food do you want?"

Mataqali can also occur with the collective prefix *vei-*, as "many kinds of". See 8.140 and

- (9.6) *au vina'a-ta a vei-.mataqali* "I like all kinds of food"
'aa.'ana tauco'o

And it can also form an adverb with prefix *va'a-*, e.g.

- (9.7) *biu-ti ira vata va'a-.mataqali* "put them together variety by variety (i.e. put all of this variety together here, all of that variety there, etc)"

9.5 Lexical modifiers

The head of an NP can be followed by another lexeme, which modifies its meaning. The possibilities are (i) an adjective, e.g. *mata-na levu* "eye-its big" in T4.153, *vanua suasua* "place wet", *gauna ma'awa* "time old"; (ii) the passive form of a verb, e.g. *vuulagi do'a-i* "visitor respected" in T6.8; or (iii) a noun referring to some material, e.g. *vale vatu* "house stone" in T6.47, *da'ai bitu* "gun bamboo" in T6.51.

Only a small proportion of NPs include one adjective, and two together are found extremely rarely. The question whether there is any preferred order of co-occurrence of adjectives is not an easy (or an important) one to answer for Fijian. Nevertheless, elicitation did reveal a *tendency* for (i) *vou* "new" and *ma'awa* "old" to precede (ii) colour terms like *loa(loa)* "black" and

'*ara*.'*arawa* "blue", which in turn precede (iii) physical property adjectives such as *gata.gata* "pointed" and *sua.sua* "wet", which in turn precede (iv) dimension adjectives such as *levu* "big" and *lailai* "small". Examples include *sote vou*.'*ara*.'*arawa* "new blue shirt", *i- sele vou gata.gata* "new sharp knife", *pusi loa levu* "big black cat", and *siti sua.sua levu* "big wet sheet".

9.6 Grammatical modifiers and adverbs

Predicate modifiers (§8.3) may also occur in an NP. It is rare to find a pre-head modifier in an NP; one example I noted was *dui* "differently, separately, each . . . respectively" (§8.3.8), as in

- (9.8) *erau vole'a ni vei.vala me baleta a oo-drau*
 3du near THAT COLL-fight CONCERNING ART CLASSIF-3du
dui i-yalayala
 MODIF boundary
 "they were almost fighting about their respective boundaries"

Most post-head modifiers can appear in NPs, but are used much more sparingly there than in predicates; they usually follow lexical modifiers, e.g. *i- talanoa bii.bii sara to'a* "a fairly important story" in T6.125, *e dua a+i-tu'u.tu'u ma'awa dina* "a real piece of old history" in T6.128, and

- (9.9) *a ulu.-ni.vanua rewa dua.dua*
 ART mountain high uniquely
 "the highest mountain"

Stance-aspect modifiers (§8.3.1) are only seldom used in NPs (as *to'a* is in T6.125).

The most common type of adverb in an NP is that referring to a place, e.g. *a da'ai va'a-.vanua* "guns of that place" in T6.51, *ca'a.ca'a va'a-'oro* "village work" in T8a.2. The ubiquitous adverb *va'a-.tuuraga* "chiefly, noble" also occurs quite freely in NPs, e.g. T6.9.

Waa'olo is "path, road" in B, and *waa'olo.levu* ("path big") is "main road". I was told that a medium-sized road could be referred to as *waa'olo.levu va'a-lailai*, using the adverb derived from *lailai* "small"—literally, "road that is big to a small degree".

10 Possession

A number of different constructions show possession in Fijian. Which one it is appropriate to use depends on the nature of the possessor, and of the possessed. For a number of possessor/possessed combinations there are two or more constructions that can be used; for details, see §10.3. Constructions corresponding to *to have* in English involve existential verbs; these are discussed in §10.6.

10.1 Parameters

Which possessive construction to use depends on:

- (a) whether the possessor is described by
 a personal or place name, or
 a pronoun, or
 a common noun, with
 human, or
 non-human animate, or
 inanimate reference

and also on:

- (b) whether the possessed is
 a free noun, or
 a bound noun

Most nouns in Fijian are free—they can be used alone, without any affix. But the majority of kin terms, names for parts of human bodies, trees and plants (and just a few others) generally occur with a possessive pronoun suffix, or the possessive marker *-i*, or the relator *ni*—thus *tama-qu* "my father", *tama-i Jone* "John's father"; *taba-mu* "your shoulder", *taba ni 'acu* "branch of a tree". These "bound nouns" are written with a final hyphen, *tama-* and *tubu-*; they are discussed in §10.5.

The distinction free/bound corresponds very roughly to alienable/inalienable possession in other languages. Free nouns are, with human possessors, marked by one of a system of three classifiers, indicating the nature of the "possession".

Only a human may be "possessor" in a true possessive construction of types [A–D] described below. If the "possessor" is a non-human animate or an inanimate, the NP *ni* NP construction, [E], is likely to be used, with *ni* best glossed "associated with". This is not, in the strictest sense, a possessive construction.

10.2 Constructions

The four possessive constructions [A–D], and the associated *ni* construction [E], are distributed as shown in table 10.1. It will be seen that for most pos-

TABLE 10.1 POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

possessor	possessed	
	bound noun	free noun
personal or place name	[A] suffix <i>-i</i>	[B] classifier plus suffix <i>-i</i> or [A] suffix <i>-i</i>
pronoun	[C] pronominal suffix or [A] suffix <i>-i</i>	[D] classifier plus possessor pronoun
human noun	[C] pronominal suffix, expanded by post- head possessor NP or [A] suffix <i>-i</i> or [E] NP <i>ni</i> NP	[D] classifier plus possessor pronoun, expanded by post- head possessor NP
animate noun	[E] NP <i>ni</i> NP or [C] pronominal suffix, expanded by post- head possessor NP	[E] NP <i>ni</i> NP or [D] classifier plus possessor pronoun, expanded by post- head possessor NP
inanimate noun	[E] NP <i>ni</i> NP	

essor/possessed combinations there are a number of alternative constructions possible. For each combination the most frequently-used construction is given first, and these will be described in the present section; the alternative possibilities are discussed in §10.3.

[A] If a personal or place name fills the possessor slot, and the possessed is a bound noun, then we get POSSESSED-*i* POSSESSOR, e.g. 8.50 and

(10.1) *a liga-i Jone* “John’s hand”

(10.2) *a loma-i Waitabu* “the interior of Waitabu (village)”

The suffix *-i* forms part of the same phonological word as the possessed (if it is a bound noun—see §10.3); both *liga-i* and *loma-i* end in a diphthong *ai*. There is discussion and further exemplification of this suffix in §3.1. Textual examples include *i da'u-i Viubani* “at the back of Viubani (island)” in T4.128, and *e taci-i Raatuu Golea Taburamusu* “he is a younger brother of Raatuu Golea Taburamusu” in T6.36.

[B] If the possessor is a name and the possessed a free noun, then we get POSSESSED CLASSIFIER-*i* POSSESSOR. There are three classifier choices: *me-* “drunk”, *'e-* “eaten; or relating to the possessor”, and *we-* “owned by the possessor”. (The semantics of the classifier system is discussed in chapter 12.) Thus

(10.3) *a waqona me-i Jone* “John’s kava (something drunk)”

(10.4) *a madrai 'e-i Mere* “Mary’s bread (something eaten)”

(10.5) *a+i-sele we-i Sepo* “Sepo’s knife (owned by him)”

It is possible to omit the head noun from a construction like 10.3–5. Thus *a me-i Jone* “John’s drink”, *a we-i Sepo* “Sepo’s thing”, etc.

[C] If the possessor of a bound noun is a pronoun, then it is shown by a pronominal suffix to the bound noun, as set out in §6.3. Thus 8.152 and

(10.6) *a tama-mudrau* “the father of you two”

(10.7) *a liga-qu* “my hand”

Pronominal suffixes exist for second and third person and first person singular, but for first person non-singular it is necessary to use construction type [A], i.e. POSSESSED-*i* POSSESSOR, where the cardinal pronoun is used for the possessor. Compare the 2du, with a pronominal suffix:

(10.8) *a liga-mudrau* “your (dual) hands”

with the lexedu, using *-i* plus cardinal pronoun:

(10.9) *a liga-i 'eirau* “my hand and his”

If the possessed is a bound noun and the possessor a common noun with human reference, then the appropriate pronominal suffix should be used, and this is expanded by a separate NP that follows it. Compare

(10.10) *a liga-na* “his/her hand”

(10.11) *a liga-na [a gone.yalewa yai]* “the hand of this young girl”

(10.12) *a ligaa-drau* “their (two) hands”

(10.13) *a ligaa-drau [a cauravou mayaa]* “the hands of those two youths”

The head of these NPs is the suffixed bound noun, and it can take a normal array of modifiers, e.g.

(10.14) *a liga-na levu [a gone.yallewa yai]* “the big hand of this young girl”

A post-head NP expanding the reference of a possessive suffix may itself involve another possessive suffix, e.g.

(10.15) *e dua a tua'a-na [a we'a-qu qoo]* “an elder sibling of this friend of mine”

[D] If the possessed is a free noun and the possessor a pronoun, then there will be a separate possessor word preceding the possessed; the possessor is in slot 4 and the possessed in slot 5 (head of the NP) from the statement of NP structure in §9.1.

The possessor has two components—an initial classifier element *me-*, *'e-*, or *we-* (as under [B]) and a final pronominal element; the complete array of possessor words is given in §6.3. Thus

(10.16) *a me-na waqona* “his/her kava (drunk)”

(10.17) *a 'e-mu madrai* “your (sg) bread (eaten)”

(10.18) *a wee-taru i-sele* “the knife belonging to you and me (thing owned)”

See also *a o-mu tamata* “your people” in T4.209, *a qou tamata* “my people” in T4.211, *a o-na tamata* “her people” in T4.216; *a o-na moto* “his spear” in T4.199, *a o-dra qaa.qaa* “their champion” in T6.55; and 9.1–4, 9.8. (It is possible to omit the head noun from a construction like 10.16–18, as it was from 10.3–5, e.g. *a me-na* “his/her drink”, *a wee-taru* “our thing”.)

If the possessed is a free noun and the possessor is a common noun with human reference, then the appropriate possessor word is placed before the possessed noun (which is the head of the NP) and reference to the possessor is expanded by a separate NP, which follows the head. Thus 21.19 and

- (10.19) *a o-dra bula [o ira a we-imami qase]*
 ART CLASSIF-3pl life ART 3pl ART CLASSIF-1excp1 ancestor
 “the lives of our ancestors (lit: their lives, they, our ancestors)”

Here *o-dra* “their” is expanded in reference by a complex NP consisting of *o ira* “their” and *a we-imami qase* “our ancestors”.

A dual possessor may be expanded by an NP specifying the two people involved, linked by the preposition *'ei* “together with”, e.g.

- (10.20) *a o-drau waqa [o Mika 'ei Jone]* “Mika and John’s boat”

For a first person dual possessor, *o yau* “I” can be included in the NP:

- (10.21) *a we-irau waqa [o yau 'ei Jone]* “John’s and my boat”

but it is most often omitted:

- (10.22) *a we-irau waqa ['ei Jone]* “John’s and my boat”

and the post-head NP now begins with *'ei*.

Post-head expansion is possible for third person, as in 10.20 and 17.36, for first person, as in 10.21–2, and also for second person, as in T8a.2.

There is an alternative to a construction like 10.20. People sometimes say:

- (10.23) *a waqa e oo-drau* “the boat belongs to Mika and John (lit: the
 [o Mika 'ei Jone] boat which is theirs, Mika and John)”

Here the head of the NP, *waqa*, is followed by a relative clause which has *oo-drau* “their (dual)” as predicate head. I have heard the *e* omitted from sentences like 10.23, but speakers say this is ungrammatical—the *e* should be included.

[E] With a non-human noun as “possessor”, whether the possessed is a free or a bound noun, the regular construction is POSSESSED *ni* POSSESSOR, e.g. *tuuraga ni vanua* “chief of the place”, *bati ni yala* “bank of the rivermouth” in T4.4, *yaca ni manuaa* “name of the battleship” in T6.116. This is a special case of a wider construction type, NP *ni* NP, which is discussed in §10.4.

10.3 Alternative realisations

There is freedom of choice concerning many points in Fijian grammar. In enumerating the construction types, in §10.2, we mentioned which is

preferred for each possessed-possessor combination. But there are other possibilities:

(a) **Bound noun plus name.** Here only construction [A], with suffix *-i*, is possible. Note here that some kin designations (with a possessive suffix) can be treated as names, e.g. *wati-na* “her spouse” in T4.82 *a yago-i wati-na* “the body of her spouse”.

(b) **Free noun plus name.** It is usual to employ construction [B], with classifier plus suffix *-i*, but the classifier element *can* be omitted, producing construction [A]. Thus, as an alternative to *a waqa we-i Mika* people do say *a waqa i Mika* for “Mika’s boat”.

We have said that the possessive marker *i* forms part of the same phonological word with the possessed noun that it follows. It always does so if the possessor is a bound noun. But if a free noun is used with *i*, then it will generally *not* do so—that is, in *a waqa i Mika*, the final *a* of *waqa* and the *i* generally do not form a diphthong.

It is worth mentioning a related example. *Yaca-* “name” is a bound noun—thus *a yaca-i Ositerelia* “the name of Australia”, where the *yaca-i* ends in a diphthong. Now one way of saying “the old name of Australia (was New Holland)” is *a yaca ma'awa i Ositerelia*, and here the *i* does not form part of the same phonological word as *ma'awa* “old”.

Possessive marker *i* normally occurs with bound nouns and *coheres* phonologically with them. It *can* follow a free noun or an adjective, but then it usually *does not cohere* (but is a clitic to the following phonological word).

(c) **Bound noun plus pronoun or human noun.** Construction [C], with a pronominal suffix, is the usual one, but construction [A], with suffix *-i*, is also possible. An alternative to 10.11 is

- (10.24) *a liga-i 'ea a gone.yalewa yai* “the hand of this young girl”

where the possessor is followed by the 3sg cardinal pronoun *'ea* and then *a gone.yalewa yai* “this young girl”, or

- (10.25) *a liga-i gone.yalewa yai* “the hand of this young girl”

in which there is no pronoun. Note that the article is omitted immediately after *-i*—the proper article *o* from 10.24 and the common article *a* from 10.25.

As already stated, construction [A] must be used for first person non-singular pronouns, as in 10.9. Thus, sentences like *a liga-i 'ea* are just an extension of this to third person. And in 10.25 *gone.yalewa yai* “this young girl” is treated as a proper noun, cf. *a liga-i Mere* “Mary’s hand”. (A construction like 10.24 is possible with any third person pronoun, e.g. *a liga-i irau a gone.yalewa yai* “the hands of these two young girls”; but it is *not* possible with first and second person pronouns—we can only say *a liga-qu* “my hand”, not **a liga-i yau*.)

In T4.77, Falaavia Matavesi uses *a yame-i tagane* “the man’s tongue”, construction [A], and then in the next clause says *a yame-na* “his tongue”, construction [C].

The alternative realisations in 10.11 and 10.24–5 do not involve any meaning difference. But there is a further alternative, with *ni*, construction [E]; this is normally a general description, of the hands of all girls (and thus would not include *yai* “this”):

(10.26) *a liga ni gone.yalewa* “the hands of young girls”

Similar possibilities apply for bound kin terms:

- (10.27) [C] *a tina-na a cauravou yai*
 (10.28) [A] *a tina-i 'ea a cauravou yai*
 (10.29) [A] *a tina-i cauravou yai*
 (10.30) [E] *a tina ni cauravou* “mothers of youths”
- } “the mother of this youth”

(d) **Free noun plus pronoun or human noun.** No alternative to construction [D] has been observed.

(e) **Non-human animate possessor.** It is normal to use construction [E], with *ni*, but a speaker does have the option of treating higher animals like humans, using construction [C] with bound and [D] with free nouns. That is, an alternative to *a bati ni ose* “horse’s teeth” is *a bati-na a ose*; to *a tina ni ose* “horse’s mother” is *a tina-na a ose*; and to *a vale ni ose* “horse’s house, stable” is *a o-na vale a ose*.

(f) **Inanimate possessor.** Only the *ni* construction [E] appears possible here.

10.4 NP ni NP

There appear to be two homonymous relators in Fijian with the form *ni*. One introduces three types of subordinate clause: a complement clause, a “when” clause, and a “because” clause—see §4.5, §21.3, and chapter 23. (It can also mark time expressions referring to the future, §15.1, and is used with (*na*)*ica* “when” whether referring to past or future, §16.5.)

The relator *ni* discussed in this section has a quite different function. It might look at first sight as if this *ni* (i) joins two nouns, and (ii) has a meaning similar to English “of”—*loma ni vale* “inside of the house”, *drau ni niu* “leaves of the coconut tree”, *gauna ni laba* “time of winds (cyclone season)”. (Note that both common and proper articles are dropped after this *ni*; but the proper article is retained after the clause-introducing relator *ni*—see §9.3.)

Neither of these suppositions is upheld by deeper investigation. *Ni* links together two NPs, either of which can consist of just a noun; and it is most appropriately glossed not by “of”, but as “associated with”.

We first give examples to show that a full NP can occur on either side of *ni*. A *loma ni vale* could, for example, be expanded to

(10.31) [*a loma*] *ni* [*we-irau vale vou*] “the inside of our (exclu) new house”

See also the title of text 4 (in T4.1) [*a+i- tu'u.tu'u*] *ni* [*oq-drau vei-.we'a-ni o Waini'eli vata 'ei Boumaa*] “the story of the relationship between Waini'eli and Boumaa”. In a text concerning village life, Elia Waqa mentioned:

(10.32) [*e dua a yasa-na sara*] “another side of this village (the inclusion
ni [*'oro yai*] of *sara* implies: the far side of this
 village)”

We now turn to the meaning of NP *ni* NP. First compare:

(10.33) *a bilo ni tii* “a tea cup (i.e. a cup for tea)”

(10.34) *a bilo tii* “a cup of tea”

The NP in 10.34 indicates a measure, a quantity of tea. Compare with *e dua a kilo suka* “one kilo of sugar” (it is impossible to say **kilo ni suka*). 10.33, in contrast, refers to a cup associated with tea, a tea cup. (If you asked for *a bilo ni tii* you would be handed an empty cup.)

Now compare:

(T4.4) *a cauravou ni Boumaa* “Boumaa youth(s), youth(s) of Boumaa”
 (10.35) *a 'oro o Waitabu* “the village of Waitabu”

The first phrase, T4.4, describes youths associated with the district of Boumaa, and it is appropriate to use *ni*; this is parallel to 10.26 *a liga ni gone.yalewa* “the hands of young girls” and 10.30 *a tina ni cauravou* “the mothers of youths”. But 10.35, although its English translation involves “of”, refers to a village the name of which is Waitabu; *a 'oro* and *o Waitabu* have the same reference and are simply apposed as a complex NP (§9.2, type (b)), without any recourse to *ni*.

From these and other examples we conclude that, although *ni* in NP *ni* NP may often be translatable as “of”, the most appropriate overall gloss is “associated with”.

Only humans (and, occasionally, higher animals) may fill the “possessor” slot in one of the four true possessive constructions [A–D] in §10.2. For all inanimates and most animates, what is perceived is an “association”, and this is coded through the NP *ni* NP construction. Compare the two ways of using *taba-*, which can mean “shoulder (of person)” and “branch (of tree)”:

(10.36) *a taba-i Jone* “John’s shoulder”

(10.37) *a taba-na a cauravou yai* “the shoulder of this youth”

(10.38) *a taba ni niu* “the branch of the coconut tree”

The bound noun *taba-* can either be possessed by a human, in 10.36–7, or it can be associated with an inanimate thing, as in 10.38. Another example is *a mata-na a cauravou* “the youth’s eye”, compared with *a mata ni cina* “the bulb of a torch” (cf T4.143).

All names for parts of a tree are usually linked by *ni* to the name of the

tree, e.g. *vuu ni leba* “trunk of a leba tree” in T4.73 and 8.95–6. Any general reference to “leaves” or “flowers” will employ the noun *'acu* “tree” after *ni*, e.g. *drau ni 'acu* “leaf” (as in T4.150), *see ni 'acu* “flower”. *Drau* and *see-*, like *taba-* and *mata-*, are bound nouns and must be used within a construction of type [A], [C], or [E], from table 10.1.

There are a number of names for parts of the environment which involve a body-part term linked by *ni* to *vanua* “place”, e.g. *ulu ni vanua* “mountain” (from *ulu-* “head”), and *ucu ni vanua* “promontory” (from *ucu-* “nose”).

NP *ni* NP can mark a wide range of “associations”. In T6.120 we encounter *a manuaa ni Peritaania* “a British battleship”, and in T6.114 *a tuuraga ni manuaa* “officers of the battleship”. On a similar pattern is *a pua'a ni .coo.coo* “a pig of the forest (i.e. a wild pig)”. After a long bout of kava drinking it is customary to partake of a meal consisting of pig and taro; this is known as *iwase ni waqona* “the meal (lit: portion) associated with kava”.

The first NP in NP *ni* NP may well have a more abstract reference, e.g. *a gau'na ni uvi* “the time of yams (the season to plant them)”, *a+i-talanoa ni 'aa.'ana* “a story concerning food”, and, in T4.91, *a+i-tu'u.tu'u ni mate* “the news of the death”.

Instead of saying “I am happy that . . .”, it is not uncommon to encounter “it is a thing of happiness (*'aa ni maarau*) to me that . . .”. Similarly, from *vuli(-ca)* “to learn” there is *'aa ni vuli* “lesson” (lit: “thing associated with learning”).

Either or both components of NP *ni* NP can be clausal NPs, as in T6.113, *a+i-na'i ni o-na biu-ta mai* “the purpose associated with his leaving (Lau)”, T6.128, 8.8, and

- (10.39) *a+i-tuva.tuva ni vei-.qara-vi va'a-.vanua va'a-.tuuraga*
 ART+order ASSOCIATED presentation traditional chiefly
 “the order of the traditional, noble presentations (i.e. the order in which they are performed, to a visiting high chief)”
- (10.40) *a'e-na qara-vi ni 'e-na va'a-.vanua.-ta'i*
 “its treatment associated with its being a symbol of respect (relating to kava, the chiefly drink)”

Bound nouns include a number of terms referring to the orientation of an object, e.g. *mata-* “front”, *da'u-* “back”, *dela-* “top”, *ru'u-* “underneath”, *yasa-* “side”. These mostly relate to inanimate or abstract things and occur in NP *ni* NP constructions, e.g. *i+na loma ni gauna yaa* “during that time (lit: in the interior of that time)” cf T6.69; *i+na dela ni teepeli qoo* “on the top of this table” in T6.114.

Ni is also used to link an ordinal number to an NP, e.g. *a+i-'a-tolu ni siga* “the third day”—see §13.3, §13.4.

10.5 Bound nouns

There is in Fijian a fairly strict division into (a) bound nouns, which must be followed by one of the following: a pronominal suffix; *-i* plus name; or *ni* plus NP; and (b) free nouns, which can occur alone.

Kin terms are an area of some complexity. There are in fact two series of kin terms, one for *referring* to a certain class of kin, and one for *addressing* them, e.g.

	reference	address
father	<i>tama-</i>	<i>tata</i>
mother	<i>tina-</i>	<i>nana</i>
grandfather	} <i>tubu-</i>	{ <i>kuku</i>
grandmother		
cross-cousin	<i>tavale-</i>	<i>tavale</i>

Those in the reference column are bound nouns; *tina-* cannot be used by itself for “mother” but must be specified as *tina-qu* “my mother”, *tina-mu* “your mother”, *tina-na* “his/her/its mother” (the unmarked choice). (See Schmidt 1988 for full details of kin terms and their use in Boumaa.)

In order to indicate a specially close relationship, with a high degree of fondness, it is permissible to use an address label to refer to someone. But since this label is a free noun, it must take a preposed possessor—*a quo nana* “my mommy” (**a nana-qu* is, like **a qou tina*, unacceptable). A few forms—like *tavale* “cross-cousin (mother’s brother’s or father’s sister’s child)”—occur in both columns. Although *a tavale-qu* is the most common form for “my cross-cousin” (parallel to *a tama-qu*), *a qou tavale* (parallel to *a qou tata*) can also be heard—as in T6.125.

Besides reference kin terms, bound nouns include almost all primary body part terms, e.g. *ulu-* “head”, *yava-* “leg, foot”, *daliga-* “car”, *bati-* “tooth”, *mata-* “face, eye”, *liga-* “arm, hand”. There are a number of secondary terms that do not themselves take suffixed pronouns but must be related, by *ni*, to a primary body part term that does, e.g. *a drau ni ulu-mu* “the hair of your head” (not **a drau-mu*), *a 'ete.'ete ni liga-qu* “the palm of my hand” (not **a 'ete.'ete-qu*), *a 'ete.'ete ni yava-na* “the sole of his/her foot”.

Nouns like *sui-* “bone” and *'uli-* “skin” are bound, but *draa* “blood” is not. *Lewe-* “flesh” is bound, as also are *yalo-* “spirit” and *yaca-* “name” (see 16.16). But side-by-side with *yaca-* is the free noun *yaca* “namesake”. And in *yalo.bula* “ghost” (lit: “spirit living”), *yalo* is used without any suffixed pronoun, and so forth.

There is just a handful of other bound nouns, referring to fairly abstract qualities of things. They include: *ti'i-* “piece, portion of”, *vu'u-* “cause of” (in 16.21), *bete-* “use, purpose of”, and *vatu'a-* “form, shape of” as in

- (10.41) *sa kau.kāya vina'a dina a vatu'a ni vale yai*
 ASP strong good TRULY ART form ASSOCIATED house THIS
 "the frame of this house is truly good and strong"

Individual colour terms are free adjectives—*vula.vula* "white", *damu.damu* "red", *lo'a.lo'a* "purple" etc (see §19.1). However, the general term *ro'a* "colour" is bound; that is, one must say *a ro'a-na* "its/her/his colour" rather than just **a ro'a*. (There is, however, a free noun *i-ro'a* "colour" that can be used as an alternative to *ro'a-*; for the prefix *i-* see §17.3.)

We mentioned that an inanimate noun cannot occur as possessor in a construction of type [C]. We must say *a drau ni see.-ni-.toa* "the leaf of the hibiscus", rather than **a drau-na a see.-ni-.toa*. But third person pronouns, including pronominal suffixes, can have human, animate, or inanimate reference. Having introduced "hibiscus leaf" into discourse by *a drau ni see.-ni-.toa*, we can then use *a drau-na* "its leaf" for anaphoric reference back, as when saying

- (10.42) *e moto.moto a drau-na*
 3sg REDUP-spear ART leaf-3sg
 "its leaves are pointed"

10.6 Existential constructions of "having"

The stance verbs *ti'o* "reside, remain; sit" and *tuu* "stand" also have an existential sense. A construction involving one of these verbs may involve a "thing owned" as intransitive subject with the "owner" NP marked by preposition *vei* "to", as in 21.11 and

- (10.43) *saa ti'o vei au e dua a pua'a*
 ASP be at TO 1sg 3sg one ART pig
 "I now have a pig (lit: a pig is now to me)"

There is a difference in meaning—*tuu* refers to a state of permanent ownership, whereas *ti'o* can just indicate that one has a thing with one at the moment, as in

- (10.44) *e tuu vei au e dua a pua'a; ia, e sega ni ti'o vei*
 3sg be at TO 1sg 3sg one ART pig BUT 3sg not THAT be at TO
au i+na gauna yai, e ti'o mai vale
 1sg IN+ART time THIS 3sg be at AT house
 "I own a pig; but it isn't (here) with me now (lit: at this time), it's at the house"

The fact that *tuu* indicates permanent ownership, and *ti'o* a state of possession at the present time (not necessarily before or afterwards), accords well with their meanings as predicate modifiers—see §8.3.1.

It was stated at the beginning of this chapter that only a human may be

"possessor" in a true possessive construction, of types [A–D]. In keeping with this, the indirect object of an existential verb, when it is used to indicate ownership, can only be a human. I tried to describe a dog dressed in a coat by **e ti'o a+i- sulu vuaa a 'olii yai* "this dog has a garment", but was firmly corrected to a non-existential construction, with the verb *to'a-ra* "to wear", i.e. *e to'a-ra a+i- sulu a 'olii yai* "this dog is wearing a garment".

11 Clausal NPs

It is sometimes said of Fijian that nouns can behave like verbs and verbs like nouns (e.g. Milner 1972: 10). This statement confuses function and class, and would be better expressed thus: a noun can function as head of a predicate and a verb as head of an NP. But this is not the most appropriate way of describing things. We described in §8.1.2 how a *complete NP* (which may be just a noun) can function as predicate head.

And it is misleading just to state that a verb or adjective can be head of an NP. Rather—as briefly described in §4.4—any clause may be nominalised, made into a clausal NP. Then:

- (a) a clausal NP must begin with the common article, *a-na*;
- (b) the subject of the free clause becomes “possessor” within the clausal NP—the most common situation is for this subject to be realised by a possessor pronoun;
- (c) other constituents of the clause carry over without change into the clausal NP—tense-aspect markers, pre-head modifiers, head (head of predicate becomes head of NP), adverb, post-head modifiers, pronominal marker *'ina*, and demonstratives from predicate structure; post-predicate NPs expanding the reference of subject and/or object; and post-predicate prepositional NPs.

It is instructive to compare the structural possibilities of a clausal NP with those for a simple NP with common noun head, as set out in §9.1. The simple NP, but not the clausal NP, may include *e*-plus-NUMBER (see chapter 13) and *mataqali* “kind of”. A clausal NP must as a rule indicate a possessor (this is optional in a simple NP); it can have tense-aspect modifiers (which do not occur in a simple NP), pre-head modifiers (extremely rare in a simple NP), and the pronominal marker *'ina* (not found in a simple NP). A clausal NP may also end with a variety of NPs (anything that may follow the predicate in a free clause), whereas a simple NP may include one NP, the expansion of the possessor (as in 10.19).

A clausal NP must function as an argument of the predicate of a main clause. It can be subject, object, or an oblique argument (introduced by a preposition). In

(T6.111) [a o-na va'a-.dewa] sa tuu
 ART CLASSIF-3sg translate ASP stand
 “His translation (lit: translating) still stands”

the clausal NP *a o-na va'a-.dewa* “his translating” (derived from the free clause *e va'a-.dewa* “he translates”) functions as intransitive subject.

A clausal NP describes an event as extended in time, rather like a POSS-ING

clause in English, e.g. *I watched their winning the match*, implying that I saw all (or a good deal) of the game. See §4.5 and chapter 23.

11.1 Structure

There are three ways of marking the “possessor” of a free noun, as shown in the right-hand column of table 10.1. All of these can apply to clausal NPs.

- (i) If the clausal subject is a pronoun with human reference, then it becomes a possessor pronoun preceding the head in the clausal NP—construction type [D]—as in T6.111, 8.153 and

(T6.9) *au maarau va'a-.levu i+na o-mudou yaco mai qoo*
 1sg happy greatly AT+ART CLASSIF-2du arrive HERE THIS
 “I’m very happy at your arrival here”

If the clausal subject is realised by a post-predicate NP, then this is carried over into the clausal NP, expanding the subject reference in the pre-head possessor pronoun, e.g.

(11.1) [a o-dra dau-.’ada.-va’i.rova [a marama]]
 ART CLASSIF-3pl HABITUAL-run-PASS.rova ART woman
 “the women’s habitually running with the rova (whale’s tooth)”

where *a marama* “woman” expands the reference of *o-dra*, 3pl; and

(11.2) *au aa rogo-ca [a o-na qaa.qaa [a vanua mayaa]]*
 1sg PAST hear-TR ART CLASSIF-3sg win ART place THAT
 “I heard that country’s winning (e.g. in a football match)”

where *a vanua mayaa* “that country” expands the 3sg reference of *o-na*.

- (ii) If the clausal subject is a proper name, then a possessive construction of type [B] may be employed. The head (and post-head modifiers) are followed by CLASSIFIER-plus-*i*, and then the proper name. Compare 11.2 with

(11.3) *au aa rogo-ca a qaa.qaa we-i Viti* “I heard Fiji’s winning”

Note that the free clauses corresponding to the clausal NPs in 11.2 and 11.3 are, respectively:

(11.4) *e qaa.qaa [a vanua mayaa]* “that country won”

(11.5) *e qaa.qaa [o Viti]* “Fiji won”

Each involves the 3sg subject pronoun *e*, but only in 11.2 is this transferred into a pre-head possessor pronoun *o-na*; with *we-i Viti* after *qaa.qaa* in 11.3 we could not also have *o-na* before *qaa.qaa*. Thus the way in which a clausal subject is encoded as possessor of a clausal NP accords with the established possessive constructions of the language.

(iii) The third possessive-type construction is [E], NP *ni* NP, used when the “possessor” is non-human. This is also possible in a clausal NP. For example, from the clause (with passive predicate):

(11.6) *e 'ila-i [a waqona]* “kava is (well)known”

we can derive a clausal NP, as subject of *toso* “move” in

(11.7) *saa toso [[a 'ila-i] ni [waqona]]* “kava’s being well-known has spread (i.e. knowledge of kava has spread)”

Construction type [D], with preposed possessor pronoun, is the most pervasive way of expressing the subject in a clausal NP. For straight marking of possession it is *not* permissible to code a name or inanimate noun through [D]. But in the case of clausal NPs we *can* have, as an alternative to 11.3,

(11.8) *au aa rogo-ca [a o-na qaa.qaa [o Viti]]* “I heard Fiji’s winning”

and as an alternative to 11.7,

(11.9) *saa toso [a o-na 'ila-i [a waqona]]* “knowledge of kava has spread”

There is no difference in meaning in either case. (See also 10.40 and 11.11.)

All of the various constituents of a predicate (see the first page of chapter 8) may occur in a clausal NP. Past tense marker *aa* and future *na* are used in *au tadra-a [a o-mu aalna la'o mai]* “I dreamt that you had/will come”. Aspect markers *sa* and *saa* are common in a clausal NP—see T6.12, 20 and

(11.10) . . . [*i+na qou saa soli-i au tale gaa*
AT+ART CLASSIF+1sg ASP give-TR 1sg AGAIN MODIF
vei 'emudrau]
TO 2du

“(I have told a story) with my giving of myself again to the two of you (i.e. I have given something of myself to you two in telling the story)”

Discourse markers *qei* and *mani* (§8.2.3) are also possible constituents (although they are infrequently found in a clausal NP).

There are some pre-head modifiers in clausal NPs, e.g. *mai* in T6.37; and a fair number of post-head modifiers, e.g. *mai* in T6.9, *tale gaa* in 11.10, and also *tauco'o*, *ti'o*, *tuu*, etc.

The pronominal marker *'ina* occurs in an clausal NP, at T6.30, and in:

(11.11) *sa va'a-.rewa 'ina a koila [mai+na o-na*
ASP MAKE-high PREP+3sg ART flag FROM+ART CLASSIF-3sg
soli 'ina o Viti i Peritaania
give PREP+3sg ART Fiji TO Britain
“the flag was raised then, at the cession then of Fiji to Britain”

Demonstratives in clausal NPs are illustrated by T6.9, 20 and adverbs by T6.124.

The head of a clausal NP may be an intransitive verb, an adjective, or a transitive verb. Again, the possibilities of a full clause are carried over—a name or pronoun as object—must immediately follow the *-i*-final form of the transitive suffix, as in 11.10, 12.8.

Pronominal marking of subject or object may be expanded by an NP that comes at the end of the clausal NP (and is a part of it). Examples of subject expansion are in 11.1–2, 11.8–9, and 11.11. Object expansion is shown in:

(T6.20) . . . *i+na o-na saa rogo-ca tale gaa mai*
AT+ART CLASSIF-3sg ASP hear-TR ANOTHER MODIF HERE
[*a+i- na'i.na'i qoo*]
ART+intention THIS

“. . . concerning his having heard of these intentions”

where the NP *a+i- na'i.na'i qoo* “these intentions” expands the 3sg object marked by the final *a* of the transitive ending in *rogo-ca*.

A clausal NP may also include a peripheral NP, introduced by a preposition, such as *i+na bogi* “at night” in

(11.12) [*a dave*]_O *e va'a-.vu-na [a tau ni uca*
ART flood 3sg MAKE-cause-TR ART fall ASSOCIATED rain
*i+na bogi]*_A
IN+ART night

“the rain’s falling (i.e. having fallen) last night is the cause of the flood”

The free clause associated with the clausal NP in 11.12 would be *e tau a uca i+na bogi* “the rain falls in the night”.

The various different kinds of possessive construction may interrelate within a single NP, as can be seen from:

(11.13)

. . . *balea [a o-na 'adree [i+na ulu-na [a gone.tuuraga o Tui Ca'au]]][a waqona]*
CONCERNING its sprout head-his high chief Title kava
“. . . concerning kava’s sprouting from the head of the great chief Tui Ca’au
(it is supposed to have sprung up at the dead chief’s grave, from the place where his head lay)”

Here [*a o-na 'adree . . . a waqona*] is a clausal NP, with *o-na* marking the 3sg subject, expanded by the final NP *a waqona*. The head *'adree* is followed by a prepositional NP with head *ulu-na*, the 3sg possessive suffix *-na* to this bound noun then being expanded by the complex NP *a gone.tuuraga o Tui Ca'au*. Interestingly, essentially the same clause occurs later in the same text, but as *a o-na 'adree[a waqona] [i+na ulu-na [a gone.tuuraga o Tui Ca'au]]*, that is, with the two post-head constituents reversed in order.

11.2 Function

A clausal NP can function as intransitive subject of the main clause, as in 11.7, 11.9, 8.17, 8.81, and 8.153; or as transitive object, as in 11.2–3, 11.8; or as transitive subject, as in 11.12 and in

- (11.14) *e aa va'a-rere-i ira [a gone]_o [a qou*
 3sg PAST MAKE-afraid-TR 3pl ART child ART CLASSIF+ 1sg
'aci]_A
 shout
 "my shouting frightened the children"

A clausal NP may also be introduced by a preposition—it is used with *i* in 11.10 and with *mai* in 11.11. It may also function as either component in an NP *ni* NP construction, e.g. T6.37 (where the whole NP *ni* NP functions as predicate head) and 10.40.

It is probably the case that every verb that may take a clausal NP as subject or object also permits a simple NP in the slot. But there are a few verbs that have a strong preference for a clausal NP. *Tiva-ca* originally meant "to dodge a thrown spear", but in the present-day context it is used for "to get out of the way of an oncoming vehicle". If a car is approaching, one should say, *tiva mada* (using the intransitive verb), to tell one's companions to get in to the side of the road. The verb can also be used transitively:

- (11.15) *au aa tiva-ca [a la'o mai ni motokaa]*
 1sg PAST dodge-TR ART go HERE ASSOCIATED car
 "I dodged away from the path of the car (lit: the car's coming here)"

The object of *tiva-ca* could be just a *motokaa* "I dodged away from the car", but the clausal NP *a la'o mai ni motokaa* is preferred.

Finally, a clausal NP may be placed at the beginning of a clause, and then has simple temporal reference (even though it is not marked by a preposition), e.g. T4.42, 49; T6.54, 60.

12 Classifiers

Many languages have a limited set of genders (or noun classes). Generally, every noun is assigned to one gender and there is likely always to be some formal mark of this gender—by a prefix or suffix to the noun and/or by the form of an article or modifying adjective. Other languages have classifiers, which can be used with most (but not all) nouns and indicate the nature or use of the referent of that noun.

The prefixes *we-~o-*, *'e-* and *me-* in Fijian are best regarded as classifiers and not as genders (which is how they were described by Milner, 1972: 65–6). They occur only with free nouns, and a given noun may occur with more than one of the prefixes, with different semantic expectations. The classifiers occur only in possessive constructions. What is unusual is that there are only three terms in the system; most languages with classifiers show twenty or more. (A comparative cross-language discussion of noun classes (including genders) and classifiers is in Dixon 1982: 157–233.)

The classifiers occur only in possessive constructions of type [B], where the classifier-plus-*i* is followed by a name, e.g. *a+i-sele we-i Sepo* "Sepo's knife," and of type [D], where a possessor pronoun, with a classifier as its initial component, precedes the head (possessed) noun, e.g. *a o-na i-sele* "his knife"—see §10.2.

So as not to prejudge the semantic discussion that follows, we will refer to the classifiers by their forms:

1. has two allomorphs:

we- (*ne-* in V) before possessive suffix *-i*, and in first person possessive pronouns, e.g. *we-irau* "our (exclu)"

o- (*no-* in V) in second and third person and also first person inclusive possessive pronouns, e.g. *o-dra* "their (pl)"

Note that in my B corpus both *we-* and *o-* forms exist, in free alternation, for first person inclusive, e.g. *wee-taru~oo-taru* "our (inclu)"

2. is always *'e-* (*ke-* in V)

3. is always *me-* (the same in V)

The full array of possessor pronouns for all three classifiers is set out in §6.3. Note that there is one area of irregularity—1sg forms in B are *qou*, *qau* and *meqau*.

There are three different semantic principles underlying the choice of a classifier, depending on whether it is used with a noun (in a straightforward possessive construction), with an adjective, or with a verb (in a clausal NP).

12.1 With nouns

If a (simple or derived) noun occurs (as “possessed”) in a possessive construction, with a pronoun, name or human common noun as possessor, then it must select one of the three classifiers, as follows:

- | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---------|
| (a) consumed | { | (i) drunk/sucked/licked -----me- | (3) |
| | | (ii) eaten/chewed/smoked -----} | 'e- (2) |
| (b) not consumed | { | (ii) relating to the “possessor” -----} | 'e- (2) |
| | | (i) owned by the “possessor” -----we~o- | (1) |

(a) Consumed

Anything consumed or intended for consumption will be marked by:

(i) *me-* if it is drunk, sucked or licked, e.g. *me-da tii* “our (incl) tea” in 8.141; *me-na waqona* “his kava”; *me-irau vivili* “our (exclu) shellfish” (sucked out of the shell), *dovu me-i Mere* “Mary’s sugar cane” (also sucked); *moli me-i Jone* “John’s citrus fruit”; and even *meqau ice cream* “my ice cream”, involving an ad hoc loan;

(ii) *'e-* if it is eaten, chewed or smoked e.g. *'e-dra i'a* “their (pl) fish” in T4.11; *'e-irau dalo* “our (exclu) taro”; *'e-mu drega* “your (chewing) gum”; *tapa'o 'e-i Bogi* “Bogi’s tobacco”.

The set of nouns that take *me-* is identical to the set of nouns that can be object of the verb *unu-ma* “drink, sip (extendable to suck, lick)”. Similarly, the nouns that take *'e-* are just those that can be object of *'ani-a* “eat, chew, etc”. Note that *me-* and *'e-* are only used with a noun if it has been or is directly intended to be drunk/eaten. Food or drink intended for sale at the market would be marked by *we~o-* (showing ownership, (b-i)) and not by *'e-* or *me-*.

The underlying semantic basis for the use of these classifiers may be that (ii), *'e-*, is used for anything which undergoes change of state as it is being consumed; e.g. food is bitten and chewed before being swallowed, tobacco is burnt and only the smoke is inhaled; and (i), *me-*, is used for anything which does not undergo a change of shape or state as it is being consumed.

Vua.ni.'acu “pill” (literally “fruit of tree”) is classified as *me-*. I was told this is because it is taken with water (and water is *me-*). Then when I asked about a pill being swallowed without water, informants said it was still *me-*, because a pill is not bitten but is consumed whole (which is probably the correct explanation for classifier assignment in this case). Interestingly, chewing gum is always *'e-*, and ice cream always *me-*; but informants vary as to whether jelly should be *'e* or *me-*, depending on whether or not they chew it before swallowing.

There is one interesting minimal pair. I was told that one should use the classifier *'e-* to describe tobacco itself, since this is likely to be rolled and smoked, but *me-* for a pipe, which is sucked—thus *a qau tapa'o* “my tobacco” but *a meqau paipo ni tapa'o* “my tobacco pipe”.

(b) Not consumed

Other types of object are classified as to whether:

(i) they relate directly to the “possessor”, e.g. he owns (and may use) them, shown by *we~o-*; or

(ii) they relate to the “possessor” in some other way (e.g. they concern him, or may be used on him), shown by *'e-*.

Note that *'e-* marks two quite different semantic categories—(a-ii) and (b-ii). There appears to be no connection between them; the two *'e-* may conceivably have different historical origins.

Compare:

(12.1) *a o-na i- talanoa* “his story”
a+i- talanoa we-i Jone “John’s story”

(12.2) *a 'e-na i- talanoa* “his story”
a+i- talanoa 'e-i Jone “John’s story”

NPs 12.1 refer to a story that John tells, whereas 12.2 refer to a story that is told about him. Similarly:

(12.3) *a o-mu da'ai* “your gun (which belongs to you)”

(12.4) *a 'e-mu da'ai* “your gun (which will be used to shoot you)”

There are in the texts many examples of possessed objects marked by *we~o-*, e.g. T4.77 *a oo-drau i-'oto.'oto* “their (du) sleeping place”, T4.199 *a o-na moto* “his spear”, T4.211 *a qou tamata* “my people” (said by the King’s daughter), T6.76 *e daa qou bete* “a priest of my own”. Kin terms that do not take suffixed possessive pronouns (§10.5) use possessor pronouns of the *we~o-* type, e.g. *a qou tavale* “my cousin” in T6.125. And note T4.35 *'ei+na o-na tabu* “with his chief attendant”.

Turning now to the *'e-* classifier, (b-ii), we find in T6.47 *a 'e-na i- taba* “a picture of it (the invasion of Tongan canoes)”. In T6.13, Tui Ca'au is referred to as *a gone.tuuraga 'e-i Ca'audrove* “high chief of Ca'audrove”—here the classifier *'e-* “indirectly relating to” is used.

In T6.13, 15 *a o-na i- na'i(.na'i)* “his intentions, his purpose” use an *o-* classifier (indicating that he controls these feelings). In T6.84 *a 'e-na vei-.vosa-'i* “the discussion relating to it (the session)” employs *'e-* since *'e-na* refers to the topic being discussed, but in T4.41 *vei-.vosa-'i* is used in a different sense and here takes the *o-* classifier: *oo-drau vei-.vosa-'i* “their (du) wedding proposal”, since *oo-drau* here refers to “the two of them” who make (and control) the proposal.

12.2 With adjectives

When an adjective functions as NP head, it is in a type of clausal NP, and there is generally a “possessor” shown. This can be marked in one of two ways:

- { “possessor” has some control over the quality ----- *we-~o-* (1)
 { an inherent quality, over which the “possessor” has no control ----- *'e-* (2)

Adjectives referring to “human propensities” will always—when used as NP head to refer to a general quality—take a *we-~o-* classifier, on the principle that one does have control over whether one is rude or generous, etc.; thus *o-mu yalo.vosota* “your patience”, *o-na yalo.vuni.vuni* “his/her modesty”, *oo-drau yalo.lailai* “their (du) timidity”, *o-mu yalo.do'a.do'aa* “your boasting”.

Adjectives referring to some inherent quality, over which the “possessor” has no control, must have an *'e-* classifier, e.g. *'e-na balavu* “his/her/its height (referring to a person or a tree)”. T6.126 uses a common idiom to end a narration, involving an *'e-* classifier: *sa 'e-na levu qoo* “this is its size (i.e. that's all there is of the story)”. Smell is referred to by a noun *i-boi* (derived from the verb *boi* “to smell”—see §17.3) and, since smell is held not to be controllable, this takes an *'e-* classifier, e.g. *'e-na i-boi* “his/her/its smell”.

Some adjectives can occur with either *we-~o-* or *'e-* according to the sense intended. Consider *kau.kaua* “hardness, strength, power”. When describing a tree we can only say *a 'e-na kau.kaua* “its strength/hardness”. But if referring to a person, either classifier is possible, with a rather different meaning:

(12.5) *a 'e-na kau.kaua* “his/her/its (inherent) strength”

(12.6) *a o-na kau.kaua* “his/her (acquired) power”

Similar examples are *a o-na vina'a/caa* “his/her goodness/badness (i.e. how he/she behaves)”, contrasting with *a 'e-na vina'a/caa* “its value/lack of value (used of a thing)”.

The lexeme *qase* functions both as a noun “old person” and also as an adjective “old (of people)”, as does its opposite *gone* “child; young (of people)” (see chapter 20). The noun *qase* can be used with two different classifiers: (i) *a o-na qase* “his parents, or elder siblings” where the *o-* classifier indicates a direct kinship link; and (ii) *a 'e-na qase*, referring to an elder of the community—the use of the *'e-* classifier here is parallel to that in a *tuuraga 'e-i Viti* “chiefs of (i.e. relating to) Fiji” (and to a *gone.tuuraga 'e-i Ca'au-drove*, mentioned in §12.1).

The adjective *qase* takes classifier *'e-* (since age is an inherent quality), as in

(12.7) *sa vica a 'e-na qase?* “how old is he? (lit: how much is his age?)”

Thus *qase* with an *'e-* classifier could be ambiguous between the noun and adjective senses.

From the discussion in this section and the last we see that an inanimate “possessor” can *only* take an *'e-* classifier (irrespective of whether the “possessed” is a noun or an adjective), whereas a human possessor may take

we-~o- or *'e-* or *me-* depending on the various semantic circumstances applying.

12.3 With verbs

It is the (surface) subject which is coded as “possessor” in a clausal NP. The classifier *we-~o-* should be used, whether dealing with a deep subject, as in the simple transitive clausal NP of

(12.8) *au aa rai-ca [a o-na rubi-ci Mere a cauravou yai]*
 1sg PAST see-TR ART CLASSIF-3sg hit-TR Mary ART youth THIS
 “I saw this youth's hitting Mary (i.e. the hiding he gave her)”

or with a deep object, which has become subject of a passive clausal NP:

(12.9) *au aa rai-ca [a o-na lau-rubi a gone.yalewa yai]*
 1sg PAST see-TR ART CLASSIF-3sg PASS-hit ART girl THIS
 “I saw this girl's being hit (i.e. the hiding she received)”

With a personal name as subject, the clausal NP in 12.8 would be [*a rubi-ci Mere we-i Jone*] and in 12.9 [*a lau-rubi we-i Mere*]. Note that with verbs *we-~o-* is used whether or not there is any control involved.

(Fijian here differs from the related Polynesian language, Tongan, where one set of classifiers relates to the subject in a clausal NP and another set to the object; there is in Tongan thus no need for a passive-type construction, which Fijian uses in 12.9. See Churchward 1953:78.)

Compare the use of *we-~o-* in 12.8–9 with the different classifiers possible with the derived noun *i-rubi* “stick used for inflicting hidings”: (i) *a o-na i-rubi* (or *a+i-rubi we-i Mere*) “her (Mary's) stick” i.e. the stick belonging to her (which she can use to inflict hidings on other people); and (ii) *a 'e-na i-rubi* (or *a+i-rubi 'e-i Mere*) “her (Mary's) stick” i.e. the stick used to inflict a hiding on her.

These examples show the quite different principles involved in associating classifiers with nouns and with verbs (both functioning as NP head). They show the importance of distinguishing between noun and verb in Fijian.

There are other examples of cognate noun and verb taking different classifiers because of the distinct semantic principles relating to different word classes. Compare T4.42 *a o-dra 'ana* “their eating” with *a 'e-dra 'aa.'ana* “their food (to be eaten)”. In T4.110 there is a clausal NP *o-na bulu* “his being buried” with the O-type verb *bulu* “to be covered, buried”; and in another text there is *a 'e-na i-bulu.bulu* “his burial place”, with the derived noun *i-bulu.bulu* “burial place”.

It was mentioned at the end of the last section that for noun and adjective classification, all inanimate “possessors” take *'e-*. However, for verbs the *we-~o-* classifier should be used, whatever the nature of the “possessor”. This leads to a conflict. Inanimate subjects of clausal NPs occur sometimes

with a *we~o-*, and sometimes with a *'e-* classifier, without any apparent difference in meaning (for every other instance mentioned in this chapter, change of classifier *does* lead to a shift in meaning).

Thus, for a clausal NP with head *'ada* “run”, if the subject is a person or a pig we must have a *o-na 'ada* “his/her/its running”, but if the subject is a bus then both a *o-na 'ada* and a *'e-na 'ada* are equally acceptable. For the burial of a person a *o-na bulu* should be used, but for burial of a thing either a *o-na bulu* or a *'e-na bulu* is equally good. (See T6.60 for a *'e-na ta-sere* “its scattering” where “it” is “army”, classified as inanimate in Fijian. Example 10.40 has a clausal NP with inanimate subject marked as *'e-na*, while 11.2, 11.8–9, 11.11, and 11.13 show *o-na*.) There is useful discussion of this topic in Arms (1974:97ff).

12.4 Particular classifier contrasts

Grammarians of Fijian have remarked that *'e-na mate* means “his/her sickness” while *o-na mate* is “his/her death” and have wondered why this should be so (Churchward 1941:33, Schütz 1986:461). Paul Geraghty has pointed out that *mate* as a noun means “sickness, disease” and that as a verb it means “die”. The noun is used in *'e-na mate* (classifier *'e-* because it is something that concerns the sick person, not anything owned by him), and the verb in *o-na mate* “his dying” (since all verbs prefer classifier *o-*).

Another puzzling pair is *o-mu itau* “your friend” but *'e-mu meca* “your enemy” (Geraghty 1983:249, Schütz 1986:463). It may be, as Aubrey Parke has suggested, that one can exercise control over who is to be one’s friend, but one cannot—in the same way—choose one’s enemies (if someone is going to hate you, there may be little that you can do about it).

13 Numbers

Numbers in Fijian behave in many ways like verbs, but there are enough differences for us to regard them as a distinct word class.

13.1 The number system

Fijian uses a simple decimal system:

<i>dua</i> “one”	<i>lima</i> “five”	<i>walu</i> “eight”
<i>rua</i> “two”	<i>ono</i> “six”	<i>ciwa</i> “nine”
<i>tolu</i> “three”	<i>vitu</i> “seven”	<i>tini</i> “ten”
<i>vaa</i> “four”		

Dua is often (but far from always) used where an indefinite article would be appropriate in English—see §9.3. More than three-quarters of the occurrences of numbers in texts are accounted for by *dua*. “None” is realised by the semi-auxiliary verb *sega*—§4.6, §23.4. (See also §8.3.8 (6) for *sega bau* “none at all”.)

For multiples of ten, a number from two to nine is followed by *-sagavulu*:

<i>rua.-sagavulu</i> “twenty”	<i>walu.-sagavulu</i> “eighty”
<i>tolu.-sagavulu</i> “thirty”	<i>ciwa.-sagavulu</i> “ninety”

Hundreds and thousands are indicated by a number from one to nine, followed by the common article *a*, followed by *drau* “hundred” or *udolu* “thousand”, e.g.

<i>dua a drau</i> “one hundred”	<i>tolu a udolu</i> “three thousand”
<i>lima a drau</i> “five hundred”	<i>ciwa a udolu</i> “nine thousand”

Millions can be constructed on a similar pattern using the loan *milioni*, e.g. *rua a milioni* “two million”.

Numbers are combined using the conjunction *'a* “and”, which in Old High Fijian and the Lau dialect is used to link clauses and predicates (see §22.1); they are not linked using *'ei* “together with”, which combines nouns, names, and pronouns. This is one piece of syntactic evidence linking numbers with verbs. Thus:

<i>tini 'a dua</i> “eleven”	<i>rua.-sagavulu 'a rua</i> “twenty-two”
<i>tini 'a lima</i> “fifteen”	<i>ono.-sagavulu 'a ciwa</i> “sixty-nine”
<i>dua a drau 'a tolu</i> “one hundred and three”	

Where more than one number expression is linked, *'a* may be used only between the last two, e.g.

dua a udolu, ciwa a drau, "one thousand nine hundred and
walu.-sagavulu 'a walu eighty-eight"

Reference to years is often shortened, on the English pattern, i.e. *tini 'a ciwa, walu.-sagavulu 'a walu* "nineteen eighty-eight"—cf. T6.11.

Although number expressions between 11 and 99 involve the coordinator 'a "and", they behave as compound words. This can be seen from the placement of the post-head modifier *be'a* "about" (§8.3.5). One must say *e tini 'a lima be'a* for "about fifteen" and not **e tini be'a 'a lima* (with the *be'a* following the first number).

The situation is slightly different with hundreds and thousands. *E rua a drau*, for instance, has the status of an intransitive clause with *rua* "two" as predicate head and *a drau* "hundred" as subject NP (literally, "the hundreds are two"). "About two hundred" can be either *e rua be'a a drau*, with the *be'a* following *rua*, or *e rua a drau be'a*, with the *be'a* following the whole number sequence. Similarly, "about one hundred and fifty" can be either *e dua be'a a drau 'a lima.-sagavulu* or *e dua a drau 'a lima.-sagavulu be'a*. (There is a further alternative, often used, which has *rau-ta* "to be the size of" as predicate head and the number specification as a *ni* complement clause; *be'a* will then modify *rau-ta*. Thus *e rau-ta be'a ni rua a drau* "about (the size of) two hundred". See also 8.106.)

The following forms also behave grammatically like numbers:

levu "many" (also an adjective "big")
lailai "few" (also an adjective "little")
soo "some of"
vica—this has an interrogative sense "how many, how much" (§16.4) and also an indefinite sense "some"

The indefinite sense of *vica* is literally "some many" (parallel to "some one", "some thing"), as in T6.12 and

(13.1) *ia, e rawa me tei 'ina, ia, 'ani-a e*
 WELL 3sg be able SHOULD planted PREP+3sg WELL eat-TR 3sg
vica tale a vula i+na loma ni yaba'i
 SOME MODIF ART month IN+ART interior ASSOCIATED year
mai muri
 COME follow

"(yams should be planted between June and September, although they can be planted in October or November) well, it is possible (for them) to be planted then, but (then we can't) eat (them) until some months into the following year"

Vica can be used in *vica.-sagavulu* "how many tens, some tens" and in *vica a drau* "how many hundreds, some hundreds" etc. Just as adverbs may be formed from numbers (§8.4), so may an adverb be formed from *vica*, e.g. *va'a-.vica* "how many times, some (fairish) number of times", as in T4.154.

Soo has a rather different sense "some of (a given population), e.g. T4.218, T6.124, 8.160, and

(13.2) *e rawa ni sa+qei tuu e soo a suli-na . . .*
 3sg be able THAT ASP+THEN be at 3sg some of ART sucker-3sg
 "it is possible to keep some of (taro's) suckers (and replant them, which will yield a harvest of plants bearing taro leaves, but without developed roots) (lit: it is possible that some of the suckers remain . . .)"

There are some nouns which denote ten of, or a hundred of, or even a thousand of, some particular item, e.g. *niu* "coconut"; *buru* "ten coconuts"; *vonu* "turtle", *bii* "ten turtles"; these are used with numbers, e.g. *e dua a buru* "ten coconuts". See the lists in Hazlewood 1872:11–12 and Churchward 1941:66–7.

13.2 Syntax

Numbers have a range of syntactic functions, which will be discussed in the following subsections. They can also be reduplicated and then serve as predicate modifiers, e.g. *tolu.tolu* "all three"—§8.3.7.

13.2.1 As predicate head

Like verbs, all numbers may be head of an intransitive predicate, e.g.

(13.3) *sa rua a waqa yai* "there are two of these boats (lit: these boats
 are two)"
 (13.4) *e levu a tama'a i-na* "there are lots of people in this village
 'oro yai (lit: the people in this village are many)"
 (13.5) *e tini 'a lima a levu ni* "we have fifteen dogs (lit: the number
 we-irau 'olii of our dogs is fifteen)"

The subject pronoun is always the unmarked form *e*—which is often omitted before aspect marker *sa/saa*, as in 13.3—since the number specification is shown by the predicate head rather than being a property of the noun. (The strictest literal translation of 13.3 is "this boat is/are two".)

Predicate modifiers do occur with numbers, but rather sparingly—the commonest in my corpus are *wale gaa* "just" and *be'a* "about".

Numbers do not take any transitive suffix. They can, however, be transitivised by the productive prefix-suffix combination *va'a-. . . -ta'ina*, e.g. *va'a-.rua.-ta'ina* "do it twice; do it for the second time; double it"—see §17.2.5 and especially 17.20.

13.2.2 In a noun phrase

Since numbers behave like verbs, we might expect that they could only quantify a noun through a relative clause. Thus, parallel to:

- (13.6) *sa la'o mai [a gone [e tagi (ti'o)]]* “a child who is crying is coming here”

there would be:

- (13.7) *eratou sa la'o mai [a gone [e tolu]]* “three children are coming here (literally: the children who are three are coming here)”

Numbers can in fact be used in this way, e.g. T4.143 *a mata ni cina qoo e walu* “eight of these light globes” and (qualifying a pronoun) T6.124 *'ei iratou tale e soo* “with some others of them”.

However, the most common position for a number in an NP is at the beginning, immediately before the article (§9.1):

- (13.8) *eratou sa la'o mai [e tolu a gone]* “three children are coming here”

In elicitation, speakers firmly rejected constructions like 13.7 in favour of the type 13.8. In fact *e*-plus-NUMBER is sometimes found at the end of an NP, mainly if the head is a pronoun, or is complex, e.g.

- (13.9) *i+na soo a vei-ti'i-i Viti* “in some parts of Fiji”

has an acceptable alternative

- (13.10) *i+na vei-ti'i-i Viti e soo* “in some parts of Fiji”

(Note that *na* replaces *e* after a preposition; this is discussed in §13.2.3.)

(Both Aubrey Parke and David Arms have suggested (in personal communications) that there is a semantic difference between constructions like 13.7 and those like 13.8. When *e*-plus-NUMBER comes at the beginning of the NP, as in 13.8, it means “any three children”, but when it comes at the end, as in 13.7, it could be translated “the three children”.)

No other type of word occurs—as numbers do—after *e* at the beginning of a noun phrase. We must now ask what the grammatical status is of the *e* in 13.8 (and in 8.102, 8.160, 9.4).

This is not an easy question to answer. Churchward (1941:11–12, 43–4) and Cammack (1962:40) regarded the *e* as a third type of article, used only with numbers, and quite different from the 3sg and unmarked subject pronoun *e* (although it should be noted that they both regarded this subject pronoun as a predicative particle or clause marker).

Chapter 24 discusses the relator *me*, which can only occur immediately before a predicate; subject marker *e* drops after *me*. Now *me* can occur before a number at the beginning of an NP, as in

- (13.11) *au tagi-ca ti'o e/me dua a qau boqo*
1sg cry for-TR ASP 3sg/SHOULD one ART CLASSIF+ 1sg Bongo

“I’m crying for my Bongos (i.e. for the packet of Bongos that you promised to buy for me)”

The inclusion of *me* (after which *e* drops) in 13.11 focusses the appeal: “I’m crying so that I might have my Bongos”.

The important point here is that *me* can occur immediately before *dua* “one” (or any other number) at the beginning of an NP, suggesting that *dua* is most appropriately regarded as being a predicate head and *e* as the unmarked subject pronoun.

Similar evidence comes from constructions with *sega* “not”. Recall from §4.6 that *sega* may take as subject a simple NP (*e sega a 'olii* “there are no dogs”) or a *ni* complement, which will generally begin with a predicate (e.g. *e sega ni la'o* “he’s not going”). When the subject of *sega* is an NP beginning with *e*-plus-NUMBER, then we get a *ni* construction (and the subject pronoun *e* drops, as it always does after *ni*), e.g. *e sega ni dua a 'aa* “it’s nothing” (lit. “it is not a thing”). This also indicates that a number like *tolu* in 13.8 is best regarded as being a predicate head.

The link between construction types 13.7 and 13.8 suggests that *dua* in 13.11 and *tolu* in 13.8 should be regarded as the head of the predicate in a relative clause to the head noun in the NP. We then have the rule: a relative clause may be moved to the front of its NP only if its predicate is a number.

There are two special characteristics of *dua* in 13.11 and *tolu* in 13.8 as predicate heads. They can only be preceded by the unmarked (and 3sg) subject marker *e*; this can *not* be replaced by 3du *erau*, 3 pl *era*, etc in B or V (although non-singular third person pronouns are possible in this position in some other dialects of Fijian, e.g. Baa on Vanua Levu—Paul Geraghty, personal communication). And no pre-head modifiers may intervene between *e* and the number in B or V (Geraghty also reports that a tense marker can come between *e* and a number, at the beginning of an NP, in some dialects spoken on Viti Levu). However, as a further indication that a number in an *e*-NUMBER-*a*-NOUN construction is a predicate head, it *can* be followed by modifier(s), e.g. *wale gaa* in 8.160–1.

(An alternative possibility would be to say that the subject of *la'o* in 13.8 is *e tolu a gone*, a clause with *tolu* as predicate head and *a gone* as its subject. This is a less attractive solution within the total context of Fijian grammar. All clauses functioning as subjects of higher predicates are either (i) clausal NPs, beginning with an article and then a possessor pronoun, or (ii) complement clauses introduced by *ni*, *se*, *dee*, or *me*—§4.4–5, chapters 11 and 23. We would have to recognise a completely new type of complement clause (on the model *e tolu a gone*) with restricted composition and function. It involves adding less complication to the grammar to say that the subject of *la'o* in 13.8 is a simple NP with *gone* as head and *e tolu* as a relative clause. The only extra specification now needed is the rule moving a relative clause to the front of its NP if its head is a number.)

The sequence *e dua a* NOUN has a special realisation *e daa* NOUN in the B dialect (but not in V); this is used by older speakers—e.g. T4.129, 167, T6.60. But many younger speakers say only *e dua a* NOUN. The contraction is only possible when the common article *a* would immediately follow *dua*—it cannot be made, for instance, in T4.172 *e dua.tani tuu a mataqali yava* “a strange sort of footprint” because here the modifiers *tani tuu* intervene.

An NP involving a number *must* be cross-referenced by the appropriate subject pronoun if its head is a *human* noun. Thus, in 13.8, 3pa *eratou* agrees with *tolu* “three”; if *rua* “two”, *dua* “one”, or *tini* “ten” were substituted for *tolu*, the subject pronoun would have to be adjusted to dual *erau*, singular *e* or plural *era*, respectively. However, if the head of the NP is *inanimate*, then the unmarked subject pronoun *e* may be used, even if numbers greater than one are involved—in 13.2 the subject NP *e soo a suli-na* “some of its suckers” occurs with subject pronoun *e*. (If the subject were *e soo a tamata* “some of the people”, then the predicate would have to include a 3pa or 3pl subject pronoun.)

There is one limitation on the marking of number in an NP: number shown by a possessive pronoun is not repeated in an *e* plus NUMBER constituent. For a sentence like 10.13 *a liga-drau a cauravou mayaa* “the hands of those two youths”, with 3du possessive suffix *-drau*, it would be infelicitous to include *e rua* before *a cauravou mayaa*, since the fact that there are *exactly two* youths involved has already been shown by the dual pronominal suffix. However, with a paucal or plural suffix, which only indicate “few” and “many” respectively, explicit number specification is allowable, e.g. *e liga-dratou e lima a cauravou mayaa* “the hands of those five youths”, where *e lima* “five” is included together with the 3pa pronominal suffix *-dratou*.

An NP may consist just of *e dua* and will then have the meaning “someone” or “one (of a group already identified in the discourse)” —see 14.10. This is particularly common with *sega* “not”, e.g. *sega sara ni dua* “no one whatsoever” in T4.81; and T4.116, T8a.5.

13.2.3 In a prepositional NP

The *e* in an NP like *e tolu a gone* automatically switches to *na* after a preposition, e.g. *i+na tolu a gone* “concerning three children”. This is identical to the form taken by the common article *a* after a preposition, e.g. *i+na gone* “concerning the children” (and it may have been one reason for Churchward and Cammack regarding the pre-number *e* as an article). It occurs in 13.9–10, 8.161 and

- (13.12) *'eirau la'o yane [i+na dua a 'oro ni 'ai-.Solomone]* “we two went to a village of Solomon Islanders (descendants of indentured labourers brought to Fiji in the nineteenth century)”

If *e* were not replaced by *na* after a preposition, we would get *i* (preposition) plus *e* (subject pronoun); as noted in §2.3 the sequence *ie* does not occur within a word in Fijian, and is uncommon across a word boundary.

The occurrence of *na* between a preposition and a number might conceivably be the first stage of a diachronic change whereby numbers eventually come to be re-analysed as pre-head modifiers within an NP (parallel to adjectives as post-head modifiers). The next stage would be for the article *a* between *dua* and *'oro* in a sentence like 13.12 to drop (at present that NP has two occurrences of the common article). And finally, *e* would have to be replaced by *a* at the beginning of a non-prepositional NP. That is:

	NO PREPOSITION	WITH PREPOSITION
present stage	<i>e tolu a gone</i>	<i>i+na dua a 'oro</i>
next stage	<i>e tolu gone</i>	<i>i+na dua 'oro</i>
final stage	<i>a tolu gone</i>	“

But the present situation could shift in some other direction (see §13.2.4), or it could stay as it is. (We shall just have to watch Fijian, over the next few centuries, and see what happens.)

13.2.4 With time and distance words

There is a small set of words referring to units of time and distance that behave in a special way with numbers. The time words are *yaba'i* “year”, *vula* “month”, *maacawa* “week”, *sigā* “day”, and *bogi* “night”; and the distance terms are *caga* “span of extended fingers”, *taba* “distance from middle of chest to end of fingers on extended arm”, and *'atu* “from one set of finger tips on extended arm to the other, ‘fathom’” (one *'atu* is two *taba*).

These can either (i) like nouns, be preceded by *e*-plus-NUMBER, or (ii) unlike nouns, be followed by a number (and no *e*), functioning just like an adjective:

- (13.13) *au na la'i ti'o mai Suva* “I’ll go and stay in Suva in three weeks’
{ *i+na tolu a maacawa* } time”
{ *i+na maacawa tolu* }

And see *caga rua* “two fingerspans” in T4.63.

Interestingly, construction (ii) is not possible with loan words for time and distance, such as *aua* “hour”, *miniti* “minute”, and *maaile* “mile”. One must say *e tolu a miniti/maaile* (not **a miniti/maaile tolu*) for “three minutes/miles”.

A phrase of the form *a maacawa tolu* may also function as head of the main clause predicate, e.g.

- (13.14) *au na [maacawa tolu] mai Suva* “I’ll be three weeks in Suva”

This suggests a possible direction of historical change different from that mentioned in the last sub-section. Construction type (ii) might in time be generalised to apply to any noun as head of an NP, with (i) then dropping out of use. If this happened, numbers would function exactly like adjectives.

13.2.5 Lewe

When human beings are counted, the form *lewe* is generally included immediately before the number, e.g. T6.63 *e lewe lima-sagavulu vei ira* “fifty of them (Tongan warriors)”. *Lewe* is not usually included with *dua* “one”, although it can be (it is in T4.185, *o i'o lewe dua* “you are only one person”).

Vica “how many, some”, *levu* “many”, and *lailai* “few” also require *lewe* when referring to humans, but *soo* “some of” does not (see T6.124).

An NP may just consist of *e* plus *lewe* plus a number or *vica*, *levu*, or *lailai* (i.e. without any head noun such as *tamata* “people”) and is then taken to refer to people, e.g. T6.125 *e lewe lailai* “a few (people)”.

There is also a bound noun *lewe-* “flesh, inner part of, essential part of” which occurs in *lewe ni 'oro* “inhabitants of (the) village”. There is probably a historical connection between the two forms *lewe*.

13.3 Ordinals

Ordinal numbers are formed by prefixing *i'a-* to any (simple or compound) number, or to *vica* “how many, some”. An ordinal is a derived noun and is preceded by the common article, *a*. It seems appropriate to analyse *i'a-* into an element *'a-*, which only occurs in ordinal numbers, and the general derivational prefix *+i-*, which normally forms nouns from verbs (§17.3). Justification for this is that the *i* forms a single phonological word with an immediately preceding article, e.g. *a+i- 'a-rua* “the second”, *a+i- 'a-vica* “the how many-th”, *a+i- 'a-tolu-sagavulu 'a ciwa* “the thirty-ninth”.

There is an exception: “the first” is *i- matai* rather than the expected *i- 'a-dua*. However, *i- 'a-dua* is used in “the hundredth” and “the thousandth”:

<i>e dua a drau</i> “one hundred”	<i>a+i- 'a-dua a drau</i> “the hundredth”
<i>e dua a udolu</i> “one thousand”	<i>a+i- 'a-dua a udolu</i> “the thousandth”

Compare with *a+i- matai ni dua a drau* “the first hundred”.

An ordinal functions as the first part of an NP *ni* NP construction, e.g. T4.19 *a+i- 'a-vaa ni siga* “the fourth day”, T4.120 *a+i- 'a-tolu ni o-na bulu* “his third burial” (here the last part of the NP *ni* NP construction is a clausal NP—lit: “the third (time) of his being buried”); T6.89 *a+i- 'a-tini ni Okotopa* “the tenth of October”.

From the verb *oti* “to finish” there is derived the noun *i- oti.oti* “the last”, which also takes *ni* plus NP, as in 8.8.

13.4 Veimaamaa “half” and fractions

Veimaamaa “half” is in a functional subclass of its own. It simply follows any number, with the meaning “and a half”, e.g. *e tolu veimaamaa* “three and a half”. Or *veimaamaa* can be used alone, as in (*e*) *veimaamaa ni tavaya benisini* “half a bottle of benzene”, and

(13.15) *sa veimaamaa ti'o a ua* “the tide is halfway (in)”

Veimaamaa also has the meaning “space between”; it can be used to refer to a strait between two pieces of land. Note also

(13.16) *o Viidawa e 'ti'o i+na 'e-drau veimaamaa o*
 ART Place 3sg be at IN+ART CLASSIF-2du space between ART
 'Orovou 'ei Waitabu
 Place WITH Place

“Viidawa is between 'Orovou and Waitabu (lit: Viidawa is located in 'Orovou and Waitabu's space between)”

There is a different kind of construction for time specification “half past the hour”. One might expect something like *sa tolu veimaamaa a kaloko* for “half past three o'clock”, but in fact the *only* way to say this is *sa veimaamaa ni tolu a kaloko*, literally “the half associated with three o'clock”.

In English the suffix *-th* derives ordinal numbers (e.g. *the fifth one*) and also the denominator in a fraction (*two-fifths*). Exactly the same applies to *+i- 'a-* in Fijian, e.g. *e dua a+i- 'a-tolu* “one third”, and *e tolu a+i- 'a-lima* “three fifths”.

13.5 Distributives

When *yaa-* is prefixed to a number, X, it derives a form “X each”, e.g. *yaa-tolu* “three each”. This can function as predicate head “each have X of”, e.g.

(13.17) *era yaa-.dua gaa a vuu ni 'acu*
 3pl EACH-ONE MODIF ART tree
 “they had one tree each (to sleep under)”

(13.18) *era yaa-.rua [a o-dra i-vola] [o ira a gone.vuli]*
 3pl EACH-TWO ART CLASSIF-3pl book ART 3pl ART schoolchild
 “the schoolchildren have two books each (lit: they the schoolchildren each have two of their books)”

There is no trace of a transitive suffix on *yaa-.dua* and *yaa-.rua* here, but they undoubtedly function as transitive predicates; in 13.18 the subject is *era* (in the predicate), expanded by the post-predicate NP *o ira a gone-vuli*, while the object is *a o-dra i- vola*.

A *yaa-* form may fill the same slot as a simple number in an NP—preceded by *e* and followed by *a* and then the noun of which there are this number for

each person. In addition, *yaa-dua* may follow a noun such as *yasa-na* “its side” or *tamata* “person”, as in (see also Churchward 1941:44, Milner 1972:83):

- (13.19) *a vei-tamata yaa-dua me+ra dui 'au-ta mai e*
 ART COLL-person EACH-one SHOULD+3pl EACH bring-TR HERE 3sg
yaa-rua a dola
 EACH-two ART dollar
 “each person should bring two dollars”

14 Prepositions

The two main prepositions in Boumaa Fijian—*i* “to, at, concerning” and *mai* “from, at”—form a clear grammatical system; any post-predicate NP that is not subject or object must be introduced by one of them. Each has a wide semantic range, as discussed in §14.2. Many concepts that are coded through prepositions in languages like English are dealt with through preposition plus bound nouns, such as *loma-* “inside, interior of” (also used for “between”), *dela-* “top of”, *ru'u-* “underneath of”, etc.

The form *'ei* “together with” has some similarities with *i* and *mai*—the common article *a* becomes *na*, and the proper article *o* is dropped before all three of them. But whereas *i* and *mai* always introduce an NP, *'ei* joins constituents (nouns and/or pronouns) *within* an NP, although the first constituent can be omitted if it is fully specified by the subject pronoun, and *'ei* is then left in NP-initial position. We refer to *'ei* as a preposition, but it is a preposition of a somewhat different type from the other two.

§14.4 discusses *baleta~baleti*, which appears to be evolving as a fourth preposition.

14.1 Form

Standard Fijian (V) has a contrast between *ki* (in the literary language) ~ *i* in colloquial speech) “to” and *e* “at, concerning”; the single preposition *i* in B corresponds to both of these.

Prepositions have different forms depending on the nature of the head of the NP that follows. There is also a special fused form of preposition-plus-3sg pronoun. Table 14.1, for B and V, is based on that given in Geraghty 1976: 520 (for V alone).

B differs from V in the following ways:

- (i) B *'ei*, *'ina* correspond to V *kei*, *kina*, by the regular Gato rule;
- (ii) B *i* corresponds to V *ki~i* and *e*;
- (iii) in B, the form “from, at” with pronouns and personal names can be *mai vei*, alternating with *vei*; Geraghty reports that V uses only *vei*;
- (iv) in B, but not in V, PREPOSITION plus 3sg PRONOUN, *vei 'ea*, may be used as an alternative to *vuaa* (which is a fusion of preposition plus 3sg pronoun with human reference); there is no alternative to *'ina* (the fusion of preposition with 3sg pronoun that has non-human reference), in the left-hand column;

(v) there is in V a form *kaya*, the fusion of *'ei* with 3sg pronoun (whether having human or non-human reference); there is no corresponding form in B (neither *kaya* nor *'aya*).

TABLE 14.1 PREPOSITIONAL FORMS IN THE V AND B DIALECTS

TO	before common nouns with non-human referent and before place names		before pronouns and before personal names	
	V <i>ki~i</i> B <i>i</i>		V <i>vei</i> B <i>vei</i>	
AT, CONCERNING	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>vei</i>	<i>vei</i>
FROM, AT	<i>mai</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>vei</i>	<i>(mai)vei</i>
TOGETHER WITH	<i>kei</i>	<i>'ei</i>	<i>kei</i>	<i>'ei</i>

	before common nouns with non-human referent and before place names		before pronouns and before personal names	
	fused form V <i>kina</i>		fused form VB <i>vuaa</i>	
	B <i>'ina</i>		fused form V <i>kaya</i>	
	fused form V <i>kaya</i>			

The preposition *i* is sometimes omitted when it would follow the post-head modifier *mai* (as in T4.91); but it can also be retained after *mai* (as in T4.157).

Common nouns with human referent were not included in the headings of table 14.1. They do not, in fact, usually occur immediately preceded by a preposition—the appropriate pronoun intervenes. Compare:

- 'i+na 'oro* “to the village”
vei ira a tamata “to the people (lit: to them the people)”
vuaa a cauravou “to the youth (lit: to him the youth)”

That is, after a preposition a human common noun must be part of a complex NP with a pronoun, the pronoun coming first—see §9.2 (c). (This construction *can* also be used for non-human common nouns, but is then optional.)

14.2 Functions of *i* and *mai*

Speakers of B all have some level of competence in V and know when to use *ki~i* or *e*, in place of the single B preposition *i*. I therefore organise the discussion of *i* into two parts, corresponding to the distinct prepositions in V.

(1) *i~vei* in B, *ki~i~vei* in V corresponds fairly closely in its semantic range to the English preposition *to*. It can introduce an NP which refers to:

- (i) direction towards, e.g. T4.29 *i Qamea* “to Qamea”, T4.44 *i+na 'oro* “to the village”, T4.78 *vei wati-na* “(pushed him) towards his spouse”;
(ii) time until, e.g. T6.11 *i+na tini-'a-walu ono-sagavulu-'a-ono* “(taking it up) to 1866”;
(iii) recipient, e.g. T4.43 *saa soli sara vei rau* “(the fish) was given to them two”; *uli.-va'ina vei Siilioo* “say thanks to Siilioo (by presenting him with a whale’s tooth)”; and 11.10–11; see also T6.82, 104, 113, where the cession of Fiji is described as *soli i Peritaania* “give to Britain”.
(iv) addressee, e.g. T4.46 *tu'u-na vei Raatuu* “tell it to Raatuu”; *vosa vei Mere* “speak to Mary”; *'ere.'ere vei i'o* “ask or beg of you”.
(v) indirect object of an intransitive verb, e.g. *e sega ni qali i Toga o Viti* “Fiji is not subservient to (not a vassal state of) Tonga”.

And *i*, B, *ki~i*, V, alone of the prepositions, can link clauses that have the same subject (the subject is not repeated between *i* and the second predicate)—thus T4.7 *la'o mada i coco'a* “go to spear fish”; see §22.1.

(2) *i~vei*, B, *e~vei*, V, always introduces an NP, and has a considerable semantic range:

(i) It is used for “at” with a place name, if the place is “here” or very close to “here”, e.g. *a vale i Waitabu* “the house at Waitabu” (said at Waitabu). If a place is further away then *mai* is used (see below).

(ii) “At” or “on” or “in” with common nouns, e.g. T4.69 *i le'utu* “in the forest”; T4.165 *i waa'olo.levu* “on the main road”, T4.74 *i+na vuu ni 'acu yaa* “(climb) at that tree”; T4.129 *i+na daa waqa* “(loaded) onto a boat”; T4.36 *i mataadravu* “in the hearth”. Sometimes *i* can be glossed “with” (in the sense of “amidst”), e.g. T6.51 *i+na ca-ca-lidi.lidi ni da'ai bitu* “with the explosion of bamboo guns”; T6.46 *saa buto.butoo tuu o Ca'au.levu i+na waqa* “Big Reef became black with canoes”.

More abstract senses of “in” are also rendered by *i*, e.g. T4.231 *i+na+i-tu'u-ni ma'awa* “in this old story”; T6.16 *era saa+qei la'o vata'mai, i+na+i-la'o.la'o qoo* “they came together in this journey”, and *i+na+i-iuva.tuva qoo* “in this order of presentation (of offerings to a visiting chief)”.

(iii) “In”, “on”, “at” with time expressions, e.g. T4.5 *i+na vei-.siga* “on every day”; T4.128 *i+na+i-'a-vaa* “on the fourth (day)”; *i+na tolu a kaloko* “at three o'clock”; *i+na vula o Okosita* “in the month of August”; and 10.44, 13.1.

Note that *i* can only have a time sense with a word that has a specific time reference. Thus:

- (14.1) *au aa vola.vola ti'o i+na cagi.laba*
 1sg PAST REDUP-write ASP IN+ART cyclone

can only mean “I was writing *about* the cyclone”, sense (vi) below. For ‘I was writing during/in the cyclone’ one has to say something like:

- (14.2) *au aa vola.vola ti'o i+na gauna [e liwa ti'o 'ina*
 1sg PAST REDUP-write ASP IN+ART time 3sg blow ASP PREP+3sg
a cagi.laba]
 ART cyclone
 “I was writing during the time when the cyclone was blowing”

In 14.2 *e liwa ti'o 'ina a cagi.laba* is relative clause to *a gauna* “the time”.

(iv) “With” in the sense of an instrument, as in:

- (14.3) *au aa va'a-mate-a a pua'a yai i+na qou*
 1sg PAST MAKE-dead-TR ART pig THIS WITH+ART CLASSIF+1sg
da'ai
 gun
 “I killed this pig with my gun”

or some material, as in:

- (14.4) *au na tali-a e dua a loga i+na voi.voi*
 1sg FUT weave-TR 3sg one ART mat WITH+ART pandanus leaves
yai
 THIS
 "I'll weave a mat with these (dried) pandanus leaves"

(v) "Because of, for", as in:

- (14.5) *edatou sega ni vinda'a-ta, i+na 'e-na boi caa*
 lincpa not THAT want-TR BECAUSE+ART CLASSIF-3sg smell bad
 "we would not want it, because of its bad smell (talking of stewed
 turtle flippers, an olden-days delicacy which is rejected today)"

And T4.184 *i+na vu'u-mu-* "your fault (lit: because of your cause)"; T6.9
i+na omudou yaco mai qoo "(I am very happy) at/because of your coming
 here". Note also:

- (14.6) *voso-ti 'eirau i+na we-irau bera.bera*
 excuse-TR 1EXCDU BECAUSE+ART CLASSIF+ 1excdU late
 "sorry we're late (lit: excuse us our lateness)"

(vi) "With, concerning, about", as in

- (14.7) *au aa tini-a a qou i- talanoa*
 1sg PAST conclude-TR ART CLASSIF+ 1sg story
i+na+i- tu'u.tu'u me baleta a tamata dau-.buta'o
 WITH+ART+story CONCERNING ART person HABITUAL-steal
 "I finished my stories with a tale concerning a robber"

- (14.8) *i+na vei-.yasa-i vura.vura au sega ni*
 CONCERNING+ART COLL-side-POSS world 1sg not THAT
'ila-a . . .
 know-TR
 "concerning the other parts of the world I do not know (but in olden-
 days Fiji it was taboo to touch a man's head)"

(3) *i~vei* is also used with other senses. The distinction between "to" and
 "at, concerning" is neutralised, even in V, before pronouns, personal names
 and human common nouns, just *vei* being used. For certain prepositional
 functions of *i~vei* relating to humans I was unable to ascertain whether they
 would relate to *ki~i* or to *e* in V.

Functions of this type include: *e sega ni macala vei au* "it is not clear to
 me"; *e lasa vuaa o Jone* "it is familiar to John (i.e. he is used to it)"; the
 marking of "owner" with the existential verbs *ti'o* and *tuu* used in a "having"
 construction (§10.6); and

- (14.9) *au na va'a-.to'a-a a yaca-na vei Inoke*
 1sg FUT MAKE-name-TR ART name-3sg PREP Person
 "I'll name (this child) after Inoke"

There is a construction *e* NUMBER *vei* PRONOUN, as in *e dua vei ira* "one of
 them" (see T6.63), in which it is also hard to decide whether *vei* relates to the
 "to" or the "at, concerning" sense. Note that the *e* NUMBER and the *vei*
 PREPOSITION do not have to be contiguous, as can be seen from:

- (14.10) *e dua e qei mavoa vei 'eitou*
 3sg one 3sg THEN wounded PREP 1excpa
 "one of us was wounded"

Here *e dua* is subject, *e qei mavoa* is predicate, and *vei 'eitou* is a preposi-
 tional NP (literally: "someone was wounded to/at/concerning us"). Another
 sentence of the same type is:

- (14.11) *e totolo sarā ti'o vei 'eirau a we'a-qu*
 3sg fast MODIF ASP PREP 1excdU ART friend-1sg
 "my friend was the fastest of us two (at running)"

Although *i* covers a wide semantic spectrum, there is relatively little
 chance of confusion—the nature of the noun and of the predicate head in the
 clause usually makes clear which sense of the preposition is intended; e.g.
 with a verb of motion we expect the "to" sense and with a verb of rest the
 "at" sense.

There is the possibility of ambiguity with the interrogative *cava* "what,
 which". Thus:

- (14.12) *e sabi-ci i'o i+na cava*
 3sg hit-TR 2sg PREP+ART what

can either mean "what did he hit you with?" sense (2-iv), or "why did he hit
 you? (lit: because of what did he hit you?)" , sense (2-vi).

(4) the preposition *mai~(mai) vei* must be carefully distinguished from the
 pre-head predicate modifier *mai* and, especially, from the post-head modifier
mai. A criterion to distinguish between them was given in §8.3.3 (6)—prepo-
 sition *mai* is followed by the allomorph *na* of the common article, whereas if
 the modifier *mai* ends a predicate, allomorph *a* of the common article will
 commence a following NP, as in 8.78–9.

The preposition *mai* always introduces an NP. Again, there is a fair range
 of meanings:

(i) "At" with a place name if it is *not* "here" or near "here", e.g. T4.29
mai Nagasau "at Nagasau"; and T4.55.

(ii) "From" in a motion or originating sense, e.g. T4.50 *mai+na 'oro*
 "from the village", T6.43 *mai Wairi'i* "(starting) from Wairi'i", and

- (14.13) *au sa cabe i le'utu, vata 'ei+na dua a we'a-qu*
 1sg ASP go up IN forest TOGETHER WITH+ART ONE ART friend-1sg
mai Boumaa
 FROM Place

"I went up in the forest together with a friend of mine from Boumaa"

Mai~(*mai*) *vei* is also used in the sense "from a person", as in

- (14.14) *au vina'a-ta e dua a+i- talanoa mai vuaa a tamata mayaa*
 1sg want-TR 3sg one ART+story FROM ART person THAT
 "I want a story from that person"
- (14.15) *'emudrau mai vina'a-ta vei au . . .*
 2du COME want-TR FROM 1sg
 "you two came to want from me . . . (i.e. you came to see me and ask me to tell a story)"

Note that *mai vei* is used in 14.14 but just *vei* in 14.15; this alternation before pronouns and personal names is typical.

(iii) "Since" or "at" with a time expression, e.g. T6.124 *mai+na gauna maa* "since that time"; T6.45 *mai+na mata'a yaa* "on that morning", T6.88 *mai+na loma ni tolu a siga* "(postponed) for three days".

(iv) Agent "by" in a passive construction—§18.6.

(v) "Than", marking an object of comparison, e.g. 8.83, 8.143, and T6.38 *o'ea e gone mai vuaa* "he is younger than him". See also the discussion of comparison in §19.2.

We have specified that for "at a place", the preposition *i* is used if the place is at or near "here" (where the speaker is), and preposition *mai* if it is further away. As might be expected, what is "near" is highly relative—in a story about the whole of Fiji, anywhere in the same province could be marked by *i*, but if a narrative had a more local focus, then the next village might be *mai*. In text 4 Falaavia Matavesi employs *i* for places from Naiyawa (sentence 9) all the way up the coast to Nagasau (sentence 22); but in the next line she says *mai Naisogo*, and after that generally uses *mai* for places further north (see map 2).

Note that *i* is used for "at" with a common noun, whatever its location, e.g. T4.2, 28, 109, 141, and

- (T6.20) *i+na baaravi mai Nawii*
 AT+ART coast AT Place
 "on the coast at Nawii"

There is a degree of overlap between the meanings of the prepositions *i* and *mai* and consequently some possibility of substitution without any change of meaning. To mention just one instance, Siriloo Saabai said *mai+na loma ni*

gauna yaa in T6.59, 88 but *i+na loma ni gauna yaa* in T6.73, 84, 116, with the same sense "in the interior of that time", "at that time".

14.3 '*Ei* "Together with"

The preposition '*ei* is undergoing change, in two quite different directions. The first concerns form—there is a growing tendency to use *vata 'ei* in place of '*ei*; this substitution will be discussed at the end of the section. The second change is syntactic—younger speakers have a different scheme from older speakers for which subject pronoun to use in an '*ei* construction.

We first discuss the older, or traditional, syntax of '*ei*, before dealing with the changes that are taking place.

The underlying structure of the traditional '*ei* construction can be seen in sentences like 8.142, 8.148, 8.161, T4.35, 178, and

- (14.16) *'eirau aa sota vata [o yau 'ei Jone] mai Viidawa*
 1excdy PAST meet TOGETHER ART 1sg WITH Person AT Place
 "John and I met at Viidawa (lit: we two met at Viidawa, me and John)"
- (14.17) *erau aa sota vata. [o Mere 'ei Jone] mai Viidawa*
 3du PAST meet TOGETHER ART Person WITH Person AT Place
 "Mary and John met at Viidawa (lit: they two met at Viidawa, John and Mary)"

'*Ei* is used to link two NPs, forming one coordinated NP. The linked NPs can be any combination of pronoun, NP with name as head, NP with common noun as head, or clausal NP.

The pronominal subject, in the predicate, must "agree" in number with the coordinated subject NP—thus 1excdy '*eirau* is used in 14.16 and 3du *erau* in 14.17.

Now it is usual to omit the first part of the coordinated '*ei* NP from each of 14.16 and 14.17. In 14.16 the pronoun '*eirau* "me and someone else" fully specifies the speaker as part of the subject. 14.16 is perfectly grammatical, and could be said to emphasise the "me" component, but most often the *o yau* is not included in the post-predicate NP (compare *au la'o* and *au la'o o yau* in §4.2), e.g.

- (14.18) *'eirau aa sota vata ['ei Jone] mai Viidawa* "John and I met at Viidawa"

Turning now to 14.17, suppose that "Mary" was the established topic of a discourse. The discourse could continue with:

- (14.19) *erau aa sota vata ['ei Jone] mai Viidawa* "she and John met at Viidawa"

There is an example of this in text 6. Sentence 19 describes how the great chief Tui Ca'au heard that the Tongan army was planning to attack, and went

to Nawii to recruit troops. Sentence 20 begins "on his arrival there on the coast at Nawii" and continues

- (T6.20) *o rau saa sota 'ina* [*'ei+na gone.tuuraga a*
 ART 3du ASP meet PREP+3sg WITH+ART high chief ART
tuuraga.bete ni Faranisee, o. Paatere Lorosio]
 priest ASSOCIATED France ART Person
 "they two met there, (Tui Ca'au) and a great chief, a French priest,
 Father Lorenzo"

Similarly:

- (T4.223) *ra mai to'a tale* [*mai Muanaicivivi*] [*vata 'ei ira*
 3pl COME stay AGAIN AT Place TOGETHER WITH 3pl
a o-na tamata]
 ART CLASSIF-3sg person
 "he (the Raavouvou of Boumaa) came to camp again at
 Muanaicivivi, with his people"

Note that the subject in T4.223 is 3pl *ra*, referring to the conjunction of the Raavouvou of Boumaa (implied as subject by the organisation of the discourse) and his followers.

The 'ei construction can apply to first and third person subjects, as in the examples given, and also to second person. When Elia Waqa was explaining how younger brothers must present the first fruits of the harvest to their elders, he looked at one listener and said:

- (14.20) *e na uli.-va'ina o Roopate ni 'emudrau sa la'o*
 3sg FUT say thanks-TR ART Person WHEN 2du ASP go
mai vata 'ei Siilioo
 HERE TOGETHER WITH Person
 "Roopate will say thanks (with a whale's tooth) when you come with
 Siilioo (to present your first fruits)"

The "when" clause in 14.20 is, literally, "when the two of you come, (you) with Siilioo"; it would be possible to emphasise "you" by including *o i'o* before 'ei Siilioo in the subject NP of 14.20 (as in 14.16–17).

The traditional 'ei construction, as it has just been described, is used almost all the time by older speakers. But there are deviations, of two kinds. The first concerns afterthoughts. In T6.24, Father Lorenzo is quoted as saying to Tui Ca'au, "you (sg) are about to be made war on", and then adds: *vata 'ei ira a o-mu tamata* "together with your people". Strictly speaking, if this sentence had been properly planned ahead, the subject should have been 2pl, rather than the 2sg that was used. See also 14.13.

The second involves a semantic difference. In T4.209 all the Raaluve of Waini'eli's countrymen are already dead, and her opponent, the Raavouvou of Boumaa, asks:

- (T4.209) . . . *o via mate vata 'ei ira a o-mu*
 2sg WANT die TOGETHER WITH 3pl ART CLASSIF-2sg
tamata?
 person
 ". . . do you wish to die, together with your people?"

If he had used the 2pl subject, (*mu*)*nuu*, it would have implied that the Raaluve and her people were *all* still alive, and that he was offering them *all* the choice between life and death.

Younger people use an 'ei construction like T6.24 and T4.209, and they use this in all circumstances. That is, for a younger speaker the subject pronoun does *not* include reference to what is in the post-predicate 'ei NP.

A younger speaker would say, instead of 14.18:

- (14.21) *au aa sota vata ['ei Jone] mai Viidawa* "I met up with John at
 Viidawa"

A younger speaker could say 14.18, but it would have a different meaning for him: "we two met up with John at Viidawa", i.e. a total of *three* people met. Similarly, 14.19 would mean for him "they two met with John at Viidawa, i.e. three people in all. A younger speaker would say:

- (14.22) *e aa sota vata ['ei Jone] mai Viidawa* "she met up with John at
 Viidawa"

to convey the same meaning as an older speaker would by 14.19.

Sentences 14.21–2 are simply ungrammatical for older speakers; if there is an 'ei phrase as subject NP, then the subject pronoun must refer to at least two people.

Younger people use only constructions like 14.21–2. Older people use the traditional construction almost exclusively. Middle-aged speakers can use and accept both types, but told me that their parents would only have employed what I am here calling the traditional construction.

Two personal names linked by 'ei can be included as object within the predicate, following the -i-final form of the transitive suffix, e.g.

- (14.23) *au aa rai-ci [Mere 'ei Teresia]* "I saw Mary and Teresia"

There is a clear distinction, for older speakers, between 14.23 and

- (14.24) *'eirau aa rai-ci Mere ['ei Teresia]* "Teresia and I saw Mary"

Here the lexdu subject 'eirau leads to 'ei Teresia being parsed as a post-predicate subject NP.

However, the younger-speaker version of 14.24 is 14.23; that is, for them 14.23 is ambiguous between "I saw Mary and Teresia" and "Teresia and I saw Mary". I discussed this with Inoke, who only uses younger-speaker 'ei constructions. He saw the difficulty, and suggested that for "Teresia and I saw Mary" one should say:

(14.25) *o yau vata 'ei Teresia, 'eirau rai-ci Mere* "Teresia and I, we saw Mary"

But younger speakers *do* say sentences like 14.23, and they *are* systematically ambiguous. The syntactic change that has taken place has introduced extra ambiguity into the language—although, of course, this and other types of ambiguity would usually be resolved by context.

(Another alternative open to younger speakers is to use an object pronoun, expanded by a post-predicate NP. Thus *au aa raici rau o Mere 'ei Teresia*, with 3du object *rau*, must mean "I saw them two, Mary and Teresia", while *au aa raici 'ea o Mere 'ei Teresia*, with 3sg object *'ea*, must mean "I saw her, Mary, together with Teresia, i.e. Teresia and I saw Mary".)

An *'ei* NP can be fronted, and does not bring the *'ei* with it. From the traditional construction

(14.26) *'eirau na vei-.vosa-'i vata* "that priest and I will talk
'ei+na tuuraga.bete mayaa together"

is derived

(14.27) *a tuuraga.bete mayaa 'eirau* "that priest, he and I will talk
na vei-.vosa-'i vata ('ei 'ea) together"

Note that *'ei 'ea* "with him" can be included after the predicate in 14.27 but would usually be omitted. (The V dialect would be likely to include *kaya* here.)

An *'ei* NP may occur preceded by a preposition, as in one village announcement:

(14.28) *'ere-i ti'o [vei 'emunuu a tuuraga 'ei+na*
ask-PASS ASP TO 2pl ART married man WITH+ART
marama, cauravou vata 'ei+na
married woman youth TOGETHER WITH+ART
gone.yalewa] . . .
girl

"it is asked of all of you, married men and married women, youths and girls (that you . . .)"

Here the pronoun *'emunuu* is in apposition to a string of human nouns. Note how these are linked into pairs by (*vata*) *'ei*, and that there is no link—save appositional intonation—between the pairs (i.e. between *marama* and *cauravou*).

As already mentioned, *'ei* may link NPs of any type. Thus:

(14.29) *a levu ni talanoa baleta a 'aa.'ana,*
ART size ASSOCIATED stories CONCERNING ART food
'ei+na o-da te-a, 'ei+na 'e-na
WITH+ART CLASSIF-1incpl plant-TR WITH+ART CLASSIF-3sg

gauna, me+u rawa-ta vei 'emudrau
time SHOULD+1sg get-TR TO 2du
"that's all (lit: that's the size of) the stories about food, and our planting it, and its seasons, that I can manage for you two"

Here the first coordinand is the noun *'aa.'ana* "food", the second is a clausal NP *a oda tea* "our planting it", and the third an NP *a 'ena gauna* "its seasons" with the 3sg possessor element *-na* referring back to *'aa.'ana*.

Sometimes *'ei* is used just to introduce a new clause, e.g. *vata 'ei+na soqo.soqo* in T8a.4. Another village announcement contained two messages. After the first, the crier took a breath, shouted out *e dua tale* "one more thing", and then after another pause commenced a sentence with *vata 'ei*:

(14.30) *vata 'ei+na 'ere.'ere ni o-datou*
TOGETHER WITH+ART REDUP-ask ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-1incpa
komiti ni 'oro ni vuli me baleta ti'o a
committee ASSOCIATED school CONCERNING ASP ART
unu.sede
drink-money
"together with a request from our school committee concerning fund-raising (literally, a money-drink—see §18.8)"

About half the "together with" constructions we have quoted use *'ei*, and half *vata 'ei*. In 14.28, *'ei* was used for the first link and *vata 'ei* for the second.

It is usually appropriate to include the post-head modifier *vata* "together" in the predicate of a clause whose subject involves *'ei*, as in 14.16–7. *Vata* comes almost immediately after the predicate head (§8.3.9); if there are any other post-head modifiers, they will come between *vata* and a post-predicate NP, e.g. *gaa* in 8.147 *e tei vata gaa 'ei+na vudi*.

But if *vata* is the only post-head modifier, and if the following NP begins with *'ei*, then *vata* and *'ei* will occur contiguously, as in 14.18–19. It is undoubtedly this association between *vata* and *'ei* which has led to *vata 'ei* being used in place of *'ei*, even in the middle of an NP (where *vata* is far removed from its normal predicate modifier position), e.g. 8.142, 14.28. An NP may also begin with *vata 'ei* in place of *'ei*; it is easy enough to tell that *vata 'ei* is one complex preposition in T4.223—where it is separated from the predicate by a locational NP—and in 14.20—where if *vata* were a post-head modifier it should precede modifier *mai* (§8.3.9). But a sentence like 14.26 could be analysed as [*'eirau na vei-.vosa-'i vata*][*'ei+na . . .*], with *vata* in the predicate and preposition *'ei*, or as [*'eirau na vei-vosa-'i*][*vata 'ei+na . . .*], with preposition *vata 'ei*. The semantic interpretation is the same, whichever syntactic analysis is chosen.

There is also a lexeme *tautauvata* "the same" which appears historically to be based on *vata*. It is followed by the preposition *'ei*, as in 8.121 (and see Churchward 1941:41).

14.4 The grammaticisation of *baleta*

There appear to be two verbs *bale(-ta)*. The first means “fall, from a position of standing (onto/towards)”, e.g. a tree falling; the intransitive form *bale* is also used to describe a chief’s having died. The other means “caused by”, as in *e bale vei 'ea* “it is her fault (that she got pregnant)”. Some native speakers do identify these as two senses of a single verb, and it could be that “caused by” is a metaphorical meaning which developed out of “fall upon”. But, in the absence of any definite evidence in favour of this, we prefer here to think in terms of two homonymous lexemes.

The second lexeme *bale(-ta)* “caused by” is part-way through becoming established as a grammatical element—in fact as two: a preposition *baleta~baleti* “concerning”, and a conjunction *baleta ni* “because”.

14.4.1 Preposition *baleta~baleti* “concerning”

A preposition appears to be developing from *bale-ta* functioning in a relative clause construction, as in 16.20 and

- (14.31) . . . *a 'aa e bale-ta a ulu-dra . . .*
 ART thing 3sg concern-TR ART head-3pl
 “. . . the thing which concerns their heads (is that they are the
 “chief” of the body, and it is taboo to touch a person’s head)”

Here *e bale-ta a ulu-dra* is a relative clause to *a 'aa*. *E bale-ta*—the predicate of the relative clause—follows *a 'aa* and is itself followed by *a ulu-dra* (the subject NP of the relative clause); thus *e bale-ta* functions like a preposition “concerning”, linking the two NPs *a 'aa* and *a ulu-dra*. The *e* is sometimes omitted and then, lacking any marking that it is a predicate, *baleta* is even more open to the prepositional interpretation.

Most often a *baleta* clause is introduced by *me* “should” (and the unmarked subject pronoun *e* drops after *me*). Most *me baleta* constructions are relative clauses (similar to the *e baleta* construction in 14.31)—see 14.7, 14.30, 18.57, and T6.124. However, there are a few examples where *me baleta* links a clause, with *bale-ta* as predicate, to a main clause (rather than a relative clause to an NP)—see 9.8.

The *-ta* in *bale-ta* is a transitive suffix and the final *-a* changes to *-i* before a pronoun or name as object, as in T6.10 and:

- (14.32) *o drau via 'ila-a tale gaa e soo a 'aa'ana*
 ART 2du WANT KNOW-TR ANOTHER MODIF 3sg some ART food
me bale-ti ira a we-imami qase?
 SHOULD concern-TR 3pl ART CLASSIF-1excl ancestor
 “do you two want to know about some more of the foods that
 concerned our ancestors?”

Here *bale-ti* has the sense “concern, be of concern to”.

In most of the examples in my corpus, *bale-tali* is preceded by *me* or *e* and has the ostensible syntax of a relative clause. But semantically it is very similar to sense (2-vi) of the preposition *i*, as in 14.8. The difference is that *i* relates an NP to a predicate, while *me/e baleta/i* relates an NP to an NP.

Sometimes *me/e* is omitted—as in 18.53—and *baleta* is then syntactically like a preposition, except that the final *-a* changes to *-i* before a pronoun or name (and the proper article *o* is omitted).

At present, *baleta* has an uneasy grammatical status. It may be developing towards a preposition that would link NPs, in the way that *'ei* does. The preposed *me* or *e* may in time come to be omitted more and more often; the form may become fixed as *baleta* (or, less likely, as *baleti*). If these changes are completed, the development of a new preposition *baleta* “about, concerning” from the transitive verb *bale-ta* “caused by” will be complete. (See also Geraghty 1976:513.)

14.4.2 Conjunction *baleta ni* “because”

Many transitive verbs can take as their object either a simple NP or a complement clause, the commonest type being that introduced by *ni*. *Bale-ta* may be followed by *ni* and a full clause; it can then always be glossed “because”. Examples are T6.98, 125, T8a.2, and:

- (14.33) *au sa la'o i vale baleta ni-u sa oca* “I’m going back to the house
 because I’m tired”
 (14.34) *erau sa vei-.pu'u.pu'u, baleta ni tabu*
 3du ASP COLL-angry BECAUSE forbidden
 “(if one person touched another’s head) the two of them would be
 angry with each other, because it is forbidden”

Baleta ni is sometimes preceded by *me* (as in T6.13) and occasionally by *e*, but in the majority of instances *baleta ni* begins a clause.

Fijian already has the conjunction *ni* “because”—see §21.3. But, among several other functions, *ni* also introduces “when” clauses, and some *ni* clauses are ambiguous between the “when” and “because” interpretations. *Baleta ni*, in all the examples that I have examined (and checked with speakers) could be replaced by *ni*, with no change of meaning.

There is evidence that *baleta ni* has developed into a conjunction “because” quite recently. In the translation of the Bible into Fijian (done in the last century) “because” is rendered either by *ni* (e.g. Mark 8.17, Luke 2.4) or by *e na vuku ni*, using the bound noun *vuku-* “cause of” (e.g. Matthew 18.7, Acts 12.20, cf. T4.182); *baleta ni* is not used for “because” in the Bible. The new conjunction *baleta ni* “because” appears to be at a more advanced stage of development than the new preposition *baleta/i*. It may have evolved to take some of the functional load off *ni*, and lessen the possibility of ambiguity and confusion.

The two new grammatical forms derived from *bale-ta* have distinct properties and would not be likely to be confused:

<p>preposition “concerning” form <i>baleta~baleti</i></p> <p>usually preceded by <i>me</i> or <i>e</i>, can be \emptyset</p> <p>usually follows an NP followed by an NP</p>	<p>conjunction “because” invariable form <i>baleta</i></p> <p>must be followed by <i>ni</i></p> <p>usually nothing precedes in clause, can be <i>me</i> or <i>e</i></p> <p>follows a clause followed by a clause</p>
---	---

15 Time Expressions

There are a variety of ways of showing the time of the event referred to in a Fijian clause, apart from the tense-aspect system within the predicate (§8.2.2). A “when” subordinate clause, introduced by *ni*, can occur at the end or at the beginning of the main clause—see §21.3. A prepositional phrase referring to time will normally follow the predicate, but it can be fronted (§21.4); as mentioned in §14.2 there are time senses of the main prepositions—*i* “until, in, on, at” and *mai* “since, at”.

This chapter deals with time words—for referring to year, month, day, parts of the day, etc—and also with ways of saying things like “before”, “after”, “early”, and “late”. The interrogative (*na*)*ica* “when” is discussed in §16.5.

15.1 Time Words

The general term *gauna* “time” is used a great deal—see, for example, text 6. There are the following words for units of time:

<i>yaba'i</i> “year”	<i>sigā</i> “day, sun”	<i>aua</i> “hour”
<i>vula</i> “month, moon”	<i>bogi</i> “night”	<i>miniti</i> “minute”
<i>maacawa</i> “week”		

The five native words in this set (but not the loans *aua*, *miniti*) are—together with three words for measurement of distance—the only words that can be followed by a number modifier; see §13.2.4. (*Maacawa* was originally “space” or “interval”. Since the arrival of Europeans it has also taken on a more specific meaning: the interval of time between two Sundays, i.e. a week.)

There are loan names for the months—*Janueri*, *Feperuari*, *Maji*, *Epereli*, *Mee*, *Juneē*, *Julai*, *Okosita*, *Sepiteba*, *Okotopa*, *Nooveba*, and *Tiiseba*; like personal and place names, they take the proper article, *o*. They are generally used in a complex NP: *a vula o* MONTH NAME, e.g.

- (15.1) *ia, a uvi e tei i+na vula o Juneē, e rawa*
WELL ART yam 3sg planted IN+ART month ART June 3sg be able
me 'eli i+na vula o Tiiseba
SHOULD dug IN+ART month ART December
“well, yams which are planted in the month of June can be harvested
in the month of December”

One often hears the common article used before a month name, e.g. *i+na Okotopa* “in October” in 8.157, 24.10. This is an elliptical version of *i+na vula o Okotopa* “in the month of October”, where the month name is preceded by the proper article.

There were traditional names for the months, describing what happens or is done at that time of year, e.g. *vula i nuqa levu* “month when there are lots of *nuqa* (a fish species, *Siganus vermiculatus*) in the sea”, roughly corresponding to January.

Terms for days of the week were introduced by the early missionaries. Two are loans from English—*siga mopniti* “Monday” and *siga tuusiti* “Tuesday”. Four are compounds—*siga tabu* (“day sacred”) “Sunday”; *siga lotu.levu* (“day church big”) “Thursday”, so named because the early missionaries held a major mid-week service on that day; *siga va'a-rau.bu'a* (“day prepare firewood”) “Friday” and *siga va'a-rau.wai* (“day prepare water”) “Saturday”, describing the tasks that the missionaries assigned for those days so that the people might do no work of any sort on the sabbath. The other term is *siga vu'elulu* “Wednesday” (the original B term was *siga purelulu*, but this has been replaced by *siga vu'elulu*, from V); it is a loan from Tongán *pulelulu*, brought in by the missionaries.

Unlike month names, day-of-the-week labels take the common article (undoubtedly because they all begin with *siga* “day”), e.g. *i+na siga va'a-rau.wai* “on Saturday”.

We can next consider

i nanao “yesterday”
ni saubogi, B—as in 8.57—(*ni mata'a*, V); “tomorrow”

These terms are not usually found without the initial element; what is interesting is that these initial elements vary. The preposition *i* “in, at, to” is used with “yesterday”, and with other time expressions referring to the past, e.g. *i+na maacawa saa oti* “last week” (lit: “in the week that is finished”, with relative clause *saa oti*). *Ni* “when” is used with “tomorrow”, and with other expressions referring to future time, e.g. *ni maacawa la'o mai* “next week” (lit: “in the week that is coming”, with relative clause *la'o mai*).

(The *na* in *nanao* may historically be the common article, but today it is part of the root; it does not form a phonological word with the preposition *i*, as a common article would, i.e. we get *i+ nanóa* (or *íí nanóa*, with the preposition stressed) and not **i+na nóa*. The form in proto-Eastern-Oceanic was **nora* (Pawley 1972), which developed into *-noa*.)

“Today” is *ni'ua*, used without any article but functioning—as *i nanao* and *ni saubogi* do—like a post-predicate NP. (The *ni-* may be historically a separate element, but is today part of the root. Note that the proto-Eastern-Oceanic form was **kua*—Pawley, 1972.)

There are nouns for parts of the day:

saubogi, original B (*mataka*, V; *mataka~mata'a* is now used in B)
“morning”

saubogi caa.caa, original B (*mataka lailai*, V;
mataka lailai~mata'a lailai is now used in B) “early morning”
siga.levu (lit: “sun big”) “midday”

yavi, original B (*yakavi*, V;
yakavi~ya'avi is now used in B) “late afternoon and evening”
bogi “night (from dusk to dawn)”—its unmarked reference is “last night”, as in 11.12

These can be combined with “yesterday”, “tomorrow”, “today”, and with terms for days of the week, e.g. *i+na mata'a ni'ua* “this morning” in 8.25, *i+na ya'avi ni siga tabu* “on Sunday afternoon”.

For saying what hour it is, the noun *kaloko* “clock” takes the common article, and is preceded by *e*-plus-NUMBER (the *e* being replaced by *na* after a preposition), e.g. *i+na tini a kaloko* “at ten o'clock”. Thus “3 p.m. Thursday” would be *i+na tolu a kaloko ni ya'avi ni siga lotu.levu*; here *ni* “associated with” links *kaloko* with *ya'avi*, and also *ya'avi* with the day. (The way of saying “half-past” was described in §13.4.)

The demonstrative *yai* “this” can follow many time expressions, e.g. *ni ya'avi yai* “this afternoon” in 8.112; *i+na maacawa yai* “this week”; *i+na siga va'a-rau.bu'a yai* “this Friday”; *i+na yaba'i yai* “this year”; and *i+na gauna yai* “at this time, now” in 10.44.

Time expressions may be long-winded, and may not usually be abbreviated—*siga* is included before the name of a day of the week, and *a kaloko* may not be omitted from an hour description in B. This is undoubtedly because reference to time of day has been introduced relatively recently, with the influx of European religion and culture, and these time expressions have not yet become abbreviated through use.

Time words can function as intransitive predicate with a place specification in the subject slot, e.g. T4.62 *e ya'avi na vanua* “(when) it was evening in the place”, literally “when the place was evening”; T4.158 *via mataka ti'o a vanua* “as morning was about to break at the place”, literally “as the place was about to become morning”; 25.7; and

(15.2) *a gauna [e la'i bogi a vanua]*

ART time 3sg GO night ART place

“the time when night fell (lit: the time when the place became night)”

(15.3) *'eirau sa la'o ti'o i+na siga va'a-rau.wai, i yai sa*

lexcdu ASP go ASP ON+ART Saturday

AT HERE ASP

siga tabu tale a vanua

Sunday AGAIN ART place

“we'd gone out on Saturday, and now it was Sunday (lit: the place was Sunday)”

15.2 Other time expressions

A number of words from other word classes have a secondary time sense; e.g. *totolo* “fast” can also mean “early”, as in 8.112. There is a verb *bera(-ca)* “be late (for)” as in (cf. 8.17–18):

- (15.4) *saa bera a o-na yaco mai a basi* “the bus is late arriving (lit: the arrival of the bus here is late)”

Here the subject of *bera* is a clausal NP *a o-na yaco mai a basi*.

When *bera* is linked to another clause—usually *bera* is in a *ni* “when” clause—it can correspond to “before”, e.g.

- (15.5) [*ni bera ni ono a kaloko*] *au sa+na la'o ca'e*
 WHEN late THAT SIX ART clock 1sg ASP+FUT go up
i waa'olo.levu
 TO main road

“before six o'clock I'll go up to the main road (to wait for the bus)”

The verb *oti* “finish” is used to indicate that an event took place “after” another had been completed, e.g. T4.18 *ra 'ana oti, ra talanoa va'a-lailai* “after eating (lit: when they had finished eating), they chatted a little”. “Since” is dealt with through the verb *te'evuu* “start” or the preposition *mai* “from” (§14.2), and “until” through the verb *yaco* “arrive, happen” (as in T6.124) or the preposition *i* “to” (§14.2).

The verbs *mada* or *liu* “precede” and *muri* “follow” are used as general indicators of some time in the past or present, e.g. *a maacawa i liu* “last week (lit: the week which preceded)” and *a yaba'i mai muri* “next year (lit: the year that comes following)”.

16 Interrogatives

The basic interrogative words are *cei* “who”, *cava* “what, which”, *vei* “where”, *vica* “how many”, (*na*)*ica* “when”, and *'uca* “to do what”; there is also a derived adverb *va'a-cava* “do how”. “Why” is dealt with through a number of constructions all involving *cava* “what”; they are discussed in §16.2.

These interrogatives relate to the regular word classes, e.g. *vica* to numbers, *cei* to pronouns, personal names, and human nouns; full details are given below. But they also form a natural class of their own (a pan-parts-of-speech class): (i) if a complement clause contains any of these interrogative words it must be introduced by *se*, rather than by *ni* (chapter 23); (ii) the marker of intensity *soti* “a lot” occurs only with negatives or with interrogatives: *cei, cava, vei* (but not *naica*)—see §8.3.6.

In many languages interrogatives also have an indefinite sense—that is, a single form can mean either “what” or “something”, depending on the context, another form “where” or “somewhere”, and so on. This is the case for *vica* in Fijian, which can mean “how many” or else “some” (in an indefinite sense), but not for any of the other interrogatives.

Some types of question can only be achieved through nominalisation—thus “how long did you stay in Suva?” is rendered in Fijian by:

- (16.1) [*a cava*] [[*a dedee*]^{ce} *ni* [*o-mu ti'o mai*
 ART what ART duration ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-2sg stay AT
Suva]]?
 Place

“what was the duration of your staying in Suva?”

And for “how far are we walking?” one must say:

- (16.2) [*a cava*] [[*a yawa*] *ni* [*we-tatou taubale yai*]]
 ART what ART far ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-1incpa walk THIS
 “what is the length of this walk of ours?”

16.1–2 are equational clauses with *a cava* as one element and an NP *ni* NP construction as the other. The first NP is *dedee* “duration” or *yawa* “length” with the final part, after the *ni*, being a clausal NP.

A polar question (one expecting a yes/no answer) is most often shown just by rising intonation. Thus *e la'o yane*, with pitch falling from the final stressed syllable, *ya*, is a statement “he's going there”; but if the pitch should rise sharply on the syllable *'o* and then fall a little over *yane*, it will be a question “is he going there?” (see §2.5). Alternatively, there is a tag *ee*, with sharply rising intonation, that can be added at the end of a clause; it has the meaning “isn't that so?” or “eh?”—see T4.45, 63, T6.121.

16.1 *Cei* "who"

The answer to a question with *cei* may be a pronoun, a personal name, or a common noun with human reference. *Cei* is a grammatical chameleon: it behaves in many ways like a personal name or pronoun, but is in some respects unlike them.

Like personal names and pronouns, *cei* takes the proper article, *o*, which is omitted after prepositions *vei* and *'ei*:

- (16.3) *e sabi-ci i'o o cei?* "who hit you?"
 (16.4) *o aa soli-a vei cei a o-mu i- sele?* "who did you give your knife to?"
 (16.5) *drau aa la'o vata 'ei cei i Lavena?* "who did you go to Lavena with? (lit: the two of you went together to Lavena, (you) with who?)"

An NP with *cei* can occur after the predicate, or—like any other NP—it can be fronted. An interrogative NP (with *cei*, or *cava*, or *vei*, etc) is rather more likely than a non-interrogative NP to be fronted. (See 8.16 for an example of *o cei* being fronted within a *se* complement clause.) Thus, corresponding to 16.3–5:

- (16.6) *o cei e sabi-ci i'o?* "who hit you?"
 (16.7) *o cei o aa soli-a 'inalvuaa a o-mu i- sele?* "who did you give your knife to?"
 (16.8) *o cei drau aa la'o vata i Lavena?* "who did you go to Lavena with?"

When a subject NP is fronted, as in 16.6, the subject pronoun (here *e*) is retained in the predicate. With a prepositional NP, as in 16.7, either *'ina* or *vuaa* ("to him") is inserted at the end of the predicate. In 16.8 *o cei* is fronted from an *'ei* phrase and no marker is left after the predicate (in V *kaya* would be required). See §14.3 and §21.4.

When *cei* is in object function it behaves like pronouns and names, occurring within the predicate and following the *-i*-final form of the transitive suffix:

- (16.9) *o aa rai-ci cei?* "who did you see?"

And then it can be fronted, with the transitive suffix taking final *-a*:

- (16.10) *o cei o aa rai-ca?* "who did you see?"

In this last feature *cei* differs from pronouns and names. If the object is fronted from *o aa rai-ci Mere* "you saw Mary", we would have to retain 3sg pronoun *'ea* in object slot: *o Mere o aa rai-ci 'ea* "as for Mary, you saw her" (that is, **o Mere*, *o aa rai-ca* is not considered acceptable).

It is perfectly grammatical to say *o cei o aa rai-ci 'ea* "who did you see?", but the shorter alternative 16.10 is preferred.

As described in §10.2, there are distinctive possessive constructions with pronouns and common nouns, on the one hand:

- (16.11) *a o-na i- sele* "his knife"
 (16.12) *a o-na i- sele a cauravou* "the youth's knife"

and with personal names, on the other hand:

- (16.13) *a+i- sele we-i Jone* "John's knife"

Cei can occur in both types of construction. That is, we can ask

- (16.14) *o cei a o-na i- sele yai?* "whose is this knife?"

where it is usual to front the NP *o cei* (which here expands the reference of the 3sg possessor *o-na*). Or, with the same meaning:

- (16.15) [*a+i- sele yai*] [*a we-i cei*] or [*'a we-i cei*] [*a+i- sele yai*]

This is an equational clause, and the two NPs can come in either order. They literally mean: "this knife, it is whose?". The NP *a we-i cei* effectively lacks a head noun (cf constructions like *a we-i Sepo* "Sepo's thing", mentioned in §10.2).

Cei is also used to enquire about a person's name:

- (16.16) *o cei a yaca-na?* "what's his name?"

Older people also use *cei* to ask about a place name (cf Hale 1846:374), but for the middle and younger generations it has been replaced in this function by *cava* "what".

16.2 *Cava* "what, which"

The answer to a question involving *cava* "what" as NP head should be a non-human noun or (for all but the oldest speakers) a place name. *Cava* always takes the common article, and behaves in other ways like a common noun. Like *cei*, *cava* is most often fronted, although it can occur in post-predicate position, e.g.

- (16.17) { *o aa rai-ca a cava i waa'olo.levu?* } "what did you see on the
 { *a cava o aa rai-ca i waa'olo.levu?* } main road?"

- (16.18) *a cava e lutu-mi au* "what fell on me?"

Cava can also occur as a modifier, after an NP head, with the sense "which", e.g.

- (16.19) *a vale cava o va'a-i- ti'o.ti'o 'ina?* "what house do you live in?"

An NP may include both *mataqali* "kind of" before the head and *cava* "which" after, with the overall meaning "what kind of?" e.g. *a mataqali 'aa.'ana cava* "what kind of food?" in 9.5.

Gauna cava "which time" and *sig a cava* "which day" are in common use

as alternatives to *ni naica* "when"—see 8.120. Note the use of *cava* for asking "how long" and "how far" in 16.1–2. There is also its use in: *drau vei-.we'a-ni cava?* "what kinship relation are you two in?" (*vei-.we'a-ni* is explained in §17.1.2).

The prepositional NP *i+na cava* can, as in 14.12, have either an instrumental sense "with what (did he hit you)" or a causal sense "for what, why". An alternative way of asking "why" employs the evolving preposition *baleta* "concerning" (§14.4.1); *baleta a cava* can only mean "concerning what, why", as in

- (16.20) *baleta a cava era sega ni rawa ni*
 CONCERNING ART what 3pl not THAT be able THAT
va'a-.yaga.-ta'ina o ira a gone a vosa
 MAKE-USE-TR ART 3pl ART child ART language
va'a-.Boumaa?
 RELATING-Place
 "why is it that the children can't use the Boumaa dialect (but instead speak a mixture of V and B)?"

Another way of asking "why" involves the bound noun *vu'u-* "cause of, sake of", linker *ni* "associated with", and *cava* "what"; e.g. a paraphrase of one sense of 14.12 is:

- (16.21) *e sabi-ci i'o i+na vu'u ni cava?* "why did he hit you? (lit: for the sake of what did he hit you?)"

A further alternative uses the transitive verb *vu-na* "be the cause of", with *a cava* "what" as its subject, e.g.

- (16.22) *a cava e vu-na a mosi ni ulu-mu?* "what is the cause of your headache (lit: . . . of the ache of your head)?"

(Or, with the same meaning, *a cava a vu-na e mosi 'ina a ulu-mu*, or *a cava a vuu ni mosi ni ulu-mu*.)

16.3 *Vei* "where"

Vei only occurs with the prepositions *i* "to, at, in, on" and *mai* "from"; and with the prefix *'ai-* "native of"—§17.5. Because of this it is often written as one word with the preposition, *iveilmaivei*, although the construction is exactly parallel to, for instance, *i vale, mai vale* "to/at, from the house", which are always written as two words. The answer to a *vei* phrase would be a place name, or a common noun referring to a place, or a demonstrative.

A *vei* phrase may be fronted (although it quite rarely is), and the marker *'ina* should then be left at the end of the predicate, e.g. 8.119, and

- (16.23) *mai vei o la'o mai 'ina?* "where have you come from?"

A *vei* phrase can also begin an equational clause, as in 8.109.

16.4 *Vica* "how many/much, some"

As described in chapter 13, *vica* behaves exactly like a number (and it generally takes *lewe* when referring to humans). We get *vica.-sagavulu* "how many tens, some tens", the ordinal *i- 'a-vica* "the how many-th?", and the adverb *va'a-.vica* "some (fairish) number of times"—§8.4.

There are a number of ways of posing the question "how old are you?". The NP *yaba'i vica* ("years-how many") can be predicate head with 2sg subject:

- (16.24) *o sa yaba'i vica?* "(lit: you are how many years?)"

or just *vica* can be predicate head, with the subject NP *a o-mu yaba'i*:

- (16.25) *sa vica a o-mu yaba'i?* "(lit: your years are how many?)"

A variant of this is to have *qase* "age" as head of the subject NP (cf. 12.7):

- (16.26) *sa vica a o-mu qase?* "(lit: your age is how much?)"

A further alternative is to employ an equational clause, with *a cava* "what":

- (16.27) *a cava a o-mu yaba'ilqase?* "(lit: what are/is your years/age?)"

The answer to any of 16.24–7 could use a construction similar to 16.24:

- (16.28) *au sa yaba'i lima.-sagavulu* "I am fifty years"

or one parallel to 16.25–7, e.g.

- (16.29) *sa lima.-sagavulu a qou yaba'i* "my years are fifty"

16.5 (*Na*)*ica* "when"

In V the form *e naica* is used for "when" if referring to the past and *ni naica* if referring to the future. Milner 1972:44 mentions that *ni naica* is being replaced by *e naica* for future reference.

B uses *ni naica* "when" for both past and future reference. I was told that B used to say just *ni ica*, but this has now been replaced by *ni naica*. (The *na* in *naica* looks like the common article; but note that the common article must be dropped after *ni*, so this may not be a plausible etymology.)

Ni naica, and the V form *e naica* which is, through dialect mixing, also used by speakers of B, behave like post-predicate NPs. Any kind of time expression (chapter 15) could be an appropriate reply.

Ni naica has the most limited syntactic function of any interrogative in B, e.g. it cannot take *soti* "a lot" (§8.3.6). An NP with a time word as head followed by *cava* "which" is an often-used alternative to *ni naica*, e.g.

- (16.30) *o na lesu tale* { *ni naica?*
i+na gauna cava? } "when will you get back?"

Ni naica most frequently comes at the end of a clause, although it can be fronted.

16.6 'Uca "to do what"; va'a-.cava "to do how"

In B there is an interrogative verb 'uca(-ta'ina) "to do what (to)", that functions as predicate head, and also an interrogative adverb va'a-.cava "do how" (derived from cava "what"). The V dialect has no 'uca and uses vaka-.cava in both functions.

Examples of 'uca as an intransitive predicate are in T4.87, 209. The transitive use is illustrated by:

(16.31) e 'uca-ta'ini i'o o Are? "what did Harry do to you?"

There is another sense of 'uca, "how are you feeling?" Thus, an enquiry o i'o saa 'uca ti'o ni'ua? (or, in V, o iko saa vaka-.cava tiko nikua?) could mean either "how are you feeling today?" or "what are you doing today?".

The interrogative adverb va'a-.cava "do how" can modify any type of verb, e.g.

(16.32) o tara-a va'a-.cava a o-mu vale? "how are you building your house?"

(16.33) o aa la'o va'a-.cava i Lavena? "how did you go to Lavena?"

(16.34) o 'ila-a va'a-.cava ni aa tara-a o Jone
2sg know-TR do how THAT PAST hold-TR ART Person
a+i-covi?
ART+prize
"how did you know that John held (i.e. received) the prize?"

An alternative way of saying "what did he do?" is to use a cava "what" as object of the transitive verb ca'a-va "do, perform, make" (parallel to the English construction). Thus, a near-paraphrase of 16.31 is:

(16.35) a cava e ca'ava o Are vei i'o? "what did Harry do to you?"

And a sentence very close in meaning to sa 'uca ti'o is:

(16.36) a cava o ca'a-va ti'o? "what are you doing?"

17 Word Derivations

There are five prefixes which, when added to a root of one grammatical type, derive a stem of another type: *vei-*, *va'a-*, *+i-*, *dau-*, and *'ai-*. Reduplication has a similar function.

The questions concerning what is an affix and what is a modifier have been provided with a number of different answers in past work on Fijian. Hazlewood (1872:8, 40) considered *dau-* a prefix, but Churchward (1941:50) preferred to call it an adverb. Hazlewood (1872:158) regarded *via* "want to" as a verb, Churchward (1941:17) classed it with *tiko*, *rawa*, and *oti* as an auxiliary verb, while Schütz (1986:215) calls it an affix.

In most languages it is possible to define "affix" on phonological grounds (although there will always be certain concomitant grammatical properties). As explained in §3.2.2, in Fijian any putative affix consisting of more than one mora forms a phonological word distinct from the root. It is not possible, on phonological grounds, to distinguish between a multi-mora affix (an element attached morphologically to the root) and a modifier (an element in syntactic construction with the root).

It does appear, however, that a number of multi-mora forms have the same type of grammatical effect as the mono-mora affixes (which do form part of the same phonological word as the root)—that is, they affect the syntactic potential of the root. On these grounds I refer to *vei-*, *va'a-*, *dau-*, and *'ai-* as prefixes. *Dau-*, for instance, derives an adjective stem when added to a verb root. In contrast, *via* appears before a predicate head (which can be verb, adjective, or noun) and does not affect syntactic function; so it is—in terms of the criterion used here—a modifier rather than a prefix.

+i- is unique in that it can form a phonological word with a preceding article; but it does affect the syntactic potential of the root which immediately follows (deriving a noun stem from a verb root), and because of this it is regarded as a derivational affix to that root.

17.1 Prefix *vei-*, collective

Vei- can be prefixed to some nouns and time words, most kin terms (together with a suffix *-ni*), and to many verbs (sometimes with and sometimes without the passive suffix); in each instance it has a collective sense.

There is also a derivation that involves prefixing *vei-* and suffixing *-ya'i* or *-ya'ina* to a verb, with the meaning "all over the place".

17.1.1 With nouns and time words

Vei- occurs with a smallish number of nouns and time words in my corpus:

- (i) With nouns referring to place, "all places of that type" e.g. *i+na*

vei-.yasa- “in every part of” in 14.8 (see also T6.12, 15), *vei-.'oro* “every village”, *vei-.vale* “every house”, and *vei-.vanua* “every place”, as in

- (17.1) *i+na vei-.vanua tauco'o i Viti e lau-. 'ana 'ina*
 IN+ART COLL-place ALL IN Fiji 3sg PASS-eat PREP+3sg
a dalo
 ART taro
 “taro is eaten in every part of Fiji (lit: in every place in Fiji)”

(ii) With words referring to units of time, “in every time unit of that type”, e.g. *i+na vei-.siga* “every day” in T4.5, and *vei-.vula* “every month”, *vei-.yaba'i* “every year”, *vei-.aua* “every hour”, etc. From *gauna* “time” we get *vei-.gauna*, which means “at every appropriate time, at any time”, e.g.

- (17.2) *e rawa mo te-a i+na vei-.gauna tauco'o*
 3sg be able SHOULD+2sg plant-TR IN+ART COLL-time ALL
 “you can plant it (plantains) at any time”

Note also

- (17.3) *au sa masu i+na vei-.gauna tauco'o i+na bogi*
 1sg ASP pray IN+ART COLL-time ALL IN+ART night
 “I pray every night”

Here *i+na vei-.gauna tauco'o i+na bogi* is simply an emphatic way of saying “every night”; it is equivalent to *i+na bogi tauco'o*.

(iii) With 'aa “thing”—*vei-.'aa* “many things, everything”, as in T6.114; with *tamata* “person”—*vei-.tamata* “everybody”, as in 13.19 (but not, generally, with more specific names for types of people); and with *mataqali* “kind of”—*vei-.mataqali* “every kind of”, as in 8.140 and 9.6.

As in 17.1–3, *tauco'o* “all” may often be added to reinforce the meaning of *vei-* (but it need not be). Sometimes a noun is reduplicated with *vei-*, for a similar effect, e.g. *vei-.vale.vale* “every house” in 8.139. And a reduplicated *vei-* is found with *gauna* “time” in *i+na vei-.vei-.gauna* “ceaselessly”.

A number of common expressions involving *vei-* in the V dialect are not found in B. Thus, where V has *kau* “tree” and *vei-.kau* “forest”, B has 'acu “tree” and a separate lexeme *le'utu* “forest”. V has *vei-.dalo* “plantation of taro” and also *loga (ni) dalo*, but B only uses the latter (and similarly for plantation of other vegetable crops, and coconuts, and grass—see T6.60).

17.1.2 With kin terms

Vei- can be prefixed and *-ni* suffixed to a bound—but not to a free (§10.5)—kin term, the derived form then referring to a collection of two or more people who are in that relationship. Thus, from *tama-* “father” we obtain *vei-.tama-ni* “father(s) and child(ren)”—that is, the phrase can refer to a man and one (real or classificatory) child, or to a man and several children, or to a child and several fathers (father's brothers are treated as classificatory fathers), or to a group of children and a group of their fathers (men who are in a “father”

relationship to each one of them). Also, from *wati-* “spouse” is derived *vei-.wati-ni* “married couple”. A description of the B kinship system is in Schmidt (1988); the similar, but not identical, V system is discussed in Nayacakalou (1955).

From the general bound noun *we'a-* “relative, friend” we get *vei-.we'a-ni* “relationship”, as in *drau vei-we'a-ni cava?* “what kin relation are you two to each other?”—see §16.2. *Vei-.we'a-ni* can also refer to a political relationship, as in T4.1.

The B kinship collective is said by informants originally to have been *tau-. . . -na*, e.g. *tau-.tama-na*. This has now been replaced by the V derivation *vei-. . . -ni*. The suffix *-ni* does not occur elsewhere.

17.1.3 With verbs

In §5.3 I said that the most satisfactory way of explaining verbal syntax in Fijian is to take the transitive form as basic. A transitive form has two core arguments—transitive subject (A) and object (O). Each verb also has an intransitive form, with one core argument (S); for some verbs S = A and for others S = O.

When *vei-* is added to a verb it derives an intransitive form, and the subject may be *the sum of A and O*, i.e. the complete collection of core participants. The important point to note is that these core participants are grouped together as a single set, with no indication of who is A and who is O. The *vei-* derivation always operates in the same way, whether the simple intransitive (without *vei-*) would be of A or O type.

Consider the O verb '*oti(-va)* *to cut (with scissors or shears, e.g. O: cloth or hair)”:

- (17.4) *erau sa vei-.'oti ti'o o Sepo vata 'ei Elia* “Sepo and Elia are involved in an activity of (hair) cutting”

Here the S NP is *o Sepo vata 'ei Elia* “Sepo and Elia”. We cannot tell, from this sentence, just who is cutting whose hair. But everyone in Waitabu knows that Sepo often cuts people's hair, including that of his son Elia; this sociocultural knowledge would enable them to deduce who was A and who O, on hearing 17.4.

A stranger, though, would have to ask:

- (17.5) *o cei e 'oti ti'o vei rau?* “which of the two of them is having (his hair) cut?”

to which a reply could be, using the transitive form of the verb:

- (17.6) *o Sepo e 'oti-va ti'o a ulu-i Elia* “Sepo is cutting Elia's head (hair)”

The verb in 17.4 involved prefix *vei-*, root '*oti* and no suffix. There is another form, *vei-.'oti-vi*, with the passive form of the regular transitive ending. This adds an extra element to the meaning of *vei-.'oti*:

- (17.7) *erau sa vei-'oti-vi ti'o gaa* "Sepo and Elia are cutting each
o Sepo vata 'ei Elia other's hair"

Adding a passive suffix to a *vei-* form with this verb implies that each participant is alternately agent and patient, that is, each does it to the other.

In grammars of Fijian, *vei-* with a verb is usually said to be a reciprocal prefix. As can be seen, *vei-* does have a reciprocal sense—in 17.7—but this sense is a particular specification from its general "collective" meaning. To immediately label *vei-* as reciprocal tends to obscure its other functions. (Paul Geraghty has suggested that a *vei-* form can only be used if both A and O are human; e.g. *vei-'oti* could not refer to the cutting of clothes. This does, of course, correlate well with the reciprocal specification of *vei-*.)

The transitive form of the A-type verb *siivi(-ta)* "pass, exceed" can be used to describe one person passing another on the road, both going in the same direction:

- (17.8) *e aā siivi-ti au o Jone mai Viidawa* "John passed me at Viidawa"

If two people travelling in opposite directions meet and pass on the road, then a *vei-* form is appropriate; in this case the passive suffix *-ti* can either be included or omitted, with no difference in meaning:

- (17.9) *'eirau aa vei-.siivi-ti/vei-.sivi* "John and I passed each other at
(o yau) 'ei Jone mai Viidawa Viidawa"

To describe two people passing each other alternately, each going in the same direction, it is appropriate to employ *vei-* with a reduplicated form of the verb and no suffix: *vei-.sii.sivi*. (Note that the long vowel in *siivi* is shortened if it falls in a penultimate syllable, e.g. *(vei-.)siivi-ta* but *(vei-.)sivi*—see §2.3, §3.2.1.)

There are a number of general principles regarding *vei-* verbs: a *vei-* form (with or without a transitive suffix) is always intransitive; its subject is a collection of participants. But beyond these, the exact semantics of each *vei-* form must be learned—for instance, the fact that *vei-.sivi* should not be used for one person passing another, each going in the same direction, but only if they are travelling in opposite directions. (There is another use of *vei-.sivi* in 8.161.)

There is also considerable variation between verbs concerning the inclusion of a suffix with a *vei-* form:

(i) For some verbs, like *vei-'oti*, the passive suffix can be included or omitted, with a difference of meaning.

(ii) For some, like *vei-.sivi*, it can be either included or omitted and there is no meaning difference.

(iii) Another group of verbs must include a suffix with *vei-*. They include *vei-.pu'u-ci* "be angry with each other", from the A verb *pu'u(-ca)* "be angry (with)"; and *vei-boro-ti* "paint each other", *vei-.kama-ci* "burn each other",

from the O verbs *boro(-ta)* "be painted, paint" and *kama(-ca)* "be burnt, burn".

(iv) A further group cannot have a suffix with *vei-*, e.g. *vei-.dree* "pull each other (e.g. in a tug of war, or in an argument going back and forth in a meeting)", from the A verb *dree(-ta)* "pull"; or *vei-vana* "shoot each other", from the A verb *vana(-a)* "shoot".

Forms of type (iv) can often function either as a verb or as a noun describing some activity, e.g. *vei-.dree* "tug of war", and the following:

type	verb	derivation used as verb and as noun
O	{ <i>voli(-a)</i> "buy" <i>voli(-ta'ina)</i> "sell"}	<i>vei-.voli</i> "(do) business" (literally: collective buying and selling)
O	<i>soli(-a)</i> "give"	<i>vei-.soli</i> "exchange"
A	<i>vacu(-'a)</i> "punch"	<i>vei-.vacu</i> "box; boxing"
A	<i>vala(-ta'ina)</i> "fight (over)"	<i>vei-.vala</i> "fight, a fight"
A	<i>vu'e(-a)</i> "help"	<i>vei-.vu'e</i> "help"

If a suffix is used with a *vei-* form, the form of the suffix is always identical to the passive. That it is the passive, and not the transitive form used before a pronoun or name as object, can be seen from polysyllabic affixes, e.g. *curu-ma'ina* is "put in", (*vosa*) *vei-.curu.ma'i* is "(dialects) mixed in together" (before a pronoun or name as object the transitive suffix is still trisyllabic, *ma'ini*).

Some verbs, like *vu'e* "help", occur more often with *vei-* than without; the prefix stresses that helping is a collective activity. There are a few verbs that cannot occur without *vei-*, and the *vei-* must then be considered as synchronically an intrinsic part of the root, e.g. *vei-.taali-a* "to do as one pleases".

The intransitive form *vosa* has a wide general meaning "speak, talk". Its transitive form *vosa-'a* has the narrower sense "ask for (object's) hand in marriage". Interestingly, the form *vei-vosa-'i* can either mean "to discuss; a discussion" as in 14.26–7, T4.52; 66, T6.109, or "marriage proposal" as in T4.41.

There are occasional examples of the productive transitive suffix *-ta'ina* being added to a *vei-* form, e.g. *vei-.vala.-ta'ina* "fight against", as in T6.12. And *-ta'ina* can sometimes be added after a passive suffix in a *vei-* form, e.g. *vei-.vosa-'i.-ta'ina* "discuss about (e.g. a new car)".

Vei- forms can involve a reduplicated root, which may imply either (i) that there were a lot of participants, e.g. *vei-.qali.qali* "(many Tongans) were running away", in T6.60; *vei-.tara.tara-vi* "a long line of people following each other" (from *tara-va* "follow"); or (ii) that an act was done with deliberation and seriousness, e.g. *vei-.soro.soro-vi* "deep atonement" in T6.95, 98, 103; *vei-.soli.soli* "cession (the Fijians giving their land to Britain)" in T6.94.

The "collective" meaning of *vei-* enables the speaker to avoid topicalising either one of the participants, which he would have to do with a simple intransitive

sitive or transitive verb. Thus, if two places are compared, one of them must be picked out, as subject, in:

- (17.10) INTRANSITIVE *e vole'a o Waitabu i Viidawa* } "Waitabu is close
 (17.11) TRANSITIVE *e vole'a-ti Viidawa o Waitabu* } to Viidawa"

But a *vei-* form groups the two places together, as coordinated subject:

- (17.12) *e vei-.vole'a-ti o Waitabu* "Waitabu and Viidawa are close"
vata 'ei Viidawa

Vei- can similarly be used to avoid topicalising either participant with all types of verbs. Consider '*eve(-ta)* "carry (baby) on hip or in arms; nurse (baby)". It is common to hear:

- (17.13) *erau vei-. 'eve-ti ti'o* "Mary and her grandchild are
o Mere vata 'ei+na vua-na involved in an activity of
 nursing"

Here one would infer that it is Mary who is nursing the grandchild (*vua-*) and not vice versa, simply because grandchildren are nursed more often than are grandmothers. But if the subject of 17.13 had been *o Mere vata 'ei Teresia* "Mary and Teresia", then who was doing what to whom would not be obvious to anyone who was not aware of the relative ages/relationship of the participants (as it would not be in 17.4). The use of *vei-* in 17.13, and in similar sentences, serves to draw attention to the intimate nature of the activity.

Finally, it is instructive to compare the pre-head modifier *dui* "differently, separately, each . . . respectively" (§8.3.8) with the collective prefix *vei-*. Consider:

- (17.14) *era dui sabi-ca a wati-dra yalewa*
 3pl MODIF slap-TR ART spouse-3pl female
 "each of them slapped his (own) wife"
 (17.15) *era vei-.sabi-ci* "they slapped each other"

Sentence 17.14 is transitive and states that each of a group did something to someone outside the group; 17.15 is intransitive and refers to violent interaction within the group.

Sometimes, with a noun, *vei-* may be substitutable with *dui*:

- (17.16) *me+da dui 'ana i+na we-ta dui*
 SHOULD+1incpl MODIF eat IN+ART CLASSIF-1incpl MODIF
vale/ vei-.vale
 house COLL-house
 "we must each eat in our own house"

Here the "each . . . respectively" is adequately shown by *dui* in the predicate so that either *dui* or *vei-* is possible in the NP.

17.1.4 *Vei . . . ya'i/ya'ina* "all over the place"

There is a quite different type of derivation, in which a verb takes prefix *vei-* and one of the affixes *-ya'i* (deriving an intransitive stem) or *-ya'ina* (transitive stem), in place of the regular transitive ending. (The suffix *-ya'i* looks like a passive, but it does not in this combination function like a passive.)

The meaning of *vei . . . ya'i/ya'ina* is "all over the place". It occurs commonly with verbs of motion, e.g. *vei-.see.-ya'i* "flee all over the place", in T6.70; *vei-.cola.-ya'ina* "carry (something) on the shoulder all over the place"; *vei-.toso.-ya'i* "move here and there, all over the place"; this last form can also have a more metaphorical sense, as in

- (17.17) *a vei-. 'aa kece era vei-.toso.-ya'i tuu gaa i+na*
 ART COLL-thing ALL 3pl ASP MODIF IN+ART
'oro yai
 village THIS
 "lots of things are always happening (lit: moving) in this village"

The derivation also applies to verbs with more abstract meanings. *Nanu-ma* "think of, remember" does not occur in simple intransitive form, but there is an intransitive *vei-. . . -ya'i* derivation—*vei-.nanu.-ya'i* "think of this and that, keep on changing one's mind, achieving nothing in the end".

Common idioms include *vei-.leca.-ya'i* "changeable (of the weather)", and *vei-.si'i.-ya'i* "reshuffle (jobs in the government, or managerial positions in a firm, or furniture in a room)".

17.2 Prefix *va'a-*, causative, etc.

Va'a is a most versatile prefix, occurring with roots from every word class and with wide functional and semantic possibilities; it usually, but not always, changes word class membership.

In V the affix has the form *vaa-* before a velar (*k*, *q*, or *g*) and *vaka-* elsewhere. This relates to a strong preference in Fijian against having velar consonants in successive syllables within a word (see Arms 1974:130–47, following Krupa 1966). But B has the glottal stop where there is a *k* in V; there is no reason why *va'a-* should not be used before *q* or *g* (although we might expect *vaa-* before the glottal stop since B does show a preference not to have two glottal stops in successive syllables in a single word). Examination of the B corpus shows *va'a-* and *vaa-* to be in free variation before glottal stop, *q*, or *g*—there is *va'a-.qawa* in T4.28, *vaa-. 'ati* in T6.61, *va'a-. 'oro* in T8a.2—and the form *va'a-* to occur elsewhere. (It is hard to tell whether the occurrences of *vaa-* are a historical residue, from a time before the change *k>*' applied in B—which may well be one or two thousand years in the past—or a recent borrowing from V.)

17.2.1 With greetings and interjections

Most greetings in Fijian are based on verbs. On meeting someone for the first time in a day, one says *yadra* “hello” (lit: “awake”); at other times one would say *bula* “hello” (lit: “health”); and on taking one’s leave—at any time in the day—one should say *moce* “goodbye” (lit: “sleep”). Greetings sometimes involve an initial aspect marker *saa*, or, more formally, *nuu saa* B, *nii saa* V; *nuu/nii* is the 2pl pronoun, being used respectfully to refer to a single addressee. Someone might greet you with *saa bula*, and you could reply *bula'a vina'a* (with the adjective *vina'a* “good”). Interjections (§22.6), such as *io* “yes”, constitute a complete clause, sometimes a complete utterance.

Prefixed to a greeting word or an interjection, *va'a-* forms a “delocutive verb” (that is, a verb derived from a locution—Benveniste 1958). Thus *va'a-bula* “to say ‘bula’”, *va'a-io* “to say ‘io’”. The transitive suffix *-ta'ina* may also be added, as in *va'a-moce-ta'ina* “to say ‘moce’ to (someone)”.

(Churchward 1941:61 suggests that this *va'a-* is a form of the deictic verb *va'aa* “relating to, like”, §7.2. The non-correspondence of vowel length makes this somewhat unlikely. For further discussion see Parke 1981:85 ff.)

17.2.2 With nouns

When added to a noun root, *va'a-* may derive an adverb, a verb, or even a noun. Derived adverbs—which were discussed in §8.4—typically involve place names, common nouns referring to places, and *tuuraga* “chief”.

va'a- can derive an intransitive verb with a wide range of (simple and derived) nouns, with a meaning like “use” or “make” or “have”:

<i>teevoro</i> “spirit (traditional Fijian god)”	<i>va'a-teevoro</i> “worship traditional gods”
<i>i-lo'o.lo'o</i> “pillow”	<i>va'a-i-lo'o.lo'o</i> “use a pillow”
<i>mavoa</i> “wound”	<i>va'a-mavoa</i> “harmful (i.e. make wounds)”
<i>'olii</i> “dog”	<i>va'a-'olii</i> “own a dog”
<i>i-ti'o.ti'o</i> “residence” (derived from <i>ti'o</i> “to stay, reside”—see §17.3)	<i>va'a-i-ti'o.ti'o</i> “make a residence” as in 8.108, 16.19
<i>i-lavo</i> “money”	<i>va'a-i-lavo</i> “have money, make money, be rich”

Many of these *va'a-* forms can also function like an adjective and modify the head of an NP, e.g. *a tamata va'a-i-lavo* “a rich man”.

Denominal *va'a-* verbs sometimes occur with the transitive suffix *-ta'ina*, as in the following (note that these are all of O type i.e. intransitive subject corresponds to transitive object):

<i>suka</i> “sugar”, <i>va'a-suka</i> “sugared”, e.g. <i>tii va'a-suka</i> “tea with sugar”	<i>va'a-suka-ta'ina</i> “put sugar in (e.g. tea)”
<i>dia</i> “handle”, <i>va'a-dia</i> “with a handle”	<i>va'a-dia-ta'ina</i> “put a handle on”
<i>i-sulu</i> “clothes”, <i>va'a-i-sulu</i> “dress (oneself), be dressed”	<i>va'a-i-sulu-ta'ina</i> “dress (someone else)”

Complex nouns may take *va'a-*, e.g. from *wai.ni.mate* “medicine, fly spray (lit: liquid of illness/death)” is derived the transitive verb *va'a-wai.ni.mate-ta'ina* “use fly spray on”.

From the bound noun *wati-* “spouse” is derived the verb *va'a-wati* “to be living together conjugally, i.e. de facto married”; there is also *va'a-mau* “to be married in law, i.e. by a ceremony”. (*Mau* does not exist outside *va'a-mau*. *Wati-qu* “my spouse” and *vei.wati-ni* “married couple” are used irrespective of whether a union is legal or de facto.) Interestingly, *va'a-wati* and *va'a-mau* form different transitives—for *va'a-wati-ta'ina* the subject is the wife and the object the husband, or vice versa, whereas for *va'a-mau-ta'ina* the subject is the priest or registrar who performs the ceremony, and the object the married couple, or either one of them. (Thus the potential ambiguity of an English sentence such as *John married Mary in 1971*, where one cannot tell whether John was priest or groom, is resolved in Fijian.)

Some *va'a-* plus-NOUN forms may function either as an adverb or as a verb. Thus, *va'a-'oro*, from *'oro* “village”, is an adverb “relating to the village” in T8a.2, *ca'a.ca'a va'a-'oro* “village work”; and it is a verb “establish a village” in:

(17.18) . . . *era saa+qei toso ca'e mai, o ira qoo, era mai*
 3pl ASP+THEN move UP HERE ART 3pl THIS 3pl COME
va'a-'oro i Nasau
 MAKE-village AT Place

“. . . then they moved further clockwise (around the island of Taveuni), these people (the ancestors of the people of Waitabu village), and they established a village at Nasau”

I know of one noun derived from a place name by *va'a-*. It is *va'a-tunuloa* “shed-like building” (see T8a.3), so-called because it was first built by people from Tunuloa. This may originally have been used as a modifier, in *a vale va'a-tunuloa* “a Tunuloa-style house”, with the phrase being shortened over time to *a va'a-tunuloa* (cf. the development in English from *private soldier* to *private*).

17.2.3 With time words

Va'a- can be prefixed to a word referring to a unit of time, to derive an adverb with a meaning something like “every so often”. Compare *va'a-.yaba'i* “annually” with (*i+na*) *vei-.yaba'i* “(in) every year”.

With the general term *gauna* “time” we obtain *va'a-.gauna* “occasionally”, as in 21.29–31; contrast this with *vei-.gauna* “at every appropriate time”, §17.1.1.

One text mentions a song about a five-month drought, with the line:

- (17.19) *aa cila a siga va'a-.vula.lima*
 PAST shine ART sun RELATING TO-month-five
 “the sun shone for five months”

This shows an unusual word order, the adverb following the NP head rather than the predicate head; and also a nonce meaning “for five months”.

When *va'a-* is added to nouns referring to parts of the day, we get nouns that are the names of meals; thus, from *mata'a* “morning” comes *va'a-.mata'a* “breakfast”, from *sigalevu* “midday” comes *va'a-.sigalevu* “midday meal”, and from *ya'avi* “afternoon, early evening” comes *va'a-.ya'avi* “evening meal”.

In T4.60 there is a verb *va'a-.bogi-na* “count nights”, from *bogi* “night”.

17.2.4 With adjectives

Va'a- forms adverbs from a limited set of adjectives—see §8.4. With a rather larger set it derives verbs. There is some overlap between these two sets—*va'a-.balavu* can be an adverb “do lengthily”, or an intransitive verb “be long”, and there is also a transitive verb *va'a-.balavu-.ta'ina* “make long”. Other examples of deadjectival verbs are *va'a-.rewa* “be raised (of a flag)”, in 11.11, from *rewa* “high”; *va'a-.bera.bera-.ta'ina* “delay (lit: make slow)”, in T4.45, from *bera.bera* “slow”. From *yaga* “useful” is derived the transitive verb *va'a-.yaga-.ta'ina* “use”, as in 16.20, and its passive *va'a-.yaga-.ta'i* “used”, as in 8.84. *Tautauvata* “the same, level” yields intransitive *va'a-.tautauvata* “be level with (e.g. in a race)” and transitive *va'a-.tautauvata-.ta'ina* “smooth out, level up”.

17.2.5 With numbers

As mentioned in §8.4, *va'a-* plus number X forms an adverb “X times”. It is also possible to affix both *va'a-* and *-ta'ina*, and derive a transitive verb, e.g. *va'a-.rua.ta'ina* “double”, from *rua* “two”, in:

- (17.20) *o Suva e va'a-.rua-.ta'i me qei tautauvata*
 ART Place 3sg MAKE-TWO-PASS SHOULD THEN same
 'ei+na 'oro tuuraga mai Ositerelia, o Canberra
 WITH+ART village chief AT Australia ART Place
 “Canberra, the capital city of Australia, is twice as big as Suva”

(literally: (the population of) Suva, when doubled, should then be the same as (that of) the capital city of Australia, Canberra)”

17.2.6 With verbs

The two distinct syntactic effects of *va'a-* with verbs were introduced in §5.3.4. It is now appropriate to provide justification for the analysis suggested there, and more detailed exemplification.

The causative-type *va'a-* construction applies to all O-type verbs (which take *va'a-*) and to most A verbs; the non-causative *va'a-* construction applies to the remaining A-type verbs.

(1) Causative *va'a-*

We can begin by considering the transitive, intransitive, and causative *va'a-* forms of an A-type verb.

- (17.21) TRANS. *e 'oto-ra [a loga]_O* “the child is lying on the mat”
[a gone]_A
 (17.22) INTR. *e 'oto [a gone]_S (i+na loga)* “the child is lying (on the mat)”
 (17.23) CAUS. *e va'a-. 'oto-ra [a gone]_O [a marama]_A (i+na loga)* “the woman put the child lying down (on the mat)”

The relationship between the core NPs in these three sentences can be set out:

	thing lain on	person lying	causer
(17.21) TRANSITIVE	O	A	
(17.22) INTRANSITIVE	(prep) #	S	
(17.23) CAUSATIVE	(prep)	O	A

Now for an O-type verb:

- (17.24) TRANS. *e 'au-ta yane [a+i- vola]_O* “the youth is taking the letter”
[a cauravou]_A
 (17.25) INTR. *e 'au yane [a+i- vola]_S* “the letter is being taken/sent”
 (17.26) CAUS. *e va'a-. 'au-ta yane [a+i- vola]_O [a marama]_A* “the woman is sending (e.g. posting) the letter”

Setting the core NPs out in tabular form:

	person taking	thing taken	causer
(17.24) TRANSITIVE	A	O	
(17.25) INTRANSITIVE		S	
(17.26) CAUSATIVE		O	A

Note the difference in meaning between 17.24 and 17.26; in the former sentence the subject is taking the letter himself, while in the latter the subject is sending it—that is, causing it to be taken (e.g. by the postman).

All other verbal derivations are most revealingly related directly to the transitive form. But careful consideration of the data on causatives suggests

that they are best derived from the intransitive form of a verb (which is itself derived from the transitive form). We then get a straightforward derivational process:

- (i) add *va'a-* prefix to the basic root;
- (ii) add a transitive suffix;
- (iii) S becomes O;
- (iv) add causer NP as A.

This derivation tallies well with the ways in which causative constructions operate in other languages (Comrie 1975, 1976, 1981). To derive causatives from transitives in Fijian would involve different specifications for A-type verbs (O is demoted to optional prepositional phrase, A becomes O), and for O-type (O stays as O, the original A is deleted and a new A introduced—which *may* be referentially the same as the original O, see below). This would constitute a severe exception to Comrie's universal proposal that in a causativised transitive, the causee (original A) does not replace any existing function (e.g. O) but instead fills the first empty slot on a hierarchy of grammatical relations.

Further evidence supporting the "intransitive basis" of causatives is provided by the A-type verb *sucu(-ma)* "be born, to suck the breast". Thus

- (17.27) TRANS. *au aa sucu-ma* [*a sucu we-i Mere*]_O "I sucked Mary's (my mother's) breast"
 (17.28) INTR. *au aa sucu mai Peritaania* "I was born/sucked breast in Britain"
 (17.29) CAUS. *e aa va'a-sucu-mi au* [*o Mere*]_A "Mary gave birth to me".

If *va'a-sucu-ma* were based on the transitive, it would mean "make the baby suck the breast", which it doesn't.

And in this case, as with a number of other *va'a-* causatives, an intransitive form can be derived from the causative by omitting the transitive ending:

- (17.30) *e aa va'a-sucu* [*o Mere*]_S "Mary gave birth (i.e. she had a child)"

That is:

		breast	person born	person giving birth
(17.27)	PLAIN TRANSITIVE	O	A	
(17.28)	PLAIN INTRANSITIVE		S	
(17.29)	CAUSATIVE TRANSITIVE		O	A
(17.30)	CAUSATIVE INTRANSITIVE			S

The plain transitive is the most basic form of all. The plain intransitive is derived from this by dropping the transitive suffix; then A becomes S for some verbs and O becomes S for others. The transitive causative (the basic causa-

tive) is derived from the plain intransitive by prefixing *va'a-* and adding a transitive ending—for all verbs S becomes O and an introduced causer is A. Then, just as a plain intransitive is derived from a plain transitive, so is a causative intransitive derived from a causative transitive, by deleting the transitive suffix—and then A becomes S (i.e. all causatives are A-type verbs).

We can now discuss the details of causative derivation. For A-type verbs the one point of variation concerns the form of the transitive suffix used with *va'a-*. For about half the A-type verbs this is the same as the plain transitive ending, e.g. '*oto(-ra)*, *va'a-'oto-ra*; *sucu(-ma)*, *va'a-sucu(-ma)*; *vuli(-ca)* "learn", *va'a-vuli-ca* "teach" (in §5.3.4). For the remaining A-type verbs two different transitive suffixes are employed, e.g. '*ele(-va)* "stop at (a place)", *va'a-'ele-a* "make something (e.g. a boat) stop"; *bale(-ta)* "fall on", *va'a-bale-a* "make fall"; and the very common verbs: transitive *yaco-va* "arrive at, reach", its intransitive *yaco* "arrive, happen, become", and the causative *va'a-yaco-ra* "make happen, perform".

Some verbs cannot be classified as A or O since they have no plain transitive; the only transitive is a *va'a-* causative, e.g. *yali* "be lost, not visible", *va'a-yali-a* "to lose"; *cave* "be hanging", *va'a-cave-a* "hang up (e.g. clothes on a line)"; *matè* "to die", *va'a-mate-a* "to kill, make dead". Some cooking verbs are also of this type, e.g. (*va'a-*)*riri(-ga)* "boil food with coconut oil", (*va'a-*)*'ere(-a)* "boil water".

There is an intransitive verb (that has no plain transitive) *lasa*, which has two disparate senses: (i) be familiar to, e.g. *e lasa vei yau* "it is familiar to me, I am accustomed to it"; (ii) full of fun, amusing. There are in fact two *va'a-* forms, with different transitive endings: (i) *va'a-lasa-na* "make oneself familiar with", and (ii) *va'a-lasa-a* "amuse", showing that there really are two verb roots *lasa*, which are homonyms.

For all the O-type verbs that take *va'a-*, the transitive suffix used with *va'a-* is identical to the plain transitive suffix, as with '*au(-ta)* "take", *va'a-'au-ta* "send". The O NP of the causative will always coincide with the O NP of the simple transitive. Variation occurs, for the O-type causative, in the relation between the A of the plain transitive and the A of the causative.

For some O-verbs there seems to be no difference between plain A and causative A, e.g. *saqa-ra* and *va'a-saqa-ra* "boil (food)" are almost exact synonyms; the *va'a-* form is the one that is most used, and may possibly imply that the cook is trying especially hard.

For some verbs the plain A does not *do* anything, and there can then be a considerable difference between plain transitive and causative. The most striking instance of this is '*asa* "(boat) runs ashore", with plain transitive '*asa-va* "watch (a boat) run aground" and causative *va'a-'asa-va* "make (a boat) run ashore".

The difference between '*au-ta* "take, carry" and *va'a-'au-ta* "send", discussed above, highlights the difference between doing something oneself and causing it to be done (by someone else). (But this does not apply to all

causatives—*va'a-.saqa-ra*, for instance, does *not* mean “cause it to be cooked by someone else”.)

A *va'a-* prefix, added to any type of verb, generally indicates that there is a strenuous effort on the part of the agent. This is especially apparent in the case of O-type verbs, since the semantic difference may be the main (or only) factor distinguishing a *va'a-* form from the plain transitive, as in *va'a-.sogo-ta* “try hard to close a door that may not fit too well” (§5.3.4) and:

cega-a “turn up (e.g. a mat to find a lost pen)”
va'a-.cega-a “turn up assiduously (e.g. many mats to find the pen)”
pono-'a “catch (animal/fish/person) with the hands”
va'a-.pono-'a “make a determined effort to catch with the hands”

A plain transitive may just refer to something that happens, but a *va'a-* form implies that the agent was *trying*, in order to achieve his end. Corresponding to *rogo* “sound out, be audible” there is a plain transitive *rogo-ca* “hear” (which can be involuntary) and, in contrast, the causative *va'a-.rogo-ca* “listen to” (which implies some concentration and effort).

(2) Non-causative *va'a-*

This derivation only applies to a restricted number of A-type verbs (those that do not form *va'a-* causatives). Here *va'a-* merely adds a semantic nuance “do intensively, with special effort”; the A and O NPs of the *va'a-* form are identical to A and O of the plain transitive (and the transitive suffix is also the same in both cases).

Some examples were given in §5.3.4—*va'a-.taro-ga* “ask many times”, and *va'a-.muri-a* “follow, where there is some difficulty involved”. Note also:

rai-ca “see” *va'a-.rai-ca* “watch, inspect, look after”
masu-ta “pray to” *va'a-.masu-ta* “earnestly beseech”

Those A verbs that take *va'a-* in the non-causative sense do not have a derived causative form. The only way of saying, for example, “make follow” is to specify what exactly was done to make the person follow (e.g. he was told to go, or forced to go), using a biclausal construction.

There are effectively three types of *va'a-* construction: (a) causative with A verbs; (b) causative with O verbs; and (c) non-causative with A verbs. For type (a) the A and O of the *va'a-* construction must be different from the A and O of a plain transitive; for type (c) the A and O are the same; and for type (b) O always is and A often is the same. It is significant that for type (a), which has the greatest syntactic difference, the plain transitive and *va'a-* suffixes are sometimes different; for types (b) and (c) they are always the same.

We have shown that types (a) and (b) are similar in terms of their derivation from an intransitive (S always becomes O, etc). But, comparing *va'a-* forms with the plain transitive, types (b) and (c) are most similar. Compare *va'a-.rogo-ca*, which is type (b) (since *rogo* is primarily an O verb), and *va'a-.rai-ca*, which is type (c) (*rai* is A type):

INTRANSITIVE	<i>rogo</i> “sound out, be audible”	<i>rai</i> “see”
TRANSITIVE	<i>rogo-ca</i> “hear it”	<i>rai-ca</i> “see it”
CAUSATIVE	<i>va'a-.rogo-ca</i> “listen to it”	<i>va'a-.rai-ca</i> “look at it, etc”

There is, however, a lack of grammatical congruence between (b) and (c). For (c) the *va'a-* form has the same syntax as a plain transitive with the addition of a semantic nuance of “special effort”. This applies for some type (b) verbs such as *sogo-ta* “close”, *cega-a* “turn up”, *pono-'a* “catch with the hands”; but others, like *'au-ta* “be carried” and *'asa-va* “watch (boat) run aground”, show differences in meaning and also differences in A NP. In contrast, all *va'a-* forms of types (a) and (b) are straightforward causative versions of the corresponding intransitives. Hence, type (b) verbs are here grouped with type (a), as causatives, rather than with type (c), as “added volition” verbs.

There is a further type of *va'a-* construction of which I have only one example. In addition to *va'a-.rai-ca* “look at, watch, etc”, there is also *va'a-.rai-.ta'ina* “show” as in:

(17.31) *au aa va'a-.rai-.ta'ina a gou* “I showed my belt to John”
beleti vei Jone

The correspondence between core NPs is:

	person seeing	thing seen	causer
INTRANSITIVE <i>rai</i>	S		
TRANSITIVE <i>rai-ca</i>	A	O	
CAUSATIVE <i>va'a-.rai-.ta'ina</i>	(prep)	O	A

This appears to be a second type of causative, based on the transitive verb, where a new causer comes in as A, the original A is demoted to a prepositional phrase, and the O remains as is. (This accords exactly with Comrie’s general principles concerning causative versions of transitive clauses.) It is possible that intensive lexical research would reveal more transitive-based causatives on this pattern.

Many *va'a-* verbs can form an intransitive by omitting the transitive suffix, e.g. *va'a-.sucu* “give birth”, mentioned above, and also *va'a-.muri* “follow (with difficulty)”; and, in T6.61, *vaa-'ati* “hunt” (lit: “make (dogs) bite”).

There are some verbs which only exist in a *va'a-* form, e.g. *va'a-.bau-ta* “believe, accept (proposal)” (neither *bau* nor *bau-ta* are accepted by speakers of B).

17.2.7 Partial reduplication, and prefix *-taa-*

Some verb roots have a derivation that involves (a) prefixing *va'a-*; and (b) reduplicating then first CV of the root (and sometimes lengthening its vowel). There is no transitive suffix, and all such forms are intransitive. Thus:

<i>di'e-va</i> "investigate it"	<i>va'a-.di.di'e</i> "do research"
<i>na'i-ta</i> "plan it"	<i>va'a-.naa.na'i</i> "scheme"
<i>muri-a</i> "follow it"	<i>va'a-.mu.muri</i> "follow each other" (often used to describe a close-knit gang of youths)
<i>rai-ca</i> "see it"	<i>va'a-.ra-rai</i> "explore"
<i>rogo-ca</i> "hear it"	<i>va'a-.ro-rogo</i> "listen carefully, obey"

(The last two verbs also have a transitive *va'a-* form, discussed in the last subsection.)

The semantic effect of this *va'a-* plus partial reduplication appears to be "do with particular attention, over a period of time" (see also Arms 1974: 87–8).

There is a prefix *-taa-* that only occurs between *va'a-* and a verb root (which has a transitive suffix), and then only with a small set of verbs, e.g.

<i>vuli(-ca)</i> "learn"	<i>va'a-.vuli-ca</i> "teach" (see §5.3.4); <i>va'a-.taa-.vuli-ca</i> "teach and impart knowledge"
<i>'ila(-a)</i> "know"	<i>va'a-.taa-.'ila-a</i> "make known, show"

as in

(17.32) *au na va'a-.taa-.'ila-a vei* I will show that man to you (lit: make him known to you)
i'o a tamata mayaa

In the translation of the Bible, the name for the book of Revelation is rendered by (in the spelling used there) *ai vakatakila*, involving this verb used as head of an NP.

Arms (1974: 88) suggests that *-taa-* means "across", i.e. get knowledge or learning "across" (see also the examples in Milner 1972: 104).

-Taa- appears in one other type of derivation, again after *va'a-*; here the first syllable of the root is reduplicated (but not lengthened) and there is no transitive suffix. This happens with a fairly limited set of verbs. It appears to mean something like "indulge in" and/or "do in a non-typical context" (cf Milner 1972: 104; Schütz 1986: 231), e.g. *va'a-.taa-.vu-vuli* "begin to practice, as a way of learning" (from *vuli* "learn"), *va'a-.taa-.vo-voce* "go for a pleasure paddle" (from *voce* "to paddle") and *va'a-.taa-.'a-'ana* (from *'ana* "eat") which can be used as a verb "have a picnic" or as a noun "picnic":

(17.33) *sa soqo va'a-.dua o Boumaa ni 'eimami mai*
ASP assemble completely ART Place WHEN lexmpl COME
ca'a-va 'ina a va'a-.taa-.'a-'ana
make-TR PREP+3sg ART picnic

"the whole of Boumaa assembled when we all made a picnic (to celebrate establishing the fact that the lake high in the mountains belongs to us, and not to the Somosomo people)"

17.2.8 *Va'a-* and *vei-* together

Both *va'a-* and *vei-* are very common prefixes. They can occur together, in either order.

Collective prefix *vei-* can be used with *va'a-* verbs. From *va'a-.vuli-ca* "teach" is derived *vei-.va'a-.vuli-ci* "be involved in teaching", whose subject will be just the teacher (and not, as might be expected, the collection of people involved—teacher(s) and pupils). From the verb *toro* "move" and modifier *ca'e* "up" are derived *toro.ca'e* "move up", then the causative verb *va'a-.toro.ca'e-.ta'ina* "develop (lit: make move up)", and finally the *vei-* form *vei-.va'a-.toro.ca'e-.ta'i*, which is the normal Fijian term for "development". *Maarau(-ta'ina)* is a verb "be happy (at)", from which are derived *va'a-.maarau-.ta'ina* "make happy" and then *vei-.va'a-.maarau-.ta'i* (lit: "(people) making each other happy"), which was glossed by bilingual informants as "concert".

From the bound noun *taci-* "sibling of the same sex" are derived *vei-.taci-ni* "people in a *taci-* relationship to each other", and from that an adverb that exhibits the prefix sequence *va'a-* plus *vei-*, i.e. *va'a-.vei-.taci-ni* "brotherly, sisterly (between two people of the same sex)", as in *sevu mada va'a-.vei-.taci-ni* "make an offering of first fruits to your brothers, if you please" (addressed to a man).

17.3 Prefix *+i-*, deverbal

When the prefix *+i-* is added to a verb it derives a noun; this noun describes the instrument, or the place of the activity, or the result of the activity, or the activity itself. As mentioned at the beginning of chapter 3 (and also in §3.2.2), *+i-* will form a phonological word with the common article if this immediately precedes e.g. *a+i-sele* "knife"; otherwise it is a clitic to the following root (to which it is grammatically a prefix), e.g. *a qou i-sele* "my knife". The prefix *+i-* is silently omitted after *ni* (in an NP *ni* NP construction), as in T6.47, where *ni* plus *i-la'o.la'o* is pronounced as *ni la'o.la'o*, and in 14.29, where *ni* plus *i-talanoa* becomes *ni talanoa*.

Derivations with *+i-* apply to both O and A type verbs, as noted below; a dash indicates a verb that does not have an intransitive form, in my data, and thus cannot be classified as A or O. The verb root is sometimes reduplicated with *+i-* and sometimes not; we discuss this at the end of the subsection.

The meaning difference between a verb used as head of a clausal NP, and an *+i-*-derived noun, can be exemplified by:

(17.34) *au aa nanu-ma a o-mu la'o* "I thought about your coming here"
(17.35) *au aa nanu-ma a o-mu i-* "I thought about how you got here
la'o.la'o mai (e.g. whether by bus or by car)"

The semantic effects of +i- can be roughly classified:

(i) **Instruments.** Almost all nouns for tools and weapons are derived from an appropriate verb by +i-

<i>sele(-ta)</i> "cut, slice" (O type)	<i>i-sele</i> "knife"
<i>tu'i(-q)</i> "strike at, knock at" (O)	<i>i-tu'i</i> "hammer (the manufactured article, or a stone used as a hammer)"
<i>va'o(-ta)</i> "impale with a pointed object" (O)	<i>i-va'o</i> "nail"
<i>cula(-a)</i> "pierce" (O)	<i>i-εula</i> "needle"
<i>sogo(-ta)</i> "close" (O)	<i>i-sogo</i> "stopper (for bottle, etc)"
<i>'aba(-ta)</i> "climb steep surface" (A)	<i>i-'aba.'aba</i> "ladder"

(ii) **Place.** From verbs of rest, the +i- derivation refers to the relevant place, or item of furniture:

<i>ti'o(-ra)</i> "stay, reside (at)" (A)	<i>i-ti'o.ti'o</i> "place of residence, address" e.g. T6.81
<i>bulu(-ta)</i> "cover with earth, bury" (O)	<i>i-bulu.bulu</i> "grave" e.g. T4.100
<i>tuu(-ra)</i> "stand (at), be at a place" (O)	<i>i-tuu.tuu</i> "place for a thing (e.g. shelf where it is kept)"
<i>'oto(-ra)</i> "lie down (on)" (A)	<i>i-'oto.'oto</i> "place to lie down" e.g. T4.77
<i>moce(-ra)</i> "sleep (with)" (A)	<i>i-moce.moce</i> "bed"
<i>dabe(-ra)</i> "sit (on)" (A)	<i>i-dabe.dabe</i> "chair"

A semantically similar derivation is:

<i>lo'i(-a)</i> "bend" (O)	<i>i-lo'i.lo'i</i> "joint"
----------------------------	----------------------------

(iii) **Result.** If a verb describes something being done to achieve a certain end, the +i- derivation may describe the result.

<i>vivi(-a)</i> "wrap, bind, roll" (O)	<i>i-vivi</i> "roll (e.g. of toilet paper)"
<i>vola-a</i> "write" (-)	<i>i-vola</i> "letter, book"
<i>talanoa(-ta'ina)</i> "tell, recount" (A)	<i>i-talanoa</i> "story, narrative", e.g. T6.127
<i>wase(-a)</i> "divide, separate, share out" (O)	<i>i-wase~wase.wase</i> "portion, division (of food or army etc)" e.g. T6.60
<i>tuva(-a)</i> "set in order, arrange" (O)	<i>i-tuva</i> "arrangement, row, program"

<i>taba-'a</i> "press down, take photograph" (-)	<i>i-taba</i> "photograph, picture" e.g. T6.47
--	--

Note that from the verb *sele(-ta)* "cut, slice" is derived *i-sele* "knife". There is an +i- derivation for "a slice", and this is *i-'ola.'ola*, from the verb *'ola(-ta)*, whose original meaning was "split wood (with a wedge)".

(iv) **Activity and mode of activity.** With verbs from a wide range of semantic types, the +i- derivation describes a "unit of activity" (in contrast to the verb itself, which describes the activity as a process, with temporal duration):

<i>na'i-ta</i> "intend" (-)	<i>i-na'i</i> (T6.14 ff)~ <i>i-na'i.na'i</i> (T6.13 ff) "intention, purpose"
<i>oti</i> "end" (and <i>va'a-.oti-a</i> "finish")	<i>i-oti.oti</i> "last, ending" e.g. 8.8
<i>valu-ta</i> "make war on" (-)	<i>i-valu</i> "war"
<i>la'o(-va)</i> "go (for)" (A)	<i>i-la'o.la'o</i> "mode of travelling"
<i>cavu-ta</i> "pronounce" (-)	<i>i-cavu.cavu</i> "pronunciation (i.e. how it is pronounced)"
<i>bale(-ta)</i> "caused by, mean" (A)	<i>i-bale.bale</i> "meaning"
<i>ca'a(va)</i> "do, make, work at" (O)	<i>i-ca'a.ca'a</i> "way of working"

(v) **General property.** There are a few examples, like

<i>boi(-ca)</i> "emit a smell" (O)	<i>i-boi</i> "a smell"
<i>guu(-ta)</i> "have energy, be eager for" (A)	<i>i-guu</i> "energy"

where the +i- derivation describes a physical property. The only +i- derivation in my corpus not to be based on a verb may also belong in this category—alongside the bound noun *ro'a-* "colour" there is also a free form *i-ro'a* "colour" (§10.5).

The prefix +i- does not, as a rule, derive nouns referring to patient, recipient, benefactive, etc. I know of just two instances of an +i- form referring to an agent (these are also the only examples of +i- derivatives having human reference): (a) *i-va'a-bula* "saviour" (see T6.4) from *va'a-bula* "make alive" may have been a coinage suggested by the early missionaries; (b) *i-vu'e.vu'e* "deputy (to leader)" is from the verb *vu'e(-a)* "help" (A).

As mentioned in §13.3, the first part of the derivational prefix for ordinal numbers +i-'a- could be regarded as a further instance of this affix.

As with *va'a-* and *vei-*, there are a number of forms where the affix appears, in synchronic terms, to be part of the root, e.g. *itovo* “custom, habit, manner”, where **tovo* is not attested.

It is now time to turn to the question of why some +i- forms involve a reduplicated verb root, and others do not. Does it relate to A or O type? Or to the semantic effect of the derivation? Looking at the examples under (i) we see that all are O verbs, and all lack reduplication, except *'aba*, which is the only A verb and does show reduplication. Under (ii) all are reduplicated, whether A or O. Under (iii) none are reduplicated (save *wase*, optionally); some are A, some O, and some without any intransitive form. And so on.

In the next chapter I show that the division into A and O verbs is largely semantically determined. Most of the verbs of “affect” (hitting, cutting, spearing, etc) are O type, and most instruments are derived from these verbs; *i-'aba.'aba* “ladder” is an exception, coming from a verb of motion (most of which are of A type). Thus, the partial correlation between senses of +i-, and A or O type, could be explained through (a) correlation between sense and semantic type of verb; and (b) correlation between semantic type of verb and the A/O division.

In §5.3.2 (see also §17.6) I mentioned reduplication of verbs, which derives a form indicating that the agent does something several times, or over a long period. Both A- and O-type verbs can be reduplicated, but it is always the transitive subject (A) which becomes subject (S) of the reduplicated form. Now for A-type verbs the reduplication has the same syntax and differs only in meaning from the plain intransitive. But for O-type verbs the reduplicated form is the only means of putting A into S function. O-type reduplications are particularly useful and are used a great deal, e.g. *cula.cula* “to sew” (cf *cula-a* “to sew it”, *cula* “to be sewn”).

We can suggest that the preferred +i- derivative is with the verb root reduplicated, but that a non-reduplicated form is sometimes used, mostly with O-type verbs, to ensure maximum differentiation between the +i- nominalisation and the reduplicated verb, e.g. *a+i-cula* “needle” (not **a+i-cula.cula*) versus *cula.cula* “to sew”.

There may be a semantic explanation for some of the exceptions. From the O verb *bo'o(-ca)* “extinguish, erase” is derived *i-bo'o.bo'o* “blackboard eraser”. This is reduplicated—but then there would be little use for the reduplicated verb *bo'o.bo'o*, since people scarcely rub out for a long period of time (in the way that they may sew all day).

This is certainly one factor motivating the use or lack of use of reduplication with +i-; but it does not explain all the examples. There are doubtless some other principle(s) involved, which an acute native speaker, trained in linguistics, would be best equipped to uncover.

The five senses of +i- by and large apply to different classes of verb. But there is a little overlap. Hazlewood (1872:53) first pointed out that from *'ele(-va)* “stop, anchor (boat)” is derived *i-'ele.'ele*, which has both sense (a)

“anchor”, and (b) “anchorage”. (Schütz 1986:371 says it can also mean “way of anchoring” but this sense is not recognised by speakers of B.)

Prefixes +i- and *va'a-* may co-occur, in either order. From the verb *ti'o* “stay, reside” are derived the noun *i-ti'o.ti'o* “place of residence” and thence the verb *va'a-.i-ti'o.ti'o* “make a residence”—see §17.2.2, and 8.108, 16.19. Many verbs with *va'a-* can form +i- nominals, e.g. adjective *macala* “clear”, verb *va'a-.macala(-ta'ina)* “make clear, explain”, and noun *i-va'a-.macala* “explanation”.

17.4 Prefix *dau-* “habitually, often”

There are two homonymous forms *dau-*. *Dau₂* occurs with a verbal root and derives a noun with the meaning “expert at”, e.g. *dau-siwa* “expert fisher”. The form to be discussed here, *dau₁*, occurs with the meaning “habitually, often”, before a predicate head—in the position in which either a prefix or a pre-head modifier could occur; it is not an easy matter to decide on its grammatical status. *Dau-* forms can function as modifier to an NP or as head of a predicate, i.e. in the slots typical of adjective and verb respectively. There is evidence (presented below) that *dau-* forms are, essentially, derived adjectives, but again the matter is by no means clear-cut. Because of its derivational effect we regard *dau-* as a prefix (in terms of the criteria for “prefix” employed in this study). Other grammarians might well prefer other solutions—such as saying that *dau-* is sometimes a prefix and at other times a modifier. In fact, which solution is adopted should make little difference to an understanding of the role of *dau-* in Fijian (i.e. they are likely to be just terminological alternatives).

Dau- occurs most often with a verb, e.g. from *buta'o(-ca)* “steal, rob” is derived *dau-.buta'o* “habitually stealing/robbing”, and from *qito(-ra)* “play physical games” is derived *dau-.qito* “habitually playing games”. These can be modifier to an NP head, e.g. *a tamata dau-.buta'o* “person who habitually burgles”, in 14.7; or they can be predicate head, e.g. *sa dau-.buta'o a tamata yai* “this person habitually burgles” (and compare with a *dau₂* form as NP head *a dau-.buta'o* “an expert burglar”).

Dau- can co-occur with *vei-* and *va'a-*, e.g. *dau-.vei-.vacu* “boxer” (see §17.1.3), *dau-.va'a-.teevoro* “spirit worshipper” (§17.2.2), and with verbs that show an incorporated nominal, e.g. *dau-.ana.tamata* “cannibal (lit: habitual eater of people)”, and 11.1. It is found before a complex predicate (which could of course be a reason for considering it to be a pre-head modifier rather than a prefix). One example of this is at T4.160, where *dau-* precedes modifier *la'i* “go and”, plus the verb *ta'i* “fetch” with an incorporated nominal *wai* “water”—*dau-.la'i.ta'i.wai* “habitually go and fetch water”. Another is in a story of how an earlier generation would eat turtle flippers that had been steeped in salt water for four days; the narrator says that people nowadays wouldn't consider eating such food, but . . .

- (17.36) . . . *ia, sa+qei . dau-* [*'e-dra 'aa.'ana vina'a* [*a*
 BUT ASP+THEN HABITUAL CLASSIF-3pl food good ART
we-imami qase]]
 CLASSIF-1excl ancestor

"but it was a favourite food for our ancestors"

Here the NP *'e-dra 'aa.'ana vina'a a we-imami qase* "our ancestors' good food" (in which *a we-imami qase* expands the reference of possessor pronoun *'e-dra*) is a predicate head, modified by *dau-*.

There are many examples of *dau-* in the texts, e.g. *dau-tu'u-ni* "generally told" in T4.1, T6.57; *dau-vei-caa-ta'i* "be habitual enemies" in T4.178; see also T6.35,92.

Dau- occurs with intransitive O verbs—e.g. *dau-tobe* "(rope) is usually plaited"—and with passives:

- (17.37) *e levu a 'aa.'ana e* "there are many foodstuffs that were widely
dau-'ila-i known (in those days)"

Dau- can be used to indicate an habitual patient, or the habitual agent of a verb. Compare 17.1 and

- (17.38) *e dau-lau-'ana a vua ni waalai?* "is the fruit of the waalai
 edible?"

- (17.39) *era dau-'ani-a ni siga ni sucu a .uvi, e*
 3pl HABITUAL-eat-TR ON day ASSOCIATED birth ART yam 3sg
tei i+na June
 planted IN+ART June

"they would generally eat, on Christmas Day (lit: day of birth), yams which had been planted in June"

The verb *yaco* "happen" and the passive of *va'a-yaco-ra* "make happen, perform" are often used with *dau-*, e.g.

- (17.40) QUESTION: *e dau-yaco va'a-somaa?* "is it usual (to get two
 cyclones in three days)?"

ANSWER: *e sega, e dau-yaco va'a-vuudua* "no, it happens very seldom"

In §8.3.6 we described how the modifiers *rui* "to a high degree" and *soti* "a lot" can only qualify adjectives or adverbs, i.e. they cannot occur with a verb unless there is an adjective or adverb also present. But *rui* and *soti* can occur with *dau-* plus-verb, as in 8.117, 8.120, 8.123; we infer from this that *dau-* derives an adjectival form.

There is one other piece of evidence that supports this conclusion. A verb generally cannot occur as modifier to an NP head. *Maarau* "be happy" is a verb in Fijian. When I tried to say *a tamata maarau* for "a happy person", I was corrected to *a tamata dau-maa.maarau*, with prefix *dau-* and root

reduplicated. This is consistent with a *dau-* form being a derived adjective, which of course can modify an NP head.

17.5 Prefix *'ai-* "native of"

The prefix *'ai-* can be added to any place name and derives a common noun that describes someone who comes from that place, e.g. *'ai-Boumaa* "Boumaa person" in T4.188,224; *'ai-Waini'eli* in T4.191 ff; *'ai-Ca'audrove* in T6.34,125; and *'ai-Toga* "Tongan", *'ai-Peritaania* "Briton". It can also occur with *vei* "where", deriving *'ai-vei* "native of where?"

There are a few idioms involving *'ai-*, notably *'ai-loma* "half-caste", from *loma* "inside" (literally "person from between the races"); see also the entry for *kai-* in Capell (1941:78).

17.6 Reduplication

There are a number of productive or semi-productive processes of reduplication in Fijian, applying to numbers, adjectives, and verbs (but not to nouns).

A number of roots exist only in reduplicated form. Sometimes there is no corresponding unreduplicated form, e.g. *manu.manu* "bird, animal", *yanu.yanu* "island". Often an unreduplicated form does exist and frequently there is a semantic connection (although this is different in each case), e.g. *wai* "water, liquid", *waiwai* "oil, paint"; *vula* "moon, month", *vula.vula* "white"; *qase* "old person", *qase.qase* "clever, cunning"; *unu* "drink", *unu.unu* "gargle"; *'ila-a* "know", *'ila.'ila-a* "guess".

There are just a few examples of affix reduplication. My corpus contains two instances of a double *va'a-*.²² For the first we can build up a chain of derivation:

adjective	<i>yaga</i> "useful"
derived transitive verb	<i>va'a-yaga.-ta'ina</i> "to use"
passive form	<i>va'a-yaga.-ta'i</i> "used"
derived nominal	<i>+i-va'a-yaga.-ta'i</i> "the use"
reduplicated <i>va'a-</i>	<i>+i-va'a.-va'a-yaga.-ta'i</i> "way of using", as in

- (17.41) *a+i-va'a.-va'a-yaga.-ta'i ni wai.ni.mate yai e*
 ART+way of using ASSOCIATED medicine THIS 3sg
vola-i i'o i+na tolo ni tavaya
 write-PASS ASP ON+ART trunk ASSOCIATED bottle

"the directions for using this medicine are written on the side of the bottle"

The other double *va'a-* involves the root *rau*, which exists as a transitive *rau-ta* "be sufficient for, be the size of" (but not, I was told, as a plain intransitive) and also in the commonly-used derivations *va'a-rau* "prepare" and *+i-va'a-rau* "preparation". There is also *va'a.-va'a-rau* "prepare with

greater and greater assiduity because, say, the time for departure is getting really close". The transitive form *va'a-.va'a-.rau-.ta'ina* is used in T6.9.

We also find, in T6.68, *vei-.vei-.tau*, which may be the collective prefix *vei-* added to *vei-.tau* "race"; *vei-.vei-.gauna* "ceaselessly" was mentioned in §17.1.1. Reduplication of *vei-*, as of *va'a-*, does exist, but it is uncommon and probably not productive.

In §17.1.1 I noted that a noun may sometimes be reduplicated with *vei-*, e.g. *vei-.vale.vale* "every house".

The productive types of reduplication are:

(i) ADJECTIVES—there is partial reduplication of some of the most common adjectives when used as a modifier in an NP, e.g. *levu* "big", *le-levu* "lots of big ones". In addition, some colour adjectives that basically have a reduplicated form must lose this reduplication when modifying a noun that refers to an animal, or "stone" or "earth". For discussion of adjective reduplication, see §19.1.

(ii) NUMBERS—reduplication of a simple number, X (the full form being repeated) indicates "all X", and functions as a post-head modifier—§8.3.7.

(iii) VERBS—as mentioned in §5.3.2, there is a productive process of verb reduplication, with the meaning "do something several times, or over a long period".

Generally, the first two syllables of a root are reduplicated, e.g. *cula.cula* "sew for a period", *buta.buta'o* "steal on a number of occasions". But there are two main classes of exception:

(a) if the root contains two identical syllables, just the first is reduplicated, with its vowel lengthened e.g. *dredre* "laugh", *dree.dredre* "laugh for a period"; *rere* "be frightened", *ree.rere* "be frightened for a time".

(b) if the first syllable of a word involves a long vowel, then just this syllable is reduplicated, e.g.

maarau "be happy" *maa.maarau* "be permanently happy"
qoolou "shout" *qoo.qoolou* "shout for an extended period"

Taking the transitive form of a verb as basic, reduplication derives an intransitive stem whose S corresponds to transitive A. For verbs of A orientation there is then only a semantic difference between plain intransitive and reduplicated forms, e.g. *caqe-ta* "kick at", *caqe* "kick", *caqe.caqe* "kick for a period (e.g. football practice)"; *were-ca* "weed it", *were* "weed", *were.were* "weed for a period (e.g. a whole morning)".

With verbs of O type there is both a semantic and a syntactic difference. For the plain intransitive, S corresponds to transitive O, and for the reduplicated intransitive, S corresponds to transitive A (see the sentential examples in §5.3.2). Reduplicated forms are much used for O verbs; they are particularly useful, being the only way of stating A but not O—but they *can* only be used when the semantic condition is met, that the action is done for a period or several times over. Popular examples include *tomi.tomi* "pick up (e.g. rub-

bish from the grass around a house)", *boro.boro* "paint", *toci.toci* "scrape, plane", *tali.tali* "weave", *ca'a.ca'a* "work".

The verbs *iri-va* "fan (e.g. fan food to keep flies off)" and *vola-a* "write" appear not to have simple intransitive forms and thus cannot be classified as either A or O type. Their reduplicated forms are frequently used—*iri.iri* "use fan for a period" and *vola.vòla* "write for a period", as in 14.1–2.

Transitive versions of reduplicated verbs are attested but are rather uncommon, e.g. *tu'i.tu'i-a* "hammer it a lot", and *caqe.caqe-.la'ina* "kick it a lot".

There is one other productive type of verb reduplication: when a prefix indicating spontaneity or adversative effect is added to a root, both prefix (monosyllabic) and verb root (all disyllabic in my corpus) can be reduplicated, at opposite ends of the word, e.g. *ca-lidi* "explode, burst", reduplicated *ca-ca-lidi.lidi* "many things explode" (T6.51). This is discussed in §18.7.

Partial reduplication with *va'a-* was discussed in §17.2.7.

There are a number of other instances of reduplication in addition to the regular processes just outlined. Each is confined to one, or perhaps a few, words; e.g. the verb "to boil in a pot" can be *saqa* or *va'a-.saqa-ra* or *sa-saqa* or *va'a-.sa-saqa*.

Finally, we must stress that if reduplication involves two or more moras, then a reduplication boundary is always a phonological word boundary. This is quite evident from the stress placement in *búta.butá'o* and *tú'i.tu'í-a*. It is only in single mora reduplication (e.g. adjective *le-lévu*) that the whole form makes up one phonological word.

18 Verbs

The predicate is the centre of a Fijian clause, and the head of the predicate is typically a verb; indeed, only a verb can be head of a transitive predicate. This chapter expands on the brief outline in chapter 5, to provide a fuller account of the syntax and semantics of the verb, one of the most important and most fascinating topics in Fijian grammar.

Most but not all verbs exist in both transitive and intransitive form. The general question of transitivity is dealt with in §18.1 (see also Pawley 1986). Then, in §18.2, detailed consideration is given to the division of verbs into two classes—A-type and O-type. Some verbs may take two (or more) different transitive endings, mostly (but not always) carrying a semantic and/or syntactic difference; details are in §18.3. The question of alternate syntactic frames (as in *I asked Mary a question, I asked a question of Mary*) is taken up in §18.4. The next subsection briefly comments on *-na*, a verbal suffix that does not form a transitive, but a different intransitive, verb. The form and syntax of passives occupy §18.6, and of the set of spontaneous and adverbial prefixes §18.7. Finally, object incorporation is discussed in §18.8.

The generalisations in this chapter were arrived at inductively. I worked systematically, with two separate informants, through a sample of 460 verbs (probably rather more than one third of the total verb class, cf Arms 1974: 125). The sample included all verbs in the vocabularies of Milner (1972) and Schütz and Komaitai (1971); all those in Arms (1974) for which A or O type (Arms's A or P type) were given; all verbs in my texts; and others that recurred in everyday conversation. This sample includes the great majority of the most common verbs.

For each form in the sample I checked whether it occurred in both B and V, or, if not, what the other dialect had; which transitive ending(s) it took; and whether it was of A or O type. For many verbs, information was also obtained on what complement clauses could fill core functional slots (see chapter 23), and possibilities of reduplication, passivisation, object incorporation, *va'a*- and *vei*-derivations (§17.1–2), etc.

18.1 Transitivity

There are a number of possible shapes for the transitive suffix on verbs. It can be either

MONOSYLLABIC *-ta*, *-va*, *-ca*, *-ma*, *-na*, *-ra*, *-ga*, *-a*, *-ya*, or *-a*
or

TRISYLLABIC *-ta'ina*, *-va'ina*, *-ca'ina*, *-ma'ina*, *-na'ina*, *-ra'ina*, or *la'ina*. Note that the initial consonants of the trisyllabic allomorphs form a proper subset of those in the monosyllabic forms, plus *-l*.

Each transitive suffix has two forms: one ending in *-i*, used before a pro-

noun or name as object, and the unmarked (and citation) form ending in *-a*, which indicates 3sg object (when it is not a name).

For the *-ya* ending the form before a pronoun or name as object is *-i*, and not *-yi*, e.g. *boro-ya* “paint it”, *boro-i au* “paint me” (I stated in §2.1 that *y* only occurs before *a*). There is a single irregular verb—intransitive *'ana*, transitive *'ani-a* “eat”.

Recall (from §2.3, §3.2.1) that a long vowel never occurs in the penultimate syllable of a phonological word, followed by a short vowel in the final syllable. An underlying long vowel is shortened in this position. Thus with the root *dree* “pull” we get intransitive *dree* and transitive *dre-ta*; with *siivi* “exceed, lead”, the intransitive is *sivi* and transitive *siivi-ta*.

It is possible that the different consonants with which the transitive suffix begins may originally have been semantically determined, but this has by-and-large been obscured as the language developed—see the insightful study in Arms (1974), summarized in Arms (1973); and also Geraghty (1983: 267–9).

By far the commonest of the trisyllabic suffixes is *-ta'ina*. In the productive process of forming transitive verbs from greetings, interjections, nouns, adjectives, and numbers by prefixing *va'a-*, the suffix *-ta'ina* is added as well (§17.2). The productive status of *-ta'ina* is also shown by its use in loan words, e.g. *sovea(-ta'ina)* “to survey (land)” and *daanisi(-ta'ina)* “to dance (O is dance style, e.g. break-dance)”, although a few loans do take monosyllabic endings e.g. *kisi(-va)* “to kiss”, and *(va'a-)lusi(-a)* “waste”, from *lose*.

The great majority of verbs in Fijian can be used without any suffix—and are then intransitive, taking subject but not object; or with a suffix—and are then transitive, taking subject and object. But although most verbs can take either transitivity value, individual verbs do have clear preferences: the intransitive *'oto* “lie down” is used much more than transitive *'oto-ra* “lie down on”, whereas the transitive *rai-ca* “see it” is far commoner than the intransitive *rai* “see”.

There are a few bona fide verbs that are only intransitive, i.e. do not occur with a transitive suffix. For 3 percent of the sample (13 verbs), my Boumaa consultants said that there was no transitive form. Arms (1974: 41–2) mentions three verbs that are intransitive only, and Schütz (1986: 110–11) gives more than twenty. There is, however, considerable discrepancy between these lists. Arms cites *nawa* “float”, for which I recorded the transitive form (admittedly, with a slightly different meaning) *nawa-ca* “immerse it in water”; for verbs from Schütz's list I heard a transitive form *dri-va* “rebound onto”, among others. (It is doubtful that these discrepancies are due just to dialect differences between V and B.)

In gathering linguistic data through elicitation it is important to bear in mind the pervasive difference between (a) what people think they ought to say; (b) what they think they do say; and (c) what they actually say. Thus, in elicitation I was told that *taubale* “walk” could not be used transitively, but then in a text it was so used, *taubale-ta'ina*.

There are certainly some Fijian verbs that are seldom if ever used tran-

sitively—items like *gaadee* “stroll”, *duri* “rise from lying to sitting position”, *voa* “remain”, *bona* “stink”, *vure* “spring up (of water)”, and *waruta* “run away fast” feature in my list. It may, however, be impossible to assemble a definitive list that would be agreed on by all speakers.

For a much larger number of verbs—89, or 19 percent of the sample—the intransitive form, without a suffix, was not acceptable to either of my two main Boumaa consultants, e.g. *mo'o-ta* “embrace”, *tere-ga* “touch”, *cumu-ta* “butt with the head”, *taro-ga* “ask questions”, *nanu-ma* “think”, *sara-va* “watch”, *na'i-ta* “intend”. Some of these also feature in Arms's (1974:42) transitive-only list (e.g. *nanu-ma*), but other items from his list could be used intransitively by my consultants, e.g. *olo* “to be tied up”. All authorities agree that there are indeed some transitive-only verbs, but once again it may be impossible to agree on a definitive list of these.

We could conclude that every verb in Fijian has the potentiality of being used both intransitively and transitively, but for some verbs one of these possibilities is simply implausible, so that speakers cannot conceive of resorting to it (although they might well do so if special circumstances—unforeseen within the narrow confines of an elicitation session—should arise).

There are a number of other relevant points. Fijian has a great deal of homonymy, and there are many pairs, or even triplets, of verbs that have the same root, although they normally differ in the shape of the transitive suffix. In most cases of this type, only one of the transitive verbs can be used intransitively, e.g.

- (i) *tala(-ca)* “share out, unload” (O)
tala-a “send” (no intransitive)
- (ii) *tavu(-na)* “broil, roast on ashes” (O)
tavu-la'ina “knock down and beat” (no intransitive)
- (iii) *tau(-ca)* “touch down on” (A)
tau-va “infect” (no intransitive)
- (iv) *sau(-ca)* “let down (net) to block path of fish” (O)
sau-ma “repay” (no intransitive)
- (v) *tu'u(-ca)* “let down on rope” (O)
tu'u-na “tell” (no intransitive)

The transitives are distinguished by their endings, but the intransitives would not be; having an intransitive for only one of each pair plainly helps to avoid ambiguity.

There are a few homonymous pairs that have the same transitive ending, but only one can be intransitive, e.g. *cavu(-ta)* “pull up” (O); *cavu-ta* “pronounce” (no intransitive). And there are also some homonymous pairs that both have an intransitive, e.g. *sere(-'a)* “untie” (O) and *sere(-ta'ina/va'ina)* “sing” (A). But these are greatly outnumbered by pairs like (i–v).

There can be other reasons for the intransitive form of a verb not being used; e.g. there may be a homonymous noun. Relating to *'ato* “a box” there is the established transitive verb *'ato-na* “put in a box”; this has recently been

extended to cover “record (with a tape-recorder)”. It is not permissible to use *'ato* as an intransitive verb “do some recording” (because, I was told, of the existence of the noun *'ato* “box”).

Verbs for which the plain intransitive is not used may have other forms that are based on the intransitive, e.g. (i) a reduplicated form, as *waa.-ca'ina* “wait for”, *waa.waa* “wait”; *'usi-a* “wipe it”, *'usi.'usi* “wipe”; (ii) a *vei-...-ya'i* form, as *nanu-ma* “think”, *vei.-nanu.-ya'i* “think of this and that” (§17.1.4); or (iii) an incorporated object form, e.g. *sara-va* “watch”, *sara.i-yalo.yalo* “watch films”; *'ila-a* “know”, *'ila.'aa* “know things” (i.e. “be intelligent”).

Where a verb has transitive and intransitive forms, their meanings generally correspond quite closely. There are just a few examples of semantic divergence; e.g. (a) *vosa* “speak, talk” is a very common word with a wide, general meaning, but both its transitive forms have a quite specific sense—*vosa-'a* “ask to marry” and *vosa.-ta'inā* “tell off, advise of error”; (b) transitive *butu-'a* is “tread on, massage someone's back with one's foot, stamp at”, but intransitive *butu* is “stamp foot (e.g. in anger, or during a dance routine)” —the intransitive *must* have the component “stamp” (which is optional with the transitive form) to provide a sufficient meaning for using the verb intransitively.

We began this section by saying that an object is included in a clause if and only if the verb is transitive. There are exceptions. One semantic type of verb can have an object NP with the intransitive form of the verb (and also, of course, with the transitive form). The verbs that allow this include *dree(-ta)* “pull”, as in 8.37; *cola(-ta)* “carry on shoulders”, as in T4.101; *lave(-ta)* “lift up”; *bili(-ga)* “push”; *drewe(-ta)* “carry on back”. They are all concerned with involving the object in an “activity of motion”; and they are all A-type.

As Fijian is used, intransitive clauses greatly outnumber transitives (on a text count), quite unlike the situation in most other languages. (There is further discussion of this in §25.1.) The intransitive form of a verb like “pull” or “hit” or “catch” tends to be used when discussing any potential activity, with the transitive form used more often when talking about something that has been achieved. Thus, for *siwa(-ta)* “catch fish with line”, one tends to hear:

- (18.1) *au la'i siwa* “I'm going fishing”
- (18.2) *au siwa ti'o* “I'm fishing”
- (18.3) *au siwa-ta* “I'm catching fish”

But it is—let it be stressed—only a *general tendency* to use intransitive for “irrealis” and transitive for “realis”.

This tendency may be one of the factors determining whether to use the transitive or intransitive form of a verb like “pull”, “carry”, “lift” with an object. One might say, using a transitive verb:

(18.4) *au aa bili-ga ā motokaa yai* “I pushed this car (to get it to start)”

referring to an activity that had a definite result; but a suffixless verb

(18.5) *era sa bili a motokaa māyaa* “they are pushing that car”

could be used for just describing a general activity. Another contrasting pair of sentences of this type is, first,

(18.6) *au sa drewe mada a qou 'ato* “I’m carrying my haversack (on my back)”

where the suffixless verb, with object, describes a continuing activity, and second, where the transitive verb is used to describe, say, *putting* a bag on one’s back:

(18.7) *drewe-ta mada a o-mu i- yaa.yaa!* “carry your luggage on your back, if you please!”

More work needs to be done (preferably, by linguistically-trained native speakers) on “transitivity” in Fijian. It seems clear that the contrast between a verb with and without a suffix relates mostly to syntactic considerations (whether or not an object is referred to) but also partly to semantic matters (whether or not some result is achieved) and partly to pragmatic factors and the niceties of discourse organisation.

18.2 A-type and O-type verbs: semantic basis

We have noted that at least 80 percent of verbs exist in both transitive form—taking two core arguments, A (transitive subject) and O (transitive object); and also in intransitive form—taking just one core argument, S (intransitive subject).

For some verbs (53 percent of my sample), S coincides with A, and for others (47 percent of the sample), S is identical with O. Examples were given in §5.1; others are:

A-type (i.e. A = S)

au rabe-ta a polo “I’m kicking the ball”

au rabe “I’m kicking”

O-type (i.e. O = S)

au qaqi-a a dovu “I’m crushing the sugar cane”

e qaqi a dovu “the sugar cane is being crushed”

The string of words **e rabe a polo* is not an acceptable sentence (it could only mean “the ball is kicking”); and *au qaqi* could only be used in the unpleasant eventuality that I have been caught between the rollers at the sugar mill and am being crushed.

Most verbs take just one transitive suffix. This is usually monosyllabic—e.g. *unu-ma* “to drink”, *te'evuu-na* “to start”, *bo-'a* “to find”—but may sometimes be trisyllabic—e.g. *talanoa.-ta'ina* “to recount”. A fair number

of verbs (perhaps one-third of the total) may choose either of two (or, sometimes, more) transitive suffixes, with different meanings—see §18.3. In most cases one suffix is monosyllabic and the other trisyllabic, with either the same or different initial consonant, e.g. *pu'u-ca* “grumble at (someone)”, *pu'u.-ca'ina* “grumble about (something)”; *'olo-va* “throw a stick at (O: thing aimed at)”, *'olo.-ta'ina* “throw a stick at something (O: stick)”. There are just a few verbs that can take two monosyllabic suffixes, with different meanings, and also a few that just accept two trisyllabic endings.

For almost all the verbs that have two transitive forms, these are both classified in the same way, with respect to the A versus O typology. That is, a given root will be of type A, or of type O, for *all* its forms. A handful of exceptions, verbs that mix A and O characteristics, will be fully listed and discussed in this section.

Examination of verbs in the 460-item sample reveals that there is a semantic basis to the division into A and O types. It will be most fruitful to discuss verbs by their semantic type.

(i) Verbs of motion, rest, affect and giving

The guiding principle here is:

A-type—for verbs where the motion or action of the referent of A is seen as the most significant aspect of the situation spoken of;

O-type—where the effect on the referent of O is seen as the most significant aspect.

Verbs referring to different modes of motion are A-type—that is (quoting just the monosyllabic transitive ending, where there are two) *lade(-va)* “jump (for/over)”, *yaqa(-va)* “creep (to)”, *vu'a(-ca)* “fly (across/to)”, *'ada(-va)* “run (for)”, *tiva(-ca)* “dodge (the path of something)”, *'aba(-ta)* “climb (up)”, *bale(-ta)* “fall (on)”, among others. Verbs for direction of motion are also A-type e.g. *la'o(-va)* “go (for)”, *viro(-ca)* “return (to)”, *gole(-va)* “face (towards)”. On the other hand, the general verb *yaavala(-ta)* “put in motion, e.g. start an engine; be in motion” is of O type.

If there is some change in the orientation of the patient, then the verb will be O-type. This covers such verbs as *vu'i(-ca)* “turn”, *pelu(-'a)* “bend (e.g. of metal)”, *lo'i(-a)* “bend (at a joint)”, *lobi(-'a)* “fold”, *uli(-a)* “mix up”, *lose(-a)* “squeeze, wring”, *tobe(-a)* “plait”, *cori(-ta)* “tie, tether” and *sere(-'a)* “unloose, untie”.

Verbs of “pulling” and “pushing” are particularly interesting. General verbs of this set are A-type since it is the activity of the agent which is focussed upon—*dree(-ta)* “pull”, *bili(-ga)* “push”. But more specific verbs—such as *cavu(-ta)* “pull up”, *beti(-a)* “pluck (fruits)”—are O-type, since it is the effect on the patient which is seen as most significant (a fruit attached to a branch, and then detached from it).

Sometimes there are two verbs of very similar meaning, which differ only in A versus O orientation, e.g. *tomi(-'a)* “pick up”, O, and *qaalu'u(-na)*

“pick up”, A. *Tomi(-'a)* is used for picking up all of something, one at a time (typically, bits of rubbish on the lawn around a house), whereas *qaalu'u(-na)* describes the agent picking up a handful of something, as much as he fancies. One speaker explained the meaning of *tomi(-'a)*, as opposed to *qaalu'u(-na)*, by saying “it needs to be picked up”. Illustrative sentences are:

- (18.8) *au aa qaalu'u-na a levu a 'aa.'ana* “I have picked up a lot of food (in my hand)”
 (18.9) *au aa qaalu'u oti* “I’ve picked up”
 (18.10) *au saa tomi-'a oti a drau ni 'acu yai* “I’ve picked up these leaves”
 (18.11) *saa tomi oti a drau ni 'acu yai* “these leaves have been picked up”

There is a further pair of verbs that differ only in syntactic orientation and have the rest of their meaning the same—*qoli(-va)* A, and *co'o(-ta)* O, “catch fish with net”. One would say, with the intransitive:

- (18.12) *au aa qoli* “I caught fish with a net”
 (18.13) *sa co'o a i'a yai* “these fish are caught in a net”

or, with the transitive:

- (18.14) *au aa* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} qoli\text{-}va \\ co'o\text{-}ta \end{array} \right\}$ *a i'a yai* “I caught these fish with a net”

A speaker brought out the orientations of the verbs by explaining (in English) that for *co'o-ta* “it’s the fish that are caught in the net”, whereas for *qoli-va* “it’s you that are catching the fish in the net”.

All of the verbs I know of with two transitive forms, one of which is O and the other A, are concerned with motion or rest. There are three verbs, each with a rather general meaning, which pattern together in having a *-ya* transitive ending with O = S, and a *-va* ending with A = S:

- (1) *toso* “move (generally)”; *toso-ya* “move it” O; *toso-va* “move towards (something)” A;
 (2) *toro* “move (in relation to some place/thing)”; *toro-ya* “move it (in relation to some place/thing)” O; *toro-va* “approach” A;
 (3) *roo* “alight (of fly or bird), land (of plane)”; *ro-ya* “knock away (O: fly)” O; *ro-va* “land on (something)” A.

Example sentences for *roo* are:

- (18.15) *sa roo a lago* “the fly landed”
 (18.16) *au aa ro-ya a lago* “I knocked away (lit: made land) the fly”
 (18.17) *sa ro-va a ulu-qu a lago* “the fly landed on my head”

Then there are a few verbs, each with one monosyllabic and one trisyllabic ending, one of them O and the other A:

(4) *curu* “go through (e.g. door), enter, exit”; *curu-ma* “go through it (O will be door)” A; *curu-ma'ina* “put through (e.g. insert a new board in some flooring)” O;

(5) *siisili* “bathe” (intransitive only occurs in partially reduplicated form); *sili-ma* “bathe in (O: pool, or etc)” A; *sili.-va'ina* “use/wet a net for the first time” O;

(6) *tuu* “stand, be at a place (used of tall things)”; *tu-ra* “stand something up” O (alternative is *va'a.-tu-ra*); *tuu.-ta'ina* “stand up to do work (O: work)” A, e.g. *au tuu.-ta'ina a ca'a.ca'a bii.bii yai* “I’m standing up to do this heavy work”.

Other stance verbs are basically of A type, just like verbs for modes of motion (run, fly, etc)—*dabe(-ca/ra)* “sit (on/for)”, *ti'o(-ra)* “stay (on)”; *'oto(-ra)* “lie (on)”, *ravi(-ta)* “lean (on)”. There is also the O verb *te'i(-a)* “stick up, put sticking up”.

The verb *biu(-ta)* “place, put, leave” is of O type. The transitive object can be a thing or place that is left. Compare the intransitive, in 18.18, with the passive, in 18.19:

- (18.18) *saa biu a+i- sele i+na* “the knife is in place on the table”
dela ni teepeli
 (18.19) *saa biu-ti a+i- sele i+na* “the knife has been placed on the table”
dela ni teepeli

Here the position of the knife is the most significant factor, explaining why *biu(-ta)* is an O-type verb.

Consider now sentences in which the O of *biu-ta* (and S of *biu*) is a place name:

- (18.20a) *'eirau aa biu-ti Wairi'i i nanao* “we left Wairi'i yesterday”
 (18.20b) *e aa biu o Wairi'i i nanao* “Wairi'i was left yesterday”

It seems odd to say, referring to 18.20a/b, that the “effect on the place” is most significant. But it is plausible to suggest that sentences like 18.18/19 exemplify the central sense of *biu(-ta)*, on which the O-orientation is based, and that 18.20a/b show an extensional sense.

Another O verb with semantic similarities to the second sense of *biu(-ta)*, in 18.20a/b, is *tawa-na* “inhabit (O: place)” and its intransitive *tawa* “be inhabited (of a place)”.

Verbs referring to relative location, precedence, and distance are all A-type, since it is the location of the A that is being focussed upon—*liu(-ta'ina)* “precede, command”, *siivi(-ta)* “exceed, pass”, *voole'a(-ta)* “be near (to)” and *yawa(-'a)* “be far (from)”. In contrast, verbs like *dola(-va)* “open (it)” and *sogo(-ta)* “close (it)” are O-type, since it is the position of the O that is of primary significance.

Verbs of carrying are of particular interest—at first sight they appear to be

randomly split between A- and O-types. However, more careful examination reveals that those for which the patient must be human are O-type—'eve(-ta) "carry (baby) on hip", vava(-a) "carry (baby) on back"—and those for which the object can be anything are A-type—drewe(-ta) "carry (e.g. bag) on back", roqo(-ta) "carry (anything) in arms", cola(-ta) "carry (anything) on shoulder", qumi(-a) "clench (anything) in fist", as well as buta'o(-ca) "take, steal". If the O of the carrying verb must be human, then this is the argument that is focussed on, and S = O; otherwise it is the person doing the carrying who is the most significant participant, and S = A.

One surprising feature is that the verb 'au(-ta) "take or bring (carry goods)" is O-type—see 17.24–5. This may just be an exception. (It is important to bear in mind that, just as there are always likely to be morphological irregularities in any language—e.g. in Fijian the verb "to eat", intransitive 'ana, transitive 'ani-a—so there are likely also to be some semantico-syntactic irregularities, exceptions to the general principles on which the language is organised. Irregularities of every kind just have to be learnt by speakers, as individual cases.)

There are many verbs describing some activity that affects the object—they are uniformly O-type. These include:

(a) verbs of peeling, etc—voci(-a) "peel (fruit or vegetable)", drudru(-ga) "skin (an animal)", vuti(-a) "pluck (a bird)", etc;

(b) verbs of breaking and dividing—musu(-a) "break in two", voro(-'a) "smash", basu(-'a) "tear up (e.g. old clothes), tear down (old building)", dresu(-'a) "tear, rend (material)", wase(-a) "divide up, separate, share out", and many more;

(c) verbs of rubbing, painting, covering, etc—masi(-a) "rub, polish, brush teeth", wali(-a) "rub with oil", boro(-ya/ta) "paint", bena(-ta) "dye hair", seru(-ta) "comb", pulou(-na) "cover", bulu(-ta) "bury" among many others;

(d) verbs of cutting, piercing, etc—qaqi(-a) "crush, grind", sa'o(-ca) "beat to make soft", 'ari(-a/-ta'ina) "scrape (coconut bark)", varo(-ta) "saw", 'oti(-va) "cut with scissors", gudu(-va) "cut off", taa(-ya) "chop with knife", va'o(-ta) "nail", 'eli(-a) "dig", cula(-a) "sew, pierce, inject" and very many more;

(e) verbs of lighting and extinguishing a fire, and of burning and cooking—udre(-va) "be burning with flame, make burn", qawa(-ca) "be lit, smouldering, light (something)", bo'o(-ca) "extinguish (fire)", vavi(-a) "bake (in earth oven)", tavu(-na) "broil on embers", ravo(-ga) "warm up food, toast", and many more.

There are a number of verbs that only accept an inanimate A. Although some of them have meanings similar to "burn", they are all of type A: cina(-va) "(light/torch) shines on", cila(-va) "(sun/moon/stars) shine on", seerau(-na) "(anything) shines brightly on". It seems that all inanimate-A verbs are A-type; others include liwa(-va) "(wind) blows (on)", mudre(-va) "(breeze) blows gently (on)".

All verbs for kinds of throwing are A-type, with the focus on the person who does the throwing rather than on the thing that the thrown object impacts into—drama(-'a) "throw anything (at)", 'olo(-va) "throw a stick (at)". This leads to some interesting pairs—co'a(-a) "spear by throwing a spear at", A, and cula(-a) "pierce with a needle or spear, held in the hand", O. There are also pato-'a and pasa-'a "spear something, holding on to the spear", but neither is used intransitively, and so cannot be classified as either A or O. Another contrasting pair is 'olo(-va) "hit with a thrown stick", A, and samu(-ta) "beat with a stick held in the hand", O.

Verbs describing a blow delivered by a body-part moving in a trajectory are also A-type, and this may possibly be related to the A status of throwing (where the implement moves in a trajectory)—vacu(-'a) "punch", rabe(-ta) "kick", and a few more. Vana(-a) "shoot" and lidi(-'a) "lightning strikes" are also A-type, and here the bullets and the lightning certainly travel in a trajectory, like a thrown object.

General verbs of making and manufacturing are, as would be expected, O-type since the focus is definitely on the object—tali(-a) "weave", buli(-a) "make, manufacture, make up (e.g. write a novel)", and the general verb ca'a(-va) "do, make, work at". Opposed to these are A verbs that put the emphasis on the agent, e.g. oga(-ta'ina) "be occupied with (some task)".

Soli(-a) "give" is O-type, since the focus is on the object whose ownership is being transferred.

(ii) Verbs of talking

Many verbs in this semantic field exist only in transitive form and thus cannot be classified as A or O—these include tusa.-na'ina "explain", bili-a "accuse", bore-ta "swear at", 'ere-a "ask (to do something)", taro-ga "ask (a question)". Those that can be used intransitively are all squarely of type A, e.g. bose(-a) "confer", talanoa(-ta'ina) "tell story", masu(-ta) "pray (to)", laga(-ta/-ta'ina) "sing/announce".

(iii) Verbs of mental activity

These are mostly A-type—vuli(-ca) "learn", vaa.-'aasama(-ta'ina) "think (of)", tadra(-a) "dream (of)", 'auai(-ta'ina) "be concerned with, be interested in", and others. No intransitive forms are attested for 'ila-a "know", nui.-ta'ina "hope", na'i-ta "intend", and naa.-ma'ina "expect".

The verb vola-a can be used for "write (a letter, or book, etc)" or "register the birth of a child". I was told that the intransitive form is only possible with the latter sense, as in:

(18.21) *saa vola oti a gone yaa?* "is that child('s birth) registered?"

To ask whether a letter had been written, one would have to use the passive:

(18.22) *saa vola-i oti a+i- vola yaa?* "is that letter written?"

Thus *vola(-a)* is O-type for the “register” sense, since the most significant thing here is the child that is being registered.

Wili(-'a) can mean “read” or “count”. This is an O verb, with the focus on what is read or counted (not on who does it):

(18.23) *saa wili oti a levu ni niu yai* “the number of these coconuts has been counted”

(18.24) *saa wili oti a+i- vola yai* “this letter has been read”

(iv) Verbs of corporeal activity

Here the focus is on the person who eats, bites, drinks, vomits, urinates, sneezes, breathes, laughs, cries, yawns, and so on, and verbs of this kind are all A-type—*'ani-al'ana* “eat”, *unu(-ma)* “drink”, *drami(-ca)* “lick”, *domi(-ca)* “puff (e.g. tobacco)”, *buno(-.ta'ina)* “sweat (over, e.g. O: work)”, *suru(-ta)* “sneeze (the O is a loved one thinking of you, which is believed to be the reason one sneezes)”, *'alo(-va)* “whistle at”, *dredre (-.va'ina)* “laugh (at)”, *tagi(-cal.-ca'ina)* “cry (for/over)”.

For *mosi* “be sore, painful” the S must be a body part, as in *a yava-qu saa mosi* “my foot is sore”, rather than a person (i.e. not **au saa mosi* “I am sore”). The transitive form will, however, have the person as A:

(18.25) *au mosi-ta ti'o a maavoa ni yava-qu*
1sg be sore-TR ASP ART injury ASSOCIATED foot-1sg
“I’m in pain because of the injury to my foot”

Here *a yava-qu*, the subject of the clausal NP *a maavoa ni yava-qu* (which is in O slot for *mosi-ta*) coincides with the S of the intransitive verb, *mosi*. It will be seen that *mosi(-ta)* cannot clearly be classed as A- or O-type.

Verbs relating to being born or growing are also of type A, like most other corporeal verbs—see *sucu(-ma)* “be born, suck breast” in 17.27–8, and *tubu(-ra)* “grow (on)” in

(18.26) *sa tubu-ra ti'o [a dela ni vatu]_O*
ASP grow ON-TR ASP ART top ASSOCIATED stone
[a coo]_A
ART grass
“grass is growing on top of the rock”

(v) Verbs of attention

The behaviour of verbs “see” and “hear” has been cited as evidence for lack of any semantic basis for the A/O division of Fijian verbs—*rai(-ca)* “see, look at” is A-type, whereas *rogo(-ca)* “sound out, be audible; hear” is predominantly O-type (see §17.2.6 (2)). Why should this be? Surely seeing and hearing are parallel activities?

This may be so. But “being visible” and “being audible” are rather different. Just by existing, a thing or person will be visible—in *au rai-ca a gone yai* “I see this child”, the significant thing is not the child being there but the fact

that I see him. So *rai-ca* is naturally an A-type verb. However, people and things do not continuously emit noise—in *au rogo-ca a gone yai* “I hear this child” there are two significant things, the fact that the child makes a noise, and the fact that I hear him. The former is regarded as more significant, and so *rogo-ca* is O-type. (In elicitation, speakers consistently said that *rogo-ca* is O-type, but I have occasionally heard it used with A characteristics, e.g. T6.125.)

There is also a verb *boo* “be visible”, which can be used of someone who emerges from hiding; there is a transitive form *bo-'a* “find” showing that it is of type O. One day, during the time I was living in Waitabu, the village half-wit, Pio, disappeared; he had wandered off into the forest and got lost. A full-scale search was mounted. When he was found and brought home, the next day, a shout resounded around the village: *o Pio saa boo* literally “Pio is (again) visible”, an illuminating example of how Fijians will often use an intransitive verb in preference to the transitive (or even its passive).

Quite a number of verbs of seeing exist only in transitive form—*sara-va* “watch”, *di'e-va* “investigate”, *digo-va* “inspect”, *qara-va* “look after”, and others. The remainder, which form an intransitive, are all of type A—*iro(-va)* “peep (at)”, *sovea(-.ta'ina)* “survey” and others, including intransitive *pula* “open eyes wide (e.g. when woken with a start)” and transitive *pula-ca* “make eyes at (someone of the opposite sex, in sexual invitation)”. *Dusi(-a)* “point (to/at)” is also an A verb.

Rogo(-ca) is the only verb of hearing/listening. But there are other verbs concerned with noise, and they are also O-type, e.g. *uvu(-ca)* “blow (conch-shell trumpet, etc)”, and also *qiri(-a)* “beat drum, play guitar”. There is a contrast here between *qito(-ra)* “play a physical game”, which is A, and *qiri(-a)* “play (i.e. make sound) a musical instrument”, which is O. Thus:

(18.27) *au qito-ra* “I’m playing with it (e.g. a ball)”

(18.28) *au qito* “I’m playing (physical games)”

(18.29) *au qiri-a a lali* “I’m playing the lali (drums)”

(18.30) *saa qiri a lali* “the lali is being played (lit: sounding out)”

To recapitulate: most corporeal verbs (taking in and expelling food, laughing, etc) are of type A, as are most verbs of seeing; but *rogo(-ca)* “hear” is predominantly of type O.

Looking now at the other senses, *tovole-a* “taste, try” and *tere-ga* “touch” have no intransitives and cannot be classified as A or O. But *boi(-ca)* “to smell” does, and it is indisputably O-type:

(18.31) *au via boi-ca a see.ni.'acu yai* “I want to smell this flower”

(18.32) *sa boi vina'a o Mere* “Mary smells nice”

Why is this? Well, I did notice that it is a grave insult to a Fijian to tell them that they (or their blanket) smell bad. In “I smell you”, the significant factor is seen to be that you are emitting a smell, just as in “I hear you” it is that you are making some noise.

(vi) Verbs of mental attitude

There are a fair number of verbs, all of type A, referring to human propensities (which might be dealt with through adjectives in other languages)—*maarau(-ta'ina)* “be happy (about)”, *rarawa(-ta'ina)* “be sad (about)”, *galu(-va'ina/ta'ina)* “be quiet (towards/about)”, *'idacala(-ta'ina)* “be shocked or amazed (about)”, *maaqqi(-ta'ina)* “be mean (with something, e.g. money)”, *vuu.vuu(-ta'ina)* “be jealous (of, e.g. person)”, *maa'utu(-ta'ina)* “be diligent (about)”, *wele(-ta'ina)* “be negligent (of)”, *rere(-va'ina)* “be afraid (of)”, *(dou.dou(-va'ina)* “be brave (at)”, and many more.

There is a small set of verbs related to value adjectives—*vina'a-ta* “want (lit: consider good)” alongside *vina'a*: “good”, *ca-ta* “dislike” with *caa* “bad” and *taalei(-ta'ina)* “like” related to *taalei* “prized”. They are effective of type O (but see the concluding remarks in chapter 20).

From the adjective *dina* “true” (cf the modifier *dina* “truly”, §8.3.5) there is the verb *dina-ta* “believe in, think true”, also of type O.

(vii) Begin, finish, continue

The natural focus for verbs from this semantic field is the activity which is begun, continued, or ended. We find O-type verbs *te'evuu(-na)* “begin”, as in 8.56–7, *tini(-a)* “conclude (a performance)” and *'uri(-a)* “continue”. The only transitive version of *oti* “finish, end” is the causative *va'a-oti-a*. *Toma-na* “continue” appears not to be used intransitively. (*Oti* and *te'evuu* also function as predicate modifiers, §8.3.2, and then share the syntactic orientation of the predicate head.)

(viii) Try and strive

We would expect verbs of trying to have A orientation, since the pervasive factor here is the effort of the actor. The most used verb in this field is *tovole-a*: with a plain NP or a *se* or *dee* complement clause as object it means “taste, try (e.g. food)”, as in 23.18; with a *me* complement clause as object the meaning is “try to do”, as in 23.28,47; for neither sense is the intransitive form used.

We do, however, find *bole(-a)* “give oneself (e.g. to war), attempt” and *guu(-ta'ina/va'ina)* “strive to do”. Both are of type A.

The intransitive correspondent of *guu(-ta'ina/ra'ina)* is *guu* “have energy”. There is another transitive form *gu-ta* “desire earnestly, urge”, also A-type. This has a similar meaning to the A verb *garo(-va)* “want urgently, desire, lust after”. *Vina'a-ta*, an O verb based on *vina'a* “good” (see above) is often glossed as “want”, but *vina'a-ta* has a much more passive meaning than *gu-ta* or *garo(-va)*—it could be appropriately glossed “deem good and would like”.

The different syntactic orientations of these verbs correlate with their semantics. I was told that if a man should come to consider that a girl would make a suitable wife, and should want to marry her in the fullness of time,

then *vina'a-ta* would be an appropriate verb to use, its O orientation serving to focus on her qualities. But if he should want a girl very urgently—almost to the point of rape—then *garo(-va)* would best be used, its A orientation reflecting the intensity of his feelings.

Related to “try” there is also *rawa-ta* “achieve, get”, which is related (with A = S) to the semi-auxiliary verb *rawa* “can” (§23.4), e.g.

(18.33) *au rawa ni taubale* “I can walk”

(18.34) *au rawa-ta a taubale* “I did the walk”

(18.35) *au rawa-ta a qou vei-taro-gi* “I passed my exam”

Vu'e(-a) “help” is also, like “try” and “achieve”, of type A.

(ix) Speed and time

We find two A-type verbs: *bera(-ca)* “be late/slow (for)” and *'usa(-ta'ina)* “hasten (with, e.g. work)”. And there is one O type item *lo'u.yara(-ta'ina)* “postpone, be postponed”.

Under (i) above we mentioned a handful of verbs that each have two possible transitive endings, one with A and the other with O orientation.

There are also, in my corpus, just three verbs with a single transitive suffix that can have either syntactic orientation, i.e. the S of the intransitive can relate either to A or to O. Two of them describe important ceremonial activities, the mainstay of Fijian life.

(1) *Talo(-ca)* “to ladle” can be used to describe the scooping up of any liquid, but pre-eminently the serving of the chiefly drink, kava, in half-coconut-shell cups:

(18.36) *talo-ca mada a waqona* “scoop up (i.e. serve) the kava in this
i+na bilo yai cup, if you please”

Now, for the intransitive predicate, *talo*, either the server or the kava can be S:

(18.37) *talo mada* “serve out (kava), if you please”

(18.38) *sa talo oti a waqona* “the kava has been served”

(Note that the verb *livi(-a)* “pour liquid” is only of type O.)

(2) *Sevu(-ta'ina)* describes the formal presentation of the fruits of a new garden crop to one's older brother (or other senior relative):

(18.39) *au via sevu-ta'ina a qou* “I want to present (the first fruit) of my
i- tei vei Mika garden crop to Mika”

And, like *talo*, either A or O can be S of the intransitive:

(18.40) *la'i sevu mada* “go and present (your first fruits), if you please”

(18.41) *sa sevu oti a dalo yai* “this (bundle of) taro has been presented”

(3) The other verb that appears to belong to both A and O types for a single transitive ending is *to'a(-ra)* “squat, sit on heels; put on”. The transitive form

to'a-ra can be used for putting a kettle on the stove (plainly S = O); putting on one's clothes, e.g. *to'a-ra mada a o-mu sote* "put on your shirt, if you please", which is presumably related to the preceding sense; and also sitting on a horse, e.g. *to'a-ra mada a ose yaa* "sit on that horse, if you please" (definitely S = A).

We also mentioned under (v) that *rogo* is sometimes used with an A sense, although in elicitation it is said to be just of O type.

It is not in every case a straightforward matter to decide whether a given verb is of type A or O. *Mosi(-ta)* was mentioned under (iv) above. Other difficulties include the following:

(a) Sometimes there is a degree of meaning difference between transitive and intransitive forms of a verb so that one cannot be certain that they should be linked, e.g. *vosa* "speak, talk", *vosa-'a* "ask to marry", and *vosa.-ta'ina* "advise of error"; and *donu* "be correct", *doonu-ya* "coincide with, be at the same time as".

(b) Fijian is unusual in having no special reflexive construction—there is no reflexive pronoun, nor reflexive affix to the verb. One just says "I saw me" for *I saw myself*—§21.6. The verb *vuni(-a)* "hide" has two intransitive senses. One is of type O: corresponding to the transitive *au sa vuni-a a+i-lavo* "I'm hiding the money" there is the intransitive *sa vuni a+i-lavo* "the money is hidden". The other sense of *vuni* is inherently reflexive, i.e. A = O, and this is then coded as S—*sa vuni a tamata mayaa* "that man is hiding (sc. himself)", and 22.8.

(c) The range of functions of verbal prefix *vei-*, plus a passive suffix, includes reciprocal. But even so, some plain intransitive forms can function as inherent reciprocals (just as *vuni* can be an inherent reflexive). The transitive *saqa-ta* "collide with" can be used when one thing collides with another, e.g. *au aa saqa-ta a vuu ni 'acu* "I collided with a tree", or *e saqa-ti au a motokaa* "a car knocked me down". But if two things, both moving, collide with each other, then just the intransitive is used, e.g. *erau sa saqa e rua a lori* "two lorries collided". Here S covers two entities, one being A and the other O, and also vice versa, simultaneously. Other verbs that behave similarly include *sota(-va)* "meet" and *kisi(-va)* "kiss".

In conclusion, it does seem that there is a principled semantic basis to the allocation of verbs into types A and O. A language learner will acquire these general principles; then, once he learns the meaning of a new word, he will know its syntactic possibilities. (There are just a few apparent exceptions, e.g. *'au(-ta)* "take or bring (carry) goods" being O type when A type might have been expected.)

18.3 Verbs with more than one transitive ending

The majority of verbs occur with only one transitive suffix. However, a fair number can take two (or, very occasionally, more than two). These fall into three types.

(a) For a small number of verbs (probably less than 10 percent) there is a different transitive ending in B from that in V, e.g. *bera -ca* B, *-ta* V "be slow, late for"; *туру -ma* B, *-va* V "drip on"; *sele -ta* B, *-va* V "slice". As a result of dialect mixing, the V suffixes are sometimes used interchangeably with the B ones; there is no difference in meaning. For a few verbs there is also a slight difference in root form, e.g. B *unu-ma*, V *gunu-va* "drink"; I have heard *unu-va* used—i.e. the B root with the V suffix—although this is rare.

(b) For a very small number of verbs there are two possible transitive endings, both originally belonging to the B dialect, and I was told that these could be used interchangeably, without affecting the meaning e.g. *bili-a/-ta'ina* "accuse (e.g. person of crime)", *'ari-a/-ta'ina* "scrape (coconut bark)".

(c) For all other verbs that take two or more transitive suffixes, the substitution of one for the other implies a significant difference—this can be (i) semantic, or (ii) syntactic.

(i) Semantic difference

For several score verbs in my sample there is a monosyllabic transitive affix, and also a trisyllabic ending, which is either *-ra'ina* or *-la'ina*. The two forms have the same syntax, but the longer suffix means "do lots of times", "do intensively", or something similar, e.g.

<i>qua-ta</i> "scrub"	<i>qua-ra'ina</i> "scrub hard" (O)
<i>motu-'a</i> "beat with a club (e.g. a pig)"	<i>motu.-la'ina</i> "beat many times (either beat lots of pigs, or vigorously beat one pig)" (O)
<i>'ati-a</i> "bite"	<i>'ati.-la'ina</i> "bite a lot (used of dogs)" (A)
<i>voro-'a</i> "smash"	<i>voro.-la'ina</i> "smash into tiny pieces" (O)
<i>gede-a</i> "shake once"	<i>gede.-ra'ina</i> "shake many times" (A)
<i>caqe-ta</i> "kick"	<i>caqe.-la'ina</i> "kick many times" (A)

These verbs come from both O- and A-types (in a ratio of about two to one); there appears to be no correlation between the identity of the consonant in the monosyllabic suffix and whether the longer ending commences with *l* or with *r* (*-a*, *-a*, and *-ta*—at least—co-occur with both *-ra'ina* and *-la'ina*).

There are just a few verbs, all to do with motion, that have an intensive alternant *-ta'ina* or *-va'ina* (rather than *-ra'ina* or *-la'ina*); thus: *dre-ta* "pull", *dree.-ta'ina* "pull vigorously (e.g. pull someone by the shirt and in doing so pull the collar off)" (A) (compare *bili-ga* "push", *bili.-ra'ina* "push vigorously"); *tete.-va* "spread", *tete.-va'ina* "spread all over" (A).

With two verbs, monosyllabic/trisyllabic endings correlate with the distance away of the object:

<i>dusi-a</i> "point out something (near)"	<i>dusi.-va'ina</i> "point out something (far away)" (A)
<i>'alo.-va</i> "whistle at someone (near)"	<i>'alo.-va'ina</i> "whistle at someone (far away)" (A)

There is a smallish set of verbs where the semantic nature of the object determines which of two suffixes is used, e.g.

<i>te-a</i> "plant (O: crop)" (intransitive <i>tei</i> "be planted")	<i>tee.-va'ina</i> "cultivate (O: land)" (optionally expandable by preposition <i>i</i> plus an NP referring to the crop)
<i>digi-a</i> "choose (things)"	<i>digi.-ta'ina</i> "choose (people)" (no intransitive)

There are a number of other verbs where two suffixes carry varying semantic implications, but the differences are not generalisable. A few show two monosyllabic endings:

<i>dabe-ca</i> "sit on (e.g. mat)"	<i>dabe-ra</i> "sit waiting for (e.g. arrival of boat)" (A)
<i>qili-a</i> "rub (e.g. tobacco) in hands to shape"	<i>qili-ca</i> "rub lotion/dye/powder on skin/hair with hands" (O)

and others one monosyllabic and one trisyllabic ending:

<i>laga-ta</i> "sing (O: song)"	<i>laga.-ta'ina</i> "announce (e.g. O: plans)" (A)
<i>vuni-a</i> "hide something"	<i>vuni.-ta'ina</i> "hide something (on behalf of someone else)" (O)
<i>tala-a</i> "send someone"	<i>tala.-va'ina</i> "send for someone" (no intransitive)

It is interesting to compare the last two forms with the causative (§17.2.6) *va'a.-tala-a*. The shorter transitive can be used in:

(18.42) *au na tala-i Elia i 'Orovou* "I'll send Elia to 'Orovou"

When it is expanded to a causative we get:

(18.43) *au na va'a.-tala-i Elia* "I'll send Elia for Filo (lit: I'll send Elia
me la'o mai o Filo so that Filo will come here)"

The longer transitive form can express the same intention as 18.43, in abbreviated form:

(18.44) *au na tala.-va'ini Filo* "I'll send for Filo"

The A type verb *cobo* can take three distinct monosyllabic endings:

<i>cobo(-ta)</i> "clap ceremonially with cupped hands, as someone drinks kava"
<i>cobo-ya B, -ra V</i> "put two concave things together, spaces facing inwards (e.g. two plates together to keep food warm)"
<i>cobo-na</i> "place a concave object space down (e.g. place an open book on a table, pages down)"

(ii) Syntactic difference—relating to object

Some verbs describe activities that necessarily involve three "participants". In the case of *'olo* "throw something (e.g. a stick or stone) at something", there is the agent, who does the throwing; the implement, that which is thrown; and the goal, that which is thrown at. The agent will fill the A syntactic slot. But which of the other two arguments will be O—the instrument or the goal? Both possibilities are catered for, each through a different transitive ending—*'olo-va* has goal as O, while *'olo.-ta'ina* has implement as O:

(18.45) *au aa 'olo-va e dua a toa* "I threw at a fowl (with a stick)"
(i+na dua a vatu)

(18.46) *au aa 'olo.-ta'ina e dua a* "I threw a stone (towards the fowl)"
vatu (i+na toa)

Or, with the simple intransitive: *au aa 'olo* "I threw (something at something)".

There are quite a few verbs that have different transitive endings (one monosyllabic and one trisyllabic), marking alternative objects. All of them are, like *'olo*, A-type (save for a few for which no intransitive could be obtained). They fall into the following subclasses (the O for the monosyllabic suffix is given first, in each case). (See also Pawley 1986: 90–5.)

(1) **Patient versus implement/instrument** e.g. *'olo-va/-ta'ina*, and, among others:

<i>siwa-ta</i> "fish with line for"	<i>-ta'ina</i> O: line
<i>qoli-va</i> "fish with net for"	<i>-va'ina</i> O: net
<i>vana-a</i> "shoot at"	<i>-ta'ina</i> O: gun
<i>co'a-a</i> "throw spear at"	<i>-ta'ina</i> O: spear

(2) **Goal versus accompaniment**, for some verbs of motion, e.g.

<i>cabe-ta</i> "go up, e.g. O: hill"	<i>-ta'ina</i> O: thing carried e.g. food
<i>'ada-va</i> "run for, e.g. O: animal"	<i>-va'ina</i> O: thing carried e.g. message, goods
<i>nunu-va</i> "swim underwater for, e.g. O: fish"	<i>-va'ina</i> O: thing carried e.g. spear
<i>yaqa-va</i> "creep like a crab to, e.g. O: doorway"	<i>-ta'ina</i> O: thing carried e.g. gun

(3) **Goal versus emission**, for many corporeal verbs describing something which comes out of the body, the O for the monosyllabic suffix is what it goes on to, and the O for the trisyllabic ending is what actually is emitted, e.g.

(18.47a) *au lua-ca a waqa* "I vomited onto the boat"

(18.47b) *au lua.-ra'ina a dalo* "I vomited up the taro"

Other examples include:

<i>miimi-ca</i> "pee on"	<i>mii.-ca'ina</i> O: what is passed (e.g. blood)
<i>ve'a-ca</i> "shit on"	<i>-ca'ina</i> O: composition of stool
<i>kaasivi-ta</i> "spit on"	<i>-ta'ina</i> O: spittle

For *fenuu* "blow nose" there is no monosyllabic ending, but there is *fenuu.-ta'ina*, where the O can be *supee* "mucus".

(4) **Recipient versus reason**. For a fairly wide variety of verbs the O for the monosyllabic ending is a person at whom some feeling or message is directed, and the trisyllabic O is the reason for this. Thus:

(18.48) *au pu'u-ca a gone yai* "I'm angry with this child"

(18.49) *au pu'u.-ca'ina a o-na i- tovo* "I'm angry about his habits (i.e. about the way he behaves)"

And similarly with:

<i>vuunau-ca</i> "advise" O: person advised	<i>-ta'ina</i> O: advice given
<i>'aci-va</i> "call" O: person called	<i>-va'ina</i> O: message called out
<i>sure-ta</i> "invite" O: person invited	<i>-va'ina</i> O: what he is invited to do
<i>vala-ta</i> "fight" O: person fought	<i>-ta'ina</i> O: what fight is over (e.g. his rights)

Related to these are verbs where the O for the monosyllabic ending is not a person:

<i>tagi-ca</i> "cry for" O: object wanted	<i>-ca'ina</i> "cry over" e.g. O: death of relative, or injury to self
<i>cegu-va</i> "breathe" O: air	<i>-va'ina</i> "breathe because of" O: reason for need to take deep breaths, e.g. weakness of body

(5) **Others**. There are a few other verbs with different objects for different suffixes which appear not to fit into any general pattern, e.g. *voce-ra* "row", O: distance covered, *-ta'ina*, O: boat rowed. The verb *so'o* has three possible endings, two of them monosyllabic, all referring to different objects—*so'o-ta* "sail in, e.g. O: bad weather", *so'o-va* "sail on, e.g. O: the ocean", *so'o.-ta'ina* "sail, e.g. O: a boat".

It will be seen that most of the alternate-object suffix pairs begin with the same consonant: *-va/-va'ina*, *-ta/-ta'ina*, *-ca/-ca'ina*. But there are a good few that don't: *-ta/-va'ina* for *sure*, *-va/-ta'ina* for *yaqa*, among others.

There are some verbs which have one monosyllabic and two trisyllabic transitive endings—one of type (i), showing a semantic difference from the monosyllabic form, and the other of type (ii), where there is a syntactic difference relating to the object, e.g. *pu'u-ca* "angry at/with", *pu'u.-ca'ina* "angry about", in 18.48–9, and *pu'u.-la'ina* "be very angry at/with".

(iii) Syntactic difference—relating to subject

We might logically expect there to be a number of verbs that have different transitive endings corresponding to different possibilities in the A slot (with O held constant). In fact I know of only one such verb; it is, as would be predicted, of type O—*voli-a* "buy" and *voli.-ta'ina* "sell":

(18.50) *au aa voli-a a+i- sele yai* "I bought this knife (from John)"
(*mai vei Jone*)

(18.51) *e aa voli.-ta'ina a+i- sele yai* "John sold this knife (to me)"
o Jone (vei au)

or, with the intransitive:

(18.52) *saa voli oti a qou i- sele* "my knife's already been bought (i.e. I've bought my knife)"

18.4 Alternate syntactic frames

In many languages, including English, a single verb may occur in two syntactic frames, e.g. *give the book to Mary*, where the gift is direct object, and *give Mary the book*, where the recipient is direct object. Also *tell the news to John/tell John the news*, *shoot a bullet at John/shoot John with a bullet*, *dig the ground for potatoes/dig potatoes from the ground*. The important point

- (2) ²¹⁹ -subject arguments occur in each construction—each can be the pair of sentences and is included in the other in a pair marked by a preposition).
as an impressive array of verbs with two transitive sufficient object possibilities, only one or two correspond to from the last paragraph, e.g. *vana-a/-ta'ina* “shoot

It is, in fact, a little surprising that in Fijian there is only a single possible syntactic frame for *sol-i-a* “give”, *tu'u-na* “tell” and *va'a.-rai.-ta'ina* “show”—the gift, news, or thing shown must be O, with preposition *vei* marking the person to whom it is given, told, or shown.

However, for *taro-ga* “ask a question” there is a choice of O—it can be the question (or topic of the question), or the person asked (for the same transitive suffix):

- (18.53) *taro-gi 'ea baleti au!* “ask him about me!”
(18.54) *taro-gi au vei 'ea!* “ask about me to him! (= ask him about me!)”

When the person asked is direct object, the actual question asked can follow as direct speech:

- (18.55) *au aa taro-gi Aneta “I vei o Momo”* “I asked Aneta ‘Where is Uncle?’”

Alternatively, the question itself can be framed as a complement clause (necessarily introduced by the relator *se*, see chapter 23) and fill the O slot, with the person addressed being introduced by a preposition:

- (18.56) *au aa taro-ga vei Aneta [se i vei “I asked Aneta where Uncle is” o Momo]o*

Corresponding to the *dig* example from English, Fijian can also allow two possibilities for object, with a single transitive suffix, e.g.

- (18.57) *au aa 'eli-a a qele yai me* “I dug this ground for (lit: concerning) *baleta a tiivoli yai* these tiivoli (wild yams)”
(18.58) *au aa 'eli-a a tiivoli yai* “I dug these tiivoli from this ground”
mai+na qele yai

Tali-a “weave” and related verbs behave in a similar way:

- (18.59) *au na tali-a a voi.voi yai* “I’ll weave these voivoi leaves into (lit: *me dua a loga* should be) a mat”
(18.60) *au na tali-a e dua a loga* “I’ll weave a mat with these voivoi *i+na voi.voi yai* leaves”

With *su'u-ma* “put hand in hollow thing to grasp something” (cf T4.77), either the hollow thing or the object sought can be O:

- (18.61) *au su'u-ma [a qou i-lavo]o i+na qou*
1sg put in-TR ART CLASSIF+ 1sg money IN+ART CLASSIF+ 1sg
taga ni tarausese
pocket ASSOCIATED trousers
“I put my hand for money in my trousers pocket”
(18.62) *au su'u-ma mada [a taga ni o-mu*
1sg put in-TR PLEASE ART pocket ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-2sg
tarausese]o dee ti'o 'ina a qou i-lavo
trousers MIGHT be at PREP+3sg ART CLASSIF+ 1sg money
“if you please, I’ll put my hand in your trousers pocket, in case my money might be there”

Whereas alternate-object constructions are fairly common (in all kinds of languages), alternate-subject possibilities are almost unknown. But there is the “metonymical” type, as when people say in English *the kettle's boiling*, by which they mean that the water in the kettle is boiling, not that there is a pool of molten metal. The A-type verb *туру(-ma)* “liquid drips on” behaves rather like this. Its normal transitive and intransitive use is shown in:

- (18.63) *saa turu-ma mai [a loga]o [a wai ni uca]A*
ASP drip-TR HERE ART mat ART water ASSOCIATED rain
“rainwater is dripping (through a hole in the roof) onto the (floor) mats”
(18.64) *saa turu a wai ni uca* “rainwater is dripping down/leaking in”

But it is possible to have *vale* “house” as S of *туру*, in place of “rainwater”:

- (18.65) *saa turu a vale yai* “this house drips/leaks”

18.5 The intransitive suffix *-na*

No more than a handful of verbs may take a suffix *-na* (homonymous with the transitive ending *-na*), which derives an intransitive verb, usually referring to something moving due to a natural force, e.g.

- (18.66) *sa ciri a qou 'ato* “my box is drifting away (on the water)”
(i+na wai)
(18.67) *sa ciri-na a qou 'ato* “my box is being carried away (lit: being *(i+na dave)* floated off) (on the flood water)”
(18.68) *sa dave a wai* “the water is flooding”
(18.69) *sa dave-na a qou i- yaa.yaa* “my goods are being carried off (in *(i+na dave)* the flood)”

The S NP is the same between 18.66 and 18.67, but in 18.69 the S (*a qou i- yaa.yaa* “my goods”) is quite different from that in 18.68 (*a wai* “the water”). Note that *dave* “flood” functions freely as noun and as verb.

There is discussion and further exemplification of the intransitive suffix *-na* in Geraghty (1983:263–5) and Churchward (1941:72).

3.1, a passive can be derived from any transitive clause:

S of the passive (which is intransitive);

ally deleted but it *can* be retained in a passive, and must be in position;

has a passive form (we will refer to this as the regular passive) or there is a passive-type prefix *lau-* and no suffix (the *lau* passive).

Passive works in exactly the same way for both A-type and O-type verbs. The passive form of a verb functions rather like an adjective—it can be head of an intransitive predicate, or it can be modifier to a noun head within an NP (see T6.8, 24.25, and §20.2).

With an A-type verb, passive is the only means of putting the deep O NP into surface S slot (and contrasts with the plain intransitive, where S = A), e.g.

(18.70) TRANS. *au saa unu-ma a waqona yai* “I’ve drunk this kava”

(18.71) PASS. *saa unu-mi a waqona yai* “this kava has been drunk”

(18.72) INTR. *au saa unu* “I’ve drunk”

With an O-type verb, the passive has the same syntax as the plain intransitive. They differ semantically—the passive implies that there was an agent who brought about this state (although the agent is only occasionally stated in the passive clause), whereas the plain intransitive is neutral as to whether the state happened naturally or was engendered, e.g. the examples in §5.3.1 and

(18.73) TRANS. *au saa sogo-ta a 'aa.tuba* “I have closed the door”

(18.74) PASS. *saa sogo-ti a 'aa.tuba* “the door has been closed
(by someone)”

(18.75) INTR. *saa sogo a 'aa.tuba* “the door is closed”

The intransitive sentence 18.75 would be particularly appropriate as a question “Is the door closed?”, or as the reply to a question “Yes, the door is closed”.

Sepo once explained to me the difference in use of passive and intransitive for an O verb. He said that if you saw someone hit a pig, then it would be felicitous to use the passive, *sa motu'i a pua'a* “the pig is being clubbed”. But if you could only tell the animal was being killed through hearing its cry, some way off, then the intransitive verb would be employed, *sa motu a pua'a* “the pig is being clubbed”.

Hazlewood 1872:51 and Arms 1974:57 say that in the V dialect an agent phrase is only rarely included in a passive clause. Schütz and Nawadra (1972) and Geraghty (1976:519) maintain that a passive agent is only included in sentences translated directly from English (the “Radio Fiji” speech style).

In my B corpus, passive agents are not common but do occur. This could scarcely be due to direct influence from English since none of the people who recorded texts for me knew any English. Examples include 18.78 and

(18.76) *e taalei.-ta'i va'a.-levu vei ira a gone lalai*
3sg like-PASS greatly BY 3pl ART child little(PL)

“she is greatly liked by the children”

(18.77) *e sega ni dau.-qarau-ni vei 'eimami*
3sg not THAT HABITUAL-attend to-PASS BY 1excp1

“it (the planting of taro) is not properly taken care of by us
(nowadays, in the way that it was by our ancestors)”

The preposition used to mark a passive agent is *mai*, which for pronouns and person names becomes *mai vei* or just *vei*. There is a passive in T4.1, where Sepo uses *vei* and then corrects himself to *mai vei*.

Passives are fairly common in texts, but there are many instances where a Fijian would use a plain intransitive where English might employ the passive—see §25.1, and Milner (1972:97).

The regular passive marking has different forms for verbs taking (a) monosyllabic, and (b) trisyllabic transitive endings.

(a) There are two forms of a monosyllabic transitive ending in the active: *-Ci* before a pronoun or name as object, and *-Ca* (with unmarked 3sg reference) elsewhere. The passive is always *-Ci* (but it cannot be followed by an object since a passive clause is intransitive).

There is one set of exceptions, which concern O-type verbs with a root that ends in *-i*, taking transitive suffix *-a*, e.g. *buli-a* “make, manufacture”. We would expect a passive *buli-i*, with final long vowel. This appears not to occur. What happens in such cases is that the plain intransitive, with a short vowel (*buli*), is used with passive meaning. (This was first pointed out by Arms 1974:52–4.) It may be significant that this lack of passive/intransitive contrast applies only to some verbs of the O type, for the contrast is much less important for O than for A verbs (see above).

(b) A polysyllabic transitive suffix will have active forms *-Ca'ini* before a pronoun or name as object and *-Ca'ina* elsewhere. Here the passive is *-Ca'i*, i.e. it is one syllable shorter than the actives.

Grammars of Fijian (e.g. Arms 1974:54) have identified an alternative variety of passive, formed by prefixing *lau-* to the root and completely omitting the transitive suffix, e.g. *lau-rubi* from *rubi(-ca)* “flog”.

Which verbs take a *lau-* “passive” appears to be semantically determined—basically, those “affect” verbs that involve aggressive action. This covers A-type verbs like *vana(-a)* “shoot”, *caqe(-ta)* “kick”, *co'a(-a)* “throw spear at”; and O-type verbs such as *motu(-'a)* “club” and *'oti(-va)* “cut with scissors” (but not, I was told, *sele(-ta)* “slice”).

Lau- passives also exist in B for *'ana'ani-a* “eat”, *'ati(-a)* “bite”, and *namu-ta* “chew (but not for *unu(-ma)* “drink” or *tilo(-ma)* “swallow”). The passive of *rai(-ca)* “see, look at” can be *rai-ci* (as in T4.140) or *lau-rai*; no other verbs of seeing or hearing form a *lau-* passive.

(Hazlewood 1872:39, Churchward 1941:20, and Arms 1974:56 all sug-

gest that the prefix *lau-* may derive historically from the verb *lau-ta* “hit, not miss; sting”.)

It appears that the regular passive and the *lau-*passive are not mutually exclusive. Some verbs have been heard in both passive forms, and there is sometimes a definite semantic difference. This can be illustrated with the verb *sivi-ta* “carve” and object NP *matakau* “statue”. Sepo contrasted the regular passive *sa sivi-ti a matakau yai* “this statue has been (properly) carved” with *sa lau-.sivi a matakau yai* “this statue has been badly carved (as if someone tried to spoil it)”. Here the two passives involve the same underlying O (derived passive subject). For other verbs different types of NP are appropriate in subject slot for the two kinds of passive, e.g. *e aa rabe-ti a polo* “the ball was kicked” versus *e aa lau-rabe a 'aa.tuba* “the door was kicked (in)”.

Overall, it seems that the *lau-*passive will mean “done so as to adversely affect the deep object”, whereas the regular passive carries no such adversative overtone (see Schütz 1986:218–9, quoting an idea from Paul Geraghty). A few verbs, like *rubi(-ca)* “flog” appear only to be used in the *lau-*, not the regular, passive. Many verbs, like “carry”, “give”, and “dream” only take the regular passive. Others, like *rabe(-ta)* “kick” and *sivi(-ta)* “carve” may take either, with a meaning difference.

This provides at least a partial explanation as to why the *lau-*passive is found with those “affect” verbs that involve aggressive action and also with “eat” and “chew” (the foodstuffs involved are adversely affected). However, the instances of *lau-.rai* “seen” (which appears to have the same meaning as the regular passive *rai-ci*) are not explainable in this way.

Some of the verbs taking *lau-* do allow two transitive endings with a syntactic difference, one monosyllabic and the other trisyllabic. In each such case the *lau-* passive can only correspond to the monosyllabic form (where the “goal” is deep O), and the trisyllabic suffix (which has “implement”, etc. as deep O) just forms a regular passive, e.g.

ACTIVE	<i>'olo-va</i> “throw stick at”	PASSIVE	<i>lau-. 'olo</i>
	(O: animal, etc)		
ACTIVE	<i>'olo-ta'ina</i> “throw at”	PASSIVE	<i>'olo.-ta'i</i>
	(O: stick, etc)		

If a verb has two transitive endings showing a semantic difference, then again the *lau-*passive is said by informants to correspond to the monosyllabic form, the trisyllabic “intensive” suffix forming a regular passive:

ACTIVE	<i>rubi-ca</i> “flog”	PASSIVE	<i>lau-.rubi</i>
ACTIVE	<i>rubi.-la'ina</i> “flog repeatedly”	PASSIVE	<i>rubi.-la'i</i>

Lau- passives have exactly the same syntax as regular *-i*-final passives. An agent phrase may occasionally be included, e.g.

(18.78) *au sa lau-.saqa mai +na* “I was hit (lit: collided with) by that
motokaa mayaa car”

Arms (1974:52–4) suggests that some verbs—such as *biu(-ta)* “place, put, leave” and *ca'a(-va)* “do, make”—cannot form a passive of either type. I have not investigated this question.

18.7 “Spontaneous” prefixes

There are four verbal prefixes—*ta-*, *'a-*, *ca-* and *ra-*—that were identified as a type of passive marker by Hazlewood (1872:39), Churchward (1941:20), and Milner (1972:114). Arms (1974:72–6, 121–4, 269–74) has a most insightful discussion of these affixes, which he identifies not as passive but as adding a spontaneous element of meaning to a verb; they cannot co-occur with transitive or passive suffixes. Paul Geraghty (private communication) suggests that only *ta-* and some instances of *ca-* can properly be glossed “spontaneous”; the other prefixes indicate an “adversative effect”. (They show some semantic similarities to *lau-* forms, discussed in the last section. Further work is required on the semantics of all these kinds of verbal prefixes.)

From *musu(-'a)* “break in two” is derived the adversative form *'a-musu* “unfortunately break”, as in T6.55. Other examples include *ca-bolo* “explode”, *ta-uru* “become slack (of a rope)”, *'a-bote* “fall down; e.g. house, due to cyclone” (from *bote(-a)* “pull down house”), *'a-dresu* “tear (of cloth)”, and *ta-lo'i* “become bent”, as in

(18.79) *sa voole'a ni ta-lo'i a waa kaukamea yai*
 ASP near THAT SPONT-bend ART string metal THIS
 “this wire is almost bending”

Arms (1974:74) suggests that the plain intransitive form of a verb is unmarked as to agent; the transitive forms—both active and passive—are marked “plus agent” (cf §18.6); and the spontaneous/adversative form is marked “minus agent”. This should perhaps be modified to “minus human agent”. From *druti(-a)* “sever a connection, e.g. pull off leaves, cut a rope” is derived *ca-druti*, which is used in:

(18.80) *sa ca-druti a dali ni bulumakau yai* “this cattle-rope (i.e. rope
 tethering a cow to a post)
 has come off”

Here the rope is likely to have come loose because the cow tugged at it; the *ca-* prefix implies that *no person* undid it.

Some verbs take *ta-*, some *'a-*, some *ca-*, and a very few *ra-* (and many accept none of these prefixes). Arms suggests at least a partial semantic basis: *ca-* “sound” or “gentle contact”, *'a-* “hardness, force, opening out”, *ta-* “moderate force”, etc. He also provides a fullish list of spontaneous/adversative verbal forms.

A few verbs can take two of these prefixes, sometimes (or perhaps always) with a slight meaning difference. Thus from *sere(-'a)* “loosen, untie, let go” are derived *ta-sere* “(knot) comes undone (by itself)” and *'a-sere* “(the flesh

of a cooked pig) comes to pieces” (these examples are from Pául Geraghty). Note also that in T6.60 *ta-seire* has the further meaning “scatter in all directions”.

A spontaneous/adversative form can be reduplicated, and then both parts are repeated, the prefix at the beginning and the root at the end (note that all roots attested with these prefixes are disyllabic) e.g.

<i>ta-lo'i</i> “bent”	<i>ta-ta-lo'i.lo'i</i> “bent in many places”
<i>ta-dola</i> “open (of door)”	<i>ta-ta-dola.dola</i> “many (doors) are open”
<i>ca-lidi</i> “explode”	<i>ca-ca-lidi.lidi</i> “many things explode” (see T6.51)
<i>'a-musu</i> “broken”	<i>'a-'a-musu.musu</i> “broken in many places”
<i>ta-'elo</i> “crooked (e.g.:stick)”	<i>ta-ta-'elo.'elo</i> “winding (e.g. road)”

Reduplication indicates plurality—the state applies either to many objects or else many times to one object.

When a spontaneous/adversative form is said in elicitation, it may be pronounced slowly, as two phonological words. However, in running speech it is often a single phonological word, the prefix vowel coalescing with a root-initial *i* or *u* to form a diphthong (see §3.1, §3.2.2) e.g. *tā-uru* “become slack”. *tā-isi~'ā-isi* “become torn”.

18.8 Object incorporation

There are quite a number of compound stems in Fijian, e.g. *cagi.laba* “cyclone” from noun *cagi* “wind” and verb *laba* “murder” (lit: “murdering wind”). A full survey has not been undertaken and would be outside the scope of a grammar as brief as this one. But there is one important type of compounding that I have studied in some detail.

As mentioned in §5.3.3, there is a type of compound stem involving a verb root and a noun that would be in object function to the transitive version of that verb. The “object incorporated” stem is intransitive, and its S NP is identical to the A of the transitive. All this applies equally to verbs of A and of O type, e.g.

A-type	O-type
1. <i>ta'i-va</i> “fetch (something) in container” <i>ta'i</i> “fetch in a container” <i>ta'i.wai</i> “fetch water”	1. <i>biu-ta</i> “put, place, leave (something)” <i>biu</i> “be placed, left” <i>biu.vuli</i> “leave school”
2. <i>vuli-ca</i> “learn (something)” <i>vuli</i> “learn, study” <i>vuli.me'e</i> “learn to perform traditional dances” (see T4.5)	2. <i>qili(-ca)</i> “rub (something) with hands” <i>qili</i> “be rubbed on” <i>qili.pouta</i> “rub powder on”

3. <i>bili-ga</i> “push (something)” <i>bili</i> “push” <i>bili.motokaa</i> “drive a car”	3. <i>wili-'a</i> “read, count (something)” <i>wili</i> “be counted, read” <i>wili.i-vola</i> “read book/letter”
---	--

Object incorporation is fully productive with only a few verbs. For *'ana'ani-a* “eat”, *unu(-ma)* “drink, suck”, and *vodo(-'a)* “board (vehicle, etc)”, *anything* which can be a post-predicate object NP can also be incorporated into the verb word. For example, besides such common compounds as *unu.waqona* “drink kava”, *unu.tii* “drink tea” and *unu.wai* “drink water”, we also get *unu.meleni* “consume melons” and even—with unassimilated loans—*unu.ice cream* and *unu.gin*. (The interrogative *cava* “what” may also be incorporated, *unu.cava* “drinking what?”.)

However, most verbs can only incorporate a very limited set of nouns—effectively, their prototypical objects, e.g. *sara.i-yalo.yalo* “watch films”, as in 8.163–4; *sara.qito* “watch sports”; *'ila.'aa* “know things (i.e. be intelligent)”; *ca'a.misa* “celebrate mass”, as in 22.2; *va'a-qawa.bu'a* “light the fire”, as in T4.28. Some can only incorporate a single noun, e.g. *tara.vale* “build houses”, as in 8.35. Arms (1974:63) mentions that he found one or two instances of object incorporation for most verbs that he investigated.

Most object-incorporated forms have a literal meaning, which is the sum of their parts. But some carry a more idiomatic sense, e.g. *unu.tii*, literally “drink tea”, can refer to a small meal in which tea drinking is accompanied by eating bread or scones or pancakes (often this is the breakfast meal—see 8.144); and *unu.sede* literally “drink money (cents)”, describes a kava-drinking party where each participant contributes a small sum (perhaps twenty cents) in order to raise money for a specific purpose—see 14.30.

Although incorporation is usually of just a noun, it can involve a complete NP. In T4.11,16 we find *saqa.'e-dra.i'a* “cook their fish”, with incorporation of possessor *'e-dra* “their edible thing” plus noun *i'a* “fish”. Then there is *'ana.waci.po'i* “eat rolled taro leaves”, with noun *waci* “cooked taro leaves” and adjective *po'i* “rolled”. It is even possible to get an “or” disjunction incorporated. From *taa(-ya)* “cut, chop” are derived incorporated forms *taa.niu* “cut copra”, as in 8.25, and *taa.bu'a* “chop firewood”. If someone said “where’s he going?”, you might answer, if you had seen him departing with a knife but weren’t sure what he intended to chop with it: *e la'i taa.niu.se.bu'a* “he’s gone to chop copra or firewood”.

An incorporated noun (or NP) bears no article. It differs from a transitive-verb-plus-object-NP construction in having a general, indefinite meaning. Compare:

- (18.81) *e 'ani-a a uto* “he is eating the/some breadfruit”
(18.82) *e 'ana.uto* “he is eating breadfruit (breadfruit-eating)”

In the transitive sentence 18.81 the object NP refers to some specific breadfruit; but in 18.82 the compound verb stem merely signifies that he is indulging

in the activity of breadfruit-eating. (As mentioned in §5.3.3, demonstrative *yai* “this” could be added after *uto* in 18.81, but not in 18.82.)

We have said that an object incorporated form is always intransitive. Justification for this comes from the study of predicate modifiers *tauco'o* “all”, *rua.rua* “both”, etc (§8.3.7). Although these modifiers normally occur in the predicate they quantify either subject or object. A transitive sentence such as

(18.83) *erau 'ani-a rua.rua a uto*

is ambiguous between “they are both eating breadfruit” (where *rua.rua* applies to the subject) and “they are eating both breadfruit” (where it applies to the object). In contrast, an object-incorporated clause such as:

(18.84) *erau 'ana.uto rua.rua*

can only mean “they are both breadfruit-eating”. The noun *uto* is not an independent object in 18.84 and cannot here be quantified by *rua.rua*. Similarly

(18.85) *au na 'ani-a rua.rua a uto*

can only mean “I will eat both breadfruit”; *rua.rua* cannot in this case apply to the subject, which is specified as a singular pronoun. And

(18.86) **au na 'ana.uto rua.rua*

is impossible.

Tongan (a Polynesian language quite closely related genetically to Fijian) has object incorporation on the Fijian pattern. Tongan has distinct markers for an NP in A function (ergative preposition 'e) and for an NP in S or O function (absolutive preposition 'a). From the transitive clause *na'e inu ['a e kava]_O ['e Sione]_A* “John (*Sione*) drank (*inu*) the kava” we can derive an object-incorporated construction *na'e inu.kava ['a Sione]_S* “John drank kava (i.e. John kava-drunk)” (*na'e* is past tense marker and *e* the definite article). For the transitive clause the subject *Sione* (“John”) is in A function, marked by 'e, but for the incorporated-object clause it is in S function, marked by 'a, providing further evidence that an object-incorporated form is intransitive. (Tongan data from Churchward 1953: 76.)

There are some verbs that do not exist in intransitive form but still take part in object incorporation e.g. *sara.me'e* “watch traditional dances”, *sara.i-yalo.yalo* “watch films” from *sara-va* “watch it” (but no plain *sara*). For *waa.-ca'ina* “wait for” the only intransitive is the reduplicated *waa.waa* “wait”; interestingly, there is an incorporated form *waa.waa.basi* “wait for the bus”, rather than *waa.basi* (but for other verbs whose only intransitive form is reduplicated, the unreduplicated root is used in object incorporation, e.g. *sara*).

Incorporated roots, like other derived verb forms, are best regarded as based on the transitive—A becomes S, and O is incorporated, the transitive suffix being dropped. But some verbs have two possible transitive suffixes

(usually: one monosyllabic and one trisyllabic). How can we tell which of these an object-incorporated stem is based on? It seems that—for verbs of this type—if an object incorporated stem is based on the monosyllabic transitive, then just the root is used; but if it is based on the trisyllabic transitive, then the passive version of this is employed. Compare *'ada-va* “run for” with *'ada.-va'ina* “run with”. In 11.1 we find *dau.-'ada.-va'i.rova* “habitually run with a rova (whale’s tooth)”, where the object noun *rova* is incorporated onto the passive form *'ada.-va'i*.

Some verbs take two transitive suffixes that are both monosyllabic. In §18.2 (i) we mentioned *ro-va* “(fly etc) lands on (something)” and *ro-ya* “knock (e.g. fly) away”. There is an incorporated object stem *ro-i.lago* “knock flies away” that adds *lago* “fly” to the passive form, *ro-i*, of *ro-ya*, parallel to *'ada.-va'i.rova*.

(There appear to be a few more verbs that base incorporated object stems on the passive, for a variety of reasons, e.g. *sau-mi.diinau* “pay debts”. See Arms 1974:68–9.)

Schütz (1986: 135) mentions that the transitive suffix *-taka* in V (*-ta'ina* in B) can be added to incorporated-object forms; all the examples he gives begin with *cava* “what”, e.g. the V equivalent of B *a cava o unu.waqona.-ta'ina* “why are you kava-drinking (when you should be doing something else)?”. Speakers of B also say this, but it is the only instance I have of a transitivised object-incorporated stem. A reply to a question of this type could *not* involve the transitive suffix *-ta'ina* (but would be likely to begin: *au unu.waqona baleta . . .* “I’m kava-drinking because . . .”).

The collective prefix *vei-* can be added to an object-incorporated stem; e.g. from *dree(-ta)* “pull” is derived *dree.dali* “pull ropes” and thence *vei.-dree.dali* “(several people) pull mutually, on each end of a rope (as in a tug of war)”.

19 Adjectives

There is a distinct class “adjective” in Fijian. Adjectives can function as head of an intransitive predicate (and as head of a derived clausal NP), and as modifier within an NP. The preferences for ordering of adjectives within an NP were mentioned in §9.5. Adjectives can be qualified by *rui* “to a high degree” (§8.3.6), and by *ca'e* “more” or *sobu* “less” (§19.2).

Adjectives cover the semantic domains of dimension (“big”, “small”, “long”, etc), colour, physical property (“hot”, “sharp”, etc), speed, value (“good”, “bad”, etc), age (“new”, “old”, “young”) etc. Most terms referring to human propensities and physical states belong in Fijian to the verb rather than to the adjective class, e.g. *pu'u(-ca/-ca'ina)* “be angry (at/about)”, *mosi(-ta)* “be sore, painful”. Numbers are a separate class, similar in grammatical possibilities to verbs. *Levu* and *lailai* function both as members of the number class—“many, much”, and “a few”—and also as adjectives “big” and “small”. There is a full discussion in the next chapter of the criteria for distinguishing between word classes.

There are a number of compound adjectives, especially for referring to human propensities. Many are based on *yalo-* “spirit, soul”, the second element being a verb, an adjective, or a noun:

- yalo.vuni.vuni* “modest (lit: hiding one's soul)” from *vuni(-a)* “hide”, as in 8.113
- yalo.vosota* “patient”, from *voso-ta* “endure it, be patient over it” (no intransitive form is attested for *voso-ta*, and the transitive form is used in the compound)
- yalo.lailai* “timid, easily discouraged, apprehensive” from *lailai* “small”
- yalo.vina'a* “good natured, kind”, from *vina'a* “good”
- yalo.caa* “angry, bad-natured”, from *caa* “bad”
- yalo.dina* “faithful”, from *dina* “true”

Some are based on *yate-* “liver” e.g. *yate.dei* “determined”, from *dei* “firmly fixed”. Another *yate-* form is *yate.va'a-laione*, translated as “lion-hearted”. From the noun *loma* “mind, will, feelings” and verb *sol(i-a)* “give” is derived *loma.soli* “generous”.

19.1 Types of reduplication

There are two, quite different, types of reduplication found among adjectives.

(i) Colour terms

The basic colour adjectives can be divided into two subclasses:

19.1 TYPES OF REDUPLICATION

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) <i>loa.loa~loa</i> “black” | (b) <i>'ara.'arawa</i> “blue” |
| <i>vula.vula~vula</i> “white” | <i>lo'a.lo'a</i> “purple” |
| <i>damu.damu~damu</i> “red, brown” | <i>dromo.dromoa</i> |
| <i>dro'a.dro'a~dro'a</i> “green” | “yellowish” |
| <i>dromo.dromo~dromo</i> “yellow” | <i>dravu.dravua</i> “grey” |
| | <i>piqi</i> “pink” |

Note that *dravu.dravua* (related to the noun *dravu* “ashes”) means “poor, poverty-stricken” when describing a person, but “grey” when used of an animal or thing. *Piqi* is a loan word, which functions as an adjective, of type (b).

The five main terms, in column (a), each have two forms. The unreduplicated form is used as a modifier to a noun referring to an animal and also *vatu* “stone, rock” and *qele* “earth”. The reduplicated form is used when modifying any other noun, and in predicate head position. Thus:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>a 'olii loa</i> “black dog” | but <i>a+i- sulu loa.loa</i> “black garment” |
| <i>a pusi vula</i> “white cat” | <i>a nu'u vula.vula</i> “white sand” |
| <i>a qele damu</i> “red earth” | <i>a drau ni 'acu damu.damu</i> “red leaf” |

And although we say *a 'olii loa*, in an NP, if “black” is predicated of “a dog” then *loa.loa* must be used:

- (19.1) *e loa.loa a 'olii yai* “this dog is black”

The reduplicated form must also be used in the predicate of a relative clause. Note the contrast in form between:

- (19.2) *au aa rai-ca e dua a ose loa* “I saw a black horse”
 (19.3) *au aa rai-ca a ose yai, e loa.loa* “I saw this horse, which is black”

The terms in list (b) cannot be shortened—one would never hear **'arawa*, or **lo'a*.

It is interesting that the five colour terms which exist in both reduplicated and unreduplicated form are precisely the first five members of the universal colour term hierarchy proposed by Berlin and Kay (1969).

(ii) Partial reduplication

Some of the most common adjectives (cf Dixon 1982:7) have a partially reduplicated form that has plural reference. This can only occur in NP modifier position, not as predicate head (nor as NP head)—thus *a ose levu* “big horse”, *a ose le-levu* “big horses”.

This reduplication involves repetition, before the root, of the initial consonant and the first vowel mora. If the root is inherently reduplicated, then this is dropped. The whole partially reduplicated form is one phonological word. The examples I have recorded are:

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------------|------------------|
| <i>lévu</i> “big” | <i>le-lévu</i> | <i>vōu</i> “new” | <i>vo-vōu</i> |
| <i>lāilāi</i> “small” | <i>la-lāi</i> | <i>viná'a</i> “good” | <i>vī-viná'a</i> |

<i>balávu</i> “long”	<i>bà-balávu</i>	<i>cáa</i> “bad”	<i>ca-cáa</i>
<i>lé'a.lé'a</i> “short”	<i>le-lé'a</i>		

There is also *siinai* “full” and *sii.siinai* “lots of full things” (here the vowel length is reduplicated). Other adjectives do not have plural forms. There are some with inherent reduplication, but this does not carry plural meaning, e.g. *'ata.ata* “hot”, *bata.bataa* “cold”, *sua.sua* “wet”, *'ami.'amica* “sweet”.

Plural forms like *lelevu*, *vovou* are obligatorily used in an NP with human reference in the speech of older people at Waitabu. Younger speakers, however, alternate between using the plural form, e.g. *lelevu*, or just the plain adjective *levu*, in a plural NP.

A number of adjectives are derived from a noun or verb root through full reduplication and the addition of a final *-a*, e.g.

<i>'abu</i> “mist”	<i>'abu.'abua</i> “misty”
<i>kau</i> “tree” (in V)	<i>kau.kaua</i> “strong, hard, powerful” (in V̄ and B)
<i>dravu</i> “ashes”	<i>dravu.dravua</i> “poor (person); grey (animal/thing)”
<i>sava(-ta)</i> “to wash”	<i>sava.savaa</i> “clean”
<i>do'a-a</i> “to admire”	<i>do'a.do'aa</i> “boasting (i.e. admiring oneself)”

There are also some nonce partial reduplications forming adjectives, e.g. from the noun *lope* “mud” is derived both *lolope* “muddy” and *lope.lopea* “very muddy”. There is also, on a similar pattern, *rurugu* “shady” and *rugu.rugua* “very shady, overcast” (but no form *rugu*).

Some adjectives in reduplicated form are derived (at least historically) from verbs e.g. *dree.dree* “hard, difficult” from *dree(-ta)* “to pull”; and *rawa.rawa* “easy” from transitive *rawa-ta* “to get, achieve” and the semi-auxiliary verb *rawa* “can”.

19.2 Comparative and inchoative constructions

There are two ways of comparing two things in Fijian. The simplest is first to mention them both and then to pick one out as having a certain quality, implying that it has *more* of that quality than the other. For instance, a speaker might begin by mentioning that there are two routes from Suva to Nadi, the King's Road and the Queen's Road, and then say: *e vina'a o Queen's Road* “Queen's Road is better (literally: Queen's Road is good)”.

There is also a specific comparative construction: an adjective referring to a quality (in predicate head slot) is followed by the modifier *ca'e* “up, more” (§8.3.4); the thing compared is introduced by the preposition *mai*, which becomes (*mai*) *vei* before a pronoun or proper name. See 7.6, 8.83 and

(19.4) *e balavu ca'e o Roopate mai vei au* “Roopate is taller than me”

(19.5) *e vina'a ca'e o Waitabu mai Suva* “Waitabu is better than Suva”

Note that *ca'e* could be omitted from 19.4–5; the sentences would still be understood as comparatives.

In §8.3.4 we contrasted *ca'e* with another modifier, *sobu* “down”. In fact, older speakers prefer to use *sobu* for comparison of a number of “negative” adjectives, principally *lailai* “little”, *le'a.le'a* “short”, *maamare* “thin”, *malu.malumu* “weak”, *gone* “young”, *caa* “bad”, and *dai* “wrong, false”. *Ca'e* is used for comparing almost all other adjectives.

Younger speakers use *ca'e* but not *sobu* for comparison. Thus, all speakers would employ 19.4–5. But in a sentence where an older speaker should use *sobu*, a younger speaker would either substitute *ca'e* or else use no modifier at all (note that younger speakers would be less likely to omit *ca'e* from 19.4–5). Thus:

(19.6)	OLDER	<i>e caa.sobu a Suva mai Waitabu</i>	} “Suva is worse than Waitabu”
	YOUNGER	{ <i>e caa ca'e o Suva mai Waitabu</i> }	
		{ <i>e caa o Suva mai Waitabu</i> }	

To describe something *getting to be more* of a quality, two modifiers are placed after the adjective (in predicate head slot): *ti'o* “continuous activity” (§8.3.1) and *mai* “to here” (§8.3.3)—see 8.65–6. *Ca'e* (or *sobu*, under the conditions mentioned above) is often used with *ti'o* and *mai* (and the aspect marker *saa*), e.g.

(19.7) *saa vina'a ca'e ti'o mai* “it's getting better”

(19.8) OLDER *saa caa sobu ti'o mai* } “it's getting worse”
YOUNGER *saa caa (ca'e) ti'o mai* }

(Note that *mai* in 19.4–6 is a preposition, but the *mai* in 19.7–8 is a post-head modifier.)

Comparative and inchoative constructions, as illustrated in 19.4–6 and 19.7–8, may only be formed if there is an adjective or adverb in the predicate. *Ca'e* cannot be directly used with the verb *taalei.-ta'ina* “like it”, for instance; it is first necessary to insert an adverb *va'a.-levu* “greatly”, and then *ca'e* can qualify the adverb (see also 25.4):

(19.9) *au taalei.-ta'ina va'a.-levu ca'e* “I like it more each day”
ti'o mai i+na vei.-siga

If *va'a.-levu* were omitted, 19.9 would *not* be an acceptable sentence.

(Note that in such constructions the adverb must precede *ca'e*; it must occur in slot 4, and not in this instance in slot 8, from the scheme of predicate structure given at the beginning of chapter 8.)

20 Word Classes

There are two basic types of word classes (or parts of speech) in any language: (i) open classes of lexical items; and (ii) closed systems of grammatical forms.

Noun and verb classes are generally open—that is, they cannot be exhaustively listed, and new members may readily be added. Two words belonging to the same open class have the same grammatical status and can only be distinguished through semantic specification, in the dictionary. In contrast, article and pronoun are closed systems: each has a fixed number of members, and new members of the systems cannot easily be “coined”. Articles and pronouns are fully specified within the grammar, and do not require entries in the dictionary.

Word classes must be set up on internal grammatical criteria within any language. They may then be identified between languages through similar (but never absolutely identical) semantic scopes. For instance “(common) noun” in Latin is a class of words that typically inflect for case and number (but not for gender). “Noun” in English can be defined as those words that directly follow an article, and need not themselves be followed by anything further. The grammatical criteria are quite different in the two languages. But most nouns in one language are translatable by nouns in another—and this is why the Latin class and the English class (and semantically similar classes in other languages) are all called “noun”. (There are always a few non-correspondences; thus *hunger* is basically a noun in English, with a derived adjective, *hungry*; in Latin *ēsuriō* is basically a verb “be hungry”, with a derived adjective *ēsuriens*.)

In Fijian a noun typically fills the NP head slot, and a verb the predicate head slot. But an NP (which can consist just of a noun) can function as predicate head (dropping a common article, but retaining a proper article); and any clause can be converted into a clausal NP in which the original predicate head becomes NP head. This makes it appear as if noun and verb have the same syntactic properties and perhaps cannot be distinguished as separate word classes (cf Milner 1972: 10).

However, closer examination of the full range of syntactic functions, and what may fill them, shows that we should recognise the following word classes for Fijian:

Open lexical classes

1. Verb (including a sub-set of semi-auxiliary verbs, *sega* “not”, *rawa* “can” and just a few more—§23.4).
2. Adjective
3. Noun, with subclasses: personal name, place name, common noun (these being further subdivided into free and bound nouns—§10.5).

There are two further word classes that are semantically and grammatically like the open classes, yet they do have restricted membership. (Some loans have been taken in since European contact—*milioni* “million”, *aua* “hour” and *miniti* “minute”—but new members could not be added as freely as with noun and verb classes.)

Semi-open classes

4. Number (most similar grammatically to verb, and could alternatively be considered a special subclass of verb).

5. Time word—with a number of subclasses: unit of time e.g. *yaba'i* “year”, *sigā* “day”, *sigā.va'a-rau.wai* “Saturday”; names of months e.g. *Tiiseba* “December”; shifters—*saubogi* “tomorrow”, *nanoa* “yesterday”, *ni'ua* “today”; parts of the day e.g. *mata'a* “morning”, *ya'avi* “afternoon, early evening”; *kaloḷo* “o'clock” (in telling the time).

Numbers and time words, like nouns, verbs and adjectives, can be head of a predicate or of an NP.

We then come to two closed classes whose reference varies (or shifts) with the identity of speaker and addressee, or of place or time:

Closed classes of shifters

6. Pronoun. There are five series of pronouns, all repeating the same person/number/etc distinctions. Cardinal pronouns must be head of an NP (or of a predicate). Possessor pronouns usually precede and modify an NP head but can themselves be head of an NP or of a predicate. Pronominal suffixes can only be added to a bound noun. Subject and object pronouns are restricted to specific slots within the predicate.

7. Demonstrative is a three-term system. A demonstrative usually comes at the end of a predicate or an NP but can be in head position, particularly in equational clauses (§21.1).

Grammatical systems of words

8. Articles—there are just two, common article *a~na* and proper article *o*, which occur at the beginning of an NP (§9.3).

9. Prepositions—there are three, *i~vei*, *mai~(mai) vei*, and *'ei* (or *vata 'ei*), with a fourth, *baleta*, in the process of evolution; they normally introduce an NP (see chapter 14 for full details).

10. Tense-aspect markers *aa*, *na*, *sa*, and *saa*, which follow the subject pronoun at the beginning of the predicate (§8.2.2).

11. Discourse markers *qei* and *mani*, which follow the tense-aspect markers (§8.2.3).

12. Predicate (and NP) modifiers—there are a number of grammatical systems within this class, fully described in §8.3. The NP modifier *mataqali* “kind of” is in a subclass of its own (§9.4).

13. Classifiers *we-*, *'e-*, and *me-* combine with possessor pronouns and the possessive suffix *-i* to form grammatical words (see chapters 10 and 12).

14. Relators—grammatical forms that link clauses or NPs, or introduce subordinate clauses—*ni*, *se*, *dee*, *me*, *'eeva'aa~'e*, and *ia*. For a full discussion, see chapters 22–24.

Finally, there are forms that function like a minimal clause and can also be followed by a full clause:

15. Interjections, e.g. *io* “yes”, *ae* “hey” (§22.6). And, perhaps related to these, the question tag *ee* (see beginning of chapter 16).

Besides their monomorphemic members, the three open classes also have a number of derived members, as discussed in chapter 17, e.g. *dau-* plus verb forms a derived adjective; *+i-* plus verb yields a derived noun; and *va'a-* (. . . *-ta'ina*) plus noun, adjective, number, or interjection gives a derived verb.

There is also the class of adverbs, all of whose members are derived by *va'a-* prefixed to adjectives, numbers, nouns, place names, and time words (§8.4, §17.2.3).

Interrogative forms are basically distributed over the classes: verb (and adverb), adjective, noun, number, time word, pronoun, and demonstrative. Interrogatives behave alike in certain ways and could be considered a special “pan-parts-of-speech” word class—see chapter 16. In similar fashion, deictic verbs and the deictic noun share some of the anaphoric characteristics of demonstratives—see chapter 7 and §25.2.

Most forms in Fijian belong to just one class. For a very small number of roots it seems most appropriate to suggest that they have dual membership of lexical classes:

Noun and adjective—*gase* “old person” and “old”; *gone* “young person” and “young” (see §12.2)

Adjective and verb—*vina'a* “good” and *vina'a-ta* “want, deem good”; *caa* “bad” and *ca-ta* “dislike, deem bad” (but see the conclusion at the end of this chapter)

Verb and noun—*vosa* “to speak, talk” and “word, speech, language”; *cina* “to shine (of torch, etc)” and “lamp, torch”; *dave* “to flood” and “a flood”; *taro-ga* “to ask a question” and *taro* “a question”; *faele.-ta'ina* “to file” and *faele* “a file”.

Adjective and number—*levu* “big” and “many, much”; *lailai* “small” and “a few”.

In addition, some of the semi-auxiliary verbs are related to regular transitive verbs, e.g. *rawa* “can”, *rawa-ta* “to get, achieve”; *bese* “don't want (to do something)”, *bese.-ta'ina* “don't want to do (something)”.

As already mentioned, a number of predicate modifiers also occur as verbs,

adjectives, etc, with varying degrees of semantic difference—full details were given throughout §8.3.

There is a good deal of homonymy in Fijian. Concerning lexical homonymy, we have already said that if two verbs have the same form but different meanings and different transitive endings, then often only one of them exists in intransitive form (presumably, to avoid the possibility of confusion)—see §18.1. Perusal of Capell's 1941 dictionary will indicate the further extent of lexical homonymy.

Homonymy of grammatical forms is also fairly widespread e.g.

na—future tense (§8.2.2) and allomorph of common article (§9.3)

i—preposition (chapter 14), possessive suffix (§10.1–2) and derivational prefix (§17.3)

o—2sg subject pronoun (§6.3) and proper article (§9.3)

mai—preposition (chapter 14), and pre-head and post-head modifiers (§8.3.3)

'ei—preposition (§14.3) and classifier plus possessive suffix (chapters 10, 12)

There are potentially confusing constructions, like:

- (20.1) . . . *'ei+na tuuraga 'e+i Viti*
 WITH+ART chief CLASSIF+POSS Fiji
 “. . . and the chiefs of Fiji”

where the first *'ei* is the preposition, and the second the classifier plus possessive pronoun. And compare:

- (20.2) *i+na dela-i Na'auvadra*
 IN+ART top POSS Place
 “on top of Na'auvadra (mountain)”
- (20.3) *i Na'auvadra*
 AT Place
 “at Na'auvadra”

In both 20.2 and 20.3 the place name *Na'auvadra* is preceded by *i*, but in the first example it is the possessive marker, and in the second the preposition.

It is also important to distinguish between *o+na* 2sg subject pronoun plus future tense, and *o-na* classifier plus 3sg possessor pronoun. Generally, a close examination of the syntactic environment in which one of these forms occurs reveals what its grammatical status is.

20.1 Types of noun, and pronoun

The last two chapters have been concerned with verbs and adjectives, discussing their syntactic and semantic properties, and possibilities for affixation and reduplication.

Little along these lines remains to be said concerning nouns. The distinc-

TABLE 20.1 GRAMMATICAL PROPERTIES OF TYPES OF NOUN, AND PRONOUN

	pronoun	personal name	place name	common noun
article used	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a~na</i>
can it be object within predicate?	yes	yes	yes	no
interrogative used (§16.1)	older speakers	<i>cei</i>	<i>cei</i>	<i>cava*</i>
	younger speakers	<i>cei</i>	<i>cava</i>	<i>cava*</i>
prepositions used	<i>(mai)vei</i>	<i>(mai)vei</i>	<i>ilmai</i>	<i>ilmai</i>
can it be subject within predicate?	yes	no	no	no

**cava* if non-human reference, *cei* if human reference

tion between bound common nouns—which must take a suffixed possessive pronoun, or *ni* plus “possessor”, or *i* plus a name—and free nouns—which don’t—was discussed in §10.1, §10.5.

It is instructive to compare the grammatical properties of the two kinds of proper noun—personal name and place name—with those of common noun, and of pronoun, in table 20.1. It can be seen that there is a grammatical gradation across the columns of the table. Other differences concern possessive constructions, as set out in table 10.1.

There are, of course, important properties that pronouns and all kinds of nouns share: they can function as head of an NP or of a predicate, and they can be linked by *'ei* “with”.

20.2 Criteria for open word classes

As will be evident from a careful reading of this grammar, verbs, adjectives and nouns behave differently in many ways (see also Arms 1974:7–14). The semantic principles underlying classifier use, described in chapter 12, are quite distinct for each of the three classes. The occurrence and effect of derivational affixes and of reduplication (chapter 17) is also tied to word class—e.g. the prefix *+i-* applies only to verbs (with one exception, the bound noun *ro'a-* “colour”), and derives a noun.

The main syntactic possibilities of the three open classes can be summarised:

	verb	adjective	noun
1. head of intransitive predicate	+++*	++	+
2. head of transitive predicate	+++*	-	-
3. head of NP	+	+	++
4. modifier in NP	**	++	-*

Here ++ indicates a primary function and + a secondary function; - indicates that the property is lacking, * marks that there are exceptions, and ** indicates that just the passive form of a verb (which behaves very much like an adjective) can modify a noun.

It will be seen that although all verbs, adjectives, and nouns *can* occur in slots 1 and 3, their potentialities are rather different in slots 2 and 4.

Looking now at each major word class in turn:

ADJECTIVE—typical function is head of an intransitive predicate, or as modifier (following the head noun) in an NP. A clause with adjective as predicate head can become a clausal NP, the adjective being NP head; it will then usually be accompanied by a possessive pronoun coding the clausal subject, e.g. *a 'e-na levu* “its size” from *levu* “big”. Only adjectives (and adverbs derived from adjectives) can be quantified by *rui* “to a high degree” or *soti* “a lot” (§8.3.6). Only adjectives may be compared by *ca'e* (§19.2).

VERB—only (simple or derived) verbs can function as head of a transitive predicate. Most verbs exist in an intransitive and one or more transitive forms. Some verbs are only transitive; there is no difficulty in recognising them as verbs. A handful are only intransitive—but they can still be seen to be verbs because (i) they reduplicate like verbs; (ii) they cannot be quantified by *rui*, *soti*, or *ca'e* as almost all adjectives can; (iii) like other verbs and adjectives they are likely—when functioning as head of a clausal NP—to be accompanied by a possessor coding the subject (nouns can be head of any type of NP, and need not have a possessor). A verb itself will not function as modifier within an NP; but the passive form of a verb, which—as in many other languages—has characteristics of a derived adjective, may do so e.g. T6.8 *a gou vuulagi do'a-i* “my visitors who are respected”; and 24.25.

NOUN—typically a noun is head of an NP; as a secondary property a noun can constitute a whole NP that is head of an intransitive predicate. Just a small subset of nouns can be modifier in an NP; these include *vatu* “stone”, *kaukamea* “metal”, and other names of materials.

Of the semi-open classes, **NUMBER** can be head of an intransitive but not of a transitive predicate. A number can be modifier in an NP (in the adjective slot) only if the head is a unit time or distance word like *yaba'i* “year”, *sig* “day”, *caga* “span of extended fingers” (§13.2.4). With other types of nouns the unmarked subject pronoun *e* plus the number come at the beginning of the NP, preceding the article (§13.2), a structural position in which no other type of word is found. There are a number of different varieties of **TIME WORD**, most of them quite close to nouns in their syntactic behaviour—see chapter 15.

What has been said so far may have given the impression that there are clear-cut dividing lines between word classes—that each root can be assigned unequivocally to just one class and will have all the properties of that class. Of course this is not so; each word has its own semantic personality and also its own specific grammatical preferences.

The dividing line between verb and adjective is particularly fuzzy. Consider the properties of prototypical verbs (e.g. *la'o(-va)* “go for”, *rail(-ca)* “see”) and typical adjectives (e.g. *levu* “big”, *'ata.'ata* “hot”) in relation to those of *pu'u(-ca)* “be angry (at)”, *mosi(-ta)* “be sore, painful” (see §18.2 (iv)) and *vina'a* “good”, *vina'a-ta* “want, deem good”, as set out in table 20.2. (Note that the judgements were those of one informant, Sepo. Larger-

TABLE 20.2 FUZZY BOUNDARY BETWEEN VERB AND ADJECTIVE

	can have transitive suffix	can be NP modifier	can be quantified		can be directly compared
			by <i>rui</i>	by <i>soti</i>	by <i>ca'e</i>
VERB	+	-	-	-	-
<i>pu'u(-ca)</i>	+	-*	-	+	-*
<i>mosi(-ta)</i>	+	+	+	+	-
<i>vina'a(-ta)</i>	+	+	+	+	+
ADJECTIVE	-	+	+	+	+

*only the *dau-* derived form could be NP modifier; and only the reduplicated form *pu'u.pu'u* "be habitually angry" could be compared

scale testing might well yield slightly different results—cf Arms 1974:16. Nevertheless, the principles of "fuzziness" are well illustrated by this data.)

On the basis of the data in table 20.2 we classify *pu'u(-ca)* as a verb with slightly wider possibilities than the prototype members of that class, and *mosi(-ta)* as a verb with many of the properties of adjectives. And we suggest that there are two distinct (but related) items—an adjective *vina'a*, and a verb *vina'a-ta*.

21 Clause

We have so far dealt almost exclusively with the most important type of clause, that which involves a predicate. §21.1 mentions the other type—equational clauses. §21.2 discusses the core constituents of a predicate clause, including order of constituents; this is followed by an account of peripheral constituents, including "when" and "because" subordinate clauses. The conditions for moving one or more NPs to the front of the predicate are in §21.4; this interrelates with the question of relative clauses, in §21.5. There is a final note on reflexive and reciprocal constructions.

21.1 Equational clauses

There is a minor clause type, the equational clause, which does not involve a predicate (in the sense in which the term "predicate" is used in this grammar) but basically consists of just two NPs, one of which may be a clausal NP.

One element in an equational clause may typically be an interrogative NP. This must come first in the clause, as in 16.1–2, 14, 16, and

(T6.30) [*a cava*] [*a o-mu nanu-ma . . .*]
 ART what ART CLASSIF-2sg think-TR
 "what is your thinking?"

Note that Fijian has nothing corresponding to the copula sense of *to be* in English and so nothing intervenes between the two NPs in T6.30. (Stance verbs *ti'o*, *tuu* and *to'a* correspond to the existential sense of English *to be*—see §8.3.1, §10.6.)

A demonstrative generally occurs at the end of a predicate or NP, or preceded by a preposition. It may also be the first element in a prepositional clause, either used alone:

(21.1) [*yaa*] [*a+i- va'a-.rau ni tei.vudi*]
 THAT ART+preparation ASSOCIATED plant.plantain
 "that is the method of planting plantains" (this concluded a narrative)

or else with a preposition:

(T6.14) [*i qoo*] [*a+i- na'i ni o-na la'o mai*]
 AT THIS ART+intention ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-3sg go HERE
 "this was his intention in coming here"

The interrogative form *vei* "where" only occurs with a preposition; it too may begin an equational clause, as in:

(21.2) [*i vei*] [*a o-mu i- ti'o.ti'o*] "where is your residence?"

In a further variety of equational clause, one NP provides a description of the person or thing referred to in the other NP e.g. 16.15 and

- (T6.93) [*a gone.tuuraga o Raatuu-i Ca'au*] “the great chief Tui-Ca'au
 [*a Tui Vanua.levu raaraba tale* was king of the whole of
gaa] Vanua Levu”
- (21.3) [*o yau*] [*a o-mudrau qase ni vanua*] “I am (one of) your elders
 of the place”
- (21.4) [*a 'aa yai*] [*a 'aa we-i Siiloo*] “this thing is a thing belonging to
 Siiloo”
- (T6.56) [*o 'ea a yaca ni tamata qoo*] “the name of this person was
 [*o Wainiqolo*] Wainiqolo”

The statement of someone's name is often achieved through an equational clause—see also T6.116 for the statement of the name of a battleship. It will be noted that the first element in an equational clause can be a complex NP (§9.2). In T6.93 it consists of two simple NPs, the first with common noun as head and the second a person name; in T6.56, 116 we find pronoun plus common noun.

A minimal type of equational clause can have the connector *ia* “well, but, then” as first element, and a full NP as second element, as in 22.18.

(There are also of course some utterances consisting of a single NP—a reply to a question, or a prompt—but these could not make up a complete discourse. They rely for their interpretation on material that has come before.)

21.2 Predicate clause—core constituents

The major clause type in Fijian contains a predicate, which usually comes at the beginning of the clause. A predicate (P) must involve pronominal reference to the subject and, if it is transitive, to the object; these are the core constituents. Predicate reference to subject and object can optionally be augmented by distinct subject and/or object NPs coming after the predicate (either or both of these may be fronted, to occur before the predicate).

The question as to what is the basic order of transitive subject (A) and transitive object (O) NPs is one often posed by linguists nowadays. It is not a very important or even a very real question as far as Fijian is concerned. As will be described in §25.1, about 70 percent of clauses in texts are intransitive, with a further 5 percent being agentless passives. Further, of those clauses which are transitive, only a small fraction (10 percent or less) have explicit A and O NPs. That is, overall only about 2 or 3 percent of clauses are likely to have A and O NPs. And some of these—perhaps one in four—may have one of the NPs fronted before the predicate (see §21.4), giving APO or OPA order.

Of that small number of clauses that do have A and O NPs after the predicate in my textual corpus, about half have the order PAO and half the order POA. In one story the narrator twice used a clause with a predicate head *tau-ra* “hold, possess” and two explicit core NPs, subject (A) *o Boumaa* and

object (O) *a drano* “the lake”. On first mention he said *sa tau-ra o Boumaa a drano* “Boumaa held the lake” (PAO order) and then, eleven lines later, *sa tau-ra a drano a Boumaa* “Boumaa held the lake” (POA order). (In neither instance had either of the NPs, *a drano* or *o Boumaa*, occurred in the immediately preceding part of the text.) We conclude that, on a text count, Fijian cannot be said to have either AO or OA constituent order.

However, in elicitation sessions speakers almost always gave the order POA—whether in translating from English, or just offering an example sentence for a verb I was investigating. There were some instances of PAO, but they were greatly outnumbered by POA. This could be taken to imply that Fijian does have an underlying POA order, but that discourse factors can engender indefinite variations on it.

A clause like:

- (21.5) *e rai-ca* [*a gone*] [*a qase*]
 3sg see-TR ART child ART old person

could be understood as either “the old person saw the child” or “the child saw the old person”, according to the context (although the unmarked interpretation would be “the old person saw the child”). Generally speaking, the most plausible semantic explanation will be preferred, i.e. “dog bites man” rather than “man bites dog”. (Example 21.5 was chosen to be semantically neutral.)

If, as is most common, a transitive clause contains only one core NP, as in

- (21.6) *e rai-ca* [*a gone*]

then it is impossible, just from inspection of this clause, to tell whether it is intended to mean “the child saw him/her/it” (with *a gone* as A NP) or “he/she/it saw the child” (with *a gone* as O NP). However, as such a clause is used in discourse it is almost never misunderstood—the preceding text (or perhaps the following clause) will make it clear who is doing what to whom.

The remarks made thus far about constituent order have applied to A and O slots filled by NPs—whether simple NPs, complex NPs, or clausal NPs. A different situation prevails when a slot in clause structure is filled by a complement clause, introduced by *ni*, *se*, *dee*, or *me*; such a complement clause should—whether it is in A, O, or S function—come at the end of the main clause. Most commonly, complement clauses fill the O slot. If an A NP is also included in the main clause it comes between predicate and complement, yielding constituent order PAO, as in

- (T4.183) *e tu'u-na mai* [*o Tui Waini'eli*]_A [*ni o ira sa+na*
 3sg tell-TR HERE ART Title THAT ART 3pl ASP+FUT
mai 'aba-ti Boumaa]_O
 COME invade-TR Place
 “Tui Waini'eli said that they would come and invade Boumaa”

An NP will not usually include any indication of number (the collective prefix *vei-* is restricted to occurrence with a small set of nouns—§17.1.1; and

only a small set of adjectives have distinct plural forms—§19.1). Number is shown by the choice of subject or object pronoun, as in:

- (21.7a) *e la'o a gone* “the child is going”
 (b) *erau la'o a gone* “the two children are going”
 (c) *eratou la'o a gone* “the (few) children are going”
 (d) *era la'o a gone* “the (many) children are going”

Number concord in Fijian can be semantic rather than strictly syntactic. T6.19 involves a complex NP which begins with the cardinal pronoun *o ira* “they plural” and concludes with *a mata-i.valu* “the army”. This does not refer to “many armies”—rather it recognises that an army consists of many people. There is a similar example in T6.60 where *era* “they plural” in the predicate refers to *e daa 'e-na i- wase* “one of its divisions” (which again refers to many men).

21.3 Predicate clause—peripheral constituents

Any clause, whether intransitive or transitive, may also include one or more peripheral constituents. There may be NP(s) introduced by prepositions that specify recipient, addressee, instrument, reason, place, time, etc—see §14.2. These normally follow the predicate. Peripheral NPs may come in any order—both among themselves and in relation to the core constituents, subject and object. Compare T4.103 where a prepositional NP comes at the end of the clause, after the S NP, with T4.2 and T4.44 where a prepositional NP comes between predicate and S NP.

There are two varieties of subordinate clause that are semantically—and, to some extent, syntactically—similar to prepositional NPs. A time specification can be provided either by a prepositional phrase, as in 14.2, or by a subordinate “when” clause. This has the full structural possibilities of a main clause, with *ni* added at the beginning (recall that the 3sg and unmarked subject pronoun, *e*, is dropped after *ni*). See 8.15, and

- (21.8) *era dau-te-a o ira [ni voole'a ti'o mai a*
 3pl HABITUAL-plant-TR ART 3pl WHEN near ASP HERE ART
gauna ni cagi]
 time ASSOCIATED wind
 “they (our ancestors) would habitually plant them (plantains) when
 the time of winds (cyclone season) drew near”

A *ni* “when” clause will normally come at the end of the main clause (in the position in which a complement clause must occur). But it may, like core and peripheral NPs (and unlike complement clauses) be fronted before the predicate—see §21.4.

The other type of subordinate clause that is similar in function to a peripheral NP is that specifying “because”. It is also introduced by *ni* and is syntactically very similar to a *ni* “when” clause; examples are 8.85, 23.10, T4.181, and:

- (21.9) *au saa pu'u [ni-u rui daga.daga va'a-levu]*
 1sg ASP angry BECAUSE-1sg LOT exhausted greatly
 “I’m angry because I’m really exhausted”

A *ni* subordinate clause may thus be ambiguous between the “when” and “because” senses. Other grammatical characteristics of a sentence may help resolve this ambiguity. Compare 21.9 with the following sentence (here the *ni* clause is fronted, but this is not critical):

- (21.10) *[ni-u sa daga.daga va'a-levu] au sa pu'u.pu'u*
 WHEN-1sg ASP tired greatly 1sg ASP REDUP-angry
 “when I’m very tired I get angry”

The “when” interpretation is suggested for 21.10 by the reduplicated form of the verb, which carries an “habitual” meaning.

For some examples of *ni* subordinate clauses, both “when” and “because” interpretations are equally appropriate, e.g. T6.78 *ni saa rogo-ca rawa ti'o* . . . “when/since he had been able to hear . . .”

In §14.4.2 we described how *baleta ni* has recently evolved as a conjunction “because”; it is used as an alternative to plain *ni* “because”. Thus, *ni* could be used in place of *baleta ni* in 14.33–4, and *baleta ni* in place of *ni* in 8.85, 23.10, T4.181, and 21.9. The emergence of *baleta ni* may have been to take some of the functional load off *ni*, and help more clearly to distinguish “because” from “when” clauses.

Ni also introduces a type of complement clause. The syntactic differences between *ni* “when” and “because” clauses and *ni* complement clauses are described in §23.2. And, as described in §10.4, there is a homonymous relator *ni*, which links two NPs, with the meaning “associated with”.

21.4 Fronting

Although the unmarked situation is for the predicate to begin a clause, any NP or any “when” or “because” clause can be topicalised and moved before the predicate, as briefly mentioned in §4.8.

There is usually some reference in the predicate to the fronted constituent. Core NPs in S, A or O function are automatically cross-referenced by pronominal elements in the predicate, and these are retained or augmented under fronting. If a peripheral constituent is fronted, then *'ina* is included at the end of the predicate, as a marker of this fronting.

We can discuss fronting possibilities according to the functions of the NPs involved. (§23.2 discusses fronting both within and out of complement clauses.)

(i) Subject (S or A) NPs

There are in the data many examples of the fronting of a plain S or passive S, and a good few of the fronting of an A NP, e.g.

- (21.11) *ia, [a tiivoli]_S e ti'o vei 'eimami*
 WELL ART wild yam 3sg be at TO 1exclp
 “well, we have (among our foods) the wild yam (lit: the wild yam is to us, cf §10.6)”

Any type of NP can be fronted, whether its head be a common noun, a name, or a pronoun; or it can be a complex NP, as in T6.17, 58 and:

- (T4.214) [*o ira a 'ai-.Waini'eli]_S, ra saa mate va'a-.dua 'ece*
 ART 3pl ART NATIVE-Place 3pl ASP dead altogether ALL
 “they, the people of Waini'eli, they are all dead”

If a fronted S or A NP consists solely of a pronoun, or if it is a complex NP that ends in a pronoun (e.g. T6.116), then this cardinal pronoun would occur immediately before the subject pronoun that begins the predicate. In such cases the subject pronoun is often omitted, e.g.

- (21.12) [*o rau]_S unu.waqona ti'o* “they two are kava-drinking”

The subject pronoun for 21.12 would have been *erau* (thus: *o rau erau unu.waqona ti'o*).

However, both the fronted cardinal pronoun and the subject pronoun may occasionally be retained, as in

- (T6.91) [*o yau,] au Tui Vanua.levu* “as for me, I am King of Vanua Levu”

Compare with T6.76 [*o yau] saa vina'a-ta . . .* “I want . . .”, where the subject pronoun *au* is omitted.

If a pronoun is included in a fronted NP but is not the final part of it, so that other material intervenes between it and the predicate, then the subject pronoun will be retained—as in T4.214 (quoted above) and also T4.198 *o yau dua.dua au sa+na vala* “I, by myself, will fight”, where modifier *dua.dua* follows cardinal pronoun *o yau* in the fronted NP.

(ii) Object (O) NP

We have noted (§4.2, §18.1) that the unmarked form of the transitive suffix, ending in *-a*, marks a 3sg object which is not a name. This is retained when the O NP is fronted, e.g. 8.160 and

- (21.13) [*a uvi], era dau-.te-a a* “as for the cultivated yam, our ancestors
we-imami qase . . . would plant it (in the period June-September).”

However if the object is a pronoun other than 3sg (and optionally if it is 3sg) or if it is a name, then this object is included in the predicate, immediately after the *-i*-final form of the transitive ending. It can be fronted, but the appropriate object pronoun must be retained in the predicate, e.g. from

- (21.14) *au aa rogo-ci 'emudrau* “I heard you two”
 is derived:

- (21.15) [*o 'emudrau] au aa rogoci 'emudrau* “as for you two, I heard
 you two”

Let us now consider a sentence in which both A and O are personal names, in order to study the contrastive treatment of these under fronting:

- (21.16) *saa mai rai-ci Nato o Roopate* “Roopate came to see Nato”

Fronting the A NP, *o Roopate*, is straightforward:

- (21.17) *o Roopate saa mai rai-ci Nato* “as for Roopate, he came to see
 Nato”

However, if the proper-name in object slot is fronted, then the 3sg object pronoun *'ea* must be substituted for it, and the *-i*-final form of the transitive suffix retained:

- (21.18) *o Nato saa mai rai-ci 'ea o Roopate* “as for Nato, Roopate came
 to see him”

(I was assured that **o Nato saa mai rai-ca o Roopate* is not an acceptable sentence, and also that 21.18 is not ambiguous.)

The pronoun *cei* “who” can fill the predicate object slot, like *Nato* in 21.17, but if *cei* is fronted, then either *rai-ci 'ea* or—more often—*rai-ca* is acceptable—see 16.9–10. In this way *cei* differs from names.

(iii) Possessor NP

In §10.2 we explained how a possessor pronoun—which comes before the head (“possessed”) noun—may have its reference expanded by a full NP that comes after the head, as in 10.19–20 and

- (21.19) *e levu [a 'e-dra 'aa.'ana {o ira a we-imami qase}]*
 3sg much ART CLASSIF-3pl food ART 3pl ART CLASSIF-1exclp ancestor
 “our ancestors had lots of food (lit: the food of our ancestors was much)”

Now a possessor NP within an NP that is in S function (or, in A or O function) can be fronted to the beginning of the main clause, i.e.

- (21.20) [*o ira a we-imami qase] e levu* “as for our ancestors, they had
 [a 'e-dra 'aa.'ana] lots of food”

The grammatical status of the fronted NP is still evident, since it cross-references the possessor pronoun *-dra* within the S NP.

Note that the possessor NP *cannot* be fronted just to the beginning of the S NP; i.e. **e levu [[o ira a we-imami qase] a 'e-dra 'aa.'ana]* is not an acceptable sentence.

(iv) Peripheral NP

Just as reference is maintained in the predicate to any fronted subject or object NP, so a reference is normally inserted to any peripheral constituent that is fronted. This is achieved through the established form *'ina*, which is originally a fusion of preposition (corresponding to both *i* and *mai*) and the 3sg pronoun—see §14.1. *'Ina* is included towards the end of the predicate (see the ordering set out on the first page of chapter 8).

Thus, from underlying:

- (21.21) *au vosa ti'o i+na+i-ti'o.ti'o va'a-tuuraga*
 1sg speak ASP ABOUT+ART+residence chiefly
 “I’m talking about the chiefly residence”

the peripheral NP can be fronted:

- (21.22) *(i+n)a+i-ti'o.ti'o va'a-tuuraga* “as for the chiefly residence,
au vosa ti'o 'ina I’m talking about it”

The preposition may optionally be fronted together with its NP—it is in about half of the textual examples; see 8.53, 119. If it is not fronted, the preposition is deleted, i.e. it is not left on its own in post-predicate position. Whether the preposition is fronted or not, *'ina* should still be included at the end of the predicate.

With the fronting of peripheral NPs that describe an instrument, reason, recipient, or location, *'ina* is almost invariably included. With the fronting of NPs that supply a time specification, *'ina* is included for about two-thirds of my textual examples—compare T6.69, 74 with T6.52.

(v) Peripheral clause constituents

Fronting of *ni* “when” and “because” clauses follows the pattern of peripheral NPs. Here the *ni* clause-introducer must be retained; *'ina* is included in the predicate for only about one-third of textual examples, e.g. T6.49, 71. There is a definite tendency, in my corpus, for a “when” clause to be fronted and for a “because” clause to be retained at the end of the main clause (although both positions are perfectly grammatical for both types of subordinate clause).

Note that a complement clause cannot be fronted within its main clause. On the question of fronting *within* a subordinate clause: an NP may be fronted within a complement clause (just as it may be within a main clause) but not within a “when” or “because” clause—see §23.2.

The prepositions *i* and *mai* occur before non-human common nouns and place names; *vei* (or *mai vei*) is the equivalent form before personal names and pronouns. Just as *'ina* is the fused form for *i/mai* plus 3sg pronoun so *vuaa* is the fused form for *vei* plus 3sg *'ea* (§14.1).

Geraghty (1976:511), Milner (1972:69) (and other grammarians) report that when the prepositional phrase is fronted from a sentence in the V dialect like

- (21.23) *au tiko vei cei na tuuraga?*
 1sg stay WITH who ART chief
 “who is the chief I am staying with?”

we get

- (21.24) *o cei na tuuraga au tiko vuaa?* “who is the chief, I am staying
 with him?”

Here the fused form *vuaa* (based on *vei*) is included at the end of the predicate, to cross-reference a fronted NP which involves a personal name or pronoun.

The equivalent to 21.24 in B is:

- (21.25) *o cei a tuuraga au ti'o 'ina/vuaa*

That is, *vuaa* can be used where a *vei* phrase is fronted (as in V) or else *'ina* can be used (unlike in V)—see also 16.7. It may be that B originally used *'ina* as the marker within the predicate for the fronting of any kind of peripheral NP involving prepositions *i*, *mai*, *vei*, or *mai vei* and that *vuaa* is now being introduced as a loan from V.

In V there is also *kaya*, the fused form of preposition *kei* (B *'ei*) “together with” and 3sg. The B dialect has no form *kaya* or *'aya*. Thus, from the V sentence,

- (21.26) *keirau lako vata tiko kei+na weka-qu*
 1exclu go TOGETHER ASP WITH+ART friend-1sg
 “I am going together with my friend (lit: we two are going together
 (me and) my friend)”

when *na weka-qu* is fronted, the marker *kaya* should in V be included towards the end of the predicate:

- (21.27) *na weka-qu keirau lako vata kaya tiko* “my friend, I am going
 together with him”

In B one says simply:

- (21.28) *a we'a-qu 'eirau la'o vata ti'o* “my friend, I am going together
 with him”

without any marker (*'ei 'ea* “with him” could be added, but this is considered rather pedantic by speakers)—see 14.26–7, 16.8.

All the examples quoted thus far have involved a single NP being fronted. It is, however, perfectly possible to front two NPs within a single clause. Most

examples involve the S NP and a peripheral NP (which can occur in either order before the predicate), e.g.

- (T4.211) [o *yau*], [*a vanua gaa [era mate 'ina a*
 ART 1sg ART place MODIF 3pl die PREP+3sg ART
gou tamata]], *au na mate 'ina*
 CLASSIF+1sg person 1sg FUT die PREP+3sg
 “as for me, as for the very place where my people died, I shall die
 there”

In this example the second fronted NP includes a relative clause *era mate 'ina a gou tamata* “where my people died” to the head noun *vanua* “place”; the predicate of the main clause, *au na mate 'ina*, comes at the very end. See also T6.36.

One text contains two sentences both based on the underlying structure:

- (21.29) *e sega ni va'a-gauna [a dalo] [vei 'eimami] ([i+na*
 3sg NOT THAT RELATE-time ART taro FOR lexmpl IN+ART
gauna [au saa tu'u-na])
 time 1sg ASP tell-TR
 “taro did not have any season (i.e. could be grown all year round)
 for us (in the times I am talking about)”

The first instance omits the parenthesised NP (which contains a relative clause) and fronts both of the other NPs:

- (21.30) [*a dalo] [vei 'eimami] e sega ni va'a-gauna*

Twenty-two lines later the narrator fronts *a dalo* once more and this time the final prepositional NP, retaining *vei 'eimami* after the predicate:

- (21.31) [*a dalo] [i+na gauna [au saa tu'u-na]] e sega ni va'a-gauna [vei 'eimami]*

(Unusually, *'ina* was not included in either 21.30 or 21.31.)

There are also examples in my corpus of two peripheral NPs being fronted at the same time, one referring to place and the other to time. I have not encountered any clause in which both A and O NPs were simultaneously fronted, but Arms (1986) gives examples of this, showing both the order OAP and also AOP (examples (74–5) in his note 47). Arms (personal communication) states that the preferred order when both core NPs are fronted is OAP; compare this with the preferred order in post-predicate position, POA. Arms suggests a reason for these preferred orderings—since the subject pronoun occurs at the beginning and the object pronoun towards the end of the predicate, the fronted subject pronoun gravitates towards the subject position at the beginning of the predicate, OAP, and the non-fronted object NP gravitates towards the object position at the end of the predicate, POA.

Finally, it is interesting to ask whether just one half of a complex NP could be fronted, with the other half left behind in post-predicate position. Thus, from 21.19, could just *o ira* be fronted? I was told that it could, but it should also be repeated, together with *a we-imami qase*, in post-predicate position i.e.

- (21.32) [*o ira] e levu [a 'e-dra 'aa.'ana* “as for them—they, our
 [*o ira a we-imami qase]*] ancestors, had lots of food”

A version of this sentence in which the second occurrence of *o ira* is omitted was deemed unacceptable.

21.5 Relative clauses

Relative clause constructions in Fijian are quite straightforward, if analysed along the lines suggested in §4.9. There must be an NP common to main and relative clauses; the common NP is fronted in the relative clause; the relative clause is placed after the common NP in the main clause; and then one of the consecutive occurrences of the common NP is omitted.

Thus, if we begin with

- (21.33) *mo rai-ca a kuruse!* “you look at the cross!”
 (21.34) *au saa tara-a a kuruse* “I hold the cross”

there is a common NP *a kuruse* “the cross”; this must be fronted in 21.34, giving:

- (21.35) *a kuruse au saa tara-a* “the cross, I am holding it”

This is placed after the common NP in 21.33 and one of the two consecutive occurrences of *a kuruse* omitted, giving (a shortened version of T6.29):

- (21.36) *mo rai-ca a kuruse [au saa tara-a]* “you look at the cross which
 I am holding!”

If the common NP is in peripheral function in the relative clause, then the marker *'ina* must be included in the predicate of the relative clause. Thus from:

- (21.37) *ra cabe i+na vanua* “they climbed to the place”
 (21.38) *e qawa a bu'a i+na vanua* “the fire was burning at the place”

a relative construction can be formed. The common NP *a vanua* “the place” is fronted in 21.38, and this clause is then inserted in 21.37, after *a vanua*, one of the two occurrences of the common NP being omitted. Thus we get (a shortened version of T4.34):

- (21.39) *ra cabe i+na vanua [e qawa* “they climbed to the place where
'ina a bu'a] the fire was burning”

The obligatory inclusion of *'ina* in relative clause constructions when the common NP is in peripheral function in the relative clause provides justification for our deriving all relative clauses by fronting.

In Old High Fijian (see chapter 1) the conjunction *ka* “and” is often inserted at the beginning of a relative clause (Milner 1972:36)—i.e. after *kuruse* in 21.36 and after *vanua* in 21.39 (the *e* then drops after *ka*); *'a* is only very occasionally inserted in this position by speakers of B. (when this does occur it is certainly the influence of “church language”, OHF).

Generally speaking, relative clauses in any language are likely to have three characteristics: (i) some formal grammatical marking—a relative pronoun, such as English *who*, *which*, *where*, *when*; or an invariable relative introducer; or a special inflection on the verb of the relative clause (e.g. *-ju* in Dyirbal—Dixon 1972:99); (ii) a definite syntactic position—often the relative clause immediately follows an NP in the main clause (i.e. it is embedded within the main clause); (iii) a special intonation pattern distinguishing a relative clause construction from a sequence of two main clauses; (iv) a semantic interpretation linking the two clauses together.

Fijian lacks (i)—there is complete absence of any formal mark of a relative clause. The two English sequences “you look at the cross which I am holding” and “you look at the cross I am holding it” would be translated by the same string of words in Fijian—21.36.

The question then arises as to whether Fijian *should* be regarded as having a relative clause construction. Perhaps relative clauses have been recognised for Fijian by unwarranted transference of categories from English or other languages, a recognition that may not be justified in terms of the actual grammatical structure of Fijian.

This is an important question, which deserves careful consideration. I studied a sample of 45 sentences (from texts) that I had intuitively recognised as relative clause constructions. There is a distinct non-sentence-final intonation pattern (see §2.5); but much more work would need to be done on the intonation of Fijian before that could confidently be quoted as a criterion. There is also some evidence (discussed below) that a relative clause may be embedded within the main clause.

The main justification for saying that Fijian has relative clauses lies in semantic interpretation. There are a number of instances where only a relative clause interpretation yields the intended meaning; to view such sequences as two main clauses would give different—and incorrect—results.

The first type of example is where the main clause verb is *sega* “not”, e.g.

- (T4.44) *e sega ni daa 'aa [era 'au-ta]*
 3sg not THAT one+ART thing 3pl carry-TR
 “there was nothing that they carried (i.e. they carried nothing)”

A non-relative-clause interpretation would yield “there was nothing; they carried it”, a quite different meaning. See also T4.81.

Other instances involve a common NP whose head noun has a very general meaning, such as *'aa* “thing” (see T4.116, T8a.1), or *vanua* “place” or *gauna* “time”, as in

- (21.40) *a tiaina e tei vata 'ei+na vudi i+na*
 ART banana 3sg planted TOGETHER WITH+ART plantain AT+ART
gauna [au saa tu'u-na oti]
 time 1sg ASP tell-TR FINISH
 “bananas were planted together with plantains at the time which I've told about”

If this were regarded as a sequence of two main clauses, it would have to be translated “bananas were planted together with plantains at that time; I've told about it”; there is again a significant difference in meaning.

There can also be no alternative to a relative-clause interpretation for a clause interpolated into an “if... then” construction, as in

- (21.41) *'eeva'aa edatou rai-ca, edatou vei-talanoa to'a yai, edatou na*
 IF lincpa see-TR lincpa COLL-chat ASP HERE lincpa FUT
va'a-siisila.-ta'ina
 dislike-TR
 “if we saw it (stewed turtle flippers, a favourite food of the olden days), we who are chatting here, we would not like it”

Here a sequence-of-main-clauses interpretation would yield “if we saw it; we are sitting here; we would not like it”. But the narrator plainly intended the second clause to further specify the reference of *edatou* “we” from the first clause.

In *most* of the putative relative clauses, a clause-sequence interpretation *could* be appropriate: 21.36 *could* be analysed as “you look at the cross, I am holding it” or as “you look at the cross which I am holding”. But sometimes a clause-sequence interpretation would be quite impossible:

- (21.42) *e lailai a 'e-dra 'aa.'ana [e saqa]*
 3sg little ART CLASSIF-3pl food 3sg boil
 “little of their (our ancestors') food was boiled (lit: their food which was boiled was little)”

Here a translation in terms of two independent clauses would yield: “there was little of their food; it was boiled”. In fact they did have a lot of food, the point being made is that the major part of it was baked (because there were few cooking pots in the old days).

For only about one third of the putative relative clauses in my sample was a relative interpretation mandatory on semantic grounds (as exemplified by 21.40–2 and T4.44). But this, and the evidence of intonation and embedding, suggests that it is indeed valid to recognise a category of relative clauses in Fijian, even though it has no formal grammatical marking. Having reached

this conclusion I confirmed all of the putative relative clauses—including 21.36—in that grammatical status.

There is one further point of difficulty; this arises when the common NP is also fronted within the main clause. Consider:

- (21.43) *a tiivoli e ti'o vei 'eimami e sega ni tei*
 ART wild yam 3sg be at TO 1exclp 3sg not THAT planted

This could be analysed in two ways. Either (i) *a tiivoli* is the S NP of *e sega ni tei*, fronted from that clause, and then takes a relative clause *e ti'o vei 'eimami* “wild yam, which belongs to us, is not planted (i.e. it grows freely in the forest)”. Or (ii) *a tiivoli* is the fronted NP of *e ti'o vei 'eimami*, with *e sega ni tei* being a following main clause “wild yam belongs to us; it is not planted”. I maintain that it is impossible to decide between the syntactic alternatives in cases like this; and that anyway it makes no difference whatsoever to the semantic interpretation.

Turning now to a description of the grammar of relative clauses, I said that main and subordinate clause must share a common NP, and that there is only one occurrence of it in the final construction. This statement needs to be extended. The linking NPs may have the same reference (not necessarily the same form), and then both can be retained, e.g. T4.14 “. . . they started at Waitabu, the place they had finished at (the previous day)”; we assume that *i Waitabu* belongs to the main clause and *a vanua* “the place” to the relative clause. (Examples like this are, however, rather rare.)

I stated that the relative clause follows the common NP in the main clause. Yet in all the examples quoted—save 21.43, which has indeterminate syntax—the common NP plus relative clause comes at the end of the main clause. That is, these examples are equally open to the generalisation that the relative clause comes at the end of the main clause.

There is, in fact, a definite tendency for any “heavy” (i.e. lengthy) NP—that is, any NP with extensive constituents, such as a relative clause—to be put at the end of the main clause, as in T4.43 and

- (21.44) *e biu [a ulu-na] [vei irau a qase ni*
 3sg left ART head-3sg FOR 3du ART old man ASSOCIATED
Solomone [erau unu.waqona]]
 Solomon Islands 3du drink-kava
 “it (the pig’s) head was left for them two, the old Solomon Islands men, who were drinking kava”

However, there are some examples of the common NP being non-final within the main clause, and the relative clause immediately following it (rather than coming at the end of the main clause), e.g. T6.10.

A relative clause may have just an adjective as predicate head, e.g. T6.124 . . . *a+i-tu'u.tu'u e dodonu* “the reports which are correct”. Compare this with *dodonu* as modifier within the NP, *a+i-tu'u.tu'u dodonu* “the correct

story”. These two alternatives differ in the same way that their English translations do.

There are no syntactic constraints on relative clause formation. The common NP can be in any function in main or in relative clause—A, S, O, or any type of prepositional NP, or the possessor in an NP (as in T6.13). It can be a common noun, a name, or even a first or second person pronoun, as in 21.41. The subject pronoun must be retained in both main and relative clauses, even if they are identical—21.41.

As already mentioned, the relative clause predicate will contain the marker *'ina* if the common NP is in peripheral function in the relative clause. The common NP may also be in peripheral function in the main clause—as in 21.39, 8.152, 14.2, T4.211—or it may be in a core function in the main clause, as in:

- (21.45) *e vei-taalaa gaa [a gauna [o te-a 'ina]]s*
 3sg doesn't matter MODIF ART time 2sg plant-TR PREP+3sg
 “the time at which you plant it (taro) doesn't matter”

If the common NP is in a core function in the relative clause, then no *'ina* is required. This holds whether the common NP is in a core function or in a peripheral function in the main clause, e.g. 21.29, 40.

It has been suggested (Keenan 1978:321–2, Mallinson and Blake 1981:341–2) that the relative clause construction in Fijian is ambiguous. This comment is based on the fact that a sentence like:

- (21.46) *a qase e aa rai-ca a gone*

is ambiguous between “the old person who saw the child” and “the child who saw the old person”. While 21.46 is ambiguous, this ambiguity is not a special property of relative clauses. As was pointed out in §21.2, any clause with 3sg subject, 3sg object and just one post-predicate NP must be ambiguous:

- (21.6) *e aa rai-ca a gone* “the child saw him/her/it” OR “he/she/it saw the child”

And of course this ambiguity carries over into relative clauses.

21.6 Reflexives and reciprocals

Some languages have a special verbal affix to mark reflexives; others have a reflexive pronoun. Fijian shows neither of these. For first and second persons, the reflexive is simply shown by using the appropriate pronoun in both subject and object slots, e.g. 8.3, 11.10, and

- (21.47) *au saa va'a-dodonu.-ta'ini au* “I have corrected myself”

Or, if it is subject and indirect object that are coreferential, then the latter will be expressed by the appropriate cardinal pronoun:

- (21.48) *edatou tu'u-na vei 'edatou* “we (incpa) say to ourselves”

The *-a-* final version of a transitive suffix has unmarked reference to a 3sg object. However, in the case of a 3sg reflexive construction the explicit 3sg object pronoun form *'ea* must be used:

(21.49) *sa va'a-.dodonu.-ta'ini 'ea o Mika* "Mika corrected himself"

Note that 21.49 can also have a non-reflexive interpretation "Mika corrected him/her (i.e. someone else)", with emphasis on the object. (Compare with *sa va'a-.dodonu.-ta'ina o Mika* "Mika corrected him/her" for which a reflexive interpretation is not possible.) A relative clause involving *va'aa.-ta'ina* "relating to" (§7.2) could be added to ensure a reflexive interpretation.

There is no special reciprocal affix. But, as described in §17.1.3, one sense of the *vei-* prefix with verbs covers reciprocal; this is a particular specification from the general collective sense of *vei-*.

The intransitive root can also function as an "inherent reflexive" for some verbs, e.g. *vuni* "hide (oneself)", and as an "inherent reciprocal" for others, e.g. *sota* "meet each other"—see the end of §18.2.

22 Sentence

Many sentences contain a single clause. Complex sentences are those that consist of more than one clause. There are four main possibilities:

(i) There can be a relative clause—this will be a constituent of an NP which itself fills a functional slot in the main clause, as in 21.36 "you look at [the cross *which I am holding*]".

(ii) There can be a complement clause, which fills a subject or object slot in the main clause, as in "I know *that she will come*"—these are discussed at length in the next chapter.

(iii) There can be a "when" or "because" clause that fills a peripheral slot in the main clause, as described in §21.3.

(iv) There can be two clauses of equal syntactic status linked by "but" or "or" or a similar conjunction.

In this chapter we shall mostly be concerned with clause combinations of type (iv). These can be further subdivided:

(a) where there is a specific linker which requires two clauses for its grammatical scope—*'eeva'aa~'ee* "if", *se* "or", *dee* "in case, might";

(b) where the second clause is introduced by the linker *me* "should, so that"—this and other functions of *me* are the topic of chapter 24;

(c) where the predicate of the second clause involves a discourse marker *qei* or *mani* (§8.2.3) or the clause-linking sense of the pre-head modifier *mai* (§8.3.3);

(d) where there is an explicit linker *i* "so that" (a special sense of the preposition *i* "to"—see §14.2), or (in Old High Fijian only) *'a* "and";

(e) where the clauses are simply linked together by intonation, the first ending on a level or slightly rising pitch that carries an expectation that the sentence will be continued (§2.5).

There is one other important linker—*ia* "well, but, then". This normally occurs at the beginning of a sentence and itself has falling intonation—as do *io* "yes" and other interjections when they occur at the beginning of a sentence—as if it is a mini-sentence itself, in apposition with the full sentence it introduces.

Dividing a discourse up into sentences is not an easy task in Fijian (as it is not in most other languages). The various criteria may not coincide—for instance, intonation may suggest two sentences where the syntax of linkers points to one, or vice versa.

A given string of clauses may be grouped into sentences in several different ways, depending on the pace of the narrative or conversation, the speaker's attitude to the material, and what he wants to focus on, among other factors.

Similarly, the listener or linguist hearing the clauses may group them into sentences in different ways.

I have not agonised over the question “What is a sentence in Fijian?”, the answer to which is likely to be rather fluid. In particular, the numbering of sentences in the texts should not be taken to imply that this is a definite division, every aspect of which could be defended against alternative groupings. Nevertheless, I believe that the criteria followed are generally consistent, and that another linguist dealing with the same material would find more points of agreement than of difference.

22.1 Relators

There are a number of (mostly monosyllabic) forms that serve to link clauses together; most of them also have additional functions. It will be useful now to list these, and their functions:

ni

- (i) marks “when” with time expressions referring to the future (§15.1) and with (*hā*)*ica* “when” whether referring to past or future (§16.5);
- (ii) introduces “when” and “because” subordinate clauses, §21.3;
- (iii) introduces the unmarked variety of complement clause, “that”, §23.1.

(Note that there is a homonymous relator *ni* “associated with” which links together two NPs. The proper article, *o*, is retained after the complementiser *ni*, but is dropped after *ni* in NP *ni* NP—see §9.3.)

me

- (i) appears to introduce a type of complement clause “to”, §23.1;
- (ii) appears to link two clauses “in order to”;
- (iii) introduces imperatives, §24.3;
- (iv) immediately precedes a predicate “this *should* happen”.

The syntax of *me* is important and difficult enough to justify a complete chapter, 24.

se

- (i) introduces an interrogative complement clause, “whether, etc”, §23.1;
- (ii) links two clauses, with the sense “because . . . might” or “in case”, §22.3.

dee

- (i) introduces a complement clause whose meaning is uncertain, “that might”, §23.1.
- (ii) links two clauses, with the sense “because . . . might” or “in case”, §22.3.

'eeva'aa~'ee “if”, links clauses, §22.2.

ia “well, then, but” links clauses, §22.5.

i “in order to” links predicates.

ka~'a “and” links clauses and introduces relative clauses in Old High Fijian only; it also links numbers in B and V.

All of these relators, except *me*, can only occur clause-initially. They usually precede the predicate; if an NP is fronted it will come between the relator and the predicate (*not* before the relator). *Me* can only occur immediately before the predicate (and thus follows a fronted NP).

The two linkers which have a rather peripheral status (but for different reasons) are *i* and *ka~'a*.

Rather like English *to*, *i* (corresponding to *ki~i* in V) is basically a preposition “to, towards”, but it can also be used to link predicates that share the same subject; this subject is then not repeated between *i* and the second predicate, e.g. T4.7 *taru saa la'o mada i coco'a* “let us two go to spear fish”, and T4.90, 8.60.

Relator *'a* (*ka* in V) “and” is used to link clauses—which can consist of just a predicate, which in turn can be just a verb or just an adjective. It occurs only in the most formal speech such as that used in church (what is called Old High Fijian by Paul Geraghty) e.g. T6.3. Conjunction in B is generally shown by intonation and/or discourse markers.

Complex numbers are built up with *'a* “and” in B, e.g. *tini 'a lima* “fifteen (literally: ten and five)”, but this may be a calque from OHF. Note that these complex numbers behave like compounds (see §13.1 for a description of how *be'a* “about” can only follow the complete number, and not intrude before *'a*).

For every clause combination, involving any of the relators (except *i*), each clause must have a pronominal subject specified. Two coordinated clauses may have a common NP, and, if so, the NP can be in *any* function in each clause. Unlike many other languages, Fijian has no syntactic constraint on the possible functions of coreferential NPs. Fijian also lacks anything like an “equi” deletion rule—if two coordinated clauses share the same subject (or object, etc), then it must be specified within the predicate of each clause (see §8.2.1).

The 3sg subject marker, *e*, is deleted, while other third and first person inclusive pronouns lose their initial *e* when they occur immediately after *ni*, *me*, *se*, *dee*, or *'ee* (but not after *'eeva'aa*). The 1sg subject pronoun *au* is shortened to *+u* after a monosyllabic relator (and if the relator has a long vowel, this is shortened). Relator and pronoun then form a single phonological word: *ni+u*, *me+u*, *se+u*, *de+u*, *'e+u*.

22.2 'eeva'aa~'ee “if”

The basic form for the “if” relator in V is *kee*, with *keevakaa* as a variant. (Milner 1972:68 and Arms 1986:210 consider this to be *kee* plus the deictic verb *vakaa* “relating to, like”—§7.2.) In B, *'eeva'aa* is the common form, with *'ee* a variant.

'Eeva'aa~'ee introduces a full clause (the “if” clause), which is in con-

struction with another full clause (the "then" clause). Grammars of V (e.g. Milner 1972:68, Churchward 1941:23) state that *kee* may be placed at the beginning of *both* clauses; this repetition does not occur in my corpus. (Note that in English *if* also serves as an alternative to *whether* for introducing a type of complement clause, as in *I don't know whether he'll go*. This function is covered by *se* in Fijian—§23.1.)

The "if" clause most often comes first—see T4.218, 225, where the two clauses have the same subject, and T6.100, where they have different subjects. But the order can be reversed, as in:

- (22.1) *au taqayaa.-ta'ina va'a.-levu 'eeva'aa e+na sega ni*
 1sg be fearful-TR greatly IF 3sg+FUT not THAT
va'a.-yaco-ri a o-datou ca'a.ca'a
 MAKE-HAPPEN-PASS ART CLASSIF-1incpa work
 "I'll be very fearful if our work is not done"

An NP can be fronted within an "if" clause, and will then follow the relator:

- (22.2) *'eeva'aa a tuuraga.bete e+na la'o mai ni saubogi*
 IF ART priest 3sg+FUT go HERE in tomorrow
e+na ca'a.misa
 3sg+FUT do-mass
 "if the priest comes here tomorrow, he'll celebrate mass"

An "if" construction most frequently refers to something that might happen in the future. The future tense marker, *na*, should then occur in the "then" clause; *na* is sometimes also included in the *'eeva'aa* clause—as in 22.2—but often not—as in T6.31 and 21.41. An "if" construction can also perfectly well refer to a hypothetical event in the past:

- (22.3) *'eeva'aa e aa dru'a o Ca'audrove i+na+i-valu, o Viti*
 IF 3sg PAST lose ART Place IN+ART+war ART Fiji
tauco'o saa qali i Toga
 ALL ASP subservient TO Tonga
 "if Ca'audrove had lost the war (of 1866), then all of Fiji would have become subservient to (i.e. a vassal state of) Tonga"

'Eeva'aa may also co-occur with the relator *me*—§24.2.

22.3 *dee* "in case, because . . . might"

The relator *dee* introduces a type of complement where there is an element of uncertainty involved—§23.1. It can also link together two main clauses.

Typically, the *dee* clause refers to some unpleasant possibility, and the other clause to something that can be done either to avoid that possibility or to compensate for it, e.g.

- (22.4) *te'evuu.-ta'ina mada a o-mu vola.vola i Suva,*
 start-TR PLEASE ART CLASSIF-2sg REDUP-write TO Place

- dee na+qei bera i+na waqa.vu'a*
 MIGHT FUT+THEN be late for AT+ART plane
 "start your writing (of a letter) to Suva, in case it be late for the plane"
- (22.5) *'eirau saa va'a.-rai-ci yane, dee 'eirau na maavoa, se*
 1excd ASP search-PASS THERE MIGHT 1excd FUT injured OR
na yaco vei 'eirau e dua a leqa i coo.coo
 FUT happen TO 1excd 3sg one ART difficulty IN forest
 "we two were searched for, in case we should be injured, or some difficulty should befall us in the forest"
- (22.6) *wili-'a tale mada, dee cala a qou*
 COUNT-TR AGAIN:PLEASE MIGHT ENT ART CLASSIF+1sg
wili.wili
 REDUP-count
 "please count them again, in case my counting might have been in error"

However, a *dee* clause need not refer to anything unpleasant. The other clause may describe something which, if accomplished, *might* yield a welcome result (referred by the *dee* clause), e.g. 18.62, and

- (22.7) *cega-a mada a loga yaa, dee mani ti'o 'ina a*
 lift-TR PLEASE ART mat THAT MIGHT THEN be at PREP+3sg ART
qou peni
 CLASSIF+1sg pen
 "please turn up that mat, in case my pen might be there (i.e. under it)"

Notice that the other clause in a *dee* construction is often an imperative (or a negative imperative, "don't do that . . . lest . . ."), although it needn't necessarily be—it isn't in 22.5.

I never heard a *dee* clause in which an NP was fronted, coming between relator and predicate. However, in elicitation some (but not all) informants accepted as grammatical:

- (22.8) *vuni mada, dee a ovisa (/o Jone) e na+qei*
 hide PLEASE MIGHT ART policeman ART Person 3sg FUT+THEN
rai-ci i'o
 SEE-TR 2sg
 "please hide (yourself), in case the policeman (/John) sees you"

Note that in 22.8 the article *a* or *o* is retained in a fronted NP after *dee*. (*Dee* may of course immediately precede an NP functioning as predicate head, and then *a* is omitted and *o* retained, as always in an NP functioning as predicate head. One joking exclamation—almost a catch phrase—common at Waitabu in 1986 was *dee ose* "might be (i.e. become) a horse", which could be applied to any person.)

22.4 *se* "or"

The relator *se* introduces an interrogative complement, which may relate to a yes/no question (this being marked only by *se*), or it may involve an interrogative word, *cei* "who", *cava* "what, which", etc.—§23.1.

Se has a second function. It can link together any two constituents of the same grammatical status, with the meaning "or". There is optional elision of grammatical markers after *se*—an article, a preposition, or even a subject pronoun. (The semantic connection between the two senses of *se* is discussed in §23.1 (iii).)

Clausal disjunction is illustrated in 22.5 and:

(T4.209) *saa 'uca, o saa su'a se* "what do you want to do (lit: what are
o via mate vata 'ei you doing)?—will you return home, or
ira a omu tamata? do you want to die with your people?"

Compare this with T4.215 *o via bula, se via mate*: "do you want to live or want to die?" where the 2sg pronoun *o* is deleted from the second disjunct (it is retained in T4.209).

A clause can consist of just a predicate, which can be simply a verb or an adjective; thus, *se* can occur between two verbs or between two adjectives. *Se* can also join two complement clauses, as in 24.18; or two NPs, as in 8.16 and:

(22.9) *au 'au-ta mai vei i'o a dalo se uvi?*
 1sg carry-TR HERE FOR 2sg ART taro OR yam
 "Shall I bring you taro or yams?"

In 22.9, taken from a text, there is no common article before *uvi*. However, I was told that *a dalo se a uvi*, with the article, is equally acceptable. Similarly, if two NPs introduced by the same preposition are linked by *se*, then the preposition can optionally be repeated:

(22.10) *au na via ti'o i Waiyevo se (i) Wairi'i*
 1sg FUT WANT live IN Place OR IN Place
 "I want to live in Waiyevo or (in) Wairi'i"

Disjunction can extend to names as object within the predicate, as in:

(22.11) *au rai-ci Mika se Jone* "I saw Mika or John (suppose that they
 are identical twins, hard to tell apart)"

An alternative way of putting this would be:

(22.12) *au rai-ci Mika be'a se o Jone* "I saw Mika perhaps, or John"

where just *Mika* is included as object within the predicate and is followed by the modifier *be'a* "perhaps"; *se o Jone* is then a separate constituent (of unclear grammatical status), consisting of relator plus NP. (Note that the

proper article *o* can—like the common article *a*—be included after *se*; the disjunctive object in 22.11 is an exception to this.)

A pre-head modifier may optionally be deleted with *se*, as *la'i* in:

(22.13) *e la'i taa.niu se (la'i) taa.bu'a?* "is he going to chop copra or
 (going to) chop firewood?"

And, as noted in §18.8, sentence 22.13 can be reduced to a disjunction of incorporated objects:

(22.14) *e la'i taa.niu.se.bu'a?* "is he going to chop copra or firewood?"

It will be seen that *se* "or" may operate on any size of grammatical unit. *Se* may also co-occur with the relator *me+*—§24.2.

22.5 *ia* "well, then, but"

Relators such as *'eeva'aa*, *'ee*, *se*, *dee*, *ni*, and *me* serve to link two (or more) clauses together as a complex sentence; they form part of the same intonation group as one or both of the clauses.

The disyllabic relator *ia* occurs at the beginning of a sentence (which may consist of a single clause). *Ia* generally has falling intonation, which sets it off from the sentence which follows (as in English: *well, I would go but . . .*). In this behaviour it is similar to *io* "yes" and other interjections, when they introduce a sentence (like English: *yes, I will go*). But, unlike interjections, *ia* cannot make up a complete utterance by itself. An examination of the texts will indicate the extent of use of *ia*—in text 6 *ia* occurs at the beginning of sentences 12, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, and so on.

Ia is used to highlight some part of a discourse, and make it stand out from what precedes and follows. It can mark the cumulative result of a series of actions, or a consequential decision, or a conditional construction, or any type of general contrast:

(i) Cumulative result "then"

The final sentence in a sequence concerning some topic may be marked by *ia*, showing that this is what has been led up to; e.g. in T4.17–18 two youths go fishing, spear some fish, bring them home, *ia* they eat them; in T4.174–5 the Raavouvou of Boumaa had been making trouble at Waini'eli, *ia* Waini'eli will invade Boumaa. As another example, in T6.20–2 Father Lorenzo had left his home and travelled right across Vanua Levu, *ia*, when he reached the coast at Nawii, he met up with the great chief Tui Ca'au.

Ia is also appropriate for introducing a summation sentence for some part of a narrative:

(22.15) *ia, a+i- va'a-rau ni dalo* "well, (that's) the preparation of taro
 (i.e. I've told it all)"

(ii) Consequential decision "then, thus"

This semantic function of *ia* is illustrated in the following (parts of the sentence have already been quoted at 21.30, 45):

- (22.16) *a dalo vei 'eimami e sega ni va'a-.gauna, e vei-.taalia*
 ART taro FOR 1excl 3sg not THAT ADVERB-time 3sg do at will
gaa a gauna o te-a 'ina; ia, e
 ASP ART time 2sg plant-TR PREP+3sg THUS 3sg
dau-.tei va'a-.levu vei 'eimami
 HABIT-planted greatly BY 1incpl
 "taro doesn't have any season for us, the time at which you plant it
 doesn't matter; *thus*, it is planted a lot by us"

(iii) With conditionals, "well, if . . ."

ia can introduce some hypothetical possibility-and-consequence e.g. T6.99–100 ". . . he can only be King of Tailevu; *ia*, if he is King of Tailevu, I am King of Vanua Levu". See also T4.225.

(iv) General contrast "but, well"

ia is often used to mark some special event that stands out from what has been reported before, e.g. T4.37–8 "they all (two men and a group of women) ate, *ia* the Raavouvou of Boumaa and the Raaluve of Waini'eli sat together" (this was the beginning of their romance). And in T4.63,64, the sentences describing the uniquely long foot of the Raavouvou of Boumaa both commence with *ia*.

In one text Elia Waqa described the different kinds of vegetables grown in a Fijian garden. He then went on to mention *tiivoli*, a yam that grows wild and is dug up wherever it is found. Elia emphasised the contrast with the preceding account of cultivated vegetables by the use of *ia*—see 21.11.

The marking of contrast is a most important function of *ia*, particularly in comparing adjectival opposites e.g. when speaking of two boys in a family, one might say:

- (22.17) *o 'ea a qase e vu'u; ia, o 'ea a gone e lia.lia*
 ART 3sg ART elder 3sg clever BUT ART 3sg ART younger 3sg stupid
 "the elder one is clever; but, the younger one is stupid"

The introduction of a new topic into an established discourse is often marked by *ia*. Typically, a narrator may say

- (22.18) *ia, e dua tale* "well, one thing more"

and then begin the new topic.

In shouted village announcements there is generally a pause between sentences (while the village crier gathers fresh breath). It is not unusual for each

sentence to commence with *ia*—each sentence save the first and last do in text 8a.

ia can also be used as a hesitation device, while a narrator searches for what to say next, e.g. T4.3.

There are many examples of NPs being fronted in a clause introduced by *ia*; they must always follow the *ia*—see 21.11, 22.17, T4.38, 63, 64, T6.36.

ia has a predominantly-discourse function, but its occurrence helps to define the unit sentence. *ia*, with a distinctive intonation pattern that sets it off from what follows, can almost always be taken to introduce a new sentence.

There are just occasional exceptions (as mentioned above, defining the unit "sentence" is a far from easy task). Thus, the status of 22.17 as a sequence of two sentences is marginal, although it might well be said with that intonation.

Out of about one hundred examples of *ia* in the textual corpus there is only one which is a real exception to the generalisations made here:

- (22.19) *E rawa mo te-a : i+na vei-.gauna tauco'o. Ia,*
 3sg can SHOULD+2sg plant-TR IN+ART COLL-time ALL BUT
a gauna dua.dua e tago.-ma'i 'ina a vudi,
 ART time only 3sg care for-PASS PREP+3sg ART plantain
a gauna ni o-na vua, ia, me 'ua
 ART time ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-3sg fruit WELL SHOULD not
ni doonu-ya a cagi.
 THAT coincide-TR ART wind

"You can plant it at any time. *But*, the only time for plantains to be cared for properly (is for) the time of its (bearing) fruit, *well* the (high) winds should not coincide with it (i.e. if the fruit of plantains sprouts in the cyclone season, it will be damaged)"

The first *ia* is unremarkable, but the second occurrence appears grammatically to come in the middle of a clause. It is said as a parenthetical element with falling intonation—if one were simply listening to the intonation tune of the utterance and paying no attention to grammar, it would be appropriate to write a full stop (or period) after *vua*, and begin a new sentence at *ia*. (The occasional movement of *ia* to a sentence-medial position finds a parallel in English *well*, e.g. *well, from what I know it isn't true* and *from what I know—well, it isn't true.*)

22.6 Interjections

There are, in my textual corpus, only a limited number of interjections (which make up a distinct word class—see chapter 20): *io* "yes"; *yaa* "well" (see T4.2); *ae* "hey" (see T6.65); *uu*, an exclamation of surprise (e.g. T4.31, 178); and *oi*, which can be said with rising intonation, as a gesture of surprise at new information "really", or with falling intonation as a mark of affirmation "yes" (used in conversation to show that the addressee is paying attention, and is an alternative to *io* in that circumstance).

“No” is translated by the verb *sega* “it is not the case” (§4.6, §23.4); this verb should take at least the 3sg and unmarked subject pronoun *e*, showing that it is functioning as a predicate, e.g. T6.67 *e sega, a qou qore* “no, that’s mine”. But in fast speech the *e* will often be omitted and *sega* used much like an interjection.

Note that if a question is set in the negative, then an answer *io* “yes” signifies agreement with the negation (“don’t you want to go?”—“yes” indicates that you do *not* want to go). And an answer in the negative indicates that the questioner was not correct in assuming the negative, e.g.

(T4.167) QUESTION: *sega ni bo'a e daa tamata* “(you) didn’t see a person
e la'o yane i yai? going along by here?”

(T4.169) ANSWER: *e sega; o Raavouvou ni* “no (i.e. I did see some-
Boumaa sa+qei one), the Raavouvou of
'eirau vei-.sivi ti'o Boumaa and I passed
gaa qoo each other here”

Interjections may comprise a complete utterance. Or they may introduce a sentence that expands on the information given by the interjection. An interjection is set off from what follows by falling, sentence-final-type intonation.

The functional similarities between *ia* “well, then, but” and *io* “yes” are brought out in T6.26–7. Father Lorenzo warns the Tui Ca'au that the Tongan army is planning to attack, and that chief replies:

(T6.26) *io, au saa 'ila-a ti'o* “yes, I do know”

(T6.27) *ia, au saa va'a-.rau.-ta'ina* “and well, I am preparing for
ti'o qoo it now”

Io can be used to begin a discourse—as in the village announcement, text 8a—or to finish one. The narrator of one story began his final sentence with *io*, as he addressed me and asked leave to conclude his story:

(22.20) *io, au 'ere.'ere, Roopate, me saa mai cava to'a mada*
YES Isg REDUP-ask Person SHOULD ASP COME end ASP PLEASE
'ina a+i- talanoa yai
PREP+3sg ART+story THIS
“yes, now I ask, Roopate, that my story should come to an end”

23 Complement Clauses

For some verbs—e.g. *samu(-ta)* “hit”—subject and object slots can only be filled by an NP with a pronoun, name or common noun as head. For other verbs one of the core syntactic functions can be filled *either* by an NP *or* by a clause.

Consider *tu'u-na* “tell (about)”. For this verb the “addressee” NP is marked by the preposition *vei*. “What is told” is the direct object—it can be a pronoun or name (then incorporated as object into the predicate) or an NP with a common noun as head:

(23.1) *au aa tu'u-ni Eroni vei Nana Maa* “I told Nana Maa about
Eroni”

(23.2) *e aa tu'u-na vei au a+i- tu'u.tu'u yaa* “he told me that news”

Or the object can be a clausal NP (see chapter 11), as:

(23.3) *e aa tu'u-na vei au [a o-na la'o mai a*
3sg PAST tell TO Isg ART CLASSIF-3sg go HERE ART
Koovana.levu]
Governor General
“he told me about the Governor-General’s coming here”

Alternatively, the object of *tu'u-na* can be a clause introduced by *ni* “that”, *dee* “that . . . might”, *se* “whether” or *me* “(in order) to”, e.g.

(23.4) *e aa tu'u-na vei au [ni na la'o mai a Koovana.levu*
3sg PAST tell-TR TO Isg THAT FUT go HERE ART Title
ni saubogi]
IN tomorrow

“he told me that the Governor-General will come here tomorrow”

(23.5) *au aa tu'u-na vei Filo [dee rawa ni va'a-.totolo.-ta'ina*
Isg PAST tell-TR TO Person MIGHT can THAT MAKE-fast-TR
a 'e-tatou 'aa.'ana]
ART CLASSIF-1incpa food

“I mentioned to Filo whether she might be able to hurry up with our food”

(23.6) *au aa tu'u-na vei Filo [se saa 'uca tuu a*
Isg PAST tell-TR TO Person THAT ASP do what ASP ART
'e-tatou 'aa.'ana]
CLASSIF-1incpa food

“I asked Filo what was happening about our food”

- (23.7) *erau saa tu'u-na [me+rau saa la'o yane]*
 3du ASP tell-TR SHOULD+2du ASP go THERE
 "they two told him that they two would go"

The objects in 23.3–7 are complement clauses—that is, they are clauses that fill a functional slot in the structure of the main clause. They illustrate the varieties of complement clause in Fijian.

There are two major types of complement clause—the clausal NP, and the relator-introduced complements. A clausal NP has a structure very similar to that of a simple NP; it begins with a common article, and there is a possessor pronoun which codes the clausal subject. The other complements have the structure of clauses, with a relator added at the beginning (3sg subject *e* is elided after any of these relators, and 1sg subject combines with them to form *niu, deu, seu, meu*). *Ni* clauses are the unmarked type of relator-introduced complement, with *dee, se,* and *me* clauses being variants of the *ni* type.

There is an important semantic difference between the two major complement types. A clausal NP is rather like a POSS-ING complement: in English in that it refers to an event as extended in time; 23.3 "he told me about the Governor-General's coming here" implies that he provided a description of the visit: what time he arrived, whom he spoke to, what he was given to eat, etc. A *ni* complement is like a THAT clause in English, in that it merely records the fact that something happened; corresponding to 23.3 we could have *e aa tu'u-na vei au ni la'o mai a Koovana.levu* "he told me that the Governor-General came here". Another "minimal pair" of sentences was given in §4.5: *au aa rogo-ca a o-dra qaa.qaa* "I heard their winning (the game)", with a clausal NP, implies that I listened to a commentary over the radio, whereas *au aa rogo-ca ni+ra qaa.qaa* "I heard that they won", with a *ni* complement, implies that I just heard the result.

A *ni* complement indicates certainty; if there is any doubt then *dee* is used in place of *ni*. If the complement involves a question, then *se* is used in place of *ni*—this corresponds to complement clauses in English introduced by *whether, how, why, who, what, how many, where,* and *when*.

Me appears to be a further type of complement introducer, and will be treated as such in this chapter; this description will be refined in the following chapter, on *me*. In meaning, *me* clauses have some similarities with complements in English, e.g. *I want to go*; but, as will be seen in chapter 24, there is only a rather loose and approximate correspondence.

Complement clauses can fill O, S, or A (or, exceptionally, indirect object) functions in the main clause; examples are in §23.2.

23.1 Types of complement clause, and their meanings

(i) *ni* type

This is the most commonly occurring—and the unmarked—variety of relator-introduced complement clause. It simply refers to some event, regard-

ing it as a unit (without attending to its internal composition), e.g. 8.19 "I think [that he will come here tomorrow]", 16.34 "how did you know [that John won the prize]?"

(ii) *dee* type

Like the *ni* type, this refers to a single event but there is uncertainty involved—it may or may not be the case. Compare:

- (23.8) *au 'ila-a ni na+qei mate a qase yai*
 1sg know-TR THAT FUT+THEN die ART old person THIS
 "I know that this old person will die"
 (23.9) *au 'ila-a dee na+qei mate a qase yai* "I know that this old
 person may die"

The clause-complement meaning of *dee* is similar to its meaning when linking clauses, discussed in §22.3. It may often refer to something unpleasant, e.g.

- (23.10) *au pu'u.-ca'ina a+i- yaa.yaa ni+u nanu-ma*
 1sg angry about-TR ART+things BECAUSE+ 1sg think-TR
 [*dee na+qei caa*]
 MIGHT FUT+THEN bad
 "I'm angry about (my) things, because I think that they might
 become damaged (i.e. I'm angry about lending them to you
 because I think you might damage them)"

But this need not be so:

- (23.11) *au vaa-'aasama.-ta'ina ti'o [dee o+na la'o mai (se*
 1sg think-TR ASP MIGHT 2sg+FUT go HERE OR
sega)]
 not
 "I've been thinking that you might come here (or you might not)"

The tag *se sega* "or not" is often added to a *dee* clause: the complement refers to something that might be so, then the tag emphasises that it also might *not* be so.

In the most polite speech-style, *dee* can be followed by the semi-auxiliary verb *rawa* "can" (§23.4). The verb *'ere-a* "beg (for something)" will normally take complementiser *me* "that it should happen"; however, when Sepo was asking the village chief to record a text about chiefly ceremonies, he adopted an extremely reverential tone:

- (23.12) *au 'ere-a ti'o [dee rawa ni o va'a.-macala.-ta'ina*
 1sg ask-TR ASP MIGHT can THAT 2sg MAKE-clear-TR
a+i- tuva.tuva ni vei-.qara-vi va'a-.vanua
 ART+order ASSOCIATED presentation traditional
va'a.-tuuraga]
 chiefly

"I ask that it might be possible for you to explain the order of traditional, chiefly presentations"

Similarly, *dee rawa* can be used to make a strong point in a polite way during a meeting:

(23.13) *au aa rai-ca [dee rawa ni vei-.sau-.ta'i a moosoni*
 1sg PAST see-TR MIGHT can THAT change ART motion
yai]
 THIS

"I felt that the motion might possibly be changed"

What the speaker means (and is understood to mean) is "I feel that the motion should be changed".

(iii) *se* type

If a complement clause is interrogative, then *se* must introduce it (never *ni*). There are two varieties of interrogative clause:

(a) An interrogative clause may involve an *interrogative word*—such words were all listed in chapter 16. In 23.6 the complement clause involves the interrogative verb *'uca* "do what", in 18.56 and T6.34 it involves *i vei* "where", in 8.16 and T4.119 *o cei* "who", and in T4.140 *cava* "what". Examples with *cava* "which", *vica* "how many" and *naica* "when" are:

(23.14) *digi-a mada se 'aa.'ana cava o via 'ani-a!*
 choose-TR PLEASE THAT food which 2sg WANT eat-TR
 "please choose which food you want to eat!"

(23.15) *au sega ni 'ila-a se na la'o ni naica*
 1sg not THAT know-TR THAT FUT go AT when
 "I don't know when he will go"

(23.16) *au sega ni 'ila-a se saa vica a o-na*
 1sg not THAT know-TR THAT ASP how many ART CLASSIF-3sg
yaba'i ni bula
 year ASSOCIATED life

"I don't know how old he is (lit: how many are his years of life)?"

Note that the interrogative word may be retained in its regular post-predicate position, but it often is fronted within the *se* clause (as in 8.16, 18.56, and T4.119).

(b) An interrogative clause may be a *polar interrogative* (corresponding to a yes/no question in a main clause); here *se* is the only indicator of the interrogative nature of the complement. See the example in §4.5 and:

(23.17) *au va'a-.titiqaa-.ta'ina se na yaco dina mai o*
 1sg be doubtful-TR WHETHER FUT artive TRULY HERE ART

Aneta (se sega)

Person OR not

"I am doubtful whether Aneta will really come here (or not)"

(23.18) *au tovole-a se 'ana vina'a a 'aa.'ana yai (se sega)*
 1sg test-TR WHETHER eat good ART food THIS OR not
 "I'll test whether this food tastes good (or not)"

Note that—as in 23.11—the tag *se sega* "or not", while not obligatory with "whether" complements, is very often added to them.

In §22.4 we described the other function of *se*—to link grammatical constituents of any size with the sense "or". It is now time to ask if there is any connection between these different syntactic uses, "whether" and "or".

There appears in fact to be a clear semantic link. In each case several possibilities are involved, and the speaker does not know which one holds—this applies to "he's going to chop copra or firewood"; "I saw Miķa or John"; "do you want to live or to die?"; and also to "they asked who had done it", in T4.119; to "they did not know where the Tongan army had made its camp", in T6.34; and also to "I'll test whether this food tastes good". This explains why *se* "whether" often co-occurs with *se* "or". Recall an example quoted in chapter 8:

(8.16) . . . *me 'ila-i se o cei e o-na,* "to find out whose it is—
o Somosomo se o Boumaa Somosomo or Boumaa"

Here *se* introduces a complement clause *se o cei e o-na* with subject *o cei* "who"—there are a number of possibilities open; the disjunction *o Somosomo se o Boumaa* actually lists the possibilities, linked by *se* "or". In 23.17–18, the complement clause describes one possibility, with the tag *se sega* "or not", mentioning the other possibility, that it may not be true.

The difference between *dee* and *se* is basically that the first mentions one possibility, that might or might not be true, whereas the second implies that there are a number of alternatives, and it is unclear which of them holds. (Only for the polar interrogative complement clauses—as in 23.17–18—where there are just two alternatives, do *se* and *dee* approach in meaning.)

(iv) *me* type

This indicates that the event of the complement clause *should* happen. Compare:

(23.19) *au nanu-ma ni na la'o mai o Rosalia* "I think that Rosalia will
 come"

(23.20) *au nanu-ma me na la'o mai o Rosalia* "I think that Rosalia
 should come"

A *me* clause can often be translated by *for* or *to* in English, e.g. T6.54

“... he was told to wait a while”; T6.48 “waiting . . . for them to land”; 8.100 “. . . wanting to go”.

The meaning of *me* is considered in more detail in the next chapter.

23.2 The syntax of complement clauses

The internal structure of a *ni*, *se*, or *dee* complement is just like that of a main clause. An NP can be fronted within the complement clause and will then come between relator and predicate, as in many of the *se* examples and in:

- (23.21) . . . *saa+qei nanu-mi [ni waqona e la'o mai, e*
 ASP+THEN think-PASS THAT kava 3sg go HERE 3sg
te'evuu mai Toga]
 begin AT Place

“... as a result, it was thought that kava, which had come here, had begun in Tonga”

The common article *a* is dropped after complementiser *ni* or *se* (see T4.140); it appears to be retained after *dee*. The proper article *o* is retained after *ni*, *se* (T4.119, 8.16), and *dee*. Thus, fronting the S NP within the complement clause of 23.19 yields:

- (23.22) *au nanu-ma ni o Rosalia e na la'o mai*

When *se* links NPs, with the sense “or”, the common or proper article can optionally be retained or omitted (§22.4).

In contrast, an NP cannot be fronted within a *me* clause so that it comes between *me* and the predicate—see chapter 24.

An NP may be fronted out of a *ni*, *se*, or *dee* complement clause or out of a clausal NP, to occur before the main clause predicate. Thus from:

- (23.23) *au nanu-ma [ni domo-ni au [a gone.yalewa yai]]*
 1sg think-TR THAT love-TR 1sg ART girl THIS
 “I think that this girl loves me”

- (23.24) *au taalei.-ta'ina [a o-na laga.sere [a marama yaa]]*
 1sg like-TR ART CLASSIF-3sg sing.song ART lady THAT
 “I like that lady’s singing songs”

can be derived:

- (23.25) [*a gone.yalewa yai*] *au nanu-ma* as for this girl, I think that
 [*ni domi-ni au*] she loves me
 (23.26) [*a marama yaa*] *au taalei.-ta'ina* as for that lady, I like her
 [*a o-na laga.sere*] singing songs

The NP in the *ni* complement clause of 23.23 could alternatively be fronted just to the beginning of that clause, as in 23.22, i.e. *au nanu-ma ni gone.yalewa yai e domo-ni au*.

Fronting of an NP from a clausal NP exactly parallels the fronting of a

possessor NP from a simple NP; compare 23.24, 26, with 21.19, 20. Note also that in 23.26 the NP *a marama yaa* cannot be moved just to the beginning of its clausal NP (as the NP could not be in 21.19).

(In §23.4 we describe how the subject of a complement clause can be raised to be subject of a semi-auxiliary verb, when this fills the predicate slot in the main clause.)

The neutral complementiser *ni* may occasionally be omitted (rather like *that* in English—*I know that he came*, and *I know he came*)—for an example, see T4.32. *Se*, *dee*, and *me* are never omitted; the latter two (and *se* in a polar interrogative) could not be, without the meaning of the complement type being lost.

A complement clause introduced by a relator should come at the end of the main clause, whatever its syntactic function in that clause (§21.2); it cannot be fronted. This contrasts with clausal NPs, which behave like simple NPs—they may occur anywhere after the predicate, and they may also be fronted.

The relator *ni* introduces one type of complement clause and also “when” and “because” clauses that fill a peripheral slot in the main clause. We have already mentioned that these clauses can occur at the end of the main clause or at the beginning (when a marker *'ina* may be included in the predicate); and that an NP cannot be fronted *within* a “when” or “because” clause. The quite distinct syntactic possibilities of these different types of *ni* clause can be summarised:

	<i>ni</i> (also <i>se</i> and <i>dee</i>) complements	<i>ni</i> “when” and “because” clauses
can an NP be fronted within the subordinate clause?	yes	no
position of subordinate clause in main clause:	end	end or beginning

A relator-introduced complement clause or a clausal NP can fill any of the core syntactic slots in the main clause—O function is the most common, followed by S, with just a handful of verbs accepting a clausal element as A. Examples of relator-introduced complements as O are 8.20, 49, 16.34, 18.56, 23.4–20; as non-derived S, 8.165; as a passive S, 8.16, 23.21; as A:

- (23.27) *e aa va'a.-rere-i ira a gone [a qou 'aci]_A*
 3sg PAST MAKE-afraid-TR 3pl ART child ART CLASSIF+1sg call
 “my calling out frightened the children”

I have noted one example of a complement clause filling indirect object slot. For *va'a.-dai-ca* “tell lies to”, the NP referring to the person lied to is in O slot, and the “thing lied about” is in a peripheral slot—the thing can be realised as a complement clause (without any accompanying preposition), e.g. *au aa va'a.-dai-ca a draiva [ni sega vei au a+i-lavo]* “I lied to that driver that I had no money”.

A complement clause may have an argument in common with the main clause (although it need not have): this argument can be in any function in either clause. Even if main and complement clauses have the same subject, the appropriate subject pronoun must normally be included in each predicate, e.g. 23.7 and:

(23.28) *au na tovole-a [me-u cabe-ta a ulu.ni.vanua yai]*
 1sg FUT try-TR SHOULD-1sg climb-TR ART mountain THIS
 "I'll try to climb this mountain"

The 1sg subject cannot be dropped from the *me* clause of 23.28.

There is one verb that does have a measure of coreferential deletion. *Rau-ta* "suffice for, be enough for, be the measure of" is the only non-derived verb I know of to accept a clausal A argument (the others are derived causatives, as in 23.27). *Rau-ta* can take a plain NP as A; in that case a pronominal object should be retained, e.g.

(23.29) *saa rau-ti au a 'aa.'ana yai* "this food is enough for me"

However, if A is a clausal NP and, as is common, the subject of this clausal NP is identical with the O of *rau-ta*, then this O need not be stated, and the verb will just take the unmarked *-a*-final form of the transitive suffix:

(23.30) *sa rau-ta a qou gaadee* "I've done enough travelling (lit: my travelling is enough)"

Alternatively, the object *can* be stated (although this would be rather pedantic):

(23.31) *sa rau-ti au a qou gaadee* "I've done enough travelling (lit: my travelling is enough for me)"

A complement clause, of any type, is always cross-referenced by 3sg subject marker *e* if it is in subject slot (the *e* often drops before *sa* or *saa*, as in 23.30–1), and by the 3sg *-a*-final transitive suffix if it is in O slot. This emphasises the "unmarked" nature of the 3sg choices (rather like *it* in English—*that he left early disappointed me*, and *it disappointed me that he left early*).

23.3 Complement possibilities—semantic basis

One of the properties I checked, for each of the sample of 460 verbs (see chapter 18), was whether they could take a complement clause; and if so, of what type(s). The data obtained—from two thoughtful and intelligent speakers of the B dialect—are obviously not complete, but they do provide a useful general overview.

Many verbs cannot take complement clauses; all those that do can also accept a simple NP in the slot where a complement clause is possible—see 23.1–7, and 23.29–31. Altogether about 80 verbs in the sample take complements in at least one syntactic slot. Most of these are either A type or verbs

that have no intransitive form, and they take a complement clause only in O function (except for *rau-ta*, which takes it only in A function). There are a few intransitive-only verbs that take an S complement clause; and a number of O type verbs that may take a complement clause in O or in S function.

As mentioned above, complements divide into clausal NPs, on the one hand, and relator-introduced clauses, on the other. For the latter the *ni* type is basic; most—but not quite all—verbs that take *dee*, *se*, or *me* complements also accept the *ni* type.

There is a semantic basis to which kinds of complements a given verb takes, relating to the meaning of the verb, and of the complements. It will be most fruitful to consider verbs by semantic types. (For shortness of reference the relator-introduced complement clauses will be referred to just by the relator, e.g. "takes *ni*" means "takes a *ni* complement clause".)

(i) Verbs of motion, rest, affect and giving

These do not, as a rule, take complement clauses. The exceptions are verbs with a general meaning: *toso* "move (generally)" and *toro* "move (in relation to some place/thing)"—see §18.2. These may take a clausal NP in S slot, as in 8.81 "my understanding of the Boumaa language moves forward (i.e. improves) a little each day", and in 25.5.

(ii) Verbs of corporeal activity

These verbs do not take complements, except for a few that have two transitive endings. We find *tagi-ca* "cry for", *tagi.-ca'ina* "cry about" (§18.3), and the trisyllabic form may have a clausal NP as O, e.g. *au tagi.-ca'ina a mate we-i tina-qu* "I cried over my mother's dying". There are a few verbs that only take a trisyllabic suffix and may also have a clausal O NP, e.g. *yaremawa.-ta'ina* "yawn over" and *lolo.-va'ina* "fast on account of", e.g. *au lolo.-va'ina a o-na mate a tuuraga* "I'm fasting on account of the chief's dying".

(iii) Verbs of talking

Tu'u-na "tell", *talanoa.-ta'ina* "recount", *baa.-ta'ina* "deny", *buubuuli.-ta'ina* "swear (e.g. on oath)", *'udru.-va'ina* "grumble", and similar verbs can all take *ni*, and most of them also accept clausal NPs, in O function (compare 23.3 and 23.4). *Dee* and *se* are possible with *tu'u-na* and *bose-a* "confer over", but not it seems with others such as *talanoa.-ta'ina*.

Some verbs from this semantic type can take *me* (e.g. 23.7). *Bose-a* takes *ni* when discussing some fact, and *me* when conferring about something that should be done. Compare:

(23.32) *era bose-a ti'o ni sa+na vei.-sau a gauna ni*
 3pl confer-TR ASP THAT ASP+FUT change ART time ASSOCIATED
bose levu va'a.-tuuraga
 meeting great chiefly

“they are conferring over (the fact that) the time of the Great Council of Chiefs will be changed (a decision made by the central government, and all the local meeting can do is note it, and act accordingly)”

- (23.33) *era bose-a ti'o me tara a vale ni soqo*
 3pl confer-TR ASP SHOULD build ART house ASSOCIATED meeting
 “they are conferring over a meeting house being built”

Me in 23.33 marks that this is something which *should* be done; the people conferring can decide *to do* this.

Yala-ta'ina “promise” can take *ni* as O when merely promising that something will happen, e.g. some duty will be performed; or *me*, which indicates that the person involved thinks it should be done, that he will do it willingly:

- (23.34) *au saa yala-ta'ina vei Raatuu ni+u na Somosomo (without too much eagerness, but I must do as he asks)*
la'o i Somosomo
 (23.35) *au saa yala-ta'ina vei Raatuu me+u na Somosomo (I really do want to go, and volunteered to make the trip)*
la'o i Somosomo

There are two verbs of asking in Fijian: *taro-ga* “ask (a question)”, and *'ere-a* “ask/beg for something—to be given something, or for someone to do something for you”. As mentioned in §1.2, the *'ere.ere* principle is an integral part of village life: once someone enters your house, squats on the floor, and says with due solemnity: *au 'ere.ere . . .* “I beg of you . . .”, then you should normally hand over the coveted thing. *Taro-ga* will take a *se* complement clause as O. I was told in elicitation that *'ere-a* could only take a *me* complement, never *ni*, because the verb itself demands something that *should* be done.

I have, however, heard *'ere-a* used with *ni* and with *dee*, in a situation of extreme politeness (e.g. when talking to a chief); the use of the milder complement-introducer marks a specially deferential attitude—see 23.12 and 8.20. (*'Ere-a* has unusual syntax in that the reduplicated form *'ere.ere* is used interchangeably with *'ere-a*, as a transitive stem, taking an O argument—see 8.20.)

(iv) Verbs of mental activity

Va'a-bau-ta “believe”, *va'a-titiqaa-ta'ina* “doubt”, *nanu-ma* “think, remember”, *vaa-'aasama-ta'ina* “think, contemplate”, and similar verbs take all five types of complement clause in O slot. *Tadra-a* “dream of” takes *ni* or clausal NP (but not *me*). *Lewa-a* “judge, decide, rule” can take *ni* or *me* (but not a clausal NP), as in:

- (23.36) *sa lewa-a a tuuraga.ni.lewaa ni sa cala dina o*
 ASP decide-TR ART judge THAT ASP EIT TRULY ART

- 'ea a tamata yai*
 3sg ART person THIS
 “the judge has decided that this man is truly guilty”
 (23.37) *sa lewa-a a mata.ni.tuu me+ta ca'a.ca'a*
 ASP decide-TR ART government SHOULD+1incpl work
va'a-kau.kaua
 hard
 “the government has decided that we should work hard(er)”

I was able to obtain *'ila-a* “know” with all complement types except *me*. For *buci-na* “plan” the only complements obtained were with *me*—this finding is quite consistent with the meaning of the verb. *Digi-a/-ta'ina* “choose” may take either *me* (choose to do something), or *se* (choose which one)—see 23.14.

(v) Verbs of attention

Rai-ca “see, look at” and *rogo-ca* “hear, listen to” can have *ni* or clausal NP as O; see the examples of *rogo-ca* in §4.5, and:

- (23.38) *au aa rai-ca a 'e-na va'a-mate-i a pua'a*
 1sg PAST see-TR ART CLASSIF-3sg MAKE-dead-PASS ART pig
 “I watched the pig’s being killed”
 (23.39) *au aa rai-ca ni sa va'a-mate-a a pua'a*
 1sg PAST see-TR THAT ASP MAKE-dead-TR ART pig
 “I saw that he had killed the pig”

Like the verbs of talking and mental activity mentioned above (except for those that have no intransitive form), *rai-ca* is of A type. *Rogo-ca*, however, is predominantly of O type, and a clausal NP or *ni* may also function as S, e.g. T4.89.

I was told that *rai-ca* could logically take only a clausal NP or *ni*, since, as an informant put it, “you know what you see”. However, a *dee* complement clause can be used with *rai-ca*, often for politeness—see 23.13.

(*Va'a-)**di'e-va* “investigate, study” may take a clausal NP or *ni* as O. Other verbs of attention—such as *iro-va* “look slyly at, e.g. through a hole” and *qara-va* “look after”—appear not to take complement clauses.

(vi) Verbs of mental attitude

The most common O complement for A-type verbs such as *galu-ta'ina* “be quiet about”, *rarawa-ta'ina* “be sad about”, *pu'u-ca'ina* “be angry about”, *vu'u-ta'ina* “be clever about”, *wele-ta'ina* “be neglectful of” is a clausal NP. However, a few verbs of this semantic field take *ni* or *me* or sometimes *dee*. *'Ila-va'ina* “be scared of”, for instance, may accept as O a clausal NP or *me* (but not *ni*), as in

- (23.40) *au sa 'ila-va'ina dina a o-dra mateni i+na*
 1sg ASP scared-TR TRULY ART CLASSIF-3pl drunk AT+ART

waqona ni paapaalagi

kava ASSOCIATED white-skinned people

“I am truly scared of their being drunk on alcoholic drink (lit: white people’s *kava*)”

- (23.41) *au 'ila.-va'ina sara gaa me+u rai-ca tale e dua*
 1sg scared-TR MODIF MODIF SHOULD+1sg see-TR AGAIN 3sg one
a gata
 ART snake

“I’m really scared that I should see a snake”

Maarau.-ta'ina “be happy about” may take a clausal NP, *ni*, *me*, or even *dee* complements (the *dee* would be likely to be *dee rawa*, in a polite context, similar to 23.12–13):

- (23.42) *au maarau.-ta'ina va'a.-levu* “I’m very happy about your
a o-mu yaco mai ni'ua arriving here today”
 (23.43) *au maarau.-ta'ina va'a.-levu* “I’m very happy that you have
ni o yaco mai arrived”
 (23.44) *au na maarau.-ta'ina va'a.-levu* “I’d be very happy if the agenda
me vei-.sau.-ta'i a lewaa ni of this meeting should be
bose yai changed”

The intransitive versions of mental attitude verbs, without any transitive suffix, may occur with a *ni* clause, as in

- (23.45) *au saa maarau dina ni lesu mai o Aneta*

But, in fact, this is a *ni* “because” clause, not a complement clause. It means “I’m truly happy because Aneta has returned here”. The meaning is similar to that of a complement clause, but—as pointed out in §23.2—there are important syntactic differences.

Interestingly, *nui.-ta'ina* “hope for” takes *ni* as O (*me* may be possible but *ni* is certainly preferred). And, as would be expected on semantic grounds, *garo-va* “desire” takes *me* (not *ni*) in O function:

- (23.46) *au garo-va dina me+u la'i sara-va* “I want to go and see that
a+i- yalo.yalo gore film”

Taalei.-ta'ina “like” takes a clausal NP, *ni* or *me* (or even, in a polite context, *dee rawa*). *Vina'a-ta* “want, need, deem good” and *ca-ta* “don’t want, dislike” have a strong preference for *me*.

(vii) Begin and finish

These are O type verbs (or else they are not used transitively). For *tee'evuu (-na)* “begin”, a clausal NP or *me* may be in O or in S function. *Va'a.-oti-a* and *oti* “finish” only accept clausal NPs. This is as would be expected on semantic grounds (compare English—*begin running, begin to run, finish running*, but not **finish to run*).

(viii) Try and strive

The verb *tovole-a* has two distinct senses. With the meaning “try” it can only take a *me* complement, as in 23.28 and

- (23.47) *au tovole-a me+u lave-ta a vatu yai* “I tried to lift this stone”

and with the meaning “taste, test” it can only take a *dee* or *se* complement, e.g. 23.18. *Guu.-ta'ina* “strive to do” also takes *me* as O.

(ix) Time

As mentioned in §15.2, the A-type verb *bera(-ca)* “be late/slow (for)” can take a clausal NP or *ni* as S—see 8.17–18. But apparently *ni* can not be in A function for the transitive *bera-ca*. This suggests that (*ni*) *bera ni* “before” has evolved into an independent lexeme, not synchronically related to *bera(-ca)*.

There are, in addition, a number of intransitive verbs that take *ni* and/or *me* complement clauses—*tabu* “to be forbidden”, *tara* “to be allowed”, *rairai* “to appear, seem”. They are most conveniently discussed in conjunction with semi-auxiliary verbs, in the next section.

23.4 Semi-auxiliary verbs

In Fijian, some modal qualifications of a lexical verb are achieved by predicate modifiers, e.g. *via* “want to”, *rairai* “seem to”, *va'a.-rau* “ready to” (§8.3.5). Others are dealt with through independent verbs. Compare:

- (23.48) *e via la'o* “he wants to go”
 (23.49) *e bese [ni la'o]* “he doesn’t want to go (he refuses to go)”

In 23.48 *la'o* is the predicate head of the main clause and *via* a modifier to it. But in 23.49 *bese* is the predicate of the main clause, and its subject is the complement clause *ni la'o*, which has *la'o* as its predicate head.

Bese belongs to a small set that we call “semi-auxiliary verbs”. These function syntactically as main verbs and take as subject an NP or complement clause—but semantically they qualify the predicate of their complement clause. The main members of the subclass are:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>sega</i> “not” | <i>dodonu</i> “must, be necessary” |
| <i>'ua~waa'ua</i> “don’t, not” | <i>bese</i> “don’t want to, refuse to” |
| <i>rawa</i> “can” | |

There are a number of intransitive verbs that take *ni* or *me* complements as their subject and which have similar syntax to the semi-auxiliaries, e.g. *tabu* “to be forbidden”, *tara* “to be permitted”. In addition, a number of adjectives, when used as predicate head, can take *ni* and/or *me* complements—*rawa.rawa* “easy”, *dree.dree* “difficult”, *vina'a* “good”, *caa* “bad” (see 23.68).

As already mentioned, a complement clause in subject function is marked within the predicate by the unmarked subject pronoun *e*, e.g.

- (23.50) *e tabu ni+ra unu.waqona* “it is forbidden for them (the children)
(*o ira a gone*) to drink kava”

With at least some of these verbs, the subject pronoun of the complement clause—here 3pl (*e*)*ra*—may optionally be raised into the main clause:

- (23.51) *era tabu ni unu.waqona* “they (the children) are forbidden to
(*o ira a gone*) drink kava”

Exactly the same possibilities apply for three of the semi-auxiliaries. These possibilities can be exemplified for any pronoun (other than 3sg):

- (23.52)(a) *au sega ni la'o* } “I’m not going”
(b) *e sega ni+u la'o* }

- (23.53)(a) *mudrau 'ua ni la'o* } “you two, don’t go!”
(b) *'ua ni mudrau la'o* }

- (23.54)(a) *era rawa ni la'o* } “they can go”
(b) *e rawa ni+ra la'o* }

Each of the (a)/(b) alternatives is fully acceptable. In fact the (a) type is more common in texts for *sega* (e.g. T4.193, T6.34) and for *'ua~waa'ua*, but the (b) type is more common for *rawa* (e.g. T6.9). What is not possible with these three semi-auxiliaries is for the subject pronoun to be included in both clauses; e.g. **au sega ni+u la'o*, **mudrau 'ua ni mudrau la'o*, and **era rawa ni+ra la'o* are judged ungrammatical.

The possibilities are slightly different for the other two semi-auxiliary verbs. For *dodonu* the subject pronoun can be in the complement clause, or in both clauses, but not just in the main clause:

- (23.55)(a) *e dodonu me+ra la'o* } “they must go”
(b) *era dodonu me+ra la'o* }

but **era dodonu me la'o* is not acceptable. For *bese* the subject pronoun can be in both clauses, or just in the main clause, but not just in the complement clause:

- (23.56)(a) *era bese ni+ra la'o* } “they don’t want to go”
(b) *era bese ni la'o* }

but not **e bese ni+ra la'o*.

It will be seen that, in their syntactic behaviour, *sega*, *'ua~waa'ua* and *rawa* behave like intransitive verbs taking a complement clause in S slot; they are here identified as semi-auxiliaries on largely semantic grounds. *Dodonu* and *bese*, though, show syntactic possibilities different from intransitive verbs like *tabu* “to be forbidden” or adjectives like *vina'a* “good”. (That is, we can

not say *e bese [ni+ra la'o]*, with the 3sg and unmarked subject form *e* cross-referencing a complement clause in subject slot, parallel to 23.50; (a) or (b) of 23.56 must be used instead.)

We can now consider the semi-auxiliaries one at a time:

(i) *Sega* “it is not the case” is the negative used everywhere except in an imperative or in a clause that includes *me* (see chapter 24). As mentioned in §4.6, the subject of *sega* can be just a noun:

- (23.57) *e sega a 'aa.'ana i vale yai* “there is no food in this house”

or a complement clause, as in 23.52. The head of the predicate can be a verb, or an adjective, or a noun. Thus it is possible to say:

- (23.58) *yai e sega ni vale va'a-.viti* “this is not a Fijian-style house”

Note the meaning contrast with a similar sentence that has the NP *a vale va'a-.viti* “Fijian-style house” as subject of *sega*:

- (23.59) *e sega a vale va'a-.viti* “there are no Fijian-style houses (in this
(*i+na 'oro yai*) village)”

I was told that the B dialect originally used *cau* in sentences like 23.52, 58. *Sega ni* is a borrowing from V, and has almost completely replaced *cau*. (I never heard *cau* used spontaneously—it is just remembered.) *Cau* probably had the status of a pre-head predicate modifier (like *via* in 23.48), in contrast to *sega*, which is a verb. Corresponding to both the (a) and (b) versions of 23.52, olden-days B had *au cau la'o* (and not **e cau au la'o*). *Cau* was not used in sentences like 23.59; *sega* has always been employed for negative sentences that have a plain NP as subject. Note, though, that if the subject NP begins with *e*-plus-NUMBER, as in the present-day construction (recall that *e* drops after *ni*),

- (23.60) *e sega ni dua tuu a dalo i vale yai* “there is not a single taro in this house”

then *cau* was used, in the older stage of the dialect,

- (23.61) *e cau dua tuu a dalo i vale yai* “there is not a single taro in this house”

These examples provide further evidence for the predicate-head status of numbers, even when occurring at the beginning of an NP.

(ii) *'Ua~waa'ua* “don’t, not” is the negator used in imperatives, e.g. 8.29, 125, and in a clause with *me*, e.g. 22.19, 24.28, T4.45, 140, T6.122, T8a.5. (There is never any choice involved, as to whether *sega* or *'ua~waa'ua* is employed.) *Waa'ua* (V *kaakua*) seems a slightly stronger form than *'ua* (V *kua*), but they are in most cases interchangeable.

'*Ua~waa'ua* normally takes a *ni* complement as its subject, as in 23.53, the examples just referred to, and:

- (23.62) *e aa taqo.-ma'ini au o Jone me+u 'ua ni*
 3sg PAST defend-TR 1sg ART Person SHOULD+1sg not THAT
lau-.vacu
 PASS-punch
 "John defended me from being punched (lit: that I should not be punched)"

However, like *sega*, '*ua~waa'ua* can take an NP as subject (the only examples I have involve clausal NPs). See T6.119, and compare:

- (23.63) *au 'ere-i i'o mo 'ua ni unu.waqona* "I beg you not to drink kava
 (on this occasion)"
 (23.64) *au 'ere-i i'o me 'ua a o-mu unu.waqona* "I beg you to stop kava-drinking
 (permanently)"

Mo in 23.63 is a blend of *me* and 2sg subject pronoun *o*; this has been raised from the *ni* complement clause, which is the subject of '*ua* (it parallels the (a) alternative in 23.53). Sentence 23.63 could be said to someone who is on his way to a kava party, requesting him not to go; whereas 23.64, with a clausal NP as subject of '*ua* (the subject pronoun before '*ua* can only be unmarked *e*, which is deleted after *me*), begs someone to give up kava drinking for good (perhaps for health reasons).

(iii) *Rawa* "can" is a verb very close in meaning to the post-head predicate modifier *rawa* "be able to". As mentioned in §8.3.5, the semi-auxiliary tends to be used to describe some general state-of-affairs, e.g.

- (23.65) *a waitui e rawa ni mavo 'ina a mate*
 ART salt-water 3sg can THAT healed PREP+3sg ART disease
ni 'uli
 ASSOCIATED skin
 "salt-water can heal skin diseases (lit: as for salt water, skin diseases can become healed in it)"

whereas the modifier tends to refer to some specific instance. There is, however, a degree of substitutability between them.

Like *can* in English, *rawa* may also have the sense "be allowed/permitted to". One day the village chief was telling me that he had been sick and had been put on a diet by the doctors; he said *au via 'ani-a a va'a-lolo, e sega ni rawa* "I would like to eat *va'a-lolo* (a sweet Fijian pudding, made with lots of sugar), but it is not allowed".

Rawa, as a semi-auxiliary verb, can take as subject either a *ni* or a *me* complement clause (but not, in my corpus, a plain NP). There is a semantic difference, e.g.

- (23.66)(a) *e rawa ni la'o o Mika* } "Mikā can go"
 (b) *e rawa me.la'o o Mika* }

where (a) is the unmarked statement—literally, there is nothing to impede him from going—and (b) is more positive—literally, he is able and willing to go.

Suppose two people wanted to catch a bus to town. One of them might ask the driver (using a *ni* complement clause):

- (23.67) *e rawa ni 'eirau vodo* "can we two board (i.e. will you let us)?"

He might reply that the bus is already too full. The frustrated traveller could later tell a friend (using *me*):

- (23.68) *e rawa me 'eirau vodo, qei caa ni saa rui*
 3sg can SHOULD lexcdu board THEN bad THAT ASP TOO MUCH
oso a basi
 full ART bus
 "we could have boarded (i.e. we were there on time and had the money for our fares), but it was too bad that the bus was overfull"

A *me* clause is often used with *rawa* when referring to planting or harvesting crops (something that people do want to do), as in 13.1, 15.1, 17.2, 22.19; and a *ni* clause is used when talking about whether someone can do something such as talk or walk, e.g. 16.20, 18.33.

The transitive verb *rawa-ta* "get, obtain, achieve (e.g. earn money, win prize)" is clearly historically related to *rawa*, although on both syntactic and semantic grounds they are probably best regarded as distinct lexemes in the present-day language (rather like *act* and *action*, *do* and *deed* in English). There is, however, some overlap in meaning:

- (23.69) *au rawa ni cabe i+na ulu.ni.vanua yai* "I can climb this hill"
 (23.70) *au rawa-ta a cabe i+na ulu.ni.vanua yai* "I can achieve
 climbing this hill"

The *ni* clause which is subject of *rawa* in 23.69 (and from which the subject pronoun *au* has been raised) corresponds to the clausal NP, which is object of *rawa-ta* in 23.70. (Note that the possessor pronoun, *qou* "mine", marking subject of the clausal NP, would usually be omitted in 23.70; the semantics of *rawa-ta* establishes that it must be the same as the main clause subject.)

(iv) *Bese* "don't want to, refuse to" can only take a *ni* clause as subject (not a *me* clause or a plain NP). There is a related transitive form which will take a clausal NP as O, corresponding to the *ni* clause in S function for *bese*:

- (23.71) *au bese ni la'o* "I don't want to go"
 (23.72) *au bese.-ta'ina a la'o* "I don't want (to make) the journey"

As in 23.70, the possessor pronoun marking subject of the clausal NP may be omitted in 23.72, since it must be co-referential with the subject of *bese*.-*ta'ina*.

(v) *Dodonu* "must, be necessary" occurs at T6.89. Whereas *sega*, '*ua*~*waa'ua* and *bese* take *ni* complements, and *rawa* either *ni* or *me*, *dodonu* can only take a *me* complement. This is what would have been predicted from the meaning of the semi-auxiliary verb, and of *me* "it should happen".

Semi-auxiliary verbs can occur with most post-head modifiers, e.g. *sega mada* in T4.50, *sega sara* in T4.81, '*ua mada* in T4.140, *rawa tale gaa* in 8.156-7, *sega voli gaa* in 8.50, *sega soti* in 8.121-3. They do not occur with any pre-head modifiers in my corpus.

Finally, we can note that any number of semi-auxiliary verbs can be combined together, in any order, so long as there is a plausible semantic interpretation. Furthermore, the various possibilities of subject pronoun placement are multiplied. With *sega ni rawa* the subject pronoun can come before *sega*, between *sega* and *rawa*, or after *rawa*, as in:

- (23.73)(a) *au sega ni rawa ni la'o*
 (b) *e sega ni+u rawa ni la'o*
 (c) *e sega ni rawa ni+u la'o* } "I can't go"

Of these, type (c) is the alternative most commonly found in texts.

(In olden-days B, when *cau* was used instead of *sega ni*, the possibilities were either *au cau rawa ni la'o* or *e cau rawa ni+u la'o*.)

Combination of *rawa* and *sega* (in the opposite order to 23.73) is less frequent but still quite acceptable:

- (23.74) *e rawa ni sega ni 'eirau la'o* "it is possible for us not to go (i.e. we don't have to go if we don't want to)"

One night I was kept awake until 4 A.M. by videos being shown in the next-door house. It was a little consolation to learn, the next day, that it is permissible to use two *sega*'s with a *rawa* in between:

- (23.75) *e sega ni rawa ni sega ni+u rogo-ca* "I couldn't help but hear it (lit: it was not possible for me not to hear it)"

Rawa can take *ni* or *me*; and after *me* we must have '*ua*~*waa'ua* rather than *sega*. An alternative to 23.75 (with the same or very similar meaning) is thus: *e sega ni rawa me 'ua ni+u rogo-ca*.

Other sample combinations of semi-auxiliary verbs are:

- (23.76) *e sega ni rawa ni bese ni la'i sara.i-yaloyalo o Mika* "Mika can't resist going to the movies (lit: it is not possible

for Mika not to want to go and watch movies)"

- (23.77) *e dodonu me 'ua ni la'o* "he shouldn't go (lit: it is right for him not to go)"

- (23.78) *e dodonu mo bese ni la'o* "you should refuse to go"

24 The Relator *me*

Deciding on the syntactic status of *me* is, I have found, the most fascinating and also the most difficult topic in Fijian syntax. The present chapter is only a first step towards articulating the problems and formulating solutions to them. I first survey the range of meanings of *me*, before considering an appropriate grammatical treatment. A final section discusses the related topic of imperatives.

24.1 The uses of *me*

Me can introduce an imperative (§24.3), and also has the following functions.

(i) Complement clause introducer

As discussed and exemplified in the last chapter, *me* “should” is one of four relators which can introduce a complement clause that functions as S, O, or A of the main clause.

As mentioned in §23.2, an NP can be fronted *within* a *ni*, *dee*, or *se* complement clause, but not within a *me* clause.

There is one syntactic possibility for *me* complement clauses which is not shared by *ni*, *dee*, or *se* varieties. It applies to *me* clauses in O function. Compare:

- (24.1) *au aa tu'u-na vei Nana Maa* “I told Nana Maa that Eroni
[*me la'o o Eroni i Vidawa*] should go to Vidawa”
(24.2) *au aa tu'u-ni Eroni vei Nana Maa* “I told Nana Maa concerning
[*me la'o i Vidawa*] Eroni that he should go to
Vidawa”

It looks as if the S NP from the complement clause of 24.1 has been raised to become O of the main clause, replacing the *me* complement clause from this slot; the remainder of the *me* clause is retained (presumably, as a peripheral constituent). Another pair of sentences exemplifying this is:

- (24.3) *au vina'a-ta [mo laga.sere o i'o]* “I want you to sing songs”
(24.4) *au vina'a-ti i'o [mo laga.sere]* “I want of you, that you should
sing songs”

Note that it is possible to say *au vina'a-ta [me+u laga.sere]* “I want (lit: me) to sing songs”, but here the complement clause subject cannot be raised to become main clause object; i.e. the reflexive-type construction **au vina'a-ti au me+u laga.sere* is not an acceptable sentence.

The relation between 24.1/2 and 24.3/4 is discussed further in §24.2.

(ii) Main clause linker

Me can link two clauses with the sense “in order to” or “as a result that”. It can be complementary to the “because” sense of *ni* (alternatively marked by *baleta ni*)—§14.4.2, §21.3. Thus:

- (24.5) *au 'ana va'a-.levu me+u bula.bula vina'a*
1sg eat greatly SHOULD+1sg health good
“I eat a lot in order to be healthy”
(24.6) *au bula.bula vina'a (baleta)* “I am healthy because I eat a lot”
ni+u 'ana va'a-.levu

However, the semantic and syntactic range of *me* is much wider than that of (*baleta*) *ni*.

There may be one clause describing something that is done, *me* (in order to) undertake an action referred to by the second clause, e.g. T4.77 he put his hand over the tongue *me* pull it out; T4.192 come here *me* fight Boumaa; T4.203 swam across here . . . *me* stand here on this side; T6.42 they all moved over here *me* wait at Wairi'i; and 8.47, 84, 22.19; and

- (24.7) *rau saa+qei biu-ta a oo-drau i- ti'o.ti'o yaa,*
3du ASP+THEN leave-TR ART CLASSIF-3du residence THERE
me rau va'a-.i- ti'o.ti'o i Nasau
SHOULD 3du MAKE-residence AT Place
“the two of them left their residence there, to make a home at Nasau”

Or the first clause may delineate some general state of affairs, and the second something which is done because of this:

- (24.8) *e vina'a-ta a vanua sua.sua a karisi, me+qei*
3sg like-TR ART place wet ART cress SHOULD+THEN
tei 'ina
planted PREP+3sg
“cress likes a wet place, to be planted in one”

Me appears sometimes to have a temporal sense “until”; it is often then followed by *yaco* “arrive, happen”, or *yaco-va* “arrive at, reach”, e.g. T6.124, 128 and

- (24.9) *sa tubu ca'e mai a lotu me yaco-va a*
ASP grow MORE HERE ART church SHOULD happen-TR ART
o-na sa mai va'a-.rewa a koila
CLASSIF-3sg ASP COME MAKE-high ART flag
“the church began to grow more until the flag was raised (marking
cession to Britain) (lit: until the raising of the flag happened)”

In some sentences, *me* appears to combine temporal and logical (“so that”) senses. See 8.23 and

- (24.10) *e tei 'ina a vudi i+na Okōtopa me*
 3sg planted PREP+3sg ART plantain IN+ART October SHOULD
la'i la'o a cagi, sa te'evuu bula va'a-.lailai
 GO GO ART wind ASP start live a little bit
 "plantains are planted in October so that when the winds come they
 have already started to grow a little"

An important feature of *me* constructions is that the first clause must describe a volitional activity. That is, it is not permissible to say **saa via 'ana a tamata yai me saa pu'u* "this person is hungry and thus angry", which would be the complementary sentence to the "because" construction *saa pu'u a tamata yai ni saa via 'ana* "this person is angry because he is hungry" (cf 21.9).

Two clauses linked by *me* need not have any co-referential NP; there is none, for instance, in 24.9. When there is one it is most often in A or S function in each clause: S = S in 24.5 and 24.10; A = S in 24.7 and 24.8. However, other co-referential possibilities are equally acceptable; e.g. O = S in 8.47, 24.11; and indirect object = S in T4.191. There is no syntactic restriction on the functions a co-referential NP can have in either clause.

It is not uncommon to encounter a string of clauses, all linked by *me*, e.g. T4.173–4 Tuei sent him (the messenger) *me* come here to the Vuu-ni.saa, *me* come and tell the Vuu-ni-saa about . . . Here there is a co-referential NP "the messenger", which is O for "send", S for "come" and A for "tell". There is a string of six *me*'s in T4.140–2; see also T4.225, T6.54, 104.

(iii) Linker of clause and noun

There are examples where *me* simply introduces an adjective, e.g. 8.121 and

- (24.11) *au sa'o-ca a dalo me dada* "I mashed up the taro to (make it) be soft"

Alternatively, *me* can introduce an NP (the proper article is retained and the common article dropped), e.g. T4.63, 18.59, and

- (24.12) *au vina'a-ta me o Jone* "I want it to be John"
 (24.13) *mai biu a ulu-na vei irau me 'ee-drau i-wase*
 COME left ART head-3sg FOR 3du SHOULD CLASSIF-3du meal
 "its (the pig's) head was left for them two, to be their meal (after drinking kava)"
 (24.14) *saa qaqi a dovu me suka*
 ASP crush ART sugar-cane SHOULD sugar
 "sugar-cane is crushed to become sugar"

Sentence 24.15 contains three instances of *me*: the first introduces an NP *ni* NP constituent, the second a passive verb, and the third a plain noun:

- (24.15) . . . *era te-a gaa me loga ni waci,*
 3pl plant-TR MODIF SHOULD plantation ASSOCIATED taro leaves
a drau-na me dau-lau-'ana ti'o me
 ART leaf-3sg SHOULD HABITUAL-PASS-eat ASP SHOULD
waci
 taro leaves
 ". . . they plant just (the suckers of the taro plant), for (i.e. to make)
 a waci plantation, their leaves are to be eaten, are to be waci"

(*Waci* is properly the term for cooked taro leaves, and is so used at the end of this sentence. But it is often also used for the leaves when growing on the plant, as in *loga ni waci* here.)

Occasionally, the constituent preceding *me* can be an NP, rather than a full clause, e.g.

- (24.16) *a o-na i- na'i me la'o mai* "his intention to come here"

It is instructive to compare this with an NP *ni* NP construction, where the second NP is a clausal NP:

- (24.17) *a+i- na'i ni o-na la'o mai* "the intention of his coming here"

I was told that there is a clear difference in meaning between these NP *me* Predicate and NP *ni* NP constructions. Example 24.16 implies that he wants to come—it is *his* intention—whereas 24.17 implies that it is someone else's intention, and he has to do as he is told. This is brought out by the placement of *o-na* "his", which occurs just once in each instance—with *i- na'i* "intention" in the *me* construction, but with *la'o mai* "come" in the NP *ni* NP one.

24.2 Syntactic status of *me*

An important clue to the status of *me* comes from the observation that it can co-occur with other relators.

Ni, *se*, and *dee* form a closed system, from which only one term can be chosen for a given clause. *Me* is not a member of the system. *Se* and *me* can co-occur, always in this order. This is possible for the "or" sense of *se*, when it can link two complement clauses to a single main clause predicate:

- (24.18) *au vina'a-ta me+u voli-a e dua a motokaa se*
 1sg want-TR SHOULD+1sg buy-TR 3sg one ART car OR
me+u va'a-wati-ta'ina.e dua a yalewa
 SHOULD+1sg MAKE-spouse-TR 3sg one ART girl
rairai.vina'a
 pretty
 "I want to buy a car or marry a pretty girl"

What is more significant, *me* can also co-occur with the complement clause sense of *se*, as in:

- (24.19) *era bose-a ti'o mai se me mai qito i Viti a*
 3pl confer-TR ASP HERE WHETHER SHOULD COME play in Fiji ART
mata.timi mai South Africa se sega
 team FROM Place OR NOT
 "they are conferring over whether the South African (Rugby) team
 should (be allowed to) play in Fiji or not"

Here *se* "whether" introduces an interrogative complement clause, and *me* provides the additional element "should". (Other examples of *se* immediately followed by *me* are (29) and (32) of Arms 1986.)

We noted that an NP can be fronted within a *ni*, *dee*, or *se*—but not within a *me*—complement clause. What happens in the case of a clause that involves both *se* and *me*? In such a case, the fronted NP comes after *se*, which remains at the beginning of the clause, but before *me*, which comes immediately before the predicate, e.g.

- (24.20) *au va'a-nanu-ma ti'o se o. cei me na ca'a-va a*
 1sg think-TR ASP THAT ART who SHOULD FUT do-TR ART
ca'a.ca'a yai
 work THIS
 "I'm thinking about who should do this work"

Close investigation of the data on *me* reveals that it always comes just before the predicate (it could in fact be considered as the very first element in the predicate, before a subject pronoun). Recall that an NP can function as predicate head—this is precisely the function of such NPs as *o Jone* in 24.12, *'eedrau i-wase* in 24.13, *suka* in 24.14, and *waci* in 24.15. (In §24.1 (iii) I said that the proper article is retained but the common article lost after *me*; that is precisely what happens when an NP fills the predicate head function—§8.1.2, §9.3.)

We can now turn to the relationship between *ni* and *me* complements. *Ni* must occur clause initially; *me* must come immediately before the predicate. We have seen that an NP can be fronted within a *ni* complement clause. Thus (repeating 23.19, 22) from:

- (24.21) *au nanu-ma ni na la'o mai o Rosalia* "I think that Rosalia will
 come"

the S NP, *o Rosalia*, can be fronted within its clause:

- (24.22) *au nanu-ma ni o Rosalia e na la'o mai* (same meaning as 24.21)

But from

- (24.23) *au nanu-ma me na la'o mai o Rosalia* "I think that Rosalia
 should come"

we cannot derive **au nanu-ma me o (lmo) Rosalia e na la'o mai*.

There is, however, a version of 24.23 which retains *me* and has the subject NP fronted within the complement clause:

- (24.24) *au nanu-ma ni o Rosalia me* "I think that it is Rosalia who
na la'o mai should be coming"

I was told that if several people had originally been expected, but now only Rosalia is to come, then it would be appropriate to say 24.24.

Sentence 24.24, with *ni* NP *me*, is the exact parallel of 24.20, with *se* NP *me*. The difference is that the non-fronted equivalent of 24.20 is something like 24.19, with *se me* in sequence, whereas the non-fronted equivalent of 24.24 is 24.23, which has just *me* where *ni me* might be expected. This suggests that the underlying structure of 24.23 does involve both complementiser *ni* and pre-predicate marker *me* "should", but that *ni* must be dropped from the position immediately before *me*. (In §23.2 I mentioned how the neutral complementiser *ni* may occasionally be omitted from clauses where there is no *me* present, but that *se* and *dee* cannot be. It is quite natural that only *ni* drops before *me*; if *se* were dropped from this position, the important distinction between *ni* and *se* complement types would be lost.)

The other complementiser, *dee*, cannot (according to my investigations) co-occur with *me*. This is as might be expected—the tentative sense of *dee* "might" and the jussive overtones of *me* "should" are scarcely compatible.

Returning to relator-introduced complement clauses, we can now refine the original picture of these (described in chapter 23) as being of four types. There is a basic three-term system—*ni*, *se*, and *dee*—with a further distinction between the presence and absence of *me* applying to *ni* and *se*, but not to *dee*, types. If a *se* clause is marked "plus *me*" then both relators are retained, either in sequence or separated by a fronted NP. *Ni* and *me* can co-occur only if a fronted NP intervenes between them, otherwise *ni* is dropped.

There are in all five types of complement:

- (1a) *ni*, no *me*—the plain *ni* type;
- (1b) *ni*, plus *me*—what we have been calling the *me* type;
- (2a) *se*, no *me*—the plain *se* type;
- (2b) *se*, plus *me*—an additional type, not included in §23.1;
- (3) *dee*.

Me is essentially a semantic marker of a predicate; it can occur in almost any type of clause. The coordinator *'eeva'aa~'ee* can, like the relator *se*, co-occur with *me*, as in T4.225 and (see also (30b), (31b) and (70) of Arms 1986)

- (24.25) *e dua a 'aa rere.-va'i 'eeva'aa me laba-ti*
 3sg one ART thing frighten-PASS IF SHOULD murder-PASS
e dua a tamata
 3sg one ART person
 "it is a frightening thing if a person should be murdered"

It would be semantically plausible for *me* to occur in a “when” clause. But these clauses are introduced by *ni*. If *ni* functioning as a complementiser drops before *me*, it is natural that *ni* meaning “when” should do the same. And here it is not possible to get corroboration, as we did in 24.24, that there is an underlying *ni*, since an NP cannot be fronted within a “when” clause (§23.2). One plausible treatment of 24.10 is to recognise it as containing *ni la'i la'o a cagi* “when the winds come”, and also *me*, effectively applying to the whole of the last two clauses; *ni* drops before *me*.

I have said that *me* can only occur immediately before a predicate. And I concluded, in §23.2, that *e*-plus-NUMBER at the beginning of an NP is a predicate. This is supported by sentences like 13.11 and

(24.26) *au gu-ta ti'o e/me dua a qou motokaa*
 1sg want-TR ASP 3sg/SHOULD one ART CLASSIF+1sg car
 “I want a car of my own”

The object of *gu-ta* is the NP *e dua a qou motoka* “a car of my own”, but the intensity of desire can be shown by also including *me*, with the predicate (functioning as a relative clause within the O NP) *e dua* (and, as always, unmarked subject pronoun *e* drops after *me*).

The most appropriate translation of *me* tends to vary from sentence to sentence. Overall “should” is perhaps the least uneasy choice.

Me can co-occur with any term from the tense-aspect system, and so cannot be considered a member of that system; it does, in any case, occur in another structural position.

Thus, *me* has basically two functions. It can mark a main clause and may then function like a connective “in order that it should happen”, on a par syntactically with *dee* “in case”. Or it can mark a subordinate clause, typically a clausal complement. The unmarked, *ni*, complement type often takes *me* (whereas the *se* type does so relatively rarely) and can then be translated by “for”, or “to”, or “should”, e.g. T6.48 “wait for them to land”, T6.54 “he was told to wait”, 22.20 “I ask that my story *should* come to an end”.

Sentences 24.2 and 4 *look as if* the S NP of the complement clause has been raised to be O of the main clause. But such an analysis of the two sentences may not be the most fruitful one. Examples 24.2, 4 show two main clauses linked by the relator *me*, whereas 24.1 and 3 show a complement clause marked by *me*. The meanings are similar, but essentially we have a single event being described through two different construction types. (The semantic likeness should not be taken as a demand that we establish a derivational syntactic link between 24.1/2 and 24.3/4; although some linguists would doubtless feel that their theoretical preconceptions demand such a link.)

It is sometimes hard to decide whether a *me* construction consists of two linked main clauses (with unmarked object in the first), or of a main clause that includes a complement clause. Although the polar extremes are clear

enough, the two construction types probably do merge in the middle. However, the semantic interpretation should be basically the same in terms of either syntactic analysis.

Me is a highly useful relator. One day I was chatting with Peteroo, a soldier who had served in the Fijian contingent of the UN peace-keeping force in Lebanon, about Mediterranean-style food and drink. I mentioned ouzo, and Peteroo asked, using the adjective *mateni* “drunk”:

(24.27) *me mateni?* “is it alcoholic? (lit: does it make one drunk?)”

24.3 Imperatives

The head of the predicate in an imperative must be a transitive or intransitive verb. There can be a tense-aspect element (future *na*, aspectual *sa* or *saa*, but not past *aa*) although this is most often omitted. The canonical structure for an imperative begins with the relator *me*:

1. *me*
2. subject pronoun
3. optional tense-aspect element
4. optional pre-head modifiers
5. verb as predicate head
6. optional adverb, post-head modifiers, etc.

Me combines with the initial *o* of a second person subject pronoun to yield *mo*. Thus (cf 21.33, 36):

2sg *mo* 2pa *mo (mu)dou*
 2du *mo (mu)drau* 2pl *mo (mu)nuu*

Moreover, the *mo* may optionally be omitted. Thus, an imperative with 2sg subject may be a single word—the verb, e.g. *la'o!* “go!”, *rogo-ca!* “listen to it!”.

Note that *me* only combines with the *o* of a subject pronoun in the prefatory material of a predicate. If *me* is followed by the proper article, *o*, with a name or cardinal pronoun, in the predicate head position, then there is no fusion, e.g. *me o Jone* in 24.12.

(In text 6, sentences 24, 29, and 30, Siriloo Saabai has fronted a cardinal pronoun, 2sg *o i'o*, to come after *me*, and then blended them into *mo i'o*. Other speakers of B, in helping me transcribe the text, volunteered the information that this construction was ungrammatical to them, and that Siriloo should have said *mo saa mai valu-ti o i'o* rather than **mo i'o saa mai valu-ti* in T6.30.)

An imperative may involve any type of subject—it can be first person, “let us do it”, or even third person, e.g. T4.197 *me+ra la'i la'o mai* “let them come here”.

Predicate modifiers can be included in an imperative, e.g. *mai 'ana* “come and eat” in 8.22 (and see 8.60). The polite modifier *mada* “if you please” is

very often included in a direct command to make it appear less peremptory (see T6.77, 112). I was told that *mada* should be used when asking someone to do something, or if you ask to be allowed to do something yourself—see the discussion under (2) in §8.3.8.

An additional marker of politeness is to preface an imperative with *yalo.vina'a* “please” (lit: spirit good), as in T6.119, T8a.3.

The use of *me* in imperatives agrees with its general semantic sense, “should”. If an imperative is reported, by indirect speech, then a *me* complement clause is used, e.g. T4.181 *au tu'u-na 'ina mo la'i la'o mai . . .* “I told you to come here . . .”

We mentioned in §23.4 that the negative verb *'ua~waa'ua* must be used in imperatives, and also after *me*, e.g.

- (24.28) *au saa vei-.vutuni.-ta'ina sara me+u saa waa'ua ni*
 1sg ASP repent-TR MODIF SHOULD+1sg ASP not THAT
va'a-.yaco-ra tale a : ca'a.ca'a yai i+na siga.tabu
 MAKE-happen-TR AGAIN ART REDUP-do THIS ON+ART Sunday
 “I repented (of hunting pigs on the sabbath) so that I won't ever
 again do this activity on Sunday”

Sometimes *me* plus *'ua~waa'ua* appears to combine imperative and “in order to” meanings, e.g. T8a.5.

If we state that every imperative must involve *me*, in its underlying structure, we get a straightforward prescription for the use of negative verbs:

use *'ua~waa'ua* after *me*, and *sega* elsewhere.

We would have to add that *me* can be omitted from an imperative (but not from any other type of construction).

A particular feature of Fijian is that imperatives of passives and of intransitives, including O-type verbs, are commonly used. This point will be taken up in chapter 25.

25 Syntactic Organisation

This chapter gathers together a number of residual topics concerning the organisation of sentence and discourse.

25.1 Sentence construction

In most languages verbs can be divided into transitive and intransitive classes (with little or no overlap between them); transitive verbs are usually more common than intransitives, both on dictionary and text counts.

Fijian is unusual in that most verbs exist in both transitive and intransitive form; yet intransitives are far more common. Just over 70 percent of the verbs in my textual sample were in intransitive form, and a further 5 percent were passive (i.e. derived intransitive). We find statements like T4.41 “their wedding proposal was agreed to” (rather than “they agreed to the wedding proposal”); T4.43 “the fish was given to them” (rather than “the women gave the fish to them”); T6.6 “shall it be started?” (rather than “shall I start it?”); and 13.2, 18.52, 22.1, 20, 23.10, T8a.3–4.

It is even normal to have an imperative of a passive, or of an O-type intransitive e.g. T4.27 “let our fire be lighted here!” and

- (25.1) *me qei tuva ti'o mada a dramu lala yai!*
 SHOULD THEN stacked ASP PLEASE ART drum empty THIS
 “let these empty drums be stacked here!”

This might be said by the chief, looking at a particular youth, who would thus indirectly be told that it was his job to stack the drums.

Speakers of Fijian do not like to introduce too much new information at once; they prefer to put a bit in one clause and keep another bit back for the next—or a later—clause. This is why those clauses which are transitive only quite seldom have explicit A and O NPs, both at the same time (see §21.2). One storyteller described his friend killing a pig by:

- (25.2) *saa ta-ya sara gaa [a we'a-qu]_A, ta-ya sara gaa [a*
 ASP cut-TR MODIF MODIF ART friend-1sg ART
domo-na]_O
 throat-3sg
 “my friend cut it, he cut its throat”

The first clause includes *a we'a-qu* “my friend” in A function, with a 3sg O being shown just by the final *-a* of the transitive suffix *-ya*, on *ta* “to cut”; the second clause includes explicit mention of the object *a domo-na* “its neck”. Another example is T4.63.

Similar remarks apply to the structure of NPs; speakers avoid putting too

much information into a single NP. They prefer to supply one bit of qualification first, and then repeat the head noun with a second bit. An example of this kind of repetition from the same text is:

- (25.3) *era aa dau.va'a-.saga-a ti'o e dua a pua'a ni*
 3pl PAST HABITUAL-strive-TR ASP 3sg one ART pig ASSOCIATED
coo.coo, pua'a levu
 forest pig big
 "they had continually been trying (to catch) a wild pig (lit: pig of the forest), a large pig"

Fijian often employs two main clauses where other languages would make do with one. And it often splits information between a main clause and a clausal NP, where other languages might use just a main clause. For instance, although one *can* say (cf. 19.9):

- (25.4) *au taalei.-ta'ini i'o va'a-.levu ca'e ti'o mai i+na vei-.siga*
 1sg like-TR 2sg greatly MORE ASP HERE IN+ART COLL-day
 "I like you more each day"

and this sentence is perfectly grammatical, it is more idiomatic to rephrase it along lines such as:

- (25.5) *sa+qei toro ca'e ti'o gaa [a qou taalei.-ta'ini*
 ASP+THEN MOVE MORE ASP MODIF ART CLASSIF+ 1sg like-TR
i'o] i+na vei-.siga
 2sg IN+ART COLL-day
 "(lit:) my liking for you moves higher each day"

A foreign speaker of Fijian must learn not to be frightened of using clausal NPs (22.6 is another example of a clausal NP in a position where a native speaker of English might never have thought of using one: "please count them again, because my counting may have erred" in preference to "... because I might have counted wrongly").

In some circumstances a clausal NP is the *only* way of expressing something. One day I wanted to say "I'm waiting patiently". But "be patient" is expressed in Fijian by a transitive verb *voso-ta* "endure, suffer, be patient over"; thus must be used as the main verb, with "wait" being head of a clausal NP which is in O slot to *voso-ta*:

- (25.6) *au voso-ta [a qou waa.waa]o*
 1sg patient over-TR ART CLASSIF+ 1sg REDUP-wait
 "(lit:) I am patient about my waiting"

The question of how discourse is organised is not taken up in the present book. What motivates the repetition of sentences in a text, either verbatim, or with different word order or some other slight change? What motivates word order choice? Or the fronting of an NP? These are tied up with topicalisation

and focus, but in what way? These and other related questions provide a fertile field for future study.

The reader will notice in the texts that a word may be repeated several times, to indicate that an action is repeated or continued for a period e.g. T4.84 *tagi tagi tagi ti'o* "cried and cried and cried"; T4.150 *qili-a qili-a qili-a drama.-ta'ina* "rubbed it and rubbed it and rubbed it and threw it"; also T4.123,148 and, from the same text as 25.2-3:

- (25.7) *'eirau la'o la'o la'o la'o tuu,* "we (excl) went on, went on,
sa la'i yakavi a vanua went on, went on (until)
 afternoon (lit: until the place
 became afternoon)"

Almost all such repetitions of a word in texts involve verbs. An exception is T4.5 *i+na vei-.siga vei-.siga vei-.siga* "on every day, every day, every day", where the repetition emphasises the collective meaning of *vei-*. Repetition of words is another topic that would repay more intensive textual study.

25.2 Anaphora

Fijian is rich in devices for referring back to something earlier in the discourse. Pronominal subject and object pronouns within the predicate—especially the unmarked 3sg forms—can operate in this way. Thus:

- (25.8) *au rai-ci Jone gaa, au qei pasa-'a*
 1sg see-TR Person MODIF 1sg THEN spear-TR
 "as soon as I saw John, I speared him"

Here the unmarked 3sg ending *-a* on the verb *pasa* "to spear" has anaphoric reference to *Jone* "John", in the first clause.

A third person possessive pronoun can also be used anaphorically. Once, I enquired where a newly-married relative, Qalo, was, because I wanted to see over her new house. One of Qalo's sisters called out:

- (25.9) *i vei o Qalo, e via rai-ci a o-na vale*
 AT WHERE ART Person 3sg WANT see-TR ART CLASSIF-3sg house
 "where is Qalo? He wants to see her house"

Here *o-na* "her" in the second clause refers back to *o Qalo*, in the first. (See also §10.5 and especially 10.42.)

Other anaphoric devices include the following:

- (i) Demonstratives *yai* "here", *yaa* "there (mid-distant)", and *mayaa* "there (far)", as well as corresponding forms from other dialects, which are used by speakers of B, may be used referentially or anaphorically—see §7.1.
- (ii) The deictic noun *'amu* "that sort of thing, that one" also has an anaphoric use—see §7.3.
- (iii) *'Ina*, the fusion of a preposition (*i* or *mai*) plus the 3sg pronoun, *'ea*, is used a great deal in all styles of speech. Out of a sample of 140 instances of

'*ina* in my textual sample, about one half marked a peripheral NP (or clause) being fronted within that clause (§21.4), with the other half having anaphoric reference to an NP (which can be in any syntactic function) in an earlier clause of the discourse, e.g. 24.8, where '*ina* "in one" refers to *a vanua sua.sua* "a wet place", which is O NP for the previous clause.

There are many anaphoric uses of '*ina* in the texts, e.g. T4.35 (referring to 34), 104, 217; T6.19, 20, 22, etc; T8a.5. '*Ina* can refer to a place previously mentioned, or to a time, as in

- (25.10) *Tiiseba, siga ni sucu vei 'eimami, 'eimami*
 December day ASSOCIATED birth FOR 1excpl 1excpl
dau-maarau.-ta'ina va'a-levu a 'aa.'ana 'eimami 'ani-a
 HABITUAL-happy-TR greatly ART food 1excpl eat-TR
'ina
 PREP+3sg
 "(in) December, (which is) Christmas (lit: day of (Christ's) birth)
 for us (excpl), we are usually very happy with the food, we eat
 (a lot) then"

In Fijian there is a *preference* for anaphora to act forwards between the constituents of a clause, and there is a *constraint* that it must apply forwards between clauses.

Within an NP there will be backwards cross-reference between a possessor pronoun and a possessor NP, as described in §10.2, e.g. *a o-na 'aa o Jone* "John's thing" (lit: his thing, John). This is the normal possessive construction, and is not to be counted as anaphora.

But a possessor pronoun can be anaphoric to a different NP in the clause, as in 25.9 and:

- (25.11) *sa yala-na [o Viliame]_A [a o-na ti'i*
 ASP make boundaries-TR ART Person ART CLASSIF-3sg piece
ni qele]_O
 ASSOCIATED earth
 "William is making a boundary for his piece of land"

Here *o-na* "his" in the O NP refers back to *o Viliame*, the A NP. It is revealing that the speaker who gave this sentence almost always used the OA ordering, in elicitation sessions; here he chose AO because that order carries with it forwards anaphora. (He did say that the other order, with backwards anaphora, is an acceptable alternative: *sa yala-na a o-na ti'i ni qele o Viliame*.)

In English, backwards anaphora is possible into a subordinate clause, e.g. *because he was hungry, John ate a huge meal*. In Fijian, anaphora between clauses *must* be forwards. Consider:

- (25.12) *e aa rai-ci Mika o Teevita, ni siisili*
 3sg PAST see-TR Person ART Person WHEN bathe
 "Teevita saw Mika, when (Mika) was bathing"

As will be explained in the next section, the 3sg subject of *siisili* is anaphoric on *o Mika*. Normally, a "when" clause may be fronted (§21.4), but *ni siisili* cannot be fronted in this sentence because it cannot be moved before *o Mika*, the NP that controls the anaphora.

In §22.2 we mentioned that in an "if . . . then" construction, the '*eeva'aa~'ee* "if" clause can come either first or second. However, anaphora between the two clauses must apply forwards. Consider

- (25.13) '*eeva'aa e na rai-ci Jone o Mere, e na vuli*
 IF 3sg FUT see-TR Person ART Person 3sg FUT run away
tani
 AWAY
 "if Mary sees John, she will run away"

Here the 3sg subject pronoun, *e*, of the second clause is anaphoric on *o Mere*, the subject of the first clause. The order of clauses can be reversed, but then *o Mere* must be included in the first one:

- (25.14) *e na vuli tani o Mere, 'eeva'aa* "Mary will run away if she sees
e na'rai-ci Jone John"

25.3 Pivots

In many languages there are syntactic constraints on coordination, relative clause formation, and the like. There must be an NP common to two clauses that are being joined, and it must be in certain syntactic functions in each clause—we can call these the "pivot" functions (cf. Dixon 1979: 120–30). A repeated occurrence of an NP may be reduced or deleted if the pivot constraints are met. In English, for instance, there is an S/A pivot—if two clauses have a common NP, and it is in A or S function in each, then they can be coordinated, and the second occurrence of the common NP deleted. Thus: *John came in and (John → Ø) saw Mary*. But if the common NP is in O function in one clause, the pivot constraint is not met, and no deletion is possible—we cannot say **John came in and Mary saw*. It is possible here to passivise *Mary saw John*, putting *John* into derived S function, which satisfies the pivot constraint and allows deletion—*John came in and was seen by Mary*. Other languages have pivots of a different type—Dyirbal has an S/O pivot, for instance (Dixon 1979: 127–9).

Fijian has no syntactic constraints on combining clauses together into complex sentences. If there is a common NP it can be in any function in each clause. Correlating with this is the fact that each predicate will include information about the person and number of subject and—if it is transitive—of object. I have noted only three specific verbs that do permit some coterminous deletion—*rau-ta* "suffice for", discussed at the end of §23.2; *rawa-ta* "get, obtain" and *bese.-ta'ina* "refuse, don't want" in §23.4 (iii),(iv). These are very definite exceptions; even *tovole-a* "try" must include the subject in a complement clause although it is the same as the subject of "try", as in

23.28,47. And in 25.6 “I am patient about my waiting”, the subject “I” must be stated twice, in the main clause and in the clausal NP.

There is, however, a trace of syntactic pivots in Fijian. This only becomes evident on studying sentences with 3sg subject and object, and anaphoric reference from one clause to a preceding one. The principles appear to be as follows:

(a) Where there is a main clause and a following *ni* “when/because” clause, the unmarked expectation is that the OBJECT (O) of the main clause should be coreferential with the SUBJECT (A or S) of the *ni* clause, e.g. 8.85, 25.12, and

(25.15) *e aa rai-ci Mere o Jone, ni dredre*

3sg PAST see-TR Person ART Person WHEN laugh
“John saw Mary, when she was laughing”

(25.16) *e aa rai-ci Mere o Jone, ni sabi-ci 'ea*

3sg PAST see-TR Person ART Person WHEN slap-TR 3sg
“John saw Mary, when she slapped him (i.e. John saw Mary give him a slap)”

(25.17) *e aa sabi-ci Teresia o Mere, ni dredre*

3sg PAST slap-TR Person ART Person WHEN laugh
“Mary hit Teresia, when she (Teresia) laughed”

(25.18) *e aa sabi-ci Teresia o Mere ni pu'u.pu'u*

3sg PAST hit Person ART Person WHEN REDUP-angry
“Mary hit Teresia when she (Teresia) was angry”

The expected interpretation of 25.18, on extra-linguistic grounds, would surely be: “Mary hit Teresia, when *Mary* (not Teresia) was angry”. However, the “main clause object = *ni* clause subject” principle yields the meaning “. . . when *Teresia* was angry” for 25.18 (as it yielded “. . . when Teresia laughed” in 25.17).

(b) Where there are two clauses linked by *'eeva'aa~'ee* “if”, *'a* “and” or *qei* “and then”, the unmarked expectation is that the SUBJECTS of the two clauses should be coreferential, e.g. 25.13–14, and

(25.19) *e aa rai-ci Mere o Jone qei dredre* “John saw Mary, and he
laughed”

(25.20) *e aa rai-ci Mere o Jone qei sabi-ci 'ea* “John saw Mary, and he
slapped her”

These principles can be—and are—overridden by explicit subject specification e.g. *au aa rai-ci Mere ni +u dredre* “I saw Mary when I was laughing”, where the 1sg *-u* in the *ni* clause shows that the subject is “I” (and thus cannot be “Mary”), or *au aa sabi-ci Mere, qei dredre* “I slapped Mary, and she laughed”, where the 3sg subject of *dredre* shows that it must be coreferential with the O of *sabi-ci*, not with the A, which is 1sg. See also 23.10.

Or they can be overridden by semantic expectations—what is *likely* to fol-

low from a certain action may take precedence, in the interpretation of a sentence, over the syntactic principles enunciated above (e.g. in 23.10 “things” cannot think, and so the O NP of *pu'u.-ca'ina* “be angry about” could scarcely be the subject of *nanu-ma* “think about”).

Principles (a) and (b) could not be inferred from my sample of texts; there just weren't such clause sequences as 25.15, 19 (with A and O fully specified in the first clause). But speakers are quite consistent in maintaining that *o Mere* is the subject of the “when” clauses in 25.15–6, that *o Teresia* is the subject of the “when” clauses in 25.17–8, and that *o Jone* is the subject of the *qei* clause in 25.19–20.

It seems that Fijian does have syntactic principles concerning pivots and co-referential deletion, which are brought into play when all other factors are set on “neutral”.

Finally, we can look once more at co-referential possibilities within complement clause constructions. As mentioned in §23.2, a complement clause may have an argument in common with the main clause (although it *need not* have), which can be in any function in either clause. A third person pronominal subject in a complement clause is sometimes taken to be co-referential with the subject of the main clause, and sometimes with main clause object. Its interpretation will be motivated by the meaning of the verb and the semantics of that variety of complement clause. Consider:

(25.21) *e tu'u-na vei Mere o Jone me na la'o*

3sg tell-TR TO Person ART Person SHOULD FUT go
“John told Mary that (she) should go”

With the verb *tu'u-na* “tell” and the complementiser *me* “should”, the subject of *la'o* “go” in the complement clause is taken to be identical with indirect object of *tu'u-na*, and not the subject of this main verb. However, when the unmarked *ni* construction is used:

(25.22) *e tu'u-na vei Mere o Jone ni na la'o*

3sg tell-TR TO Person ART Person THAT FUT go
“John told Mary that he would go/that she should go”

either interpretation is possible—the subject of *la'o* could be (and is perhaps most likely to be) understood as co-referential with the subject of *tu'u-na*; but it could alternatively be understood as identical with the indirect object of *tu'u-na*.

There appear to be no overriding syntactic rules for co-referentiality in complement constructions for Fijian; each instance is worked out from the semantics of the verb (and nouns) and of the complementiser used.

Appendix: Previous Work on Fijian

Only the major contributions to Fijian grammar are mentioned here.

Horatio Hale, philologist with the United States Exploring Expedition, under the command of Charles Wilkes (1838–42), spent three months in Fiji doing original fieldwork and consulting the grammars, Bible translations, and vocabularies of missionaries Cargill and Hunt. His published grammar and dictionary (1846) contain a great deal of useful information about a variety of dialects, including those of Taveuni.

David Hazlewood published the first full-scale grammar and dictionary (1850). This was of the Bau dialect, which Hazlewood and other missionaries had chosen as the standard medium for Bible translation, but referred to just as “Fijian”, with little acknowledgment that there is considerable dialect variation. Hazlewood’s work is of high quality, considering the context in which it was produced. He had a fair understanding of the difficult topic of verb morphology, and also recognised the status of diphthongs.

C. M. Churchward (1941) extended Hazlewood’s foundational work. He had a sound scholarly background, but did not try to force the facts of Fijian into an Indo-European framework. This is, in my opinion, the best reference grammar of the Bau dialect yet produced, containing a wealth of useful criteria, explanation, and analysis.

A. Capell (1941) was asked by the Fijian government to prepare for publication a dictionary based on the typescript of Father Neyret and on Rev. Heighway and Chambers’s revision of Hazlewood. Although a far from perfect work, it is an invaluable compilation; the great majority of the information it contains is correct. Difficulties include the following: (i) vowel length is not always shown, and is sometimes wrongly marked—it seems more often to be correct in the first half of the volume than in the second; (ii) an intransitive form is stated for every single verb, whereas some verbs do not occur in such a form, e.g. *nanu-ma* “think”, *tu'u-na* “tell” (see §18.1); (iii) some glosses are inaccurate; (iv) some dialect forms are included as if they were Bauan. The English-Fijian section of Capell’s compilation is best treated as a separate dictionary; some items in it do not occur in the Fijian-English section, and vice versa.

G. B. Milner (1956, 1972) wrote a pedagogic grammar which is most useful for the intelligent student; clear explanation is assisted by a wealth of idiomatic exemplification. Milner was the first to recognise a class of predi-

cate modifiers (which he called particles). Unfortunately, he did not distinguish between “function” and “class”, and as a result implied that there is no division between noun and verb; and he neglected Hazlewood’s important insight about diphthongs (which had been preserved by Churchward). The review of Milner by Biggs and Nayacakalou (1958) contains a number of very important ideas.

D. G. Arms (1974) wrote a PhD thesis on Fijian; this has not been published but can be purchased at reasonable cost from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, USA, quoting number 75-622. The first two chapters provide a series of brilliant insights into Fijian syntax—on the criteria for recognising word classes, on passives, on the article, and on verbal derivations, among other topics. The latter part of the thesis—a shortened version of which was published as Arms 1973—is a thoughtful investigation of the transitive suffixes and spontaneous prefixes, and whether they were originally determined semantically.

Andrew Pawley has worked on Standard Fijian, and on the varieties spoken on Kadavu, south of Viti Levu (see Pawley 1980), and in the Yasawas, west of Viti Levu (unpublished). Pawley’s exciting ideas about the reanalysis of transitive endings, pronominal marking, and other topics, have been illuminated by comparison between Fijian and genetically-related languages within the Austronesian family; they have been disseminated mostly through seminars and unpublished papers (e.g. Pawley 1986, first circulated in 1975).

Paul Geraghty’s (1983) revision of his PhD thesis provides a sound and erudite account of the development of dialectal differences in Fijian. He has also produced a masterly analysis of the grammars of prepositions (1976), and an inspired historical explanation for irregularity in modern pronominal systems (1977).

Albert J. Schütz provided a useful historical overview of work on Fijian (1972)—although many scholars do not fully share his low opinion of Capell’s dictionary or especially of Churchward’s grammar—and, with Rusiate T. Komaitai, an invaluable intensive introductory course (1971). His long grammar (1986) contains a wealth of exemplification, from a variety of sources (but no texts or vocabulary); it has a very comprehensive bibliography. Schütz’s grammatical analysis is original to that extent that, for him, Fijian has no unit word, no adjectives, no subject/predicate division, no prepositions, and no passive (this last following on from a paper by Schütz and Nawadra 1972, in which criteria for “what a passive is” were not stated).

Note: the Government Bookshop, Ganilau House, Suva, Fiji, has for sale copies of Capell (three dollars Fijian), Milner (two dollars Fijian) and Churchward (fifty cents Fijian), postage extra.

Texts

The three texts that follow have been selected to illustrate the analytical points made in this grammar—a traditional tale, a historical narrative, and an early-morning announcement by the “village crier”. All three speakers were monolingual—they could not understand or speak English. The introductory request for text 4, and the final thank-yous on 4 and 6, were by Josefa (Sepo) Cookanacagi, who introduced me to these two storytellers; he is also quite fluent in English.

Notes will be found at the end of each text.

Text 4

“The story of the political relationship between Boumaa and Waini’eli”, told by Falaavia Matavesi at ‘Orovou (the capital village of Boumaa) on 13 January 1985; it lasts 16 minutes 40 seconds. (Falaavia Matavesi died in February 1986; her age was estimated at about 56.)

- (1) [Sepo:] *Saa vina'a, Yadi Vesi, e 'ere.'ere ti'o o Roopate*
 ASP good Title Person 3sg REDUP-beg ASP ART Person
vata 'ei Aneta, mo talanoa.-ta'ina mada
 TOGETHER WITH Person SHOULD+2sg tell-TR PLEASE
a+i- tu'u.tu'u ni oo-drau vei-.we'a-ni o Waini'eli
 ART+story ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-3du relationship ART Place
vata 'ei Boumaa, na 'e-na tu'u-ni o 'ea, e
 TOGETHER WITH Place ART CLASSIF-3sg tell-PASS ART 3sg 3sg
dau-.tu'u-ni tuu vei-mai vei ira a we-ta qase; saa
 HABIT-tell-PASS ASP by by 3pl ART CLASSIF-linc.pl ancestors ASP
vina'a va'a-.levu, Yadi Vesi
 good greatly Title Person
 Thank you, Yadi (title of respect for a woman) Vesi (shortened version of the name Matavesi), Roopate and Aneta ask that you should please tell the story of the relationship between Waini’eli and Boumaa, as it used to be told by our ancestors. Thank you very much, Yadi Vesi.
- (2) [Falaavia Matavesi:] *Yaa! e dua a tui i+na vanua qoo*
 INTERJECTION 3sg one ART king IN+ART place THIS
o Boumaa, o Vuu.ni.saa
 ART Place ART Title
 Well! There was once a king in this land of Boumaa, the Vuu.ni.saa (the title of the King of Boumaa).
- (3) *Ia, qei sucu a luve-na e tagane*
 WELL THEN born ART child-3sg 3sg male
 Well, then his child was born, which was a boy.
- (4) *E la'i va'a-.i-ti'o.ti'o i+na bati ni yala mai*
 3sg GO MAKE-residence AT+ART bank ASSOCIATED rivermouth AT
Muanacivicivi, vata 'ei ira kece a cauravou ni
 Place TOGETHER WITH 3pl ALL ART youth ASSOCIATED

Boumaa, me te'evuu.mai Lavena, me yaco i Waitabu
Place SHOULD begin AT Place SHOULD reach AT Place

He (the Vuu.ni.saa's son, when grown into a youth) went and made his abode on the bank of the rivermouth at Muanaicivivi, together with all the youths of Boumaa, beginning from (the village of) Lavena, and extending up to Waitabu (i.e. the youths from all the Boumaa villages lived with the King's son at Muanaicivivi).

- (5) *Ra la'i va'a-.i-ti'o.ti'o i+na bati ni wai; saa+qei*
3pl GO MAKE-residence AT+ART bank ASSOCIATED water ASP+THEN
o-dra ca'a.ca'a ti'o i+na vei-.siga a vucu, me+ra
CLASSIF-3pl REDUP-do ASP IN+ART COLL-day ART song SHOULD+3pl
vuli.me'e to'a me+ra laga.me'e to'a i+na vei-.siga
learn.song ASP SHOULD+3pl sing.song ASP IN+ART COLL-day
vei.siga vei.siga
COLL-day COLL-day

They went and made a camp on the river bank, and then (singing) songs was their occupation during each day, then they learned songs, and sang songs every day, on and on.

- (6) *Oti yaa, e dua a siga'saa tu'u-na sara o Raavouvou*
finish THAT 3sg one ART day ASP tell-TR MODIF ART Title
ni Boumaa
ASSOCIATED Place
After this, one day the Raavouvou of Boumaa (the title always accorded to the eldest son of the Vuu.ni.saa of Boumaa) said to (his Tabu, or chief attendant):

- (7) *"Tabu, taru saa la'o mada i coco'a." "Nuu ti'o 'eneii.-qee*
Title linc.du ASP go PLEASE TO spear fish 2pl stay DO LIKE-THIS
a cauravou, 'eirau saa la'o mada i coco'a o. 'eirau."
ART youth lexc.du ASP go PLEASE TO spear fish ART lexc.du
"Tabu, let us two go, if you please, to spear fish." (Then he addressed the other youths in the camp:) "You youths stay like this as you are. The two of us will go out, if you please, to spear fish."

- (8) *Oti yaa, rau mai tara.oo-drau.moto rau mai gole sobu*
finish THAT 3du COME take hold.CLASSIF-3du.spear 3du COME face DOWN
yane
THERE

After (saying) that, the two of them took hold of their spears, and headed up the coast (moving counter-clockwise around the island).

- (9) *Rau te'evuu i Naiyawa rau la'o sobu yaco i Si'eci, saa dua*
3du begin AT Place 3du go DOWN reach AT Place ASP one
a+i vua a 'ee-drau i'a
ART+yoke ART CLASSIF-3du fish
The two of them started at Naiyawa and they went along until they reached Si'eci, (they had) one yoke of fish (a yoke going across the shoulders, with a bunch of fish hanging down from each end of it).

- (10) *Oti gaa yaa, rau saa lesu mai*
finish MODIF THAT 3du ASP return HERE
After that, the two of them returned home.

- (11) *Rau yaco gaa mai i+na o-dra i-ti'o.ti'o i+na bati*
3du reach MODIF HERE AT+ART CLASSIF-3pl residence AT+ART bank
ni yala mai Muanaicivivi, saa saqa.'e-dra.i'a
ASSOCIATED rivermouth AT Place ASP boil.CLASSIF-3pl.fish
o ra cauravou, saa 'ana
ART 3pl youth ASP eat

The two of them reached their (plural) camp on the bank of the rivermouth at Muanaicivivi; the youths cooked their fish, and they ate.

- (12) *'Ana oti yaa, ra saa mai dabe.dabe to'a ra saa moce*
eat FINISH THAT 3pl ASP COME REDUP-sit ASP 3pl ASP sleep
When the meal was over they sat around for a while and then they slept.
(13) *Mataka lailai la'i oti a unu.tii, rau sa baci tu'u-na o rau,*
morning early GO finish ART drink.tea 3du ASP AGAIN tell-TR ART 3du
me rau sa baci la'i coco'a
SHOULD 3du ASP AGAIN GO spear fish

Early (next) morning, when breakfast (lit: drinking tea) was finished, the two of them again said that they two would go and spear fish.

- (14) *Rau la'o o rau la'i te'evuu i Waitabu, a vanua rau aa yala*
3du go ART 3du GO start AT Place ART place 3du PAST reach
'ina
PREP+3sg

The two of them went, they went and started (fishing) at Waitabu, the place they had finished at (the previous day).

- (15) *Rau la'o sobu, yaco i Vurevure, e dua a+i vua a 'ee-drau*
3du go DOWN reach AT Place 3sg one ART+yoke ART CLASSIF-3du
i'a, rau lesu mai
fish 3du return HERE

The two of them went counter-clockwise (around the island) (until they) reached Vurevure, (by which time they had) a yoke of fish, and then they returned home.

- (16) *Lesu mai, mai saqa.'e-dra.i'a, ra 'ana; 'ana oti yaa,*
return HERE COME cook.CLASSIF-3pl.fish 3pl eat eat FINISH THAT
ra talanoa va'a-.lailai era saa moce
3pl chat for a little 3pl ASP sleep

They returned home, cooked their fish, and they ate; after the meal was over, they chatted for a while and then they slept.

- (17) *A+i-'a-tolu ni siga, rau la'i te'evuu i Vurevure, rau yaco i*
ART+third ASSOCIATED day 3du GO start AT Place 3du reach AT
Naveitala, e dua a+i vua a 'ee-drau i'a; rau viro mai
Place 3sg one ART+yoke ART CLASSIF-3du fish 3du return HERE
The third day, they went and started at Vurevure (and went on until they) reached Naveitala (by which time they had) one yoke of fish; and then they returned home.

- (18) *Ia, rau mai 'ana; ra 'ana oti, ra talanoa va'a-.lailai, ra saa*
WELL 3du COME eat 3pl eat FINISH 3pl chat for a little 3pl ASP
moce
SLEEP.

Well, they two then ate; (when) they had all finished eating, they chatted for a while and then they slept.

- (19) *A+i- 'a-vaa ni siga, la'i te'evuu i Naveitala, rau yaco sara*
ART+fourth ASSOCIATED day GO start AT Place 3du reach MODIF
i Qeleni
AT Place
The fourth day, they started at Naveitala and they reached Qeleni.
- (20) *Rau yaco i Qeleni, e dua a+i- vua a 'ee-drau i'a, rau*
3du reach AT Place 3sg one ART+yoke ART.CLASSIF-3du fish 3du
viro mai
return HERE
(When) they reached Qeleni, (they had) a yoke of fish, and then they returned home.
- (21) *Qei—a+i- 'a-lima ni siga, saa la'i te'evuu i Qeleni, erau*
THEN ART+fifth ASSOCIATED day ASP go start AT Place 3du
saa yaco sara yane i Nagasau
ASP reach MODIF THERE AT Place
Then (on) the fifth day, they started at Qeleni and went as far as Nagasau.
- (22) *Rau ti'o yane i Nagasau, rai gaa yane 'eneii- qee o Tabu,*
3du stay THERE AT Place look MODIF THERE DO LIKE-THIS ART Title
rai sara i waitui mai Nagasau
look MODIF TO sea AT Place
The two of them stopped at Nagasau, and the Tabu (chief attendant), looked out there like this, he looked right out towards the sea at Nagasau.
- (23) *Saa sobu mai ucu-na mai Naisogo, e dua a*
ASP go into water FROM promontory-3sg AT Place 3sg one ART
mata.qoli levu o ira a marama, o ra a marama
group.fish big ART 3pl ART woman ART 3pl ART woman
ni Waini'eli
ASSOCIATED Place
A large group of fisherpeople were going into the water from the promontory at Naisogo, they were women, women of Waini'eli.
- (24) *Aa 'eneii sara 'eneii- qee o Tabu:*
PAST DO LIKE MODIF DO LIKE-THIS ART Title
The Tabu (spoke) like this:
- (25) *"Ae, iiii, Raavouvou, e daa mata.qoli levu saa sobu*
Hey oohh Title 3sg one+ART group.fish big ASP go into water
tuu i waitui i yai"
ASP IN sea AT HERE
"Hey, ooh, Raavouvou, there's a group of fisher(women) going down into the sea here."
- (26) *E tu'u-na sara o Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa:*
3sg tell-TR MODIF ART Title
The Raavouvou of Boumaa told him:
- (27) *"Qawa i yai a oo-taru bu'a!"*
light AT HERE ART CLASSIF-linc.du fire
"Light our fire here! (lit: let our fire be lighted here!)."
- (28) *Rau saa mai to'a yane i vanua mai Nagasau, rau va'a- qawa.bu'a*
3du ASP COME squat THERE AT land AT Place 3du MAKE-light.fire
The two of them sat on the land at Nagasau, and they lit a fire.

- (29) *Rai mai 'eneii- qee o ra a marama mai waitui, ra rai-ca*
look HERE DO LIKE-THIS ART 3pl ART woman AT sea 3pl see-TR
sara a 'ubou ni bu'a e taqa to'a mai Nagasau,
MODIF ART smoke ASSOCIATED fire 3sg lay over ASP AT Place
me ua.bale sara noo i Qamea
SHOULD go straight MODIF ASP TO Place
The women in the sea looked here (i.e. towards the shore), they saw the smoke from a fire, which lay over Nagasau and was drifting right across to (the island of) Qamea.
- (30) *Tu'u-na sara mai e daa marama:*
tell-TR MODIF HERE 3sg one+ART woman
One of the women said:
- (31) *"Uu, e dua bu'a levu saa qawa i vanua."*
Oh 3sg one fire big ASP burn ON land
"Oh (an expression of surprise)! There's a big fire blazing up on the land."
- (32) *E tu'u-na sara o Raaluve ni Waini'eli ra la'o vata*
3sg tell-TR MODIF ART Title ASSOCIATED Place 3pl go TOGETHER
ti'o mai:
ASP HERE
The Raaluve of Waini'eli (the title of the eldest daughter of the King of Waini'eli) told (them) that they would go together (to the fire):
- (33) *"Da cabe yane."*
linc.pl go up THERE
"We'll go ashore there."
- (34) *Ra cabe mai ra cabe sara mai i+na vanua qawa tuu*
3pl go up HERE 3pl go up MODIF HERE TO+ART place burn ASP
'ina a bu'a
PREP+3sg ART fire
They came ashore, they came right up to where the fire was burning.
- (35) *Ra la'o mai; rau ece to'a'ina o rau a cauravou, o*
3pl go HERE 3du sit ASP PREP+3sg ART 3du ART youth ART
Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa 'ei+na o-na Tabu
Title WITH+ART CLASSIF-3sg Title
They came; two youths were sitting there, the Raavouvou of Boumaa and his Tabu.
- (36) *La'o gaa mai saa yadi.-va'i sara a i'a, 'amu le-levu*
go MODIF HERE ASP choose-PASS MODIF ART fish THAT ONE REDUP-big
saa maaroro-i, 'e-na voo biu va'a- dua i
ASP look after-PASS CLASSIF-3sg remain place in one IN
mataadravu, saa tavu
hearth ASP roast
As soon as (they) arrived, some fish were chosen, the biggest ones, and put away carefully, then those that remained were all put together on the open fire, and cooked. (Note: the two youths had not yet begun fishing on this day; the women had completed their catch. Custom requires that the women present the best of their catch to a Raavouvou (Prince) if they should happen to meet him, for him to take home.)

- (37) *O-na buta gaa 'eneii, era saa 'ana*
CLASSIF-3sg cooked MODIF DO LIKE 3pl ASP eat
Once they were cooked, they (the two youths and the group of women) ate.
- (38) *Ia, o Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa 'ei Raaluve.ni.Waini'eli rau saa la'i*
WELL ART Title WITH Title 3du ASP GO
dabe vata sara to'a
sit TOGETHER MODIF ASP
Well, the Raavouvou of Boumaa and the Raaluve of Waini'eli sat together.
- (39) *O ra saa 'ana to'a, o rau saa mani vei-.talanoa to'a*
ART 3pl ASP eat ASP ART 3pl ASP CONTRASTIVE COLL-chat ASP
o rau
ART 3du
While they were eating, the two of them happened to chat.
- (40) *Tala.talanoa to'a sa-o Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa saa taro-gi*
REDUP-chat ASP ASP ART Title ASP ask-TR
Raaluve.ni.Waini'eli—Raaluve.ni.Waini'eli me saa wati-ña
Title Title SHOULD ASP spouse-3sg
They chatted away—and then the Raavouvou of Boumaa asked the Raaluve of Waini'eli to be his wife.
- (41) *Saa donu tuu a oo-drau vei-.vosa-'i*
ASP agreed ASP ART CLASSIF-3du COLL-propose-PASS
The proposal was agreed to.
- (42) *Ia, o-dra 'ana oti gaa, saa tu'u-na o rau*
THEN CLASSIF-3pl eat FINISHED MODIF ASP tell-TR ART 3du
me+rau saa la'o ca'e mai
SHOULD+3du ASP go UP HERE
Then, after their (plural) meal was over, the two of them (the Raavouvou of Boumaa and his Tabu) said that they were coming up here (back to Boumaa).
- (43) *Saa soli sara vei rau a 'ee-drau i'a, 'amu sa la'i*
ASP give MODIF TO 3du ART CLASSIF-3du fish THAT KIND ASP GO
yadi.-va'i maa
choose-PASS THAT
Their fish, which had been selected for them, was given to the two of them.
- (44) *Saa 'au-ta mai o rau; o ra viro wale mai i+na 'oro*
ASP carry-TR HERE ART 3du ART 3pl return MODIF HERE TO+ART village
o ra a marama, e sega ni daa 'aa era 'au-ta
ART 3pl ART woman 3sg not THAT one+ART thing 3pl carry-TR
The two of them (the youths) carried it home (the fish they had been given); and they (plural) the women had to return home to (their) village (empty-handed); they carried nothing home (lit: there was not a thing that they carried). (That is, the women had given the best of their catch to the Raavouvou of Boumaa and his Tabu, and the combined group had eaten the remainder.)
- (45) *Saa tu'u-na ti'o o Raaluve.ni.Waini'eli vei Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa*
ASP tell-TR ASP ART Title TO Title
me 'ua ni va'a.bera.bera.-ta'i i yaa, a oo-drau
SHOULD NOT THAT MAKE-SLOW-PASS AT THAT ART CLASSIF-3du

- va'a-.wati ee?*
MAKE-spouse TAG
The Raaluve of Waini'eli told the Raavouvou of Boumaa that it should not be delayed there, their marriage, eh? (That is, he should inform his father, then the marriage could take place soon.)
- (46) *"Au saa tu'u-na sara, au na la'o qoo, au saa la'i tu'u-na vei*
Isg ASP tell-TR MODIF Isg FUT go HERE Isg ASP GO tell-TR TO
Raatuu, 'eimami sa+na la'o mai ni maacawa la'o mai
Title 1exc.pl ASP+FUT go HERE IN week go HERE
"I'll tell him at once, I'll go now, I'll go and tell the news to Raatuu (term of respect for a man of chiefly rank, here referring to the Vuu.ni.saa, the speaker's father), that we will all be coming next week (i.e. to present whale's teeth to seal the wedding agreement)," (the Raavouvou of Boumaa assured her).
- (47) *La'o o ira a marama; la'o mai o rau*
go ART 3pl ART woman go HERE ART 3du
They (plural) the women went (home to Waini'eli); they two (the youths) came here (home to Boumaa).
- (48) *La'o mai o rau, la'o sara : mai i Muanacivicivi i bati*
go HERE ART 3du go MODIF HERE TO Place AT bank
ni yala, saqa.'e-dra.i'a, ra 'ana
ASSOCIATED rivermouth cook.CLASSIF-3pl.fish 3pl eat
The two of them came here, came right up to Muanacivicivi, on the bank of the river mouth, cooked their (plural) fish, and they (plural) ate.
- (49) *O-dra 'ana maa, rau moce, mataka ca'e saa sega a la'i*
CLASSIF-3pl eat THAT 3du sleep morning high ASP not ART GO
coco'a
spear fish
(After) they had all eaten, the two of them slept, and the next morning they didn't go out spearing fish (lit: there wasn't any going spearing fish).
- (50) *Sega a la'i coco'a, rau saa mai wele sara to'a yane*
not ART GO spear fish 3du ASP COME do nothing MODIF ASP THERE
o Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa, sega mada ni la'o mai+na 'oro
ART Title not PLEASE THAT go FROM+ART village
There wasn't any going out spearing fish, the two of them just hung around doing nothing there (in their camp), the Raavouvou of Boumaa (and his Tabu); they didn't even go out of their camp.
- (51) *Oti yaa a siga mayaa, oti yaa a maacawa mayaa, la'i oti*
finish THAT ART day THAT finish THAT ART week THAT GO finish
tale e rua a maacawa, sa sega ti'o gaa
ANOTHER 3sg two ART week ASP not ASP MODIF
After that day, after that week, during another two weeks, nothing happened (i.e. the Raavouvou did not go and tell his father that he wanted to marry the Raaluve of Waini'eli).
- (52) *Era saa vei-.vosa-'i o ira mai Narova*
3pl ASP COLL-talk-POSS ART 3pl AT Place
They (the people of Narova) had a discussion at Narova.
- (53) [Aside to Sepo:] *O i'o 'ila-i Narova*
ART 2sg know-TR Place

Do you know Narova? (This is a place where there used to be a village, but it is not inhabited today.)

- (54) *Narova i Nagasau i dela-na i ca'e e ti'o 'ina a 'oro*
 Place AT Place AT top-3sg AT high 3sg exist PREP+3sg ART village
 Narova is' (near) Nagasau, the village (of Narova) was on the top (of a hill)
 , above it (Nagasau).

- (55) *Saa vei-.vosa-'i o ira mai Narova me saa la'o-vi o*
 ASP COLL-talk-PASS ART 3pl AT Place SHOULD ASP go-PASS ART
Raaluve.ni.Waini'eli me wati-i Raavouvou.ni.Narova
 Title SHOULD spouse-POSS Title
 They had a discussion at Narova, that the Raaluve of Waini'eli should be
 asked (for her hand in marriage), that she should become the wife of the
 Raavouvou of Narova (eldest son of the King of Narova).

- (56) *Era saa mai la'o yane, vei-.vosa-'i gaa, ra saa la'i na*
 3pl 'ASP COME go THERE COLL-talk-PASS MODIF 3pl ASP go+TO ART
'oro, me+ra la'o-vi Raaluve.ni.Waini'eli; saa mani
 village SHOULD+3pl go+TR Title ASP THEN
va'a-.doonu-i
 accept-PASS

They came there, and conferred, they went to the village to ask for the hand
 the Raaluve of Waini'eli; and (this proposal) was then accepted.

- (57) *Saa sega tuu a 'amu i yai, saa sega ni macala tuu*
 ASP not ASP ART THAT ONE AT HERE ASP not THAT clear ASP
 That thing had not taken place (i.e. the Raavouvou of Boumaa had not told
 his father of the marriage plans), and it wasn't clear (whether or not he
 wanted to marry the Raaluve of Waini'eli—thus, in the absence of any
 official word from Boumaa, she accepted the proposal from Narova).

- (58) *Va'a-doonu-i saa lo'u-ci sara a gauna ni va'a-.mau*
 accept-PASS ASP fix a time-PASS MODIF ART time ASSOCIATED wedding
 (The proposal) having been accepted, a time for the wedding was set.

- (59) *Saa tu'u-ni ca'e mai*
 ASP tell-PASS UP HERE

(A message about the wedding) was sent up here (to Boumaa).

- (60) *Oti yaa, ra saa la'o i vala.va'a-.mau, i Narova; qei*
 finish THAT 3pl ASP go TO marriage ceremony AT Place THEN
va'a-.bogi-na ti'o a va'a-.wati mayaa
 MAKE-night-TR ASP ART marriage THAT

After that, they (people from neighbouring Vanuas) went to the marriage
 ceremony, at Narova; then the counting of nights of the marriage (was
 begun). (Note: a newly-married couple would be left alone for four days
 and nights to enable the marriage to be consummated; after the fourth
 night their sleeping place would be inspected for evidence that the bride
 had been a virgin.)

- (61) *Ia, saa yaco oti mai i yai a 'e-na i-tu'u.tu'u saa*
 WELL ASP reach FINISH HERE AT HERE ART CLASSIF-3sg news ASP
rogo-ca o Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa
 hear-TR ART Title

Well, the news of it (the wedding) reached here, and the Raavouvou of
 Boumaa heard it (but he didn't go to the wedding).

- (62) *Ia, 'amu a siga sara gaa ni va'a-.mau mayaa,*
 WELL THAT ONE ART day MODIF MODIF ASSOCIATED marriage THAT
e ya'avi na vanua e saa la'o sobu, e va'a-.ya'avi oti
 3sg evening ART place 3sg ASP go DOWN 3sg evening meal FINISH
qee e saa la'o sobu
 THIS 3sg ASP go DOWN

Then, on that day of the marriage, in the evening (lit: the place became eve-
 ning) he went down (i.e. counter-clockwise around the island); after the
 evening meal he went down (to Narova).

- (63) *Ia, a cauravou yai, e ba-balavu a vanua qoo; yava-na e*
 WELL ART youth THIS 3sg REDUP-long ART place THIS foot-3sg 3sg
ba-balavu ee? rau-ta be'a me caga rua ee?
 REDUP-long eh measure-TR ABOUT SHOULD finger-span two eh
a 'e-na ba-balavu
 ART CLASSIF-3sg REDUP-long

Well, this youth, one place (on his body) was very long; his feet were very
 long, weren't they? they (each) measured about two finger-spans, didn't
 they? that was their length.

- (64) *Ia, o 'ea dua.dua e 'ila-i ti'o ni ba-balavu a*
 WELL ART 3sg one-REDUP 3sg know-PASS ASP BECAUSE REDUP-long ART
yava-na
 foot-3sg

Well, he was known because of the unique length of his feet.

- (65) *La'o sobu yane o 'ea, yaco yane i Nagasau, saa butoo a*
 go DOWN THERE ART 3sg reach THERE AT Place ASP dark ART
vanua
 place

He went down there and (when) he reached Nagasau it was dark (lit: the
 place was dark).

- (66) *Rogo-ca sara o 'ea ni rua---a cauravou, rau vei-.vosa-'i*
 hear-TR MODIF ART 3sg THAT two ART youth 3du COLL-talk-PASS
mai rau gole ti'o mai Waini'eli
 HERE 3du face ASP FROM Place

He heard two—youths, they were chatting as they came and had come from
 Waini'eli.

- (67) *'Ena sara 'ene-yai o rau a cauravou maa:*
 DO LIKE MODIF DO LIKE-THIS ART 3du ART youth THAT
 Those two youths (spoke) like this:

- (68) *'Ae! Saa lala dina a 'oro yai!*
 Hey ASP empty true ART village THIS
 "Hey! This village is certainly empty.

- (69) *'Au va'a-.bau-ta ni+ra saa ti'o tauco'o i le'utu.*
 1sg believe-TR THAT+3pl ASP stay ALL IN forest
 "I believe that they are all (at a village) in the forest.

- (70) *'Taru sa la'o sara gaa i le'utu.'*
 1inc.du ASP go MODIF MODIF TO forest
 "Let's go now to the forest (i.e. to Narova)."

- (71) *Rau mada gaa o rau, muri yane o Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa*
3du precede MODIF ART 3du follow THERE ART Title
The two of them went in front, and the Raavouvou of Boumaa followed.
- (72) *La'o yane o rau saa yaco ti'o a maarau mai Narova*
go THERE ART 3du ASP happen ASP ART celebrations AT Place
The two (youths) went there, and the festivities were in full swing at Narova.
- (73) *La'o sara o 'ea vo'i sara i da'u ni vale*
go MODIF ART 3sg go round MODIF AT back ASSOCIATED house
basa-a a oo-drau 'aa.tuba ti'o 'ina e daa
opposite-TR ART CLASSIF-3du window stay PREP+3sg 3sg one+ART
vuu ni leba, o Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa
trunk ASSOCIATED tree sp. ART Title
He went on and turned round the back of the house (where) a Leba tree was growing opposite their (dual) window, the Raavouvou of Boumaa (identified at the end of the sentence as subject of *la'o* "go").
- (74) *La'i 'aba sara io'a i+na vuu ni 'acu yaa*
go climb MODIF ASP AT+ART trunk ASSOCIATED tree THERE
He climbed up that tree.
- (75) *Yaco ti'o a maarau, ra maarau ti'o 'ina*
happen ASP ART celebration 3pl happy ASP PREP+3sg
The festivities were in progress, they (the people at the wedding) were happy there.
- (76) *Saa via moce o rau a va'a-.wati, rau saa la'o rau la'i 'oto*
ASP WANT sleep ART 3du ART married 3du ASP go 3du GO lie down
The married couple wanted to sleep, they went off, they went to lie down.
- (77) *Saa 'ila-a 'ina o Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa ni+rau saa*
ASP know-TR PREP+3sg ART Title THAT+3du ASP
moce, qei 'aba mai 'aa.tuba.le'a, la'o mai 'ubu
asleep THEN climb FROM window go FROM rear of house
i+na oo-drau i-'oto.'oto, la'i su'u-ma a yame-i
IN+ART CLASSIF-3du sleeping place GO grasp-TR ART tongue-POSS
tagane me druti-a laivi a yame-na
man SHOULD tear off-TR AWAY ART tongue-3sg
(When) the Raavouvou of Boumaa knew that they were both asleep, he then climbed in through the window, and went through the back part of the house to their sleeping place, then he grasped the man's tongue to pull his tongue out (and thereby kill him).
- (78) *Druti-a oti gaa, qei bili-ga tuu yane vei wati-na*
tear off-TR FINISH MODIF THEN push-TR ASP THERE TO spouse-3sg
Having torn out (his tongue) he pushed him towards his wife (saying:)
- (79) *"Qore a wati-mu o domo-na."*
THERE ART spouse-2sg 2sg love-TR
"There's the husband you love!"
- (80) *Curu mai o 'ea, la'o ca'e mai*
go through HERE ART 3sg go UP HERE
(He) came out (through the window) and came up (back to Boumaa).
- (81) *Sega sara ni dua e 'ila.'aa saa ca'a tuu maa*
not MODIF THAT one 3sg know.thing ASP do ASP THERE
Not a single (person) knew anything of what had been done there.

- (82) *Saa yadra mai ni mataka lailai o Raaluve.ni.Waini'eli; saa*
ASP wake HERE IN morning early ART Title ASP
bata.bataa a yago-i wati-na, saa bata.bataa ni tere-gi
cold ART body-POSS spouse-3sg ASP cold WHEN touch-TR
'ea
3sg
The Raaluve of Waini'eli woke early in the morning, and the body of her husband was cold, it was cold to the touch (lit: he was cold when she touched him).
- (83) *Qei rai-ca yane 'eneii.-qee saa mate tuu, saa draa wale tuu*
THEN see-TR THERE DO LIKE-THIS ASP dead ASP ASP blood MODIF ASP
gaa a oo-drau i-'oto.'oto
MODIF ART CLASSIF-3du sleeping place
She saw in this way that he was dead—their sleeping place was covered with blood.
- (84) *Saa mai ovo ti'o yane, tagi tagi tagi ti'o*
ASP COME wail ASP THERE cry cry cry ASP
Then she wailed, cried and cried and cried.
- (85) *Saa tu'u-ni sara me dua mada me la'i rai-ci rau*
ASP tell-PASS MODIF SHOULD one FIRST SHOULD GO see-TR 3du
One person (from among the relatives) was told to go first to look at the two of them (the married couple).
- (86) *Ni saa+qei va'a-.dua me ca'a.va'a-.mau me matai*
BECAUSE ASP+THEN once SHOULD do.marriage SHOULD first
gaa ni bogi saa tagi ti'o 'eneii.-maa, a wati-na
MODIF ASSOCIATED night ASP cry ASP DO LIKE-THAT ART spouse-3sg
Because it was the only time at a wedding that the wife had cried like that on the first night.
- (87) *E 'uca, o rau vei-.vala*
3sg DO WHAT ART 3du COLL-fight
What was the matter, were the two of them fighting?
- (88) *Saa la'o yane e dua me la'i 'aci-vi Raaluve.ni.Waini'eli*
ASP go THERE 3sg one SHOULD GO call-TR Title
One (person) went to call the Raaluve of Waini'eli.
- (89) *Saa rogo sara gaa mai 'ina ni saa mate o wati-na*
ASP heard MODIF MODIF HERE PREP+3sg THAT ASP dead ART spouse-3sg
It was then at once heard that her husband was dead.
- (90) *La'o sara i taro-gi qei tu'u-na o 'ea ni tere-gi 'ea o*
go MODIF TO ask-PASS THEN tell-TR ART 3sg THAT touch-TR 3sg ART
wati-na saa bata.bataa a yago-na, qei pula mai a
spouse-3sg ASP cold ART body-3sg THEN open wide HERE ART
mata-na me rai-ca saa draa wale tuu gaa a vanua maa,
eye-3sg SHOULD see-TR ASP blood MODIF ASP MODIF ART place THAT
saa draa saa mate tuu a wati-na
ASP blood ASP dead ASP ART spouse-3sg
They went and asked her (lit: she went and was asked), and then she told (them) that she had touched her husband and his body was cold, then her eyes opened wide (in astonishment) when she saw that there was blood all over the place, her husband was bloody and was definitely dead.

- (91) *Oti gaa mayaa, sa tu'u-ni ca'e sara mai a+i-tu'u.tu'u*
 finish MODIF THAT ASP tell-PASS UP MODIF HERE ART+news
ni mate, yaco sara mai Boumaa ni saa mate o
 ASSOCIATED dead reach MODIF HERE Place THAT ASP dead ART
Raavouvou.ni.Narova
 Title
 After that, the news of the death was sent up here, it reached Boumaa, that the Raavouvou of Narova was dead.
- (92) *Sa la'o o ira a la'i ca'a.mate; o 'ea sega ni la'o*
 ASP go ART 3pl ART GO do.dead ART 3sg not THAT go
 They (lots of Boumaa people) went to the funeral; but he (the Raavouvou of Boumaa) didn't go.
- (93) *A+i-matai ni o-na bulu e bulu mai 'Alele, bulu mai*
 ART+first ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-3sg bury 3sg bury AT Place bury AT
 'Alele
 Place
 For his first burial, he was buried at 'Alele, buried at 'Alele.
- (94) *Yakavi tale a vanua ni siga e bulu 'ina maa,*
 evening ANOTHER ART place ASSOCIATED day 3sg bury PREP+3sg THERE
saa baci la'o sobu tale o 'ea
 ASP AGAIN go DOWN AGAIN ART 3sg
 In the evening (lit: when the place became evening) of the day on which he was buried there, he (the Raavouvou of Boumaa) again went down.
- (95) *La'o la'o yaco sara gaa i Nagasau*
 go go reach MODIF MODIF AT Place
 (He) went on and went on (until he) reached Nagasau.
- (96) *I Nagasau saa va'a-tagisici*
 AT Place ASP blow whistle
 At Nagasau he blew a whistle (with his fingers).
- (97) *Va'a-tagisici gaa yaa, saa sau-mi sara mai 'Alele*
 blow whistle MODIF THERE ASP answer-PASS MODIF FROM Place
 Once he had given a whistle, it was answered from 'Alele (i.e. the corpse whistled back, thereby revealing where it was buried).
- (98) *Ni rogo mai 'ina a va'a-tagisici*
 WHEN heard HERE PREP+3sg ART blow whistle
 When the (return) whistle was heard (the Raavouvou of Boumaa said, to the corpse:)
- (99) *"To, 'oto yaa tagane."*
 Yes lie THERE man
 "Yes, just you lie there, fellow."
- (100) *Mani la'o sobu yane, la'o, yaco sara i 'Alele, la'i rai-ca*
 THEN go DOWN THERE go reach MODIF AT Place GO see-TR
a+i-bulu.bulu, cele-'a
 ART+grave open up-TR
 Then he went down there, reached 'Alele, went and saw the grave, and opened it up.
- (101) *Cele-a a+i-bulu.bulu, cola mai a yago*
 open up-TR ART+grave carry on shoulders HERE ART body

- ni mate*
 ASSOCIATED dead
 (He) opened up the grave, then carried out the corpse on his shoulders.
- (102) *Cola mai, 'au-ta ca'e i Narova*
 carry on shoulders HERE carry-TR UP TO Place
 (He) carried it on his shoulders; (he) took it up to Narova.
- (103) *La'i biu-ta sara o 'ea i+na oo-drau i-'oto.'oto*
 GO put-TR MODIF ART 3sg IN+ART CLASSIF-3du sleeping place
 (He) went and put it right in their (dual) sleeping place.
- (104) *Sa moce tuu gaa 'ina o Raaluve.ni.Waini'eli*
 ASP sleep ASP MODIF PREP+3sg ART Title
 The Raaluve of Waini'eli was sound asleep there (when he put the corpse of her husband next to her, saying:)
- (105) *"Qore a wati-mu o domo-na."*
 THERE ART spouse-2sg 2sg love-TR
 "There's the husband you love!"
- (106) *Oti maa, saa la'o ca'e mai*
 finish THAT ASP go UP HERE
 After that he came up here (back to Boumaa).
- (107) *Baci yadra ca'e mai o Raaluvè.ni.Waini'eli, saa 'oto noo o*
 AGAIN wake UP HERE ART Title ASP lie ASP ART
wati-na, saa baci mai tagi ti'o yane; tagi tagi ti'o qore; saa
 spouse-3sg ASP AGAIN COME cry ASP THERE cry cry ASP THAT ASP
tu'u-ni mai ni o Raavouvou.ni.Narova saa 'oto sara gaa
 tell-PASS HERE THAT ART Title ASP lie MODIF MODIF
i+na oo-drau i-'oto.'oto
 IN+ART CLASSIF-3du sleeping place
 The Raaluve of Waini'eli woke once more and her (dead) husband was lying there (next to her), then she cried again, she cried and cried; and (the news) was spread that the Raavouvou of Narova was lying there in their (dual) sleeping-place.
- (108) *Saa baci tu'u-ni ca'e mai a+i-tu'u.tu'u ni mate, yaco*
 ASP AGAIN tell-PASS UP HERE ART+news ASSOCIATED dead reach
mai i ca'e qoo
 HERE TO up THIS
 The news of the death was once more spread around; it reached right up here (in Boumaa).
- (109) *Ia, saa la'i yaco a vei-.bulu i+na siga maa, o 'ea e*
 WELL ASP GO take place ART COLL-bury ON+ART day THAT ART 3sg 3sg
la'i bulu i+na sautabu mai Naselesele, Waini'eli
 GO bury IN+ART chiefly graveyard AT Place Place
 Well, the reburial took place on that day, and he was buried in the chiefly graveyard at Naselesele, (in) Waini'eli.
- (110) *Saa 'e-na siga ni i-'a-rua ni o-na bulu*
 ASP CLASSIF-3sg day ASSOCIATED second ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-3sg bury
sa baci rubica sobu ni yakavi
 ASP AGAIN go fast DOWN IN evening
 On the day of his second burial, he (the Raavouvou of Boumaa) hurried down (to Nagasau) again, in the evening.

- (111) *Yaco yane i Nagasau, sa baci va'a-.tagi.sici*
reach THERE AT Place ASP AGAIN blow whistle
(When) he reached Nagasau, he again whistled.
- (112) *La'i sau-mi 'oto noo mai+na sautabu*
GO answer-PASS MODIF MODIF FROM+ART chiefly graveyard
It was answered from over in the chiefly graveyard.
- (113) *"Io, 'oto i qere o, i'o tagane."*
Yes lie AT THERE ART 2sg man
"Yes, just keep lying there, you, fellow," (the Raavouvou of Boumaa told him).
- (114) *Rubica sobu o 'ea i+na sautabu la'i cele-a tale*
go fast DOWN ART 3sg TO+ART chiefly graveyard GO open up-TR AGAIN
a yago ni mate 'au-ta mai, cola mai,
ART body ASSOCIATED dead carry-TR HERE carry on shoulder HERE
la'i biu-ta sara vei wati-na
GO put-TR MODIF AT spouse-3sg
He hurried down to the chiefly graveyard, went and opened up (the grave) again, took out the corpse, he carried it on his shoulders and went and put it with his wife (saying:)
- (115) *"Qore a wati-mu o domo-na"*
THERE ART spouse-2sg 2sg love-TR
"There's the husband you love."
- (116) *Sega ni dua e bo-'a ti'o a 'aa e ca'a-va ti'o maa*
not THAT one 3sg find-TR ASP ART thing 3sg do-TR ASP THERE
No one had seen the thing which he had done.
- (117) *La'o ca'e mai*
go UP HERE
(Then he) came back up (to Boumaa).
- (118) *La'o mai qore, sa baci mataka 'eneii saa 'oto tuu i maa*
go HERE THAT ASP AGAIN morning DO LIKE THIS ASP lie ASP AT THERE
When morning came again (he) was once more lying there (next to his wife).
- (119) *Saa taro-ga o ira se o cei e ca'a-va ti'o, o cei e*
ASP ask-TR ART 3pl COMPL ART WHO 3sg do-TR ASP ART WHO 3sg
ca'a-va ti'o a 'aa maa
do-TR ASP ART thing THAT
They asked who had done it, who had done that thing.
- (120) *A+i- 'a-tolu ni o-na bulu, saa sega ni tu'u-ni*
ART+third ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-3sg bury ASP not THAT tell-PASS
ti'o mai a 'aa mayaa, saa 'ena me va'a-maduaa
ASP HERE ART thing THAT ASP DO LIKE THIS SHOULD MAKE-ashamed
vei ira
TO 3pl
(On) his third burial, not a thing was sent up here (i.e. no news of the reburial), as if it was shameful to them.
- (121) *Bulu mai Naisogo*
bury AT Place
(He) was buried at Naisogo.

- (122) *Oti yaa, baci rubica sobu yane o 'ea*
finish THAT AGAIN go fast DOWN THERE ART 3sg
After that, he (the Raavouvou of Boumaa) hurried down there again (to Waini'eli).
- (123) *Tuu gaa i+na sautabu va'a-.tagi.sici, a sau-mi*
stand MODIF IN+ART chiefly graveyard blow whistle ART answer-PASS
voole'a sara mai Naisogo; la'o sara o 'ea cele-a,
nearby MODIF FROM Place go MODIF ART 3sg uncover-TR
cele-a, 'au-ta ca'e
uncover-TR carry-TR UP
He stood in the chiefly graveyard and whistled, there was a reply from very near, from Naisogo; he went there and (dug and) uncovered (the corpse), brought it out, (put it back beside the sleeping wife, and said:)
- (124) *"Qore a wati-mu o domo-na"*
THERE ART spouse-2sg 2sg love-TR
"There's the husband you love!"
- (125) *La'o ca'e mai*
go UP HERE
(Then he) came (back) up here (to Boumaa).
- (126) [Aside to Sepo:] *A+i- 'a-vica ni bogi maa,*
ART+ORDINAL-HOW MANY ASSOCIATED night THAT
-i- 'a-tolu
third
How many nights is that? The third?
- (127) [Sepo replies:] *I- a'-tolu*
third
The third.
- (128) *I+na+i- 'a-vaa, saa lu'i bulu i da'u-i Viubani i waitui*
ON+ART+fourth ASP GO bury IN back-POSS Place IN sea
On the fourth (night), he was buried at the back of Viubani (island), in the sea (lit: he went and was buried).
- (129) *Me va'a-.vodo-'i tuu gaa i+na daa waqa*
SHOULD MAKE-load-PASS ASP MODIF ON+ART one+ART boat
(The corpse) was loaded onto a boat.
- (130) *Oti yaa, la'o ca'e mai o 'ea*
finish THAT go UP HERE ART 3sg
After that, he came up here. (Note that the narrator has made an error. She should have said at this stage that the Raavouvou of Boumaa went down there, to Waini'eli. She does correct herself at the end of sentence 131.)
- (131) *Siga ca'e mai me 'eneii a+i- 'a-vaa ni siga yaco*
day UP HERE SHOULD DO LIKE THIS ART+fourth ASSOCIATED day arrive
'ina a vei-bulu maa, saa baci la'o sobu
PREP+3sg ART COLL-bury THAT ASP AGAIN go DOWN
Early in the morning on the fourth day of these burials, he again went down (to Waini'eli).
- (132) *La'o, yaco tuu yane i Nagasau, saa va'a-.tagi.sici, saa sau-mi*
go reach ASP THERE AT Place ASP blow whistle ASP answer-PASS

noo mai da'u-i Viubani

ASP FROM back-POSS Place

He went (until) he reached Nagasau, he blew a whistle, which was answered from the back of Viubani.

(133) *"Io, 'oto ti'o i qere o i'o tagane"*

Yes lie ASP AT THERE ART 2sg man

"Yes, keep lying there, you, fellow," (he threatened.)

(134) *Rubica i Nagasau, tara-a e daa waqa, va'a-voce*
go fast TO Place take-TR 3sg one+ART boat MAKE-paddle

He hurried to Nagasau, took a boat, and paddled (it).

(135) *Voce, la'o sara i da'u-i Viubani, la'i rai-ca sara a waqa*
paddle go MODIF TO back-POSS Place GO see-TR MODIF ART boat

maa, 'au-ta mai, la'o mai 'au-ta mai a yago ni
THAT carry-TR HERE go HERE carry-TR HERE ART body ASSOCIATED

mate

dead

(He) paddled, (he) went right up to the back of Viubani, went and saw that boat (with the corpse in it), brought it out, came, bringing the corpse.

(136) *'Au-ta mai qore sa baci cola ca'e,*

carry-TR HERE THAT ASP AGAIN carry on shoulders UP

cola ca'e sa baci la'i biu-ta i+na oo-drau
carry on shoulders UP ASP AGAIN GO put-TR IN+ART CLASSIF-3du

i- 'oto.'oto

sleeping place

(He) brought it up, he again carried it on his shoulders, he carried it and again put it in their (dual) sleeping place, (saying:)

(137) *"Qore a wati-mu o domo-na"*

THERE ART spouse-2sg 2sg love-TR

"There's the husband you love!"

(138) *La'o ca'e mai*

go UP HERE

(Then he) came (back) up here (to Boumaa).

(139) *Qei a+i- 'a-lima ni o-na bulu saa sega ni bulu*

THEN ART+fifth ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-3sg bury ASP not THAT bury

Then, on the fifth (day) of his burials, he wasn't buried.

(140) *Era saa vei-vosa-'i o ira mai Narova, me saa 'ua mada*
3pl ASP COLL-talk-PASS ART 3pl AT Place SHOULD ASP not PLEASE

ni bulu me rai-ci mada se cava e yaco
ASSOCIATED bury SHOULD see-PASS PLEASE COMPL WHAT 3sg happen

ti'o vuaa

ASP PREP+3sg

They (the people of Narova) conferred at Narova (and decided that) he wouldn't be buried, so that it could be observed what happened to him.

(141) *Me saa la'i biu tuu gaa i loma ni 'oro mai*

SHOULD ASP GO put ASP MODIF IN interior ASSOCIATED village AT

Narova, me+qei la'i 'au mai, a teevoro mai Naqelevu

Place SHOULD+THEN GO carry HERE ART spirit FROM Place

o Matawalu

ART Name

That he should be left inside the village, at Narova; and that a spirit (traditional god) be brought from Naqelevu (island); (the spirit was called) Matawalu (lit: eight eyes).

(142) *Me mai udre tuu i vanua maa, me rawa ni o ira*
SHOULD COME shine ASP AT place THAT SHOULD able THAT ART 3pl

va'a-.rai-ca ti'o

MAKE-SCC-TR ASP

So that he would shine (and illuminate) that place, so that they would be able to observe (who came there).

(143) *'Au mai a mata ni cina qoo e walu; saa mai udre*
carry HERE ART globe ASSOCIATED light THIS 3sg eight ASP COME shine

tuu

ASP

(The traditional god) with eight of these globes (i.e. eight eyes) was brought;

he came and shone out (in Narova village).

(144) *Yakavi yai, sa baci la'o sobu o 'ea*

evening THIS ASP AGAIN go DOWN ART 3sg

That evening he (the Raavouvou of Boumaa) again went down.

(145) *La'o sobu i Nagasau, va'a-.tagi.sici, sa baci sau-mi ti'o mai*
go DOWN TO Place blow whistle ASP AGAIN answer-PASS ASP FROM

Narova

Place

He went down to Nagasau, blew a whistle, which was answered from

Narova.

(146) *"Io, 'oto ti'o i qere o i'o tagane"*

Yes lie ASP AT THERE ART 2sg man

"Yes, keep lying there, you, fellow."

(147) *Qei yaco yane i+na sau ni 'oro, saa rai-ca*
THEN arrive THERE AT+ART outskirts ASSOCIATED village ASP see-TR

wale gaa o 'ea a raarama i loma ni 'oro,

MODIF MODIF ART 3sg ART light IN interior ASSOCIATED village

saa udre tuu 'ina a cina qoo, saa walu

ASP shine ASP PREP+3sg ART light THIS ASP eight

Then he arrived at the outskirts of the village, and all he could see was how the inside of the village was lit up, these lights (of Matawalu) were shining out there, there were eight (of them).

(148) *Oti yaa, era saa yadra yadra o ira mayaa, era saa via moce*
finish THAT 3pl ASP wake wake ART 3pl THAT 3pl ASP WANT sleep

era saa moce

3pl ASP sleep

After that, they (the Narova people who were on watch) stayed awake for a long time, (but) they felt sleepy, and (eventually) they slept.

(149) *Saa la'o yane o 'ea, saa rai-ca tuu a 'aa mayaa*

ASP GO THERE ART 3sg ASP SCC-TR ASP ART thing THAT

He went there, and saw that thing (i.e. what they had done).

(150) *O 'ea e druti-a sara mai e daa drau ni 'acu,*
ART 3sg 3sg tear off-TR MODIF HERE 3sg one+ART leaf ASSOCIATED tree

qili-a, qili-a, qili-a, drama.-ta'ina i loma

rub in the hands-TR throw-TR TO interior

- ni 'oro, bo'o e daa mata ni cina,*
ASSOCIATED village extinguished 3sg one+ART globe ASSOCIATED light
'aa.-ta'ina 'amu qoo
thing-TR THAT ONE THIS
He straightaway tore off a leaf, rubbed and twisted it in his hands, and threw it into the middle of the village—one of the globes (of Matawalu) was extinguished (by the leaf), (as he) did this thing.
- (151) *Baci qili-a, bo'o a 'e-na i-'a-rua*
AGAIN rub-TR extinguished ART CLASSIF-3sg second
He rubbed (and threw) another (leaf), and a second of its (globes) was extinguished.
- (152) *Drama.-ta'ina va'a-.vitu, bo'o vitu.vitu*
throw-TR seven times extinguished all seven
He threw (leaves) seven times, and (in all) seven globes had been extinguished.
- (153) *Sa voo qoo a mata-na levu*
ASP remain THIS ART globe-3sg big
There remained just its biggest globe.
- (154) *Saa+qei baci qili-a tale drama.-ta'ina, e drama.ta'ina*
ASP+THEN AGAIN rub-TR ANOTHER throw-TR .3sg throw-TR
be'a va'a-.vica, saa+qei bo'o
ABOUT many times ASP+THEN extinguished
Then he rubbed leaves again and again, and threw many times, and then, (eventually, the last and biggest globe) was extinguished.
- (155) *Mai la'o ca'e yane o 'ea curu i vale, tara-a a yago*
COME go UP THERE ART 3sg go in TO house take hold-TR ART body
ni mate
ASSOCIATED dead
Then he went up, went into the house, took hold of the corpse, (put it into the marriage bed, and said to the widow:)
- (156) *"Qore a wati-mu o domo-na"*
THERE ART spouse-2sg 2sg love-TR
"There is the husband you love!"
- (157) *Curu mai i tuba, la'o ca'e mai*
go through HERE TO outside go UP HERE
Then he came out, and came up here (back to Boumaa).
- (158) *Qei la'o ca'e ti'o mayaa, saa via mataka ti'o a vanua*
THEN go UP ASP THERE ASP ABOUT TO morning ASP ART place
Then, as he was going up there, morning was about to break (lit: the place was about to become morning).
- (159) *La'o mai o 'ea me yaco mai Nava'acoa, saa raarama a*
go HERE ART 3sg SHOULD reach AT Place ASP light ART
vanua
place
He came, and reached Nava'acoa (village) just as the place became light.
- (160) *Gauna mayaa me+ra dau.-la'i.ta'i.wai 'ina*
time THAT SHOULD+3pl HABITUALLY-GO.fetch.water PREP+3sg
i+na wai i ca'e maa
AT+ART water at high THERE

- That was the time (of day) when they (the people of Nava'acoa) would go and fetch water at a spring up there.
- (161) *La'o yane e daa yalewa, erau sota*
go THERE 3sg one+ART woman 3du meet
One woman (from Nava'acoa) was going there, and the two of them met.
- (162) *Saa oti, saa rubica ca'e gaa mai*
ASP finish ASP go fast UP MODIF HERE
After that, he hurried up here (to Boumaa).
- (163) *O 'ea mayaa e la'i ta'i.wai gaa; ia, ni tasiri gaa*
ART 3sg THAT 3sg GO fetch.water MODIF THEN WHEN go past MODIF
mai o 'ea i ucu-na mai Nava'acoa, to'a 'ina a
HERE ART 3sg AT promontory AT Place sit PREP+3sg ART
basi sitopu me la'o mai
bus stop SHOULD go HERE
She, that (woman), just carried on to fetch water; then, when she'd just quickly passed the promontory at Nava'acoa, where the bus stop now stands, she was coming this way.
- (164) *Saa baasi'a tale mai muri saa daa mata.ni.vanua, saa la'o*
ASP appear ANOTHER HERE follow ASP one+ART messenger ASP go
mai muri
AT later
(Then) there also appeared a messenger (sent by the King of Waini'eli), he came later.
- (165) *Saa rai-ca a yava i waa'olo.levu, ee?*
ASP see-TR ART footprint ON main road eh
He saw a (distinctively long) footprint on the main road, isn't that so?
- (166) *Oti yaa, rau sota, taro-ga sara*
finish THAT 3du meet ask-TR MODIF
After that, the two of them (the messenger from Waini'eli and the woman from Nava'acoa) met, and he at once asked her:
- (167) *"Sega ni bo-'a e daa tamata e la'o yane i yai?"*
not THAT find-TR 3sg one+ART person 3sg go THERE AT HERE
"You (didn't) see a person going along by here?"
- (168) *Muna-'a o 'ea*
tell-TR ART 3sg
She told him:
- (169) *"E sega; o Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa sa+qei 'eirau vei-.sivi*
3sg not ART Title ASP+THEN lex.cdu COLL-pass
ti'o gaa qoo"
ASP MODIF HERE
"That's not the case (i.e. I did see someone). The Raavouvou of Boumaa, the two of us just now passed each other here."
- (170) *Saa 'ila-a sara gaa a 'aa, o mata.ni.vanua*
ASP know-TR MODIF MODIF ART thing ART messenger
Then the messenger knew the thing (i.e. that it was the Raavouvou of Boumaa).
- (171) *Saa la'o tale i Naselesele, la'i tu'u-na vei Tui Waini'eli*
ASP go AGAIN TO Place GO tell-TR TO King Place

Then he went back to Naselesele (the capital village of Waini'eli Vanua), went and told the King of Waini'eli:

- (172) "Au saa bo-'a mai a yava-na, au saa 'ila-a tuu ni o
1sg ASP find-TR HERE ART foot-3sg 1sg ASP know-TR ASP THAT ART
Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa, e dua.tani tuu a mataqali yava, e
Title 3sg strange ASP ART kind of foot 3sg:
ba-balavu dua.dua"
REDUP-long one-REDUP
"I've seen his footprint, and I know without doubt that it is the Raavouvou of Boumaa's, it's a strange sort of footprint, the longest of all."
- (173) Oti yaa, saa+qei tala-i 'ea mai o Tuei me
finish THAT ASP+THEN send a person-TR 3sg HERE ART Title SHOULD
la'o mai vei Vuu.ni.saa
go HERE TO Title
After that, Tuei (the title for the King of Waini'eli) sent him (the messenger) to come here to the Vuu.ni.saa (the King of Boumaa).
- (174) Me mai tu'u-na vei Vuu.ni.saa ni 'aa e va'a-yaco-ra ti'o
SHOULD COME tell-TR TO Title THAT thing 3sg MAKE-happen-TR ASP
o Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa mai Waini'eli, a 'aa maa saa+qei—
ART Title ART Place ART thing THAT ASP+THEN
la'i 'au-ta ti'o yane a yago ni mate maa
GO carry-TR ASP THERE ART body ASSOCIATED dead THAT
To come and tell the Vuu.ni.saa about the things that the Raavouvou of Boumaa had done at Waini'eli, that thing—he carried there that corpse.
- (175) Ia, sa+na mai 'aba-ti Boumaa o Waini'eli
WELL ASP+FUT COME besiege-TR Place ART Place
And finally, that Waini'eli would come and fight (lit: besiege) Boumaa.
- (176) O 'ea, e la'i wele sara ti'o i+na yala, a
ART 3sg 3sg GO do nothing MODIF ASP AT+ART rivermouth ART
o-na i- ti'o.ti'o
CLASSIF-3sg residence
As for him (the Raavouvou of Boumaa), he was relaxing, doing nothing at the mouth of the river, in his camp.
- (177) La'o mai tu'u-ni 'ea saa tu'u.tu'u-ni
go HERE tell-TR 3sg ASP REDUP-tell-PASS
(The messenger) came and told (to the Vuu.ni.saa) it (the message) which had been told (by Tuei).
- (178) "Uu, o rau sega ni dau-vei-caa-ta'i o Boumaa
Oh ART 3du not THAT HABITUALLY-COLL-bad-PASS ART Place
'ei Waini'eli"
WITH Place
"Oh, but Boumaa and Waini'eli are not normally enemies!" (the Vuu.ni.saa exclaimed.)
- (179) "Saa vina'a me saa la'i la'o mada mai o
ASP good SHOULD ASP GO go PLEASE HERE ART
Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa"
Title
"Alright, please go (and tell) the Raavouvou of Boumaa to come here," (the Vuu.ni.saa now ordered).

- (180) La'i 'au sara mai o Raavouvou.ni.Boumaa, 'au sara
GO brought MODIF HERE ART Title brought MODIF
mai, mai ti'o gaa, tu'u-na sara o Vuu.ni.saa:
HERE COME stay MODIF tell-TR MODIF ART Title
The Raavouvou of Boumaa was brought here, he was brought here at once, (and when) he was here, the Vuu.ni.saa said (to him):
- (181) "Rai-ca, au tu'u-na 'ina mo la'i la'o mai ni o
see-TR 1sg tell-TR PREP+3sg SHOULD+2sg GO go HERE BECAUSE ART
mata.ni.vanua mai Waini'eli saa ti'o yai
messenger FROM Place ASP stay HERE
"See here! I told you to come here because the messenger from Waini'eli is here.
- (182) "I+na vu'u ni 'aa o va'a-yaco-ra mai Narova
IN+ART cause ASSOCIATED thing 2sg MAKE-happen-TR AT Place
"Because of the things you did at Narova.
- (183) "Saa la'o mqi, saa mai tu'u-na o 'ea a 'aa e tu'u-na mai
ASP go HERE ASP COME tell-TR ART 3sg ART thing 3sg tell-TR HERE
o Tui Waini'eli ni o ira sa+na mai 'aba-ti Boumaa
ART King Place THAT ART 3pl ASP+FUT COME invade-TR Place
"He has come here, he has come and reported the things that the King of Waini'eli has said, that they would come and fight (lit: invade) Boumaa.
- (184) "Sa+na mai leqa a vanua o Boumaa i+na vu'u-mu
ASP+FUT COME trouble ART vanua ART Place IN+ART cause-2sg
"The Vanua of Boumaa will be troubled because of you.
- (185) "O i'o lewe dua; o Boumaa a vanua"
ART 2sg PERSON one ART Place ART vanua
"You are only one person; Boumaa is a (whole) vanua."
- (186) Qei tu'u-na sara mai o 'ea
THEN tell-TR MODIF HERE ART 3sg
Then he (the Raavouvou of Boumaa) at once told (the Vuu.ni.saa):
- (187) "Saa vina'a, Raatuu; nuu va'a-cegu
ASP good Title 2pl rest
"That's alright, Raatuu. You take it easy!"
- (188) "Au sa+na vala gaa o yau dua.dua; nuu va'a-cegu a
1sg ASP+FUT fight MODIF ART 1sg one-REDUP 2pl rest ART
'ai-Boumaa"
NATIVE-Place
"I'll just fight all by myself; you—all the people of Boumaa—rest easy!"
- (188a) Saa+qei tu'u-na yane: "Ia, o 'ea, saa vina'a."
ASP+THEN tell-TR THERE WELL ART 3sg ASP good
Then he (the Vuu.ni.saa) said in response: "Well, that's it, that's good (i.e. thank you)."
- (189) "Sa—a—e—la'o to'a mai 'ina saa va'a-doonu-i"
ASP go ASP HERE PREP+3sg ASP accept-PASS
(Then he told the messenger from Waini'eli: "The declaration of war) that has come here is accepted."
- (190) Saa+qei la'o sobu o 'ea, la'i tu'u-na vei Tui Waini'eli
ASP+THEN go DOWN ART 3sg GO tell-TR TO King Place

Then (the messenger) went down (to Waini'eli), went and told the King of Waini'eli.

- (191) *Saa+qei vosa vei ira a 'ai-.Waini'eli o Tui Waini'eli*
 ASP+THEN talk TO 3pl ART NATIVE-Place ART King Place
me+ra la'o kece sara mai
 SHOULD+3pl go ALL MODIF HERE
 Then Tui Waini'eli spoke to them, the people of Waini'eli, that they must all come here (i.e. to Boumaa).
- (192) *Ra saa la'o mai me+ra mai 'aba-ti Boumaa*
 3pl ASP go HERE SHOULD+3pl COME besiege+TR Place
 They were to come here, come and fight Boumaa.
- (193) *Oti yaa, ra saa+qei la'o mai; qei voo gaa o ira*
 finish THAT 3pl ASP+THEN go HERE THEN remain MODIF ART 3pl
va'a-.luve-a malu.malumu 'ei ira, era sega ni rawa-ta a
 with offspring weak WITH 3pl 3pl not THAT achieve-TR ART
la'o
 go
 After that, they (the people of Waini'eli) came here; there only remained (in Waini'eli) those who had young children and were weak, together with those who couldn't manage the journey.
- (194) *Ra la'o mai, ra mai to'a gaa i Waitabu*
 3pl go HERE 3pl COME stay MODIF AT Place
 They came here, they came and camped at Waitabu.
- (195) *Mai to'a gaa i Waitabu, saa tu'u-ni ca'e mai yai*
 COME stay MODIF AT Place ASP tell-PASS UP HERE THIS
 (While) they were staying at Waitabu, (a message) was sent up here.
- (196) *La'o sara, la'i tu'u-ni vuaa*
 go MODIF go tell-PASS PREP+3sg
 It came right here, came and was told to him (the Raavouvou of Boumaa, who replied):
- (197) *"Saa vina'a; me+ra la'i la'o mai"*
 ASP good SHOULD+3pl GO go HERE
 "That's fine; let them come here."
- (198) *"Emunuu, nuu vucu to'a gaa i-na no-da vale, o yau*
 2pl 2pl sing ASP MODIF IN+ART CLASSIF-1inc.pl house ART 1sg
dua.dua au sa+na vala"
 one-REDUP 1sg ASP+FUT fight
 (Then he addressed the youths who were his companions:) "You all, you sing songs in our house. I, on my own, will fight."
- (199) *Saa+qei faele.-ta'ina o 'ea a o-na moto, faele.-ta'ina*
 ASP+THEN file-TR ART 3sg ART CLASSIF-3sg spear file-TR
a o-na moto
 ART CLASSIF-3sg spear
 Then he filed his spear (making the point sharp), he filed his spear.
- (200) *Saa+qei qalo mai, Tata Sepo*
 ASP+THEN swim HERE father Person
 Then he swam here, Tata Sepo.

- (201) *Era saa+qei siro mai Waitabu o ira a 'ai-.Waini'eli*
 3pl ASP+THEN come down FROM Place ART 3pl ART NATIVE-Place
 Then the people of Waini'eli came down from Waitabu (towards the place where the Raavouvou of Boumaa was waiting to give battle).
- (202) *Tu'u-ni ni+ra saa yaco mai Tovutovu sa siro ti'o gaa*
 tell-PASS THAT+3pl ASP reach AT Place ASP come down ASP MODIF
mai a tamata
 HERE ART person
 It is told that (when the first of them) reached Tovutovu, people were still coming down (from Waitabu) (i.e. the line of people from Waini'eli extended from Waitabu to Tovutovu, a distance of very nearly one mile).
- (203) *Saa+qei la'o mai o 'ea i bati ni yala, qalo*
 ASP+THEN go HERE ART 3sg AT bank ASSOCIATED rivermouth swim
mai, mai tara-a tuu a o-na moto, me tuu mai
 HERE COME hold-TR ASP ART CLASSIF-3sg spear SHOULD stand HERE
i+na yasa-na qoo
 ON+ART side-3sg THIS
 Then he came to the bank of the rivermouth, he swam (across) here, he came holding his spear, to stand here on this side of (the river).
- (204) *O ira sa la'o mai o ira qoo, era yatu.dua tuu gaa mai*
 ART 3pl ASP go HERE ART 3pl THIS 3pl column.one ASP MODIF HERE
 As for them, these (Waini'eli people) came here, they were in single file.
- (205) *La'o mai e dua 'eneii.-ta'ina 'eneii a o-na moto*
 go HERE 3sg one DO LIKE THIS-TR DO LIKE THIS ART CLASSIF-3sg spear
'eneii.-ta'ina e dua, mate e dua
 DO LIKE THIS-TR 3sg one dead 3sg one
 One of them came here and he did like this with his spear (at this point the narrator mimed a spearing action), and he did like this to one, and one was dead.
- (206) *Ia, a tamata e la'o gaa mai o 'ea 'eneii tuu gaa*
 WELL ART person 3sg go MODIF HERE ART 3sg DO LIKE THIS ASP MODIF
'eneii
 DO LIKE THIS
 Well, the people kept on coming and he (the Raavouvou of Boumaa) did just like this (narrator mimes spearing action).
- (207) *Ta'i-na ta'i-na ta'i-na, saa+qei galala mai Waitabu, ra*
 carry on-TR ASP+THEN empty AT Place 3pl
ta'i.ta'i-na to'a, oti sara gaa va'a-.vina'a a tamata,
 REDUP-carry on-TR ASP finish MODIF MODIF do well ART person
sa+qei voo dua.dua gaa o Raaluve.ni.Waini'eli qei
 ASP+THEN remain one-REDUP MODIF ART Title THEN
tuu gaa i muri
 stand MODIF AT follow
 This carried on and on and on (they advanced one by one and were each slain by the Raavouvou of Boumaa) until there was no one (of them) left at Waitabu, they carried on (advancing and fighting, one by one) until every person was well and truly killed, except that just the Raaluve of Waini'eli, who had stayed at the back, remained.

- (208) *Saa oti maa, saa voo o Raaluve.ni.Waini'eli, saa+qei taro-ga*
 ASP finish THAT ASP remain ART Title ASP+THEN ask-TR
o 'ea
 ART 3sg
 After all that, the Raaluve of Waini'eli remained, and he asked her:
- (209) *"Saa 'uca, o saa su'a se o via mate vata 'ei*
 ASP DO WHAT 2sg ASP return home OR 2sg WANT die TOGETHER WITH
ira a o-mu tamata"
 3pl ART CLASSIF-2sg person
 "What (do you want) to do? Will you return home, or do you want to die with your own people?"
- (210) *Qei tu'u-na o 'ea*
 THEN tell-TR ART 3sg
 Then she told him:
- (211) *"O yau, a vanua gaa era mate 'jna a qou*
 ART 1sg ART place MODIF 3pl die PREP+3sg ART CLASSIF+1sg
tamata, au na mate 'ina"
 person 1sg FUT die PREP+3sg
 "As for me, in the place where my people died, I will die there."
- (212) *'Eneii.-ta'ina tuu gaa 'eneii a o-na moto, la'o*
 DO LIKE THIS-TR ASP MODIF DO LIKE THIS ART CLASSIF-3sg spear go
mai o 'ea saa pasa-'a a yago ni marama, saa
 HERE ART 3sg ASP spear-TR ART body ASSOCIATED woman ASP
cola, qei la'i luva gaa i Waini'eli
 carry on shoulders THEN GO remove MODIF AT Place
 He (pointed) with his spear like this (narrator mimes) then he came and put the spear through the woman's body, then he carried her on his shoulders, and (the spear) was only removed (when he arrived) at Waini'eli.
- (213) *Yaco yane i Waini'eli o 'ea, saa la'i tu'u-na vei Tui Waini'eli*
 reach THERE AT Place ART 3sg ASP GO tell-TR TO King Place
 He reached Waini'eli, went and told the King of Waini'eli:
- (214) *"O ira a 'ai-.Waini'eli, ra saa mate va'a-.dua 'ece, saa ra*
 ART 3pl ART NATIVE-Place 3pl ASP dead altogether ALL ASP 3pl
'oto noo mai Boumaa
 lie ASP AT Place
 "The people of Waini'eli are all of them dead, they are all lying dead at Boumaa.
- (215) *"Au saa taro-gi ira o Raaluve.ni.Waini'eli: 'O via bula, se*
 1sg ASP ask-TR 3pl ART Title 2sg WANT live OR
via mate?"
 WANT die
 "I asked the Raaluve of Waini'eli: 'Do you want to live or want to die?'"
- (216) *"E qei tu'u-na o 'ea a vanua gaa era mate 'ina a*
 3sg THEN tell-TR ART 3sg ART place MODIF 3pl die PREP+3sg ART
o-na tamata, me+na mate tale gaa 'ina
 CLASSIF-3sg person SHOULD+FUT die ANOTHER MODIF PREP+3sg
 "Then she told (me) that in the place where her people had died, she would die there too.

- (217) *"'Ea qoo au pasa-'a mai 'ina, au saa mai biu-ta 'ina*
 3sg THIS 1sg spear-TR HERE PREP+3sg 1sg ASP COME put-TR PREP+3sg
qoo vei i'o
 THIS TO 2sg
 "That's why I put a spear through her, and now I come to leave (her body) here for you.
- (218) *"'Eeva'aa e voo tale e soo a 'ai-.Waini'eli, me*
 IF 3sg remain ANOTHER 3sg some of ART NATIVE-Place SHOULD
lesu tale mai
 return ANOTHER HERE
 "If there are any Waini'eli people remaining, they should come back here.
- (219) *"Me+ra la'o.tale mai, 'eeva'aa o ira via vala"*
 SHOULD+3pl go ANOTHER HERE IF ART 3pl WANT fight
 "Let them come, if they want to fight."
- (220) *Qei tu'u-na o ira, era saa soro sara va'a-.vina'a gaa*
 THEN tell-TR ART 3pl 3pl ASP ask for peace MODIF do well MODIF
 Then they told (him) that they well and truly begged for peace.
- (221) *Biu tuu yane maa o Raaluve.ni.Waini'eli,*
 put ASP THERE THAT ART Title
 (The body of) the Raaluve of Waini'eli was left there.
- (222) *Lesu tale mai o 'ea*
 return AGAIN HERE ART 3sg
 And he returned here (to Boumaa).
- (223) *Ra mai to'a tale mai Muanacivicivi vata 'ei ira a*
 3pl COME stay AGAIN AT Place TOGETHER WITH 3pl ART
o-na tamata
 CLASSIF-3sg person
 He came to camp again at Muanacivicivi together with his people (i.e. with the youths who served as his companions).
- (224) *Saa tu'u-na o 'ea vei o-na Raatuu: "Nuu va'a-.cegu a*
 ASP tell-TR ART 3sg TO CLASSIF-3sg Title 2pl rest ART
'ai-.Boumaa
 NATIVE-Place
 Then he told his Raatuu (the Vuu.ni.saa): "You, the people of Boumaa, can all rest easy.
- (225) *"Me+u sa+na vala gaa; ia, 'eeva'aa me+u mate,*
 SHOULD+1sg ASP+FUT fight MODIF WELL IF SHOULD+1sg die
me+u mate gaa i+na qou lewaa"
 SHOULD+1sg die MODIF IN+ART CLASSIF+1sg judgment
 "I will fight myself and, if I should die, I will die according to my own judgment (i.e. there will be no one to blame but me)."
- (226) *'Ea maa o 'ea saa+qei vala 'ina maa*
 3sg THAT ART 3sg ASP+THEN fight PREP+3sg THAT
 That's why he fought.
- (227) *Ra soro a 'ai-.Waini'eli*
 3pl ask for peace ART NATIVE-Place
 The people of Waini'eli surrendered.

- (228) *Lesu tale mai o 'ea, ra mai bula ti'o vata 'ei ira a*
return AGAIN HERE ART 3sg 3pl COME live ASP TOGETHER WITH 3pl ART
cauravou me yaco-va mai a gauna qoo
youth SHOULD reach-TR HERE ART time THIS
He came back here so that he could live with the youths, until the present time.
- (229) *Saa mai oti 'ina a+i- talanoa yai*
ASP COME finish PREP+3sg ART+story THIS
This story has come to an end here.
- (230) [Sepo:] *Saa vina'a va'a-levu, Yadi Vesi*
ASP good greatly Title Person
Thank you very much, Yadi Vesi.
- (231) *I+na+i- talanoa rogo.rogo vina'a o soli-a vei rau a tuuraga*
IN+ART+story interesting good 2sg give-TR TO 3du ART chief
vei-.wati-ni o Roopate vata 'ei Aneta, mai via vu'e-a
couple ART Person TOGETHER WITH Person COME WANT help-TR
sara va'a-levu a oo-drau sa-saga ni oo-drau
MODIF greatly ART CLASSIF-3du efforts ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-3du
vina'a-ta me+rau 'ila-a a+i- va'a-.rau ni
want-TR SHOULD+3du know-TR ART+preparation ASSOCIATED
oo-drau vei-.we'a-ni o Waini'eli vata 'ei Boumaa,
CLASSIF-3du relationship ART Place TOGETHER WITH Place
i+na+i- tu'u-ni ma'awa o sa+qei tu'u-na wale gaa qoo
IN+ART+report old 2sg ASP+THEN tell-TR MODIF MODIF THIS
In the fascinating story you have given to this chiefly couple, Roopate and Aneta, you have wanted greatly to assist their efforts of wishing to know the background of the relationship between Waini'eli and Boumaa, in this old story which you have told here.
- (232) *'Eitou va'a-.vina.vina'a sara 'ina va'a-levu vei i'o;*
1exc.pa thank MODIF PREP+3sg greatly TO 2sg
vina'a va'a-levu
good greatly
We (paucal) offer great thanks to you; thank you very much.

Notes to text 4

(a) Despite being a monologue, this story is told in a fluent, conversational style. In places the narrator talks very fast indeed; I am most grateful to Inoke Soqo.o.viti and to Sepo Cookanacagi for their careful and patient assistance with the transcription.

(b) All directions are given with respect to where the narrative was recorded i.e. the village of 'Orovou (see map 2). Thus, the Raavouvou of Boumaa comes *here* on his return from Waini'eli to Boumaa (sentence 80 etc), he comes *here* from Muanaçivicivi to see his father, who lives in 'Orovou (sentence 180), and he comes *here* in crossing the river (sentence 203) to the north bank, since 'Orovou is on the north side of the river.

(c) The post-head predicate modifier *ca'e* can mean either “up” or “in a clockwise direction, moving around the island of Taveuni”; similarly, *sobu* can be “down” or “in a counter-clockwise direction” (see §8.3.4). The translation would be

unbearably tedious if I included many “clockwise” and “counter-clockwise”; I have compromised by talking of going “down” (i.e. counter-clockwise) from Boumaa to Waini'eli, and “up” (i.e. clockwise) from Waini'eli to Boumaa (e.g. sentences 62, 80).

(d) Consultants told me that, for a formal style of narrative, they would prefer a transitive verb plus an explicit object NP in sentences 8, 11, 16, 48; but they stated that the narrator did incorporate longish NPs into the verb in these sentences: *tara.oo-drau.moto, saqa.'e-dra.i'a*.

(e) Occasionally the V form (*na*) of the common article is used; in place of the B form (*a*), and also a possessive pronoun that begins with *n-* e.g. V *no-da* in place of B *o-da* (e.g. sentences 62, 198). This is simply due to dialect-mixing; see §1.2.

(f) *Tu'u-na* is ostensibly a transitive verb “tell (something)”; it is sometimes used with this meaning, but it is sometimes used like a lexicalised intransitive “say” (sentence 13, etc.).

(g) In sentence 73 the narrator said: *oo-drau basa-a 'aa.tuba*; I was told that this is ungrammatical and she probably meant (as given here): *basa-a a oo-drau 'aa.tuba*.

(h) Note that in sentence 86 the normal prefix *i-* on *matai* “first” is omitted.

(i) In sentence 91 the preposition *i* is omitted after modifier *mai*, as sometimes happens—see §14.1.

(j) At the end of sentence 100 the narrator gave the wrong transitive ending on *cele*, saying *cele-'a*; she used the correct form, *cele-a*, in the next sentence (and in 114, 123).

(k) I find it hard to hear the two occurrences of *au* 1sg in sentence 172, but consultants assure me they are there.

(l) The 2pl pronoun is used as a mark of respect in addressing one person (who is the speaker's father, and also the chief) in sentence 187. In sentence 215 the Raavouvou of Boumaa uses 3pl *ira* for referring to one person, the dead Raaluve of Waini'eli, also presumably as a mark of respect.

Text 6

The story of the war between the Ca'audrove region of Fiji and Tonga (in 1865/6), the Roman Catholic missionising of Ca'audrove, and the cession of Fiji to Britain (in 1874), told by Siriloo Saabai at Qeleni (in the Vanua of Waini'eli) on 30 January 1985. It lasts 15 minutes 5 seconds. The narrator first said “Grace”, asking God's blessing for the story he was about to tell; this makes up sentences 1–5 and is in Old High Fijian (see chapter 1). From sentence 6 he basically uses the Waini'eli/Boumaa dialect (B), with admixture from C and V.

- (1) *Sa masu mada e+na yaca-i Tama-na, kei+nu Luve-na,*
ASP pray PLEASE IN+ART name-POSS father-3sg WITH+ART child-3sg
kei+na Yalo.tabu, Ameni
WITH+ART spirit.sacred Amen
Let (us) pray, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen.
- (2) *Tuuraga levu ni lomaa.lagi, o kemunii na tuuraga.bale,*
chief big ASSOCIATED heaven ART 2pl ART high chief
ni lomaa.lagi kei vura.vura, munii rai-ca ni keitou
ASSOCIATED heaven WITH world 2pl see-TR THAT 1exc.pa
soqo-ni vata e+na mataka e daidai, me keitou
gather-PASS TOGETHER IN+ART morning in today SHOULD 1exc.pa

vaka-yaco-ra e dua na vei-talanoa, vata kei iratou
 MAKE-happen-TR 3sg one ART discuss TOGETHER WITH 3pa
na weka-qu eratou tiko oqoo
 ART friend-1sg 3pa stay HERE

Great Father in heaven, you who are most exalted over Heaven and Earth, you see that we are gathered here this morning, to hold a discussion, together with my friends, who are here.

- (3) *Au taa, cake oqoo, au kere-a kina na no-munii*
 1sg look up NOW 1sg beg-TR PREP+3sg ART CLASSIF-2pl
vei-vaa-kalou.gata.-taki, na no-munii vei-vaka-raarama.-taki,
 COLL-MAKE-blessing-PASS ART CLASSIF-2pl COLL-MAKE-light-PASS
nii sova.-raka ki+na dela ni teeveli oqoo, me rawa
 2pl pour out-TR TO+ART TOP ASSOCIATED table THIS SHOULD able to
ni makare ka matata vaka-vinaka na vei-talanoa ka
 THAT clear AND plain do well ART discuss WHICH
vaka-yaco-ri e+na mataka e daidai
 MAKE-happen-PASS IN+ART morning IN today

I look up now and beseech you for your blessing, and for the enlightenment you can give us—pour it on the top of this table (around which we are sitting), that the discussion which is being undertaken this morning should be able to be clear and properly organised.

- (4) *Keitou saa masu, me vaka.lagi.lagii kina na yaca-munii,*
 1exc.pa ASP pray SHOULD make-glorious PREP+3sg ART name-2pl
ko Jisu na+i vaka-bula, Amen
 ART Jesus ART+saviour Amen
 Thus we pray to glorify your (holy) name, Jesus, the saviour, Amen.
- (5) *E+na yaca-i Tama-na, kei+na Luve-na, kei+na*
 IN+ART name-POSS father-3sg WITH+ART child-3sg WITH+ART
Yalo.tabu, Amen
 spirit.sacred Amen

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen.

- (6) [Aside to Sepo:] *Sa+na te'evuu sara 'ina?* (7) [Sepo:] *Io*
 ASP+FUT start MODIF PREP+3sg Yes
 Shall it be started now? Yes
- (8) *Dou rogo ti'o o 'emudou, a qou vuulagi do'a-i, dou*
 2pa hear ASP ART 2pa ART CLASSIF+1sg visitor respect-PASS 2pa
yaco ti'o mai i+na+i-ti'o.ti'o va'a-tuuraga qoo, i mata'a
 arrive ASP HERE AT+ART+residence chiefly THIS IN morning
ni'ua
 today

Please pay attention, you my respected visitors who have come to this chiefly residence this morning.

- (9) *Au maarau va'a-levu i+na o-mudou yaco mai qoo,*
 1sg happy greatly AT+ART CLASSIF-2pa arrive HERE THIS
mo mudou mai 'ere-a e dua a+i-talanoa me rawa
 SHOULD+2pa come ask-TR 3sg one ART+story SHOULD be able
ni dou na va'a.-va'a-rau.-ta'ina ti'o, i+na vanua, dou la'i
 THAT 2pa FUT REDUP-prepare-TR ASP IN+ART place 2pa GO

la'o mai 'ina, i+na+i-ti'o.ti'o va'a-tuuraga mai Ositerelia
 go HERE PREP+3sg IN+ART+residence chiefly AT Place
 I'm very happy at your arrival here, and for you to ask me for a story, so that you may prepare (i.e. transcribe and translate) it, in the place from which you come, in (your) chiefly residence in Australia.

- (10) *Au sa+na dola-va va'a-lailai qoo ni'ua, me rawa ni*
 1sg ASP+FUT open-TR to small degree THIS today SHOULD be able THAT
na macala ma'ari va'a-vina'a vei'emudou a la'o mai qoo,
 FUT intelligible clear do well TO 2pa ART go HERE THIS
a+i-talanoa me baleti Ca'audrove raaraba
 ART+story CONCERNING Place whole
 I will reveal a little today, so that it may be clear and intelligible to you who have come here, a story concerning the whole of Ca'audrove.

- (11) *Mai+na tini.'a.walu, ono.-sagavulu.'a.lima, me 'au-ta ca'e*
 FROM+ART ten.AND.eight six-ty.AND.five SHOULD carry-TR UP
mai i+na tini.'a.walu, ono.-sagavulu.'a.ono, e aa
 HERE TO+ART ten.AND.eight six-ty.AND.six 3sg PAST
fomu.-ta'i o 'ea a mata.i-valu levu ni Toga me
 form-PASS ART 3sg ART army big ASSOCIATED Tonga SHOULD
mai va'a-rusa-a a vanua va'a-tuuraga o Ca'audrove
 COME MAKE-destroy-TR ART place chiefly ART Place
 From eighteen sixty-five until eighteen sixty-six, a large Tongan army was formed, in order to come and destroy the chiefly land of Ca'audrove.

- (12) *Ia a o-na saa fomu.ta'ina mai qoo, se me*
 WELL, ART CLASSIF-3sg ASP form-TR HERE THIS OR SHOULD
cibi.-ta'ina mai o 'ea a mata.i-valu qoo, a gone.tuuraga
 declare war-TR HERE ART 3sg ART army THIS ART great chief
mai Toga, saa vei-vala.-ta'ina mada mai e vica a
 FROM Tonga ASP COLL-fight-TR FIRST HERE 3sg SOME ART
vei-yasana le-levu era ti'o i Viti, me+ra too.vata
 COLL-province REDUP-big 3pl stay in Place SHOULD+3pl act together
mai vei'ea, me+ra qei gole mai i+na+i-ti'o.ti'o
 HERE TO 3sg SHOULD+3pl THEN face HERE AT+ART+residence
va'a-tuuraga qoo, i Ca'audrove
 chiefly THIS AT Place

Well, this formation (of the army) or the declaration of war with this army, was by a great Tongan chief who had already made war against (and conquered) a number of large provinces in Fiji, so that they were with him (fighting on the Tongan side), and could now turn their attention to the chiefly residence of Ca'audrove.

- (13) *Ia, a o-na i-na'i.na'i a gone.tuuraga qoo, la'o mai*
 WELL ART CLASSIF-3sg intention ART great chief THIS go FROM
Toga, e vina'a-ta o 'ea, me va'a-leqa-a a
 Tonga 3sg want-TR ART 3sg SHOULD MAKE-trouble-TR ART
gone.tuuraga 'e-i Ca'audrove, o Raatuu-i ca'au, Raatuu
 high chief CLASSIF-POSS Place ART Title-POSS rcef Title
Golea Taburamusu, me baleta ni saa rogo-ca ti'o mai 'ina
 Person BECAUSE THAT ASP hear-TR ASP HERE PREP+3sg

o 'ea, ni q Raatuu Golea e sa+na via tau-ra
 ART 3sg THAT ART Title Person 3sg ASP+FUT WANT take hold-TR
a Lotu Katolika
 ART church Catholic

Well, the intention of this high chief from Tonga, was to make trouble for the high chief of Ca'audrove, the Raatuu of the reef, Raatuu Golea Taburamusu, because he had heard that Raatuu Golea might want to join the Catholic Church (and the Tongan chief was a Wesleyan, or Methodist).

- (14) *I qoo a+i- na'i ni o-na la'o mai*
 AT THIS ART+intention ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-3sg go HERE
 And this was his purpose in coming here.
- (15) *Ia, ni saa va'a-yaco-ra mai a o-na i- na'i, saa*
 WELL WHEN ASP MAKE-happen-TR HERE ART CLASSIF-3sg intention ASP
tau-ra tauco'o mai a vei-yasa-i Viti kece
 take hold-TR ALL HERE ART COLL-side-POSS Place ALL
 Well, in fulfilling his intention, he had taken (conquered) all parts of Fiji (except Ca'audrove).
- (16) *Saa qumi-a mai o 'ea, saa rawa-ta, era saa+qei la'o*
 ASP grasp-TR HERE ART 3sg ASP overcome-TR 3pl ASP+THEN go
vata mai, i+na+i- la'o.la'o qoo, me sa+qei
 TOGETHER HERE IN+ART+journey THIS SHOULD ASP+THEN
mua mai i+na+i- ti'o.ti'o va'a-tuuraga qoo mai Ca'audrove
 point HERE TO+ART+residence chiefly THIS AT Place
 He held them in his power, and overcame them, and then they (the Tongans and their Fijian vassals) came together in this journey, which was directed at the chiefly residence in Ca'audrove.
- (17) *Ia, i+na gauna saa+qei yaco mai 'ina a+i- la'o.la'o*
 WELL IN+ART time ASP+THEN happen HERE PREP+3sg ART+journey
qoo a gone.tuuraga o Raatuu-i ca'au, saa ti'o 'ina qoo
 THIS ART high chief ART Title-POSS reef ASP stay PREP+3sg THIS
i Somosomo
 AT PLACE
 Well, at the time when this journey took place, the high chief, Raatuu of the reef, was living at Somosomo.
- (18) *Saa mai tawa ti'o 'ina qoo a+i- ti'o.ti'o va'a-tuuraga*
 ASP COME inhabited ASP PREP+3sg THIS ART+residence chiefly
mai Somosomo
 AT Place
 The chiefly residence at Somosomo was inhabited (by him).
- (19) *Ia, ni saa rogo-ca o 'ea a+i- rogo qoo, o Raatuu-i ca'au,*
 WELL WHEN ASP hear-TR ART 3sg ART+news THIS ART Title-POSS reef
ni saa la'o mai o Wainiqolo vata 'ei ira a
 THAT ASP go HERE ART Person TOGETHER WITH 3pl ART
o-na mata.ca'a.ca'a—o ira a mata.i-valu, me+ra
 CLASSIF-3sg team.work ART 3pl ART army SHOULD+3pl
toso mai, me+ra saa mai valu-ti o 'ea,
 move HERE SHOULD+3pl ASP COME make war on-PASS ART 3sg

saa+qei gole o 'ea i Vanua.levu, la'o i+na baaravi mai
 ASP+THEN face ART 3sg TO Place go ON+ART coast AT
Nawii, la'ane qore i Tunuloa, la'i tagi.i-valu 'ina
 Place go+THERE THAT TO PLACE go give alarm of war PREP+3sg
me va'a-rogo-ya 'ina a 'aa saa la'o ti'o mai
 SHOULD MAKE-hear-TR PREP+3sg ART thing ASP go ASP HERE

Well, when the Raatuu of the reef heard this news, that Wainiqolo (the Tongan high chief) was coming here with his gang of workers—(narrator now corrects himself) with his army, that he was advancing, that he (Raatuu Golea) was to be engaged in war, then he went to (the large island of) Vanua.levu, going along the coast at Nawii, and on to Tunuloa, giving the alarm of war, to announce the thing that was coming.

- (20) *Ia, i+na o-na saa yaco qore i+na baaravi mai Nawii,*
 WELL AT+ART CLASSIF-3sg ASP arrive THERE AT+ART coast AT Place
o rau saa sota 'ina 'ei+na gone.tuuraga a
 ART 3du ASP meet PREP+3sg WITH+ART high chief ART
tuuraga.bete ni Faranisee, o Paatere Lorosio, i+na
 priest ASSOCIATED Place ART Father Person AT+ART
o-na saa rogo-ca tale gaa mai a+i- na'i.na'i qoo,
 CLASSIF-3sg ASP hear-TR ANOTHER MODIF HERE ART+intention THIS
saa biu-ta mai a+i- ti'o.ti'o va'a-tuuraga mai Soolevu
 ASP leave-TR HERE ART+residence chiefly AT Place
 Well, on his arrival there on the coast at Nawii, he met up with a high chief (of the church), a French priest, Father Lorenzo, who, since he had knowledge of these intentions (of the Tongan leader) had left his own chiefly residence on Soolevu (where he was missionary).
- (21) *Saa la'o mai, me la'o mai me mai rai-ci Tui.Ca'au*
 ASP go HERE SHOULD go HERE SHOULD COME see-TR Title
 He came here, came here to come and see Tui Ca'au (title of Raatuu Golea).
- (22) *Ia, ni saa yaco mai i+na baaravi mai Nawii, o rau saa*
 WELL WHEN ASP arrive HERE AT+ART coast AT Place ART 3du ASP
sota 'ina 'ei+na gone.tuuraga o Tui.Ca'au
 meet PREP+3sg WITH+ART high chief ART Title
 Well, when he reached the coast at Nawii, he met up there with the great chief Tui Ca'au.
- (23) *Ni o rau saa sota 'ina, saa mani vosa 'ina, saa mani*
 WHEN ART 3du ASP meet PREP+3sg ASP THEN speak PREP+3sg ASP THEN
tu'u-na 'ina vuaa
 tell-TR PREP+3sg PREP+3sg
 When they met up there, they talked there, and then he (the priest) said to him (Tui Ca'au):
- (24) *'O 'ila-a ti'o, ni sa+na va'a-rau mo i'o mai*
 2sg know-TR ASP THAT ASP+FUT about to SHOULD+2sg COME
valu-ti o i'o, vata 'ei ira a o-mu
 make war on-PASS ART 2sg TOGETHER WITH 3pl ART CLASSIF-2sg
tamata?''
 person

“Did you know that you are about to be made war on, together with your people?”

(25) *E tu'u-na o Tui.Ca'au*
3sg tell-TR ART Title

Tui Ca'au said (in reply):

(26) “*Io, au saa 'ila-a ti'o*
Yes 1sg ASP know-TR ASP

“Yes, I do know it.

(27) “*Ia, au saa va'a-.rau.-ta'ina ti'o qoo.*” (NO LINE 28)
WELL 1sg ASP prepare-TR ASP NOW

“And well, I am preparing for it now.”

(29) “*Ia, au vina'a-ta, mo i'o rai-ca a kuruse au saa tara-a*
WELL 1sg want-TR SHOULD+2sg see-TR ART CROSS 1sg ASP hold-TR
tuu qoo
ASP THIS

“Well,” (the priest continued,) “I want you to look at the cross I am holding here.

(30) “*A cava a o-mu nanu-ma 'ina, me rawa ni*
ART WHAT ART CLASSIF-2sg think-TR PREP+3sg SHOULD be able THAT
o-mu i-yaragi i+na+i-na'i.na'i saa la'o mai qoo
CLASSIF+2sg weapon IN+ART+intention ASP go HERE THIS
mo i'o saa mai valu-ti
SHOULD+2sg ASP COME make war on-PASS

“What do you think (lit: what is your thinking) of it being your weapon in (combating) the attempt that is coming to defeat you?”

(31) ““*Eeva'aa o saa va'a-.doonu-ya mo tara-a a kuruse qoo,*
IF 2sg ASP accept-TR SHOULD+2sg hold-TR ART cross THIS
au sa+na soli-a vei i'o ni'ua.”
1sg ASP+FUT give-TR TO 2sg today

“If you will agree to accept this cross, I will give it to you today.”

(32) *Sa mani va'a-.doonu-ya o Raatuu-i ca'au; saa mani soli-a*
ASP THEN accept-TR ART Title-POSS reef ASP THEN give-TR
vuaa o Paatere Lorosio o 'ea a kuruse qoo; me
TO+3sg ART Father Person ART 3sg ART cross THIS SHOULD
'au-ta mai o Tui.Ca'au
carry-TR HERE ART Title

The Raatuu of the reef (i.e. Tui Ca'au) then agreed to accept it, and Father Lorenzo then gave this cross to him, for Tui Ca'au to carry it (into battle).

(33) *Ia, ni saa mai ti'o vuaa, saa+qei toso mai o 'ea*
WELL WHEN ASP COME stay TO+3sg ASP+THEN move HERE ART 3sg
a+i-valu, o 'ea a la'o ti'o mai qoo, era mai va'a-.i-ti'o.ti'o
ART+army ART 3sg ART go ASP HERE THIS 3pl COME MAKE-residence
mai Wai'ava
AT Place

Well, when it (the cross) was in his possession, the (Tongan) army was moving towards here, it was coming here, they came and made a camp at Wai'ava.

(34) *Qoo; e levu a vanua vei 'eimami a 'ai-.Ca'audrove, era sega*
THIS 3sg many ART place TO lexc.pl ART NATIVE-Place 3pl not
ni 'ila-a se mai va'a-.i-ti'o.ti'o i. vei a
THAT know-TR COMPL COME MAKE-residence AT WHERE ART
mata.i-valu qoo
army THIS

(Concerning) this, our Ca'audrove people living in many of the places (in this region) do not know where this (Tongan) army had made its camp.

(35) *A mata.i-valu qoo e mai va'a-.i-ti'o.ti'o i+na 'oro o*
ART army THIS 3sg COME MAKE-residence IN+ART village ART
Wai'ava, e dau-.yaca-na ti'o i mada o Waikapa, i.
Place 3sg HABITUAL-name-3sg ASP AT before ART Place AT
qoo da saa cavu-ta ti'o i qoo o Wai'ava
THIS 1inc.pl ASP pronounce-TR ASP AT THIS ART Place

This army came and made its camp in the village of Wai'ava, which had previously been called Waikapa, but we now pronounce it Wai'ava.

(36) *Ia, a 'oro qoo, saa mai va'a-.i-ti'o.ti'o 'ina o 'ea a*
WELL ART village THIS ASP COME MAKE-residence PREP+3sg ART 3sg ART
mata.i-valu levu ni Toga qoo, vuaa 'a gone.tuuraga
army big ASSOCIATED Tonga THIS PREP+3sg ART high chief
e dua e taci-i Raatuu Golea Taburamusu, o
3sg one 3sg younger brother-POSS Title Person ART
Raatuu 'Oila, e ti'o 'ina
Title Person 3sg live PREP+3sg

Well, this village, in which this big Tongan army made its camp—a high chief, Raatuu 'Oila, who was a younger brother of Raatuu Golea Taburamusu (the Tui Ca'au) lived in it.

(37) *E va'a-.yavu ni o-na mai ti'o 'ina, o*
3sg MAKE-foundation ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-3sg COME stay PREP+3sg ART
'ea via 'ove-a ti'o a+i-ti'o.ti'o va'a-.tuuraga qoo
3sg WANT grab-TR ASP ART+residence chiefly THIS

The reason why (Raatuu 'Oila) let them stay (in his village) was that he wanted to grab this chiefly residence (i.e. he coveted the throne of his elder brother, Tui Ca'au).

(38) *O 'ea e gone mai vuaa*
ART 3sg 3sg young FROM+3sg
He (Raatuu 'Oila) was younger than him (Tui Ca'au).

(39) *Saa mani tu'u-na*
ASP THEN tell-TR

Then he (Raatuu 'Oila) said (to the Tongan leader):

(40) “*La'o mai, mai ti'o i qee, daru qei toso vata i*
go HERE COME stay AT HERE 1inc.du THEN move TOGETHER TO
Wairi'i”
Place

“Come here! Come and stay here, then we can advance together on Wairi'i.”

(41) *Ia, ni saa mai va'a-.i-ti'o.ti'o o 'ea i Wairi'i, saa+qei*
WELL WHEN ASP COME MAKE-residence ART 3sg AT Place ASP+THEN

- tagi.i-valu mai a gone.tuuraga o Tui.Ca'au, saa toso*
give alarm of war HERE ART great chief ART Title ASP move
kece mai qoo o Tunuloa va'a-.dua, era saa la'o mai
ALL HERE THIS ART Place completely 3pl ASP go HERE
Well, when Tui Ca'au had made his residence at Wairi'i, and given the alarm of war, all the people of Tunuloa moved (to his side), they came here (to Wairi'i).
- (42) *O Vanua.levu, bati-na yani yaa, era saa toso kece mai*
ART Place side-3sg THERE THAT 3pl ASP move ALL HERE
me+ra mai waa.waa mai Wairi'i
SHOULD+3pl COME wait AT Place
Vanua Levu—people from the other side (i.e. from Natewa Bay, see map 3), they all moved over here (to join Tui Ca'au's army) and wait at Wairi'i.
- (43) *Me te'evuu mai Wairi'i, me 'au-ta ca'e mai me cava*
SHOULD start AT Place SHOULD carry-TR UP HERE SHOULD end
mai Nailutua, e voole'a mai Waiyevo, qoo, a vanua kece qoo,
AT Place 3sg near AT Place HERE ART place AEL THIS
saa mai va'a-.tawa-ni i+na gauna yaa
ASP COME MAKE-inhabited-PASS AT+ART time THAT
Starting at Wairi'i, and taking it up to an end at Nailutua, close to Waiyevo—here, all these places were occupied at that time (i.e. a line of Tui Ca'au's soldiers stretched along the coast from Wairi'i to Nailutua).
- (44) *I qoo, au talanoa ti'o qoo, i+na tini.'a.walu,*
AT THIS 1sg narrate ASP THIS AT+ART ten.AND.eight
ono.-sagavulu.'a.ono, o 'ea aa la'o ti'o mai qoo
six-ty.AND.six ART 3sg PAST go ASP HERE THIS
This (time), which I'm telling about, was eighteen sixty-six, (when) it (the army) was coming here.
- (45) *Ni+ra saa mai waa.waa i qee mai+na mata'a yaa, qei*
WHEN+3pl ASP COME wait AT HERE FROM+ART morning THAT THEN
gauna, qei laqa 'ina a mata'a ni siga yaa,
time THEN daybreak PREP+3sg ART morning ASSOCIATED day THAT
saa buto.butoo tuu o Ca'au.levu
ASP dark ASP ART Place
When they (Tui Ca'au's army) were waiting here, on that morning, at the time when the morning of that day was just breaking, Ca'au Levu (the Big Reef) became dark.
- (46) *Saa buto.butoo tuu o Ca'au.levu i+na waqa, a o-dra*
ASP dark ASP ART Place AT+ART boat ART CLASSIF-3pl
we'a-datou ni Toga, saa buto.butoo tuu 'ina
friend-1inc.pa ASSOCIATED Tonga ASP dark ASP AT+3sg
Ca'au Levu became black with the canoes of our friends from Tonga, it became dark with them.
- (47) *A 'e-na i-taba e ti'o ni'ua i vale vatu mai Wairi'i,*
ART CLASSIF-3sg picture 3sg stay today IN house stone AT Place
vei Faca; a+i-taba ni la'o.la'o qoo
TO Title ART+picture ASSOCIATED journey THIS

- There is a picture of it today, in the cement building at Wairi'i, belonging to Father (i.e. the Catholic priest of the modern-day church at Wairi'i), a picture of this journey (of the Tongan canoes).
- (48) *Era saa waa.-ra'ina mai+na baaravi yaa me+ra sobu mai*
3pl ASP wait-TR FROM+ART coast THAT SHOULD+3pl land HERE
They (Tui Ca'au's army) were waiting on the coast for them to land there.
- (49) *Ia, ni+ra saa butu-'a mai o 'ea a baaravi au vosa*
WELL WHEN+3pl ASP tread on-TR HERE ART 3sg ART coast 1sg talk
ti'o 'ina qoo, mai Wairi'i me cava mai Nailutua, era
ASP PREP+3sg THIS FROM Place SHOULD end AT Place 3pl
saa+qei sota i qere
ASP+THEN meet AT THERE
Well, when they (the Tongan army) stepped down here onto the coast that I'm talking about, from Wairi'i up to an end at Nailutua, they (the soldiers of the two sides) met there.
- (50) *Era saa sota i+na baaravi yaa, era saa+qei biu-ta 'ina*
3pl ASP meet AT+ART coast THAT 3pl ASP+THEN let go-TR PREP+3sg
a vala mai+na mata'a ni-siga yaa
ART fight FROM+ART morning ASSOCIATED day THAT
They met there on that coast, and they let go with the fighting on the morning of that day.
- (51) *E sega ni tu'u-ni rawa, a bula ni vei-vala qoo,*
3sg not THAT tell-PASS can ART life ASSOCIATED COLL-fight THIS
i+na ca-ca-lidi.lidi ni da'ai bitu o 'ea a
AT+ART REDUP-explosion ASSOCIATED gun bamboo ART 3sg ART
da'ai va'a-.vanua
gun traditional
It really cannot be told, how fierce the fighting was, with the explosion of bamboo guns, of traditional guns.
- (52) *Mai+na loma ni gauna yaa, e va'a-.yaga.-ta'ina tuu*
FROM+ART interior ASSOCIATED time THAT 3sg MAKE-useful-TR ASP
a+i-tau'ei, o 'ea a da'ai bitu, 'ene gaa e
ART+native ART 3sg ART gun bamboo DO LIKE THIS MODIF 3sg
lidi a yase.yase i+na baaravi qoo, ni saa yaco
explode ART thunder ON+ART coast THIS WHEN ASP happen
'ina a vei-vala qoo
PREP+3sg ART COLL-fight THIS
During that period of time, the natives (of Fiji) would use bamboo guns, and they exploded like thunder on that coast, when this war took place there.
- (53) *Dedee va'a-lailai o 'ea a vei-vala qoo, sa mavoa*
length of time small extent ART 3sg ART COLL-fight THIS ASP wounded
o Raatuu-i ca'au
ART Title-POSS reef
Not long after the fighting began (lit: not far through the fighting), Raatuu of the reef was wounded.
- (54) *A o-na mavoa qore, saa cola-ti va'a-.ti'i.ti'i*
ART CLASSIF-3sg wounded THAT ASP carry on shoulders-PASS aside

mai, saa mani tu'u-ni vuaa, me mai waa.waa mada
 HERE ASP THEN tell-PASS TO+3sg SHOULD COME wait PLEASE
va'a-.lailai me saa rau-ti taci-na me liu.-ta'ina
 small extent SHOULD ASP appropriate-TR brother-3sg SHOULD command
a vala
 ART fight

On his being wounded, he was carried to the side (out of the fighting) and he was told to wait a while (i.e. to rest before rejoining the battle) and that it was appropriate for (one of) his brother(s) to assume command.

- (55) *Ia, mai+na loma ni gauna yaa, saa ciba 'ina a*
 WELL FROM+ART interior ASSOCIATED time THAT ASP dic PREP-3sg ART
gone.tuu-, saa mavoa 'ina a gone.tuuraga a Raatuu-i
 high chi- ASP wounded PREP+3sg ART high chief ART Title-POSS
ca'au, ni saa 'a-musu a liga-na, dedee
 reef WHEN ASP HAPPEN-break ART arm-3sg, length of time
gaa va'a-.lailai saa mate sara o 'ea a o'dra
 MODIF small extent ASP dead MODIF ART 3sg ART CLASSIF-3pl
qaaqaa, a la'o ti'o mai
 champion ART go ASP HERE

Well, at that time, when the high chief died—(corrects 'self) when the high chief, Raatuu of the reef, was wounded, when his arm was broken, a little while after that their (the Tongans') champion, who had brought them here, was killed.

- (56) *O 'ea a yaca ni tamata qoo o Wainiqolo*
 ART 3sg ART name ASSOCIATED person THIS ART Person
 The name of this person was Wainiqolo.
- (57) *E dau.-tu'u-ni tuu i+na me'e i+na gauna yaa 'o*
 3sg HABITUAL-tell-PASS ASP IN+ART song IN+ART time THAT ART
Wainiqolo a qaaqaa", rogo a yaca-na o
 Person ART conqueror heard ART name-3sg ART
soro.a.teevoro
 sue for peace.ART.spirit
 He was called, in a Me'e (Fijian song) of that period "Wainiqolo the conqueror" (his name) was famous as "conqueror of spirits (traditional gods)" (lit: spirits sued for peace).
- (58) *O 'ea a tuuraga e vei-'au ti'o mai qoo*
 ART 3sg ART chief 3sg COLL-bring ASP HERE THIS
 He was the chief who had brought (the Tongan army) here.
- (59) *Ia, ni saa gauna ni saa qiqi 'ina o Wainiqolo,*
 WELL WHEN ASP time ASSOCIATED ASP slain PREP+3sg ART Person
saa ta-sere a o-na mata-i.valu, mai+na loma
 ASP SPONT-scatter ART CLASSIF-3sg army FROM+ART interior
ni gauna sara gaa yaa
 ASSOCIATED time MODIF MODIF THAT
 Well, at the time when Wainiqolo was slain, his army scattered at that very moment.
- (60) *Ia, a 'e-na ta-sere qoo, e daa 'e-na*
 WELL ART CLASSIF-3sg SPONT-scatter THIS 3sg one+ART CLASSIF+3sg

- i- wase, era qei vei-.qali.qali i+na loga.soni mai Manu'a*
 part 3pl THEN scramble away TO+ART patch.brambles AT Place
 Well, when they dispersed (lit: on their dispersal), one group (of Tongans) scrambled away into a patch of brambles on Manu'a (mountain).
- (61) [Aside:] *E 'ila-a ti'o o tavale qoo, ni dau-.vaa-'ati*
 3sg know-TR ASP ART cousin THIS BECAUSE HABITUAL-MAKE-bite
'ina
 PREP+3sg
 This cousin of mine (i.e. Sepo) knows it, because he (used to) hunt (pigs) there.
- (62) *Era qei vei-.qali.qali i+na ulu.ni.vanua qoo me+ra saa*
 3pl THEN scramble away TO+ART mountain THIS SHOULD+3pl ASP
waaruta 'ina
 run away fast PREP+3sg
 Then they all scrambled away (to make hideaways) in this mountain, they ran very fast.
- (63) *E lewe lima.-sagavulu vei ira qoo era qei vei-.tau sii-sivi*
 3sg PERSON fif-ty OF 3pl THIS 3pl THEN race REDUP-exceed
yane i 'Orolevu
 THERE TO Place
 Fifty of them raced each other across to 'Orolevu (island, by swimming).
- (64) *E muna-'a gaa o 'ea a liu*
 3sg tell-TR MODIF ART 3sg ART lead
 The one in the lead called out (to the others):
- (65) "Ae, a qou yanu.yanu qore"
 Hey ART CLASSIF+1sg island THAT
 "Hey! That's my island!"
- (66) *E muna-'a tale gaa o 'ea qoo*
 3sg tell-TR ANOTHER MODIF ART 3sg THIS
 Another one called out:
- (67) "E sega, a qou qore"
 3sg not ART CLASSIF+1sg THAT
 "No, that's mine!" (Although, in fact, there was plenty of room on the island for all fifty of them.)
- (68) *Ni+ra saa vei-.vei-.tau i+na yanu.yanu qoo, lima.-sagavulu ra*
 WHEN+3pl ASP REDUP-race AT+ART island THIS fif-ty 3pl
gole yaa
 face THERE
 When they were racing to this island, fifty (of them) were heading there.
- (69) *Mai+na ti'i ni gauna yaa, saa rusa va'a-.dua*
 FROM+ART point ASSOCIATED time THAT ASP destroyed completely
'ina o 'ea a mata.i.valu ni Toga, i+na
 PREP+3sg ART 3sg ART army ASSOCIATED Tonga IN+ART
loma ni gauna sara gaa yaa
 interior ASSOCIATED time MODIF MODIF THAT
 At that point in time, the Tongan army was completely destroyed, at that very time.

- (70) *Era saa vei-.see.-ya'i, era saa sega ni rawa-ta e dua a 'aa*
3pl ASP ABOUT+scatter 3pl ASP not THAT achieve-TR 3sg one ART thing
They were scattered all about, and they weren't able to do anything.
- (71) *Ia, ni saa oti o 'ea a mata.i-valu yaa, sa ti'o*
WELL WHEN ASP finish ART 3sg ART army THAT ASP stay
a gone.tuuraga a Tui.Ca'au; aa la'i ti'o tale
ART high chief ART Title PAST GO stay AGAIN
i+na+i- ti'o.ti'o va'a-.tuuraga mai Wai'ava o 'ea a
AT+ART+residence chiefly AT Place ART 3sg ART
taci-na saa sega ni rawa e dua a 'aa, saa dei ti'o
brother-3sg, ASP not THAT able to 3sg.one ART thing ASP fixed ASP
gaa a+i- ti'o.ti'o va'a-.tuuraga qoo ni'ua
MODIF ART+residence chiefly THIS today
Well, when that army was finished, the great chief Tui Ca'au still remained (unbeaten)—his younger brother (Raatau 'Oila) had again gone to live in his chiefly home at Wai'ava (forgiven by Tui Ca'au), having been unable to do anything; and this chiefly residence (of Tui Ca'au, at Somosomo) is still established today.
- (72) *A+i- ti'o.ti'o va'a-.tuuraga au vosa ti'o 'ina i+na gauna*
ART+residence chiefly 1sg speak ASP PREP+3sg IN+ART time
qoo, o 'ea aa dei ti'o mai+na gauna yaa, o 'ea sa
THIS ART 3sg PAST fixed ASP FROM+ART time THAT ART 3sg ASP
ti'o gaa ni'ua
stay MODIF today
The chiefly residence which I am talking of at this time, which was established from that time, still stands today.
- (73) *Ia, ni saa yaco a gauna, sa ti'o 'ina a gone.tuuraga*
WELL WHEN ASP arrive ART time ASP stay PREP+3sg ART high chief
qoo, i+na loma ni gauna yaa, saa+qei luva.luva
THIS IN+ART interior ASSOCIATED time THAT ASP+THEN leave
mai, o 'ea a+i- ti'o.ti'o va'a-.tuuraga mai Lau
HERE ART 3sg ART+residence chiefly AT Place
Well, when the time came, (while) this great chief (Tui Ca'au) was still living, during that time (a priest) left his chiefly residence in (the) Lau (group of islands).
- (74) *A gauna yaa, e saa cabe mai 'ina a lotu*
ART time THAT 3sg ASP come ashore HERE PREP+3sg ART church
Katolika mai Lau, saa mai bi'a-ca ti'o mai Lau,
Catholic AT Place ASP COME live ON-TR ASP AT Place
a+i- ti'o.ti'o va'a-.tuuraga o Paatere Ioane Batita, qoo saa
ART+residence chiefly ART Title Person THIS ASP
cabe-i Viti mai, e aa cabe mai i+na
come ashore-TR Place HERE 3sg PAST come ashore HERE AT+ART
ucu-na qoo
peak of land-3sg THIS
At that time, the Catholic church arrived at Lau, Father John Baptist set up his chiefly residence on (an island of the) Lau group, he had come ashore on Fiji, he had come ashore at this peak of land.

- (75) *Sa+qei luva.luva 'ina ni saa tu'u-na a 'aa a*
ASP+THEN leave PREP+3sg BECAUSE ASP tell-TR ART thing ART
gone.tuuraga a Raatau-i ca'au me 'ena a 'aa e
high chief ART Title-POSS reef SHOULD DO LIKE ART thing 3sg
aa tu'u-na ti'o i mada
PAST tell-TR ASP AT precede
Then he left (Lau) because the high chief, Raatau of the reef, had told him something (lit: the thing), according to what he had told him previously:
- (76) *"O yau saa vina'a-ta e daa qou bete"*
ART 1sg ASP want-TR 3sg one+ART CLASSIF+1sg priest
"As for me, I want a priest of my own."
- (77) [Aside:] *Rai-ca mada*
see-TR PLEASE
Please note that!
- (78) *Baleta ni a- a+i- na'i ni la'o mai, ni saa*
BECAUSE THAT ART+intention ASSOCIATED go HERE WHEN ASP
rogo-ca rawa ti'o o Raatau Golea, o Tui.Ca'au e yia
hear-TR CAN ASP ART Title Person ART Title 3sg WANT
lotu Katolika, qoo a o-na i- na'i ni la'o
church Catholic THIS ART CLASSIF-3sg intention ASSOCIATED go
mai ni saa 'ila-a rawa ti'o
HERE BECAUSE ASP know-TR CAN ASP
Because of (his) intention of coming here, when he had been able to hear that Raatau Golea, the Tui Ca'au, wanted to become a member of the Catholic church, this is why he came here, since he knew this.
- (79) *Saa+qei la'o mai a gone.tuuraga, Paatere Ioane Batita, o rau*
ASP+THEN go HERE ART high chief Title Person ART 3du
mai vei-talanoa
COME chat
Then the high chief (from the church), Father John Baptist, came here, and the two of them chatted.
- (80) *"La'o, la'i va'a-.i-ti'o.ti'o mai Levu'a"*
go go+TO MAKE-residence AT Place
(Tui Ca'au requested the priest:) "Go, go to make your home in Levu'a (the town where a provisional Fijian government was based)!"
- (81) *Qoo sa la'i o-na i- ti'o.ti'o mai Levu'a*
THIS ASP GO CLASSIF-3sg residence AT Place
So his (the priest's) residence was in Levu'a.
- (82) *Ni saa la'i ti'o i+na o-na i- ti'o.ti'o mai Levu'a,*
WHEN ASP GO stay AT+ART CLASSIF-3sg residence AT Place
tawa ti'o a+i- ti'o.ti'o va'a-.tuuraga qoo i Somosomo, saa
inhabited ASP ART+residence chiefly THIS AT Place ASP
roro mai a gauna me soli o Viti i Peritania
approach HERE ART time SHOULD give ART Place TO Place
When he (the priest) went and lived in his house at Levu'a, and this chiefly residence (at Somosomo) was still inhabited (by Tui Ca'au), the time approached for the cession of Fiji to Britain (lit: for Fiji to be given to Britain).

- (82a) [Aside:] *Rogo-ca ti'o qoo*
hear-TR ASP THIS
Listen to this!
- (83) *Saa toso mai a gauna me soli 'ina o Viti i*
ASP MOVE HERE ART time SHOULD give PREP+3sg ART Place TO
Peritaania
Place
The time moved towards the cession of Fiji to Britain.
- (84) *Ia, ni saa mai yaco a 'e-na vei-.vosa-'i mai Levu'a,*
WELL WHEN ASP COME arrive ART CLASSIF-3sg COLL-talk-PASS AT Place
me yaco 'ina a vei-.vosa-'i ni saa via
SHOULD arrive PREP+3sg ART COLL-talk-PASS ASSOCIATED ASP WANT
soli o Viti, era saa soqo kece a tuuraga 'e-i Viti
give ART Fiji 3pl ASP assembled ALL ART chief CLASSIF-POSS Place
'amu o ira sa qali ti'o mai+na+i- valu, sa ra mate
THAT ONE ART 3pl ASP subservient ASP FROM+ART+fight ASP 3pl dead
mai, i+na loma ni gauna yaa, e sega ni la'i ti'o
HERE IN+ART interior ASSOCIATED time THAT 3sg not THAT GO stay
yane o Raatuu-i ca'au
THERE ART Title-POSS reef
Well, when the conference (of Fijian leaders and British officials) was about to take place at Levu'a, when the conference concerning the wish of Fiji to cede was about to take place, all the chiefs of Fiji were assembled, including those who owed allegiance (to Tui Ca'au), from the war, in which they were killed (this is an error and should read: in which they were beaten, referring to those chiefs who had fought on the Tongan side); at that time the Raatuu of the reef (Tui Ca'au) did not go (to Levu'a, for the cession conference).
- (85) [Aside:] *Rogo-ca ti'o tavale*
hear-TR ASP cousin
Hear that, cousin! (addressing Sepo)
- (86) [Aside:] *Saa rogo-ca ti'o a+i- talanoa qoo, Raatuu tavale;* [Sepo:] *Io*
ASP hear-TR ASP ART+story THIS Title cousin Yes
Are you listening carefully to this story, honoured cousin? Yes.
- (87) *E sega ni la'o o 'ea*
3sg not THAT go ART 3sg
He didn't go.
- (88) *Mai+na loma ni gauna yaa, e daro tale a*
FROM+ART interior ASSOCIATED time THAT 3sg postpone AGAIN ART
'amu a soli ni vanua, mai+na loma
THAT ONE ART give ASSOCIATED place FROM+ART interior
ni tolu a siga
ASSOCIATED three ART day
At that time, that (meeting for) cession of the land was postponed, for three days. (So that Tui Ca'au could be prevailed upon to attend; he was a most important chief and the other chiefs did not feel the cession conference would have a proper weight if he were not there.)

- (89) *'E-na i- va'a-.dina.dina e saa soolevu.-ta'i ti'o i Viti,*
CLASSIF-3sg confirmation 3sg ASP ceremony-PASS ASP IN Place
a+i- 'a-tini ni Okotopa, e dodonu me soli
ART+tenth ASSOCIATED October 3sg necessary SHOULD give
'ina a+i- 'a-vitu; qoo
PREP+3sg ART+seventh THIS
As a confirmation (of the fact that it was postponed in order that Tui Ca'au should attend), the (cession) ceremony was held on the tenth of October, and cession should have taken place (i.e. was originally scheduled) on the seventh.
- (89a) *Saa+qei leva ti'o o Tui.Ca'au, sega ni la'i*
ASP+THEN angry at lack of respect ASP ART Title not THAT go+TO
na soli ni vanua o Viti, i+na loma ni
ART give ASSOCIATED place ART Fiji IN+ART interior ASSOCIATED
gauna yaa; saa tu'u-na ti'o a o-na vosa o 'ea
time THAT ASP tell-TR ASP ART CLASSIF-3sg word ART 3sg
Tui Ca'au was angry at the lack of respect paid to him, and had not gone for the cession of the land of Fiji, at that time; he spoke in the following words:
- (90) "A *tamata qore e sega ni rawa ni Tui Viti, a tamata*
ART person THAT 3sg not THAT be able THAT Title Place ART person
qore e rawa ni Tui Tailevu gaa
THAT 3sg be able THAT Title Place MODIF
"That person (referring to Ca'obau, the Fijian leader in Levu'a) can not be King of Fiji. That person can only be King of Tailevu (a name referring at that time to the eastern part of the island of Viti Levu, now the name of a province in eastern Viti Levu).
- (91) "O *yau, au Tui Vanua.levu."* *Qoo o 'ea, vuu ti'o 'ina*
ART 1sg 1sg Title Place THIS ART 3sg reason ASP PREP+3sg
a vosa qoo o Tui Vanua.levu
ART word THIS ART Title Place
"As for me, I am King of Vanua Levu." That's the origin of the title: King of Vanua Levu.
- (92) *Saa dau-rogo vei au, e 'ila-a ti'o, o tavale, e*
ASP HABITUAL-heard FROM 1sg 3sg know-TR ASP ART cousin 3sg
soo a va'a-.cabo au saa va'a-.rai.-ta'ina o 'ea
some ART make presentation 1sg ASP MAKE-sec-TR ART 3sg
a+i- ro-rogo qoo
ART+report THIS
[Narrator's comment:] It is often heard from me—as my cousin knows—sometimes when I make chiefly presentations, I make known this piece of history (i.e. he weaves it into the presentation speech).
- (93) *A gone.tuuraga o Raatuu-i Ca'au, a Tui Vanua.levu raaraba*
ART high chief ART Title-POSS reef ART Title Place whole
tale gaa
AGAIN MODIF
The great chief Raatuu of the reef was King of the whole of Vanua Levu.

- (94) *Saa mani rere o Raatuu Ca'obau, o Raatuu Seru, ni yaco*
 ASP THEN afraid ART Title Person ART Title Person WHEN arrive
a vei-.soli.soli qoo, ni+ra saa ti'o kece 'ina e
 ART COLL-REDUP-give THIS WHEN+3pl ASP stay ALL PREP+3sg 3sg
yali ti'o o 'ea
 absent ASP ART 3sg
 Raatuu Ca'obau, (otherwise known as) Raatuu Seru, was frightened, when
 (the time) arrived for the cession, and they were all there, except that he
 (Tui Ca'au) was missing.
- (95) *Saa mani rere, e la'o mada mai, i+na loma ni*
 ASP THEN afraid 3sg go PLEASE HERE IN+ART interior ASSOCIATED
gauna yaa, e dua a mata.ni.gasau me yaco a
 time THAT 3sg one ART atonement SHOULD happen ART
vei-.soro.soro-vi vuaa
 COLL-REDUP-atone-PASS TO+3sg
 He was afraid, and so at that time (several chiefs representing Ca'obau, but
 not Ca'obau himself) came with a gift of atonement and made a cere-
 mony of atonement to him (Tui Ca'au).
- (96) [Aside:] *Saa ma'are va'a-.vina'a ti'o tavale?*
 ASP clear properly ASP cousin
 Is it all properly clear, cousin?
- (97) [Sepo:] *Io, ma'are vina'a, io*
 Yes clear good yes
 Yes, very clear, yes.
- (98) *La'o mai e dua a+i- la'o.la'o mai, yaco a*
 go HERE 3sg one ART+journey HERE happen ART
vei-.soro.soro-vi vuaa, sa+qei va'a-.doonu-ya, baleta ni
 COLL-REDUP-atone-PASS TO+3sg ASP+THEN agree-TR BECAUSE
saa rogo yane a o-na vosa o 'ea, ni saa tu'u-na
 ASP heard THERE ART CLASSIF-3sg voice ART 3sg WHEN ASP tell-TR
 The journey had taken place, the ceremony of atonement to him had been
 performed, then it was agreed (that Tui Ca'au would come to Levu'a the
 next day) because his voice had been heard, as he told (them):
- (99) "A *tamata qore e sega ni rawa ni Tui Viti; e rawa*
 ART person THAT 3sg not THAT be able THAT Title Place 3sg be able
gaa ni Tui Tailevu
 MODIF THAT Title Place
 "That person cannot be King of Fiji, he can only be King of Tailevu.
- (100) "Ia, *'eeva'aa e saa Tui Tailevu, o yau saa Tui Vanua.levu."*
 WELL IF 3sg ASP Title Place ART Isg ASP Title Place
 "And well, if he is King of Tailevu, then I am King of Vanua Levu."
- (101) [Aside:] *Rogo-ca*
 hear-TR
 Listen to it!
- (102) *Saa Tui Vanua.levu*
 ASP Title Place
 He was the King of Vanua Levu.

- (103) *Saa+qei mai yaco a vei-.soro.soro-vi qoo, saa+qei la'o*
 ASP+THEN COME arrive ART COLL-REDUP-atone-PASS THIS ASP+THEN go
o 'ea i Levu'a, me. yaco 'ina me soli o Viti
 ART 3sg TO Place SHOULD arrive PREP+3sg SHOULD give ART Place
 Then the ceremony of atonement was performed, and then he (Tui Ca'au)
 went to Levu'a, for the (signing of the deed of) cession of Fiji.
- (104) *Ia, ni saa la'i yaco me soli o Viti, saa la'i ca'a a*
 WELL WHEN ASP go arrive SHOULD give ART Place ASP GO do ART
'e-na vei-.vosa-'i ti'o tale mai e dua a vere i
 CLASSIF-3sg COLL-speak-PASS stay AGAIN HERE 3sg one ART plot IN
loma vei iratou ti'o gaa i+na taba-na a dua, me
 interior TO 3pa stay MODIF BY+ART party-3sg ART one SHOULD
via vei-.wa'i a soli ni vanua o Viti i Peritaania,
 WANT muddle ART give ASSOCIATED place ART Place TO Place
meva'aa e ti'o 'ina e dua a qito caa, me ca'a
 JUST LIKE 3sg stay PREP+3sg 3sg one ART game bad SHOULD do
va'a-.caa
 do badly
 Well (the time) arrived for the (signing of the deed of) cession of Fiji, while
 they were conferring, there was a conspiracy against them (Tui Ca'au's
 group) by the other party (Ca'obau's), who wanted to muddle up the ces-
 sion of Fiji to Britain, so that there was a dirty trick in it, so that it would
 be done badly.
- (105) *Qei mani 'ere-a a tuuraga.bete au vosa ti'o 'ina qoo*
 THEN THEN ask-TR ART priest Isg speak ASP PREP+3sg THIS
 Then the priest that I have spoken of asked (the meeting):
- (106) "Au *vina'a-ta me+u va'a-.dewa mada o yau'*
 Isg want-TR SHOULD+Isg translate PLEASE ART Isg
 "I want to provide the translation, if you please."
- (107) [Aside:] *Rogo-ca ti'o tavale*
 hear-TR ASP cousin
 Listen to (this), cousin!
- (108) "O *yau Ioane Batita*
 ART Isg Person
 "I'm John Baptist.
- (109) "Au *vina'a-ta me+u va'a-.dewa.-ta'ina va'a-.vina'a a*
 Isg want-TR SHOULD+Isg translate-TR properly ART
vei-.vosa-'i qoo."
 COLL-talk-PASS THIS
 "I want to make a good translation of this discussion." (He is said to have had
 a better command of Fijian than any other white man present at the ces-
 sion conference.)
- (110) *Saa+qei va'a-.donu-i me va'a-.dewa.-ta'ina o 'ea a*
 ASP+THEN agree-PASS SHOULD translate-TR ART 3sg ART
vei-.vosa-'i qoo
 COLL-talk-PASS THIS
 Then it was agreed that he should translate these discussions.

(111) *Ia, a o-na va'a-.dewa sa tuu ni'ua a 'e-na vina'a*
WELL ART CLASSIF-3sg translate ASP stand today ART CLASSIF-3sg good
Well, his translation still retains its value today (lit: the worth of his translation still stands today).

(112) [Aside:] *Rai-ca mada*
see-TR PLEASE

Note that, if you please.

(113) *I qoo a+i-na'i ni o-na biu-ta mai o 'ea*
AT THIS ART+purpose ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-3sg leave-TR HERE ART 3sg
me la'i ti'o i maa, ni saa rogo tale gaa ni
SHOULD GO stay AT THERE WHEN ASP heard AGAIN MODIF THAT
oti a 'aa qoo, e dua—aa soli a vanua o Viti, soli
finished ART thing THIS 3sg one PAST give ART place ART Place give
i Peritaania
TO Place

This was the purpose of his leaving (Lau) and going to live there, when it was reported that this thing was finalised (i.e. the lead-up to cession), the cession of this land of Fiji, cession to Britain.

(114) *Ia, ni saa va'a-.dewa.-ta'ina o 'ea a 'aa qoo vata*
WELL WHEN ASP+translatc-TR ART 3sg ART thing THIS TOGETHER
'ei iratou a tuuraga ni manuaa, eratou ti'o, i+na
WITH 3pa ART chief ASSOCIATED battleship 3pa stay IN+ART
loma ni gauna yaa, saa+qei ma'are va'a-.vina'a,
interior ASSOCIATED time THAT ASP+THEN clear do well
te'evuu mai+na gauna maa, sa donu tuu 'ina a
start FROM+ART time THAT ASP correct ASP PREP+3sg ART
vei-. 'aa tauco'o me cava sara gaa mai i+na dela
COLL-thing ALL SHOULD end MODIF MODIF HERE ON+ART top
ni teepeli qoo ni'ua
ASSOCIATED table THIS today

Well, when he had translated that thing (the conference) together with the officers of the (British) battleship who were present, at that time, it (the translation) was clear and well-done, and every aspect of it stands true, starting from that time up to the end-result on the top of this table today.

(115) *E sega ni dua a 'aa e caa ni va'a-.dewa o ratou*
3sg not THAT one ART thing 3sg bad ASSOCIATED translate ART 3pa
a tuuraga.bete i+na loma ni gauna yaa
ART priest IN+ART interior ASSOCIATED time THAT

There was not one thing wrong with the translation of the priests (John Baptist and his colleagues) at that time.

(116) *A manuaa o 'ea aa 'abi ti'o i+na loma ni gauna*
ART battleship ART 3sg PAST dock ASP IN+ART interior ASSOCIATED time
yaa, a Mirada; o 'ea e 'abi ti'o i+na loma ni
THAT ART Ship ART 3sg 3sg dock ASP IN+ART interior ASSOCIATED
gauna yaa, o 'ea a yaca ni manuaa qoo a
time THAT ART 3sg ART name ASSOCIATED battleship THIS ART
Mirada
Ship

The battleship that had docked (at Levu'a) at that time was the Mirada; it had docked (there) at that time, and the name of this battleship was the Mirada. (Note: this is pronounced as [mirada], and not as [miranda].)

(117) *E 'abi mai maa, e mai 'abi tale gaa i Wai'ava o*
3sg dock HERE THAT 3sg COME dock ANOTHER MODIF AT Place ART
'ea, i+na gauna e bera 'ina ni la'o mai a
3sg AT+ART time 3sg not yet PREP+3sg THAT go HERE ART
mata.i-valu
army

It docked here, and then came to dock at Wai'ava, at the time before the (British) army had come here (to enforce the peace).

(118) *E mai vosa 'ina a tuuraga ni valu i+na Mirada*
3sg COME speak PREP+3sg ART chief ASSOCIATED war IN+ART Ship
vei Raatuu 'Oila
TO Title Person

The generals in the Mirada came and spoke to Raatuu 'Oila:

(119) *"Yalo.vina'a, me 'ua a vei-.vala; qoo"*
please SHOULD don't ART COLL-fight THIS
"Please, no further fighting here!"

(120) *A manuaa ni Peritaania, a Mirada*
ART battleship ASSOCIATED Place ART Ship
(That was) a British battleship, the Mirada.

(121) [Aside:] *Saa donu maa, ee?* [Sepo:] *Io*
ASP correct THAT eh yes
That's right, isn't it? Yes.

(122) *Mai vosa o 'ea i Wai'ava, tu'u-na 'ina me waa'ua ni*
COME speak ART 3sg AT Place tell-TR PREP+3sg SHOULD don't THAT
la'i yaco a vala i Taveuni "Dou yalo.vina'a"
GO happen ART fight AT Place 2pa please
(The generals) came and spoke at Wai'ava, and told (Raatuu 'Oila) that there must not be any more fighting in Taveuni "If you please".

(123) *Sega ni yaco 'ina, saa la'i yaco tale a soli-vanua 'abi*
not THAT reach PREP+3sg ASP GO arrive AGAIN ART give.land dock
tale o 'ea mai Levu'a, o 'ea maa
AGAIN ART 3sg AT Place ART 3sg THAT
(The battleship) didn't go (as far as Taveuni); (the time) arrived for the cession, and it (returned to) dock at Levu'a, there.

(124) *Ia, ni saa yaco mai+na gauna maa me yaco*
WELL WHEN ASP arrive FROM+ART time THAT SHOULD arrive
mai+na gauna qoo, saa 'oto va'a-.dodonu o Viti
FROM+ART time THIS ASP lay down correctly ART Place
mai+na o-na ca'a.ca'a, o Paatere Ioane Baिता 'ei
FROM+ART CLASSIF-3sg work ART Title Person WITH
iratou tale e soo, i+na o-dratou tu'u-na va'a-.vina'a
3pa ANOTHER 3sg some IN+ART CLASSIF-3pa tell-TR do well
a+i- tu'u.tu'u e dodonu, me baleta o 'ea a vei-.vala qoo
ART+report 3sg correct CONCERNING ART 3sg ART COLL-fight THIS
Well, from that time until this time, (the laws of) Fiji have been laid down

correctly by virtue of the efforts of Father John Baptist and some (of his priestly colleagues), by their properly stating reports, that are correct, concerning this war (with Tonga, and Tui Ca'au's role in it).

- (125) *Sa+na rau-ta i vanua maa a o-mu i-talanoa au sa*
 ASP+FUT suffice-TR AT place THAT ART CLASSIF-2sg story 1sg ASP
dola-va qoo, drau rogo ti'o, mudrau a we'a-qu, drau la'o mai
 open-TR THIS 2du hear ASP 2du ART friend-1sg 2du go FROM
Ositerelia, 'ei+na qou tavale, e la'o mai+na
 Place WITH+ART CLASSIF+1sg cousin 3sg go FROM+ART
Yavusa o Naisaqai, au dola-va va'a-lailai ti'o e dua
 Social unit ART Yavusa 1sg open-TR small extent ASP 3sg one
a+i-talanoa, talanoa bii.bii sara to'a, baleta ni o Ca'audrove
 ART+story story serious MODIF ASP BECAUSE ART Place
raaraba, e dina ni levu a 'ai-Ca'audrove, era ti'o qoo, e
 whole 3sg true THAT many ART NATIVE-Place 3pl stay THIS 3sg
lewe lailai era 'ila-a tuu o 'ea a+i-talanoa au
 PERSON few 3pl know-TR ASP ART 3sg ART+story 1sg
'abu.-ra'ina qoo
 broadcast-TR HERE

That is the end of your story (lit. your story suffices at that point) which I have revealed—you two can hear, you two my friends, who come from Australia, together with my cousin (i.e. Sepo) who comes from the Yavusa of Naisaqai; I have revealed just a little of one story, a fairly important story, because in the whole of Ca'audrove, although there are many people who now live in Ca'audrove, only a few of them know the story that I have broadcast here.

- (126) *Sa 'e-na levu qoo*
 ASP CLASSIF-3sg big THIS
 That's all (lit. this is its size).
- (127) [Sepo:] *Vina'a va'a-levu sara, tavale; e dua a+i-talanoa rogo.rogo*
 good greatly MODIF cousin 3sg one ART+story interesting
vina'a, bii.bii, o sa+qei talanoa.-ta'ina oti
 good serious 2sg ASP+THEN recount-TR FINISH
 Thank you very much indeed, cousin; (for) a very interesting story, an important one, which you have just finished narrating.
- (128) *Erau taalei.-ta'ina sara va'a-levu o rau a tuuraga vei.-wati-ni*
 3du like-TR MODIF greatly ART 3du ART chief couple
o Roopate vata 'ei Aneta, a+i-talanoa rogo vina'a,
 ART PERSON TOGETHER WITH PERSON ART+story hear good
sa+qei mai rau 'ato-na tale gaa va'a-dua qoo; e
 ASP+THEN COME 3du record-TR AGAIN MODIF completely THIS 3sg
dua a+i-tu'u.tu'u ma'awa dina, ni o-na qaaqaa tuu
 one ART+news old true ASSOCIATED CLASSIF-3sg victory ASP
mai o Ca'audrove, mai+na gauna mayaa, me yaco-va
 HERE ART Place FROM+ART time THAT SHOULD reach-TR
mai a siga ni'ua; saa vina'a va'a-levu sara, Siriloo Saabai
 HERE ART day today ASP good greatly MODIF Person
 The chiefly couple, Roopate and Aneta, liked it very much indeed, a story

well-told, which they have now come here and recorded, once and for all; it is a real piece of old history, of Ca'audrove's victory in those times, which reaches through to today. Thank you very much indeed, Siriloo Saabai.

Notes to text 6

(a) This story is told in a quite different manner from text 4. Siriloo Saabai uses rather formal language, with rhetorical devices, as he declaims the story, often in a self-conscious histrionic style.

(b) In lines 2–4 the deity is respectfully addressed with the 2pl pronoun.

(c) The title of the paramount chief of Ca'audrove is *Tui Ca'au* (lit. King Reef). The narrator alternates between this (e.g. sentence 21) and *Raatuu-i ca'au* (e.g. sentence 13) with the honorific title *Raatuu*, possessive marker *-i* and *ca'au* "reef". He may imagine that *Tui Ca'au* is an abbreviation from *Raatuu-i ca'au*; if so, this is a folk etymology. In translation I have rendered *Raatuu-i ca'au* as "Raatuu of the reef", and retained *Tui Ca'au* as is, since this is an accepted title.

(d) In sentences 24, 29, 30 the narrator uses *mo i'o* before the predicate head (effectively fronting an NP that consists of the cardinal pronoun *o i'o*, and placing it after *me*). Consultants, in helping to transcribe the text, felt that this was ungrammatical (it is used for rhetorical effect)—see §24.3.

(e) The assertion in sentence 35 that Wai'ava used to be called Waikapa is, Paul Geraghty tells me, fanciful.

(f) The narrator is romancing when he speaks, in sentences 51–2, of bamboo guns being the original weapons of Fijians. In fact the word *da'ai*, now used with the meaning "gun", originally meant "bow", and these were among the weapons used before European weapons were introduced. Bamboo guns—which do explode with a bang, as described in the text—were introduced by the Chinese, and are used for effect at New Year celebrations, etc. (they are not a weapon for fighting).

(g) The chronology skips back and forth in this story. The war with Tonga (sentences 11–71) is said to have taken place in 1865–6. Then the narration skips back to the first arrival of Catholic missionaries at Lakemba in the Lau group (73–5), in 1844. It goes ahead to the cession conference (83–115), in 1874, and then skips back to what is said to have happened just before this, a battleship coming to Wai'ava (117–23).

(h) In sentence 104 it is left obscure what the conspiracy was, or what the "dirty tricks" may have been.

Text 8a

A shouted announcement (*i-'aci.'aci*), which was called out from three different points in Waitabu village, by Suliano Kaivei, at about 7.30 A.M. on Tuesday, 5 February 1985.

Each adult is required to do "village work" on Tuesdays (the announcement about it is usually made on Monday evening, but this week it was late). The weekly dances at Waitabu had been attracting undesirable characters from other villages, who had robbed the store (among other things). After a long series of meetings it was decided to dismantle the Va'a-tunuloa (a shed-type building used for dances) so that no more dances could be held. The announcement contains instructions for this demolition.

The first sentence and the last two were the same (or very nearly the same) on all village announcements by Suliano.

- (1) *Io, dou saa va'a-ro-rogo ma'la mai a o-datou tuuraga*
 Yes 2pa ASP MAKE-REDUP-hear PLEASE HERE ART CLASSIF-1inc.pa chief
i ti'i-na yai, dou rogo-ca vina'a sara a 'aa e saa tu'u-ni
 IN part-3sg THIS 2pa hear-TR good MODIF ART thing 3sg ASP tell-PASS
me 'aci.-va'i
 SHOULD shout-PASS
 Yes, you please listen here, our people in this part (of the village), you listen carefully to the thing that has been-ordered to be proclaimed.
- (2) *Ia, au sa 'aci.-va'ina mada yane a o-munuu ca'a.ca'a*
 WELL 1sg ASP call-TR PLEASE THERE ART CLASSIF-2pl work
a marama ni'ua, baleta ni o-da siga ni
 ART woman today BECAUSE CLASSIF-1inc.pl day ASSOCIATED
ca'a.ca'a va'a-'oro
 work RELATING-village
 Well, I am calling out, if you please, the tasks of you women for today because it is our day for village work.
- (3) *Ia, nuu saa 'ere-i ti'o a marama mo nuu yalo.vina'a sara,*
 WELL 2pl ASP ask-PASS ASP ART woman SHOULD+2pl please MODIF
me la'i bote mada a laalaga ni va'a-tunuloa
 SHOULD GO dismantle PLEASE ART wall CONCERNING shed
me kama laivi yane i sawana
 SHOULD burn away THERE ON beach
 Well, you women are very respectfully asked that the walls of the shed should be dismantled for them to be disposed of by being burnt on the beach.
- (4) *Ia, ni sa+na oti yaa, me+qei cara.-ma'i tale*
 WELL WHEN ASP+FUT finish THAT SHOULD+THEN SWCCP-PASS ANOTHER
gaa yane a loma ni va'a-tunuloa, vata
 MODIF THERE ART interior ASSOCIATED shed TOGETHER
'ei+na soqo.soqo tale gaa saa ti'o i raa.raa i
 WITH+ART rubbish ANOTHER MODIF ASP stay ON village green AT
yasa-na i sawana
 side-3sg AT beach
 Well, when this is finished, the inside of the shed is also to be swept out, together with the rubbish that is lying on the beach side of the village green.
- (5) *Ia, dou va'a-rogo-ca vina'a sara, o-datou tuuraga 'amu*
 WELL 2pa MAKE-hear-TR good MODIF CLASSIF-1inc.pa chief THIS ONE
yai, me 'ua sara ni dua e rogo cala to'a 'ina
 HERE SHOULD don't MODIF THAT one 3sg hear-TR ASP PREP+3sg
 Well, you listen very carefully, our people here, and do not anyone at all mishear this.
- (6) *E saa 'e-na i-rogo gaa vei 'emudou a o-datou*
 3sg ASP CLASSIF-3sg news MODIF TO 2pa ART CLASSIF-1inc.pa
tuuraga i ti'i-na yai o 'ea yai
 chief IN part-3sg THIS ART 3sg THIS
 This is all the news (I have) for you, our people in this part (of the village) here.

References

- Arms, D. G. 1973. Whence the Fijian transitive endings? *Oceanic Linguistics* 12: 503-58.
- . 1974. Transitivity in Standard Fijian. PhD dissertation, University of Michigan. (#75-622, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106.)
- . 1978. Fijian "sā" and "se" aspect. In *Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics: Proceedings*, ed. S. A. Wurm and L. Carrington, pp 1241-72. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- . 1986. Surface order in the Standard Fijian Verb Phrase. In *FOCAL I: Papers from the Fourth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, ed. Paul Geraghty, Lois Carrington, and S. A. Wurm, pp 199-230. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Benveniste, E. 1958. Delocutive verbs. In *Studia philologica et litteraria in honorem L. Spitzer*, ed. A. G. Hatcher and K. L. Selig, pp 57-63. Bern. Reprinted in Benveniste, *Problems in general linguistics*, pp 239-46. Coral Gables: University of Florida Press, 1971.
- Berlin, B., and P. Kay. 1969. *Basic-color terms: Their universality and evolution*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Biggs, B., and R. R. Nayacakalou. 1958. Review of Milner's *Fijian Grammar*. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 67: 80-3.
- Bloomfield, L. 1933. *Language*. New York: Holt.
- Blust, R. A. 1977. The Proto-Austronesian pronouns and Austronesian subgrouping. *University of Hawaii Working Papers in Pacific Linguistics*, 9/2: 1-15.
- Cammack, F. M. 1962. Bauan grammar. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.
- Capell, A., comp. 1941. *A new Fijian dictionary*. Sydney: Australasian Medical Publishing Company. 3d ed., Suva: Government Printer, 1968.
- Churchward, C. M. 1941. *A new Fijian grammar*. Sydney: Australasian Medical Publishing Company.
- . 1953. *Tongan grammar*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Comrie, B. 1975. Causatives and universal grammar. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1974: 1-32.
- . 1976. The syntax of causative constructions: Cross-language similarities and divergencies. In *The grammar of causative constructions (Syntax and semantics, 6)*, ed. M. Shibatani, pp 261-312. New York: Academic Press.
- . 1981. *Language universals and linguistic typology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1972. *The Dyirbal language of North Queensland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1977a. *A grammar of Yidjñ*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1977b. Some phonological rules in Yidjñ. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8: 1-34.
- . 1979. Ergativity. *Language* 55: 59-138.
- . 1982. *Where have all the adjectives gone? and other essays in semantics and syntax*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Geraghty, P. 1976. Fijian prepositions. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 85: 507-20.
- . 1977. The development of the pronoun system of Bauan Fijian. Typescript.
- . 1983. *The history of the Fijian languages*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- . 1984. Language policy in Fiji and Rotuma. In *Duivosavosa, Fiji's languages: Their use and their future*, by G. B. Milner, D. G. Arms, and P. Geraghty, pp 32-84. Bulletin No 8 of the Fiji Museum, Suva.

- Geraghty, P. and A. K. Pawley. 1981. The relative chronology of some innovations in the Fijian languages. In *Studies in Pacific languages and cultures in honour of Bruce Biggs*, ed. J. Hollyman and A. K. Pawley, pp 159–78. Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- Hale, H. 1846. Grammar of the Vitian language. A Vitian dictionary. In vol 6, *Ethnology and Philology, of United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–42*, by Charles Wilkes, pp 366–424. Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard; reprinted Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press, 1968.
- Hazlewood, D. 1850. *A Feejeean and English and an English and Feejeean dictionary . . .*; and *A compendious grammar of the Feejeean language . . .*, Vewa: Wesleyan Missionary Press.
- . 1872. *A Fijian and English and an English and Fijian dictionary, and a grammar of the language*. 2d ed., ed. J. Calvert. London: Sampson Low; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1979.
- Hopper, P. G., and S. A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56:251–99.
- Keenan, E. L. 1978. The syntax of subject-final languages. In *Syntactic typology: Studies in the phenomenology of language*, ed. W. P. Lehmann, pp 267–327. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Krupa, V. 1966. The phonemic structure of bivocalic morphemic forms in Oceanic languages. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 75:458–97.
- Mallinson, G., and B. J. Blake. 1981. *Language typology: Cross-linguistic studies in syntax*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Matthews, P. H. 1974. *Morphology: An introduction to the theory of word-structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Milner, G. B. 1956. *Fijian grammar*. Suva: Fiji Government Press.
- . 1972. *Fijian grammar*. 3d ed. Suva: Government Press.
- Nayacakalou, R. R. 1955. The Fijian system of kinship and marriage, Part 1. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 64:44–55.
- Parke, A. L. 1981. Clause structure in Fijian. MA thesis, Australian National University.
- Pawley, A. K. 1972. On the internal relationships of the Eastern Oceanic languages. In *Studies in Oceanic Culture History*, vol 3 (Pacific Anthropological Records No 13), ed. R. C. Green and M. Kelly, pp 1–42. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
- . 1974. Austronesian languages. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1974 and later editions.
- . 1980. *A sketch grammar of the Nabukelevu language of Kadavu*. Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, Working Papers, No 57.
- . 1986. A reanalysis of Fijian transitive constructions. *Te Reo* 29:81–112. (Earlier draft circulated in 1975.)
- Pawley, A. K., and R. C. Green. 1984. The Proto-Oceanic language community. *Journal of Pacific History* 19:123–46.
- Pawley, A. K., and T. Sayaba. 1971. Fijian dialect divisions: Eastern and western Fijian. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 80:405–36.
- Ravuvu, A. 1983. *Vaka i taukei: The Fijian way of life*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Schmidt, A. 1988. Language in a Fijian village: An ethnolinguistic study. PhD thesis, Australian National University.
- Schütz, A. J. 1972. *The languages of Fiji*. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1986. *The Fijian language*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Schütz, A. J., and R. T. Komaitai. 1971. *Spoken Fijian: An intensive course in Bauan Fijian, with grammatical notes and glossary*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

- Schütz, A. J., and T. Nawadra. 1972. A refutation of the notion “passive” in Fijian. *Oceanic Linguistic* 11:88–109.
- Scott, N. C. 1948. A study of the phonetics of Fijian. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 12:737–52.
- Williams, T. 1858. *Fiji and the Fijians*, vol. 1: *The islands and their inhabitants*. London: Alexander Heylin; reprinted Suva: Fiji Museum, 1982.

Vocabulary

Only words occurring in the discussion, examples, and texts of this book are included here; personal and place names are not listed. Grammatical words and prefixes are included, with a cross-reference to the section(s) of their major mention. Loan words from English are marked "Loan". (No attempt has been made to identify loans from other sources, e.g. from Tongan or from other Fijian dialects.)

Derivations involving prefixes *i-* and *va'a-* (and some of those with *vei-*) are generally listed under the root; e.g. both *i-ti'o.ti'o* and *va'a-i-ti'o.ti'o* are given under *ti'o*. Derived forms involving reduplication, object incorporation, and prefixes *'ai-*, *dau-* (as well as many involving *vei-*) are generally not included, since their meanings are almost always predictable.

Word class membership is indicated as follows:

VERBS

Those that can be *both transitive and intransitive* are shown by the transitive ending(s) in parentheses; e.g. *rai(-ca)* abbreviates transitive *rai-ca* and intransitive *rai*. The syntactic orientation of a verb of this type is shown by \dot{A} (indicating S = A) or by O (indicating S = O)—see §5.1, §18.2.

Those that are *only transitive* are shown by the transitive ending(s) with no parentheses, e.g. *nanu-ma*.

Those that are *only intransitive* are marked by "Intr" e.g. *gaadee*, Intr. ("Intens" indicates a transitive ending with intensifying meaning.)

NOUNS

Bound nouns are shown by a hyphen at the end of the root, e.g. *liga-*.

Free nouns have no marking at all, e.g. *dalo*.

ADJECTIVES—"Adj" ("pl" indicates a plural form)

ADVERBS—"Adv"

TIME WORDS—"Time"

MODIFIERS—"Modif"

Unless otherwise indicated, all forms given are in current use by speakers of the Boumaa dialect, B. They are also, unless indication to the contrary is given, to the best of my knowledge used in Standard Fijian, V (with *k* in place of glottal stop, and *-taka* for *-ta'ina*). An indication "B" or "V" indicates that a form is confined to (or was originally confined to) that dialect.

Note that a long vowel is automatically shortened when it is in the penultimate syllable of a word, followed by a short vowel in the final syllable. Thus *dree(-ta)* abbreviates intransitive *dree* and transitive *dre-ta*.

Normal alphabetical order is followed, with the glottal stop placed at the end of the alphabet, i.e.

a, b, c, d, e, f, g, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, y, '

a, common article, §9.3

aa, past tense marker, §8.2.2

aapolo, apple, Loan

ae, Interjection, hey!, §22.6

au, Pronoun, 1sg subject, §6.3

aua, hour, Loan

baa(-ta'ina), A, deny something

baaravi, coast, seashore

baasi'a(-ta'ina), O, appear, make pass through (and come out other side)

baci, pre-head Modif, again, §8.3.8

bagi, Modif, V, forsooth, §8.3.8

balavu, Adj, long, tall; pl *babalavu*; *va'a-balavu*, Adv, lengthily; *va'a-balavu-ta'ina*, make long
bale, see *tuuraga.bale*
bale(-ta), A, fall from a position of standing (upon/towards); die (of chief)
bale(-ta), A, caused by, mean; *i-bale.bale*, meaning
baleta~baleti, Preposition, concerning, §14.4.1
baleta ni, Relator, because, §14.4.2
basa(-a), be opposite, level, in a straight line with
basi, bus, Loan
basi.sitopu, bus stop, Loan
basu(-'a), O, tear (e.g. old clothes), tear down (e.g. old building)
bata.bataa, Adj, cold
bati-, teeth; sharp edge, blade, bank of river
bau, Adj(?), just (one), §8.3.8
bau, pre-head Modif, a little more, somewhat, including, §8.3.8
bau, see *va'a-bau-ta*, believe in, accept (proposal)
bele, a leaf vegetable (*Hibiscus manihot*)
beleti, belt, Loan
bena(-a), O, dye hair
benisini, benzene, Loan
bera(-ca B, -ta V), A, be late (for appointed time), not yet; *bera.bera*, Adj, slow, late, Noun, lateness; *ni bera ni*, before
bese(-ta'ina), semi-auxiliary verb, A, don't want, refuse, §23.4
bete, priest of traditional Fijian religion; see also *tuuraga.bete*, Catholic priest (can be abbreviated to *bete*)
bete-, use of, purpose of
beti(-a), O, pluck (fruit)
be'a, post-head Modif, about, perhaps, §8.3.5; *va'a-be'a-ta'ina*, be unsure of, express uncertainty about
bii, ten turtles
bii.bii, Adj, heavy, serious; *va'a-bii.bii*, Adv, especially, seriously
bili-a/ta'ina, blame, accuse
bili(-ga), A, push; Intens *-ra'ina*
bilo, cup; *bilo ni iii*, tea-cup
bitu, bamboo
biu(-ta), O, place, put, leave
bi'a(-ca B, -a V), O, clamp down, press down on, live on

bogi, Time, night (from dusk to dawn); *va'a-bogi-na*, count nights
boi(-ca), O, emit a smell, smell; *i- boi*, a smell
bole(-a), A, give oneself (e.g. to war or some arduous task such as working in the heat of the day), attempt, challenge
bona, Intr, stink
boo(-'a) B (kune(-a), V), O, be visible
boqo, Bongos (a packeted snack), Loan
bore-ta, swear at
boro(-ya/-ta), O, paint (e.g. with finger)
bose(-a), A, confer (over); Noun, meeting
bote(-a), O, dismantle, demolish; *'a-bote*, (house) falls down in cyclone
boto, frog; (*lade*) *va'a-boto*, (jump) like a frog
bo'o(-ca), O, extinguish (e.g. fire), erase; *i- bo'o.bo'o*, eraser
bula(-ta'ina), A, live (a certain kind of life); Noun, life; *bula.bula*, Adj, healthy; *va'a-bula-a*, make healthy, alive; *i- va'a-bula*, saviour. Also *bula*, hello; *va'a-bula(-ta'ina)*, say hello (to)
buli(-a), O, make, manufacture (material object), make up (story)
bulu(-ta), O, bury, cover with earth; *vei-bulu*, burial; *i- bulu.bulu*, grave
bulumakau, cow, cattle, Loan
buno(-ta'ina), A, sweat over (e.g. work)
buru, ten coconuts
buta, Intr, cooked, ready to eat; *va'a-butara*, cook
buta'o(-ca), A, take unlawfully, steal, rob
butoo, buto.butoo, Adj, dark
butu, Intr, stamp foot; *butu-'a*, tread on, massage someone's back with your foot
buubuuli(-ta'ina) B, buubuului(-taka) V, A, take an oath, swear (that . . .)
bu'a, fire, firewood

ca-, verbal prefix, §18.7
ca-bolo, Intr, explode (in B, root *bolo* scarcely occurs without *ca-*)
caa, Adj, bad; pl *cacaa*; *va'a-caa*, Adv, do badly (modifying Verb), very (modifying Adj); *va'a-caa.caa*, damage; *vei-caa-ta'i*, be enemies; see also *ca-ta*

cabe(-ta), A, go up (e.g. mountain), climb, come ashore; *-ta'ina*, carry (something) up
cabo(-ra), va'a-cabo(-ra), O, make presentation
caga, span of outstretched fingers and thumb
cagi, wind
cagi.laba, cyclone (lit: murdering wind)
cala(-ta), A, err, miss (e.g. hitting); Noun, error, mistake, sin
caqe(-ta), A, kick, Intens *-la'ina*
cara(-ma'ina), O, sweep to clear a path
ca-ta, dislike, deem bad
cau, original B (now replaced by *sega ni*, from V), pre-head Modif, not, §23.4
cauravou, youth, unmarried (young) man
cava, Interrogative, what, which, §16.2
cava, Intr, end, terminate, finish off
cave, va'a-cave-a B (lili(-ga) V), O, hang up
cavu(-ta), O, pull up, uproot
cavu-ta, pronounce; *i- cavu.cavu*, pronunciation
ca'a(-va), O, do, make, work (at); *ca'a.ca'a*, work; *i- ca'a.ca'a*, way of working; *ca'a.mate*, funeral takes place; *ca'a.va'a-mau*, wedding takes place
ca'au, reef
ca'e, post-head Modif, up, more, §8.3.4; Noun, up, east
cei, Interrogative, who, §16.1
cega(-a), O, lift something up by one side, turn page; *va'a-caga-a*, turn up assiduously (e.g. try to find a page in a book)
cegu(-va), A, breathe (object: what is breathed in); *-va'ina* (object: reason for taking deep breaths); *va'a-cegu*, Intr, take a rest, relax; *va'a-cegu-ya*, cause to relax, satisfy
cele(-a), O, uncover, open up (e.g. take leaves off earth oven, dig up grave)
ciba, Intr, be unconscious, die (a more refined term than *mate*)
cibi(-ta'ina), A, declare war (on), get ready for war
cili(-va), A, (sun, moon, or stars) shine (on)

cina(-va), A, (torch, fire, or lamp) shine (on); Noun, light, lamp
ciri, Intr, drift away on water; *ciri-na*, Intr, be carried away by water
ciwa, Number, nine
cobo(-ta), A, clap with cupped hands (e.g. during kava drinking); *-ya B, -ra V*, put two concave things together with spaces facing inwards (e.g. two plates together to keep food warm); *-na*, place a concave object space downwards (e.g. put open book on table, pages down)
coco'a, see *co'a*
coja(-ta), A, carry on shoulder
coo, grass
coo.coo, forest (only semi-wild, e.g. just outside a village)
cori(-ta), O, tie, tether; Intens *-la'ina*
covi, see *i- covi*, prize
co'a(-a), A, throw a spear at; *-ta'ina* (object: that which is thrown); *coco'a*, Intr, go out spearing (usually for fish)
co'o(-ta), O, catch fish with net
co'o.co'o, original B (now replaced by *tauco'o, kece, 'ece*), pre-head Modif, all, §8.3.7
cula(-a), O, pierce, sew, inject, spear (with implement held in hand); *i- cula*, needle
cumu-ta, butt with the head
curu(-ma), A, go through, enter; *-ma'ina*, O, put in/through (object: thing put in/through); *vei-curu-ma'i*, mixed in together (e.g. B and V dialects in present-day Boumaa villages)

da V (ta B), Pronoun, 1incl subject, §6.3
daa, abbreviated form (in B) of *dua* "one" plus *a*, common article
daanisi(-ta'ina), A, dance (object: dance-style), Loan
dabe(-ca), A, sit (on), *-ra*, sit waiting for; *i- dabe.dabe*, chair
dada, Adj, soft, weak, putrid
daga.daga, Adj, exhausted
dai B (lasu V), Intr, be untrue, false; *va'a-dai-ca*, tell lies to
daidai V (ni'ua B), Time, today
dali, rope
daliga-, ear

dalo, taro (*Colocasia esculenta*)
damu.damu ~ **damu**, Adj, red
daro, Intr, postponed; *va'a-daro-ya*, postpone
daru V (**taru** B), Pronoun, 1incdu subject, §6.3
datou V (**tou** B), Pronoun, 1incpa subject, §6.3
dau-, prefix; expert at, §17.4
dau-, prefix, habitually, often, §17.4
dave, Intr, to flood; Noun, flood; *dave-na*, Intr, to be carried off by a flood
davo(-ra/ca) V (**'oto(-ra)** B), A, lie down (on)
da'ai, gun (originally: bow)
da'u-, back (of person or object)
dedee, Adj, long (time); Noun, length of time
dee, Relator, in case, because . . . might, §22.1, §22.3, §23.1
dei, Intr, firmly fixed; *va'a-dei-ta'ina*, confirm (e.g. plane reservations)
dela-, top of
dewa(-ca), A, spread (e.g. infectious disease), *va'a-dewa(-ta'ina)*, translate
dia, handle (of knife, spear, etc); *va'a-dia*, Adj, with a handle; *va'a-dia-ta'ina*, put a handle on
digi-a/ta'ina, choose things/people
digo-va, inspect, examine
diinau, debt
dina, post-head Modif, truly, §8.3.5; Intr, true, genuine, real; *dina-ta*, O, believe in, think true; *va'a-dina.dina* (-*ta'ina*), O, confirm
dio, rock oyster
di'e-va, investigate, scrutinise; *va'a-di'e-va*, investigate carefully; *va'a-di-di'e*, do research (and Noun, research)
dodonu, semi-auxiliary verb, must, be necessary, §23.4; Intr, straight, correct, right; *va'a-dodonu*, Adv, correctly; *va'a-dodonu-ta'ina*, to correct (*dodonu* is historically related to *donu*, *doonu-ya*)
dola, dollar, Loan
dola(-va), O, open, reveal, switch on (e.g. radio, recorder); *ta-dola*, open spontaneously
domi(-ca), A, suck, puff (e.g. on tobacco)

domo-, neck, voice, throat
domo-na, desire, love (romantically)
dono, Intr, right, correct, agreed
doonu-ya, coincide with (e.g. time); *va'a-doonu-ya*, agree with, accept, approve
dou(.dou)(-va'ina), A, be brave (at), not scared (of)
dovu, sugar cane
do'a-a, respect, honour, admire; *do'a.do'aa*, Adj, boastful
draa, blood; Intr, to bleed
draiva(-ta'ina), A, drive; also Noun, driver; Loan
drama(-'a) B (**vir(-ka)** V), A, throw (object: what is thrown at), *-ta'ina* (object: what is thrown)
drami(-ca), A, lick
dramu, drum (e.g. of kerosene), Loan
drano, lake
dranu, fresh (in *wai dranu*, fresh water); *va'a-dranu*, bathed in fresh water
drau, one hundred, §13.1
drau-, leaf, hair, page
dravu, ashes
dravu.dravua, Adj, poor, poverty-stricken (people); grey (animals, things)
dra'i, weather
dredre(-va'ina), A, laugh (at)
dree(-ta), A, pull; Intens *-ta'ina*; *veidree*, pull each other (as in tug-of-war)
dree.dree, Adj, hard, difficult
dresu(-'a), O, tear, rend (materials); *'a-dresu*, be torn
dreu, Adj, ripe
drewe(-ta), A, carry on back (e.g. bag)
drii(-va), A, rebound onto, ricochet and hit
dromo.dromo ~ **dromo**, Adj, yellow
dromo.dromoa, Adj, yellowish
dro'a.dro'a ~ **dro'a**, Adj, green
drudru(-ga), O, skin (animal), peel bark (off tree)
druti(-a), O, sever a connection (e.g. pull leaves off tree, cut rope); *ca-druti*, come off spontaneously
dru'a, Intr, lose, be unsuccessful
dua, Number, one; *dua.dua*, post-head Modif, alone, unique, §8.3.7; *dua.tani*, strange; *va'a-dua*, Adv,

completely, once and for all, all in one
dui, pre-head Modif, differently, separately, each . . . respectively, §8.3.8
duri, Intr, rise from lying to sitting position
dusi(-a), A, point to (something near); *-va'ina*, (something far away)
du'a, Adj, dirty; Noun, dirt

e, Pronoun, 3sg and unmarked subject, §6.5, §13.2.2
e V (**i** B), Preposition, at, concerning, §14.1
ecc(-ra) B (**dabe(-ca)** V, now also in B), A, sit (on)
eda V (**eta** B), Pronoun, 1incpl subject, §6.3
edaru V (**etaru** B), Pronoun, 1incdu subject, §6.3
edatou V (**tou** B), Pronoun, 1incpa subject, §6.3
ee, Tag, eh?, chapter 16
elefadi, elephant, Loan
era, Pronoun, 3pl subject, §6.3
eratou, Pronoun, 3pa subject, §6.3
erau, Pronoun, 3du subject, §6.3
eta B (**eda** V), Pronoun, 1incpl subject, §6.3
etaru B (**edaru** V), Pronoun, 1incdu subject, §6.3

faca, Father (Catholic priest), Loan
faele(-ta'ina), file; Noun, file; Loan
falawa, flour, Loan
fenuu(-ta'ina) B (**venu(-taka)** V), A, blow or pick nose (object: mucus, etc)
fika, Intr, calculate; Noun, figure (i.e. numeral), arithmetic; Loan
fomu-ta'ina, form (e.g. army), Loan
fua, elephantiasis

gaa, post-head Modif, particularly, only, just, still, §8.3.8
gaadee, Intr, stroll, travel around for pleasure
galala, Adj, unoccupied, free
galu (-va'ina/ta'ina), A, be quiet, say nothing (towards/about)
garo(-va), A, want urgently, desire, lust after
gata, snake

gata, Adj, sharp (blade); *gata.gata*, Adj, sharp (point)
gato(-ta'ina), A, use glottal stop (i.e. speak dialect with glottal stop), object can be word that is pronounced with a glottal stop
gauna, Time, time; *va'a-gauna*, occasionally; *vei-gauna*, at every (appropriate) time
gede(-a), O, shake, Intens *-ra'ina*
gole(-va), A, face towards
gone, child; Adj, young; *va'a-gone*, be like a child
gone.tuuraga, great chief
gone.vuli, schoolchild
gone.yalewa, teenage girl (not yet married)
gudu(-va), O, cut off
gunu(-va) V (**unu(-ma)** B), A, drink sip, suck, lick
guu(-ta), A, have energy, be eager for, desire earnestly; *-ta'ina/ra'ina*, strive to do; *i-guu*, energy

i B (**e**; **i~ki** V), Preposition, to, at, concerning, so that; chapter 14
i, possessive marker, §10.2-3
i-, prefix deriving noun from verb, §17.3
ia, Relator, well, then, but, §22.5
ica~naica B (**naica** V), when, §16.5
i-covi, prize
idini, engine, Loan
i-lavo, money; *va'a-i-lavo*, make money, have money, be rich
ilo.ilo, glass
i-lo'o.lo'o, pillow; *va'a-i-lo'o.lo'o*, use a pillow
i-matai, ordinal number, first, §13.3
io, Interjection, yes, §22.6
ira, Pronoun, 3pl, §6.3
iratou, Pronoun, 3pa, §6.3
irau, Pronoun, 3du, §6.3
iri-va, fan
iro(-va), A, peep at, look slyly at (e.g. through a hole)
isi(-a), O, tear lengthwise; *ta-isi*, be torn
i-sulu, garment; *va'a-i-sulu*, be/get dressed; *va'a-i-sulu-ta'ina*, dress someone else
itaamera, see *va'a-itaamera*, huge, monstrous

i-tau, friend
i-tau'ei, native person, possessor (usually of land)
i-tovo, customs, habits
i-to'a.to'a, extended family unit, §1.1
i-vola.vosa, dictionary
i-vua, yoke for carrying across the shoulders; bundles at each end of yoke
i-wase (ni waqona), meal taken after kava drinking
i-yaa.yaa, goods, things
i-yalo.yalo, film, movie
i-yaragi, weapon, protection
i'a, fish (generic)
i-'a-, prefixes forming ordinal numbers, §13.3
i'o, Pronoun, 2sg, §6.3

jaabolo, see *va'a-jaabolo*, naked, heathen
jalaina V (**tiaina** B), banana; China; Loan

kaa, letter "k"; *va'a-kaa*, speak a dialect with a "k" (and not a glottal stop)
kaarisi, (water) cress, Loan
kaasivi(-ta), A, spit (at), *-ta'ina* (object: what is spat out)
kaka(-va'ina), A, stammer (object can be word or sound that subject stammers on)
kaki(-a), O, scrape skin off (e.g. breadfruit)
kaloko, clock, o'clock, Loan, §15.1
kalou, god
kalou.gata, Adj, blessed, happy (lit. "god-snake", said to refer to traditional snake god, Degci); *va'a-kalou.gata-ta'ina*, bless
kama(-ca) V and now also B (original B equivalents were *udre(-va)* and *'ati(-a)*), O, burn (S/A can be any object that is burning, e.g. grass, house, but not fire or light—for these *qawa* is used)
Katolika, Adj, (Roman) Catholic, Loan
kau V (**'acu** B), tree, wood, stick; *vei-kau* V (*le'utu* B), forest
kaukamea, metal
kaukaua, Adj, strong, hard; powerful; *va'a-kaukaua*, Adv, do hard
kaya V (no equivalent in B), fusion of preposition *kei* and 3sg pronoun *koya*; chapter 14

ke- V ('e- B), classifier prefix, see chapter 12 and §6.3
ke-, initial element of many pronouns in V, corresponding to 'e in B
keaa V (**mayaa** B), that, there, §7.1.1
kece~'e, post-head Modif, all, §8.3.7
kee V (**yai** B), here, this, §7.1.1
kei V ('ei B), Preposition, together with, §14.3
kere-a, V ('ere-a, q.v. B), ask for
keri V (**yaa** B), that, there, §7.1.1
ki~i V (i B), Preposition, to, towards, so that; chapter 14
kilo, kilo, Loan
kina V ('ina B), fusion of preposition *ki~ile/mqi* and 3sg pronoun *koya*; chapter 14
kisi(-va), kiss; intransitive is inherent reciprocal; Loan
koila B (**kuila** V), flag
kolii V ('olii B), dog
komiti, committee, Loan
kuku, grandfather (term of address)
kuruse, cross (symbol of Christianity), Loan

laalaga, wall of house
laba(-ta), A, murder; see also *cagi.laba*, cyclone
lade(-va), A, jump (for/over)
laga(-ta), A, sing (object:song); *-ta'ina*, announce (object: plans, etc)
lagi.lagi, Adj, heavenly, glorious, beautiful; *va'a-lagi.lagi*, glorify
lago, a fly
lailai, Adj, little; Number, few; pl *lalai*, *va'a-lailai*, Adv, do to a small extent
laione, lion, Loan
lai-va, leave, let go, permit
laivi, post-head Modif, away, §8.3.4 (historically based on *lai-va*)
lala, Adj, empty
lali, wooden slit drum, bell
laqa, crack, chink; daybreak
lasa, Intr, familiar; *va'a-lasa-na*, make oneself familiar with
lasa, Intr, amusing; *va'a-lasa-a*, amuse
lau-, passive-type prefix, §18.6
lau-ta, hit (not miss); injure, sting (A can be stingray, stonefish, etc)
lave(-ta), A, lift up, raise up
lavo, see *i-lavo*, money

la'ane, abbreviation in B of *la'o* "go" plus *yane* "there"
la'i, pre-head Modif, go and, §8.3.3: also abbreviation of main verb *la'o* plus preposition *i*
la'o(-va), A, go (for); *i-la'o.la'o*, journey, mode of travelling
leba, tree species (*Syzygium neurocalyx*)
leca, Intr, uncertain; *vei-leca-ya'i*, changeable (used of weather, person)
leqa, trouble, difficulty, responsibility; *va'a-leqa-a*, make trouble for
lesu(-va) V and now also B (*viro(-ca)* original B), A, return (to/for)
leva(-ca), A, angry at lack of respect (object: person who didn't act respectfully towards subject); *-ta'ina* (object: disrespectful act)
levu, Adj, big, great; Noun, size; Number, much; pl *lelevu*; *va'a-levu*, Adv, to a great extent
lewa-a, rule, decide, judge; *lewaa*, Noun, decision, judgement
lewe-, flesh, inner part of, essential part of; inhabitants of (e.g. village); also used with a number in counting humans, §13.2.5
le'a.le'a, Adj, short, pl *lele'a*
le'utu, (deep) forest
lia.lia, Intr, stupid
lidi(-'a), A, lightning strikes; *ca-lidi*, explode
liga-, forearm and hand
lii V (**luu** B), interrogative marker, §8.3.8
lima, Number, five
liu(-ta'ina), A, precede, lead, command
livi(-a), O, pour (liquid)
liwa(-va), A, (wind) blows (on)
loa.loa~loa, Adj, black
lobi(-'a), O, fold
loga B (**ibe** V), woven mat
loga, plantation, patch (of vegetables, etc)
lolo(-va'ina), A, fast (on account of)
lolo, milk squeezed from coconut flesh; *va'a-lolo*, a Fijian sweet dessert
loma, mind, will, feelings; *loma.soli*, Adj, generous
loma-, inside, interior of; *'ai-loma*, half-caste
lomaa.lagi, sky, heaven

loma-na, love (as one loves a relative or neighbour), feel for; *loloma*, greetings, love; *i-loloma*, (loving) gift
lope B (**soosoo** V), mud; *lolope*, muddy; *lope.lopea*, very muddy
lori, lorry, Loan
lose(-a), O, squeeze, wring (kava, etc)
lotu, Christianity, church service
lo'a.lo'a, Adj, purple
lo'i(-a), O, bend at a joint (e.g. leg at knee, or folding knife); *ta-lo'i*, bent; *i-lo'i.lo'i*, joint
lo'o.lo'o, see *i-lo'o.lo'o*, pillow
lo'u-ca, fix a time for (object: e.g. meeting, journey)
lo'uyara(-ta'ina), O, postpone
lua(-ca), A, vomit (onto); *-ra'ina* (object: what is vomited up)
lusi, Intr; *va'a-lusi-a*, O, waste (e.g. time, money), Loan (probably from English *lose*)
lutu(-ma B, **-ka** V), A, fall from a height (on)
luu B (**lii** V), interrogative marker, §8.3.8
luva(-ta), O, remove (e.g. shoes, spear from body); *luva.luva*, Intr, leave place
luve-, child (son/daughter); *va'a-luve-a*, Adj, having children

maa C (**mayaa** B), that/there, §7.1.1
maacawa, Time, interval of time, week
maaille, mile, Loan
maamaa, see *vei-maamaa*, half, space between
maamaca, Adj, dry, not wet (e.g. clothes) (related to *maca*)
maamare, Adj, thin, transparent
maaqii(-ta'ina), A, be mean with (e.g. money)
maarau(-ta'ina), A, happy, pleased (with); *va'a-maarau-ta'ina*, make happy; *vei-va'a-maarau-ta'i*, concert entertainment
maaroro-ya, take care of, look after
maatau, Intr, accustomed (to), feel at home (with)
maa'utu(-ta'ina), A, be diligent (about)
maca, dry, empty (e.g. cup, well, creek)
macala, Adj, clear, intelligible; *va'a-macala-ta'ina*, make clear, explain; *i-va'a-macala*, explanation

mada, post-head Modif, (if you) please, do first of all, §8.3.8
mada, Intr, go first, precede
madrai, bread
maduaa, Adj, ashamed; *va'a-maduaa*, shameful
magiti, food prepared for feast, feast itself
mai, (**mai**) **vei**, Preposition, from, at; chapter 14
mai, pre-head Modif, come and; post-head Modif, to here; §8.3.3
makare V (**ma'ari** B), Adj, clear, transparent
male'a, Adj, good, pleasing
malu.malumu, Adj, weak
maní, Discourse Marker, so, consequently, §8.2.3
mani-a, original B (**nanu-ma**, V and now also used in B), think of, keep in mind, remember
manioke B (**tavioka** V), cassava (*Manihot utilissima*)
manu.manu, bird/animal (generic)
manuaa, battleship, man of war, Loan
maopo, Adj, helpful
marama, married woman
masi(-a), O, rub, polish (e.g. table) with the hands, brush teeth
masu(-ta), A, pray (to); *va'a-masu-ta*, earnestly beseech
mata, group, team—only occurs in compounds such as *mata.qoli*, group of fishers; *mata.ca'a.ca'a*, group of workers; *mata.i-valu*, army; *mata.timi*, team (e.g. sporting)
mata, Intr, rise from sitting position
mata-, eye, face, front of; *mata.kau*, statue; *mata.ni.cina*, globe/bulb of light
mataadravu, open fire, hearth
mataavura, waterfront near village, landing place
matai, see *i-matai*, first, §13.3
mata.ni.gasau, atonement (perhaps formerly by ceremonial presentation of *gasau* reed, now by presentation of whale's tooth, *tabua*)
mata.ni.tuu, originally: confederation of Vanuas; now: government
mata.ni.vanua, messenger, ceremonial leader
mataqali, social unit ("clan"), §1.1

mataqali, NP Modif, kind of, §9.4
matata, Adj, plain, clear
matau, (stone) axe
mata'a B (from *mataka* V; original B *saubogi*), morning, tomorrow; *mata'a lailai* B (from *mataka lailai* V; original B *saubogi caa.caa*), early morning; *va'a-mata'a*, breakfast
mate, Intr, die; *va'a-mate-a*, make dead, kill; *mate*, Noun, disease, sickness
mateni, Adj, drunk
matua, mature (fruit/vegetables) i.e. ready to harvest, but not necessarily ripe enough (*dreu*) to eat
mau, see *va'a-mau*, married
mavo, Adj, healed (of sore)
mavoa, Adj, wounded; *va'a-mavoa*, harmful
mayaa B (**keaa(o)yaa** V), that/there, §7.1.1
ma'ari B (**makare** V), Adj, clear, transparent
ma'awa, Adj, old (of things or time; *qase* is "old" used of people)
me, Relator, should, chapter 24
me-, classifier prefix, drunk/sucked/licked; chapter 12, §6.3
meca, enemy
meleni, melon, Loan
meva'aa, Deictic Verb, just as, like, §7.2
me'e, traditional dance/song
mii, Intr, *miimi-ca*, A, urinate (on); *mii-ca'ina* (object: what is passed, e.g. blood)
milioni, Number, million, Loan
miniti, Time, minute, Loan
misa, mass (church service), Loan
mo, abbreviation of Relator *me*, should, and second person subject pronoun, o; §6.3, §24.3
moce(-ra), A, sleep (with, or for, e.g. purpose of sleeping); *i-moce.moce*, bed. Also *moce*, goodbye; *va'a-moce (-ta'ina)*, say goodbye (to)
moli, citrus fruit
moomoo, father-in-law, mother's brother, etc; *moomoo levu*, elder brother of *moomoo*
moosoni, motion (in meeting), Loan
mosi, Intr, sore, painful; *mosi-ta*, be in pain because of (object: body part)

moto, spear; *moto.moto*, Adj, pointed
motokaa, car, Loan
motu(-'a), O, beat with a club; Intens *-la'ina*
mo'o-ta, embrace, clasp
mua-, tip, point, end of
mua, Intr, directed (towards)
mudou, Pronoun, 2pa subject, §6.3
mudrau, Pronoun, 2du subject, §6.3
mudre(-va), A, (breeze) blows gently (on)
muna-'a B (**tuku-na** V, *tu'u-na* now used in B), tell
munuu B (**munii** V), Pronoun, 2pl, §6.3
muri(-a), A, follow; *va'a-muri(-a)*, follow with difficulty; *va'a-mu-muri*, follow each other; *muri*, Noun, behind
musu(-'a), O, break; *'a-musu*, be broken
na, future tense marker, §8.2.2
na, form of common article after a preposition, §9.3
naa-ma'ina, expect, look forward to
naica~ica, Interrogative, when, §16.5
namu-ta, chew
nana, mother (term of address)
nanoa, Time, yesterday (used with preposition *i*, §15.1)
nanu-ma, think of, keep in mind, remember; *vei-nanu-ya'i*, think of this and that
nasi, nurse; (*'ana*) *va'a-nasi*, (cat) delicately, lit: like a nurse; Loan
nasu(-'a) B (**vesu(-ka)** V), O, tie up
nau, grandmother (term of address)
nawa, Intr, float; *nawa-ca*, immerse in water
na'i-ta, intend, plan; *va'a-naa-na'i*, scheme; *i-(na'i)na'i*, intention
ne~no- V (**we~o-** B), classifier prefix; chapter 12, §6.3
nei, mother-in-law, father's sister, etc
ni, Relator joining two NPs, associated with; §10.4
ni, Relator introducing complement clauses, and "when", "because" clauses; §21.3, §22.1, chapter 23
nii V (**nuu** B), Pronoun, 2pl subject, §6.3
niu, coconut, copra
ni'ua, Time, today

no~ne- V (**o~we-** B), classifier prefix; chapter 12; §6.3
noo, Intr, be lying down
noo, post-head Modif, §8.3.1
nui-ta'ina, hope for, rely on
nuu(-va/-va'ina), A, swim underwater (for/with)
nuqa, fish species (*Siganus vermiculatus*)
nuu B (**nii** V), Pronoun, 2pl subject, §6.3
nu'u, sand
o, proper article, §9.3
o, Pronoun, 2sg and first part of 2du, 2pa, 2pl subject, §6.3
o~we- B (**no~ne-** V), classifier prefix; chapter 12, §6.3
o-, V only, first element in demonstratives; §7.1.1
oca, Adj, tired
oga(-ta'ina), A, be occupied (with some task)
oi, Interjection, really, yes, §22.6
olo(-na B, **-ga** V), O, tie up, wrap up
ono, Number, six
oo, cloud
ose, horse, Loan
oso, Adj, full (e.g. bus), *oso.oso*, Adj, busy (person); *va'a-oso.oso-ta'ina*, (e.g. work) keeps (someone) busy
oti, post-head Modif, completed, §8.3.2; Intr, finish; *va'a-oti-a*, finish it; *i-oti.oti*, last one, ending
ovisa, policeman, Loan (from *officer*)
ovo(-ca/-ca'ina), B only, A, wail (for/about)
paaoni, pound, Loan
paapaalagi B (**vaavaalagi** V), white-skinned people; lands where white-skinned people come from
paatere, father (Catholic priest), Loan (probably from Latin *pater*)
paipo, pipe, Loan
panikeke, pancake, Loan
parasa B (**varasa** V), string onion (*Allium cepa*), now: any onion
pasa-'a, B only, push a spear through something, holding onto the spear handle
pato B (**gaa** V), domestic duck

pato-'a, B only, push a spear through, etc (synonym of *pasa-'a*)
pa'u, B only, Adj, sour
pelu(-'a) B (*belu(-ka)* V), O, bend a hard object, e.g. metal
peni, pen, Loan
pepa, paper, Loan
piqi, Adj, pink, Loan
pito B (*vico.vico* V), navel
polo, ball, Loan
pono(-'a) B (*tobo(-ka)* V), O, catch (animal/fish/person) with the hands; *va'a-pono-'a*, make a determined effort to catch
pookete, bucket, pocket, Loans; *pookete wai*, bucket of water
positoovesi, post office, Loan
pouta, talcum powder, Loan
po'i(-a), B only, O, roll; also Adj in *waci po'i*, rolled taro leaves
pua'a, pig
pula(-ca), B only, open eyes wide, make eyes at (someone of the opposite sex, in invitation); *va'a-pula-a*, cause someone's eyes to open
pulou(-na) B (*ubi(-a)* V), O, cover; *i-pulou*, covering, blanket
pusi, cat, Loan
pu'u(-ca/-ca'ina) B (*cudru(-va/-taka)* V), A, be angry (at/about); Intens *-la'ina*, be very angry at

qaalu'u(-na), A, pick up or hold (handful of something)
qaa.qaa, Adj, victorious, courageous; Noun, victory; champion
qai V (*qei* B), Discourse Marker, and then, §8.2.3
qali, Adj, (Vanua etc) subject to/subservient to (another)
qali(-na) B, *-a* V), O, braid together in the form of a rope; *vei-qali.qali*, twist and push (each other out of the way)
qalo(-va), O, swim (for)
qaqi(-a), O, crush, grind
qara-va, look after, care for, attend to; *vei-qara-vi*, presentation
qarau-na, be careful of, take care of
qase, older person, elder, ancestor; Adj, old (of people); *qase.ni.vuli*, school-teacher
qase.qase, Adj, clever, cunning
qau B (*kequ~qau* V), Pronoun, my, §6.3

qawa(-ca) B (*waqa* V), O, burn, be lit (S/O are fire, flame, etc); *va'a-qawa.bu'a*, light fire
qa'ayau, archaic B form of possessive pronoun "my", now *qau*; §6.3
qee C (*yai* B), this/here, §7.1.1
qei B (*qai* V), Discourse Marker, and then, §8.2.3
qele, earth, ground, soil
qere C (*yaa* B), that/there, §7.1.1
qili(-a), O, rub (e.g. tobacco) in hands to shape; *-ca*, rub lotion/dye/powder on skin with hands
qioo, shark
qiqi(-ca), A, be toppled, roll (towards, e.g. place); be slain
qiri(-a), O, beat drum, play guitar, ring bell
qiri.qiri, Intr, *qiri-ta'ina*, ring/call up (person) on telephone
qito(-ra), A, play a physical game
qoli(-va), A, fish with a net for; *-va'ina* (object: net)
qoo V, C (*yai* B), this/here, §7.1.1
qoolou(-va'ina), A, scream, yell (about); *qooqoolou*, shout for an extended period
qore C (*yaa* B), that/there, §7.1.1
qou B (*noqu* V), Pronoun, my, §6.3
qo'oyau, archaic B pronoun, my, corresponding to modern *qou*, §6.3
qua(-ta), O, scrub; Intens *-ra'ina*
qumi(-a), A, grasp, clench in fist

ra, Pronoun, 3pl, §6.3
ra-, verbal prefix, §18.7
raa, down, west
Raaluve, title of chief's eldest daughter
raa.raa, village green, playing field
raaraba, Adj, whole of, wide, general
raarama, a light; *va'a-raarama-ta'ina*, make light, enlighten
Raatuu, title of respect to chief or older respected man
Raavouyou, title of chief's eldest son
rabe(-ta), A, kick
rai(-ca), A, see, look at; *va'a-rai-ca*, watch, inspect, look after, look for, search for; *va'a-rai-ta'ina*, show (object: thing shown); *va'a-ra-rai*, explore
rai.rai, pre-head Modif, seem to, §8.3.5; Intr, appear; *i-rai.rai*, appearance; *rai.rai vina'a*, pretty
raisi, rice, Loan

rarawa(-ta'ina), A, be sad (about)
ratou, Pronoun, 3pa, §6.3
rau, Pronoun, 3du, §6.3
rau-ta, suffice for, be enough for, be the measure/size of; see also *va'a-rau*
ravo(-ga), O, warm up (food), toast (bread)
rawa, post-head Modif, be able to, §8.3.5; semi-auxiliary verb, can, §23.4; *rawa-ta*, achieve, get, obtain, manage
rawa.rawa, Adj, easy
rere(-va'ina), A, be frightened, afraid (of); *va'a-rere-a*, make frightened
rewa, Adj, high; *va'a-rewa*, be raised
re'i(-ta'ina), A, rejoice at, be delighted with
riri, Intr, boiled (with coconut milk); Trans *va'a-riri-ga*
rogo(-ca), O, be audible, hear, listen; *va'a-ro-rogo*, listen carefully, obey; *va'a-rogo-ca*, listen carefully to; *va'a-rogo-ya*, announce, make known; *i-rogo(rogo)*, noise, sound; *i-rogo*, a report; *rogo.rogo*, Intr, be interesting
roo, Intr, alight (fly or bird); *-va*, O, alight on; *-ya*, A, knock away (fly etc)
roqo(-ta), A, carry (anything) in arms
roro V (*toso vole'a* B), Intr, approach
roti, unleavened bread (learned by Fijians from Indian immigrants) (Loan from *roti*)
rova, ceremony to welcome a visiting high chief; whale's tooth that a high-born lady runs with in a rova ceremony
ro'a-, *i-ro'a*, colour
rua, Number, two; *rua.rua*, post-head Modif, both, §8.3.7
rubi-ca, beat with stick, Intens *-la'ina*; *rubi-ca* is used metaphorically for "go fast" (cf English "he beat it")
rui, pre-head Modif, more than a usual amount, §8.3.6
rurugu, Adj, shady, sheltered; *rugu.rugua*, very shady, overcast
rusa, Intr, destroyed, decayed; *va'a-rusa-a*, destroy
ru'u-, underneath of, space beneath

sa B (*se* V), aspect marker, §8.2.2
saa, aspect marker, §8.2.2
sabi-ca, slap, hit with open hand
saga-a, *va'a-saga-a*, strive, try hard to do; *sa-saga*, efforts, strivings

-sagavulu, suffix added to numbers to form tens, §13.1
saka V (*va'a-caa* B), post-head Modif, marker of respect, §8.3.8
samu(-ta), O, beat with stick held in hand
saqa(-ra), *va'a-saqa-ra*, O, boil, cook in a pot; *va'a-isa-saqa*, cook, boil (subject is person doing the cooking)
saqa(-ta), collide with; Intr is inherent reciprocal
sara, post-head Modif, very, (go) right on, immediately, §8.3.6
sara-va, watch
sau, outskirts (e.g. of village)
saubogi, original B (*mataka* V), morning, tomorrow
saubogi caa.caa, original B (*mataka lailai* V), early morning
sau(-ca), O, let down (net) (to block path of fish) (object: net)
sau-ma, answer, reply, repay; *vei-sau(-ta'ina)*, change
sautabu, graveyard for burying chiefs
sava.savaa, Adj, clean
sava(-ta), O, wash (body, clothes, etc)
sawana, beach
sa'o(-ca), O, beat to make soft
se, Relator, or, §22.4; introducing interrogative complement clauses, chapter 23
se V (*sa* B), aspect marker, §8.2.2
sede, cent, Loan
see, Intr, run away, scatter; *vei-see-ya'i*, run in all directions
see-, flower, blossom
see.ni.toa (lit: flower associated with fowl), hibiscus (*Hibiscus rosasinensis*)
seerau(-na), A, shine brightly on
sega, semi-auxiliary verb, it is not the case, not, no, §23.4
sele(-ta), O, cut with knife slice; *i-sele*, knife
sere(-ta'ina), A, sing (object: song-style); *-va'ina* (object: what is sung about); *sere*, Noun, song
sere(-'a), O, loosen, untie, let go; Intens *-la'ina*; *ta-sere*, *a-sere*, come undone, scattered
seru(-ta), O, comb
sevu(-ta'ina), A and O, present first fruits from garden crop (to); *i-sevu*, the first fruits offered
sig, day, sun; *sig.ni.sucu*, (lit: day of

birth), Christmas day; *sigatabu*, (lit: holy day), Sunday; *sigava'a-rau.wai* (lit: day of fetching water), Saturday; *sigalevu* (lit: sun big), midday; *va'a-sigalevu*, midday meal
siinai, Adj, full, pl *siisiinai*
siisila, see *va'a-siisila(-ta'ina)*, O, consider worthless
siisili, Intr, bathe; *sili-ma*, A, bathe in (e.g. pool); *sili-va'ina*, O, use/wet a net for the first time
siivi(-ta), A, pass, exceed; *siisivi*, pass, exceed
siro(-va), A, come down, descend (object could be hill or stairs)
siti, sheet, Loan
situa, store, Loan
sivi-ta, carve, craft in wood
siwa(-ta), A, fish with line for; *-ta'ina* (object: line)
si'i(-ta), O, shift, move; *vei-si'i-ya'i*, rearrange, reshuffle
sobu, post-head Modif, down, §8.3.4, *sobu(-ta)*, A, descend, step down (e.g. from bus, plane, boat) (onto)
sogo(-ta), O, close (door, bottle), switch off (radio, recorder); *va'a-sogo-ta*; try hard to close; *i-sogo*, stopper (e.g. for bottle)
solī(-a), O, give (object: gift); *vei-soli*, exchange; *soli.vanua*, cession (of Fiji to Britain, in 1874)
somaa, see *va'a-somaa*, B, frequent, often
soni, plant like a bramble (*Caesalpinia bonduc*)
soo, Number, some of, §13.1
soolevu(-ta'ina), A, hold a ceremony (relating to)
soosaa, see *va'a-soosaa*, annoyance, etc
soqo(-na), O, gather together, assemble; *soqo*, Noun, meeting
soqo.sqo, litter, rubbish
soro, Intr, be defeated, ask for peace; *vei-soro.soro-vi*, atonement
sota(-va), meet; intransitive is inherent reciprocal
sote, shirt, Loan
soti, post-head Modif, a lot, etc; §8.3.6
sova(-raka) V (*livī(-a)* B), O, pour, tip out
sovea(-ta'ina), A, survey (land), Loan
so'o(-ta), A, sail in (object e.g. weather);

-va, sail on (object e.g. ocean), *-ta'ina*, sail in (object e.g. boat)
sua.sua, Adj, wet
sucu(-ma), A, be born (of), suck breast (of); *va'a-sucu(-ma)*, give birth (to)
sue, cooking place just inside front door of house
sui-, bone
suka, sugar, Loan; *va'a-suka*, Adj, sugared; *va'a-suka-ta'ina*, add sugar to
suli-, sucker (e.g. of taro)
sulu, see *i-sulu*, garment
supee B (*luka* V), nasal mucus
sure-ta, invite (object: person invited); *-va'ina* (object: what they are invited to do)
suru(-ta), A, sneeze (object: loved one thinking of you, believed to be the reason one sneezes)
su'a, Intr, return home, disperse
su'u-ma, put hand in hollow thing to grasp something (object can either be hollow thing or thing sought)

ta B (**da** V), Pronoun, 1incl subject, §6.3

ta-, verbal prefix, §18.7

-taa-, inner prefix following *va'a-*, §17.2.7

taa.ca'e, Intr, look up

taalei, Adj, prized; *taalei-ta'ina*, like

taalia, see *vei-taalia*, Intr, do as one pleases

taaoo, Adj, entangled, obstructed

taavoi(-a), A, wash face (object can be stated as someone's face)

taa(-ya), O, chop with knife

taba-, shoulder, branch of tree, department of government

taba, measure from middle of chest to end of outstretched fingers

taba'a, press with hand/finger, e.g. press button, take photograph; *i-taba*, photograph, picture

tabu, Intr, forbidden; given a second meaning by the early missionaries:

Adj, sacred, holy

Tabu, title of male companion/henchman of Raavouvou (eldest son of chief), often a younger brother; see text 4

tabua, whale's tooth (prized wealth)

taci-, (younger) sibling of same sex as

ego; *vei-taci-ni*, two (or more) people in *taci-* relationship

tadra(-a), A, dream (of)

taga, bag, pocket

tagane, man, male

tagi(-ca/-ca'ina), A, cry (for/over);

tagi.i-valu, give alarm of war; see also *va'a-tagi.sici*

tagimaucia, flower which only grows on high mountains in Taveuni (*Medinilla waterhousei*)

tala-a, **va'a-tala-a**, send (a person);

-va'ina, send for (someone)

tala(-ca), O, share out, unload

talanoa(-ta'ina), A, tell stories; *vei-talanoa*, chat; *i-talanoa*, a story

tale', post-head Modif, again, another, §8.3.8

tale-va, return to

tali(-a), O, plait, weave (object can be material used, or product made)

talo(-ca), A and O, ladle

tama-, father

tamata, person, human being

tani, post-head Modif, away, §8.3.4

tapa'o B (**tavako** V), tobacco, Loan

taqa(-ra), O, put (something) laying over another thing

taqayaa(-ta'ina), A, be worried (over), be fearful (about)

taqo-ma'ina, care for, protect, defend

tara, Intr, lawful, permitted (opposite of *tabu*, forbidden)

tara(-a), O, build a house (often with incorporated object: *tara.vale*, house-build)

tara-a, touch, take hold of, receive (B prefers *tara-a*, hold, where V uses *tau-ra*; V does have *tara-a*, touch)

tara-va, follow, succeed, be next

tarausese, trousers, Loan

taro-ga, ask a question (object can be addressee, or topic of question); *va'a-taro-ga*, ask repeatedly; *taro*, Noun, question; *vei-taro-gi*, examination

taru B (**daru** V), Pronoun, 1incl, §6.3

tasiri, Intr, go past at high speed

tata, father (term of address)

tau, see *vei(-vei)-tau*, Intr, to race

tau, see *i-tau*, friend

tau- . . . -na, original B kinship collective, now replaced by *vei- . . . -ni*,

§17.1.2

taubale(-ta'ina), A, walk (object can be distance walked, or road/beach/etc walked along)

tau(-ca), A, touch down (on), e.g. rain falls (on)

tauco'o, post-head Modif, all, §8.3.7; Intr, all

taudua V (**dua.dua** B), post-head Modif, alone, §8.3.7

taumada, post-head Modif, do first, §8.3.8

tau-ra V (**tara-a** B), hold in the hand, receive

tautauvata, Adj, the same, level; *va'a-tautauvata(-ta'ina)*, make smooth, level

tau-va, infect (subject can be disease, object a person)

tau'ei, see *i-tau'ei*, native person, possessor (usually of land)

tavale(-), cross-cousin (mother's brothers' or father's sisters' child)

tavaya, bottle

tavi, Intr, welcome (visitors); *i-tavi*, duties, responsibilities

tavu(-na), O, roast, broil

tavu-la'ina, knock down and beat

tawa, V only, pre-head Modif, not, §8.3.8

tawa(-na), O, inhabit (Intr is "be inhabited"), *va'a-tawa(-na)*, fill, make inhabited

ta'i-na, carry on, persevere

ta'i(-va), A, fetch (something) in a container; *ta'i.wai*, fetch water

teepeli B (**teeveli** V), table, Loan

teevoro, traditional Fijian god, spirit, Loan (from *devil*, the missionaries' description of traditional gods); *va'a-teevoro*, worship traditional gods

tei, pre-head Modif, do first and speedily, §8.3.8

tei, Intr, *te-a*, Trans, O, plant, cultivate, grow (object: crop); *tei-va'ina*, clear and plant, cultivate (object: land); *i-tei(,tei)*, a garden

tere-ga, touch lightly

tete(-va), A, (something) spreads (out through something); Intens *-va'ina*

te'evuu B (**tekivuu** V), pre-head Modif, start, §8.3.2; *te'evuu(-na/-ta'ina)*, O, begin, start

te'i(-a), O, put sticking up

tiaina B (**jiaina** V), banana; China; Loan
tii, tea, Loan (note that in this word the *t* is never palatalised, as it may be in other words before *i*)
tiidara(-ta'ina), A, slip down (with) (object could be something carried, that is let go when you slip)
tiivoli, wild yam (*Dioscorea nummularia*)
tilo-ma, swallow (solid or liquid)
tina-, mother
tini, Number, ten (note that this is NOT a loan; it may be related to the verb *tini(-a)*)
tini(-a), O, conclude (e.g. a performance or church service)
titiqaa, see *va'a-titiqaa-ta'ina*, be doubtful about
tiva(-ca) B (**leve(-ca)** V), A, dodge a thrown spear, get out of the way of an oncoming motor vehicle
ti'i(-ca), O, slice, divide into pieces; *va'a-ti'i.ti'i*, apart, aside; *ti'i*-portion of, piece of; *ti'ina*, district (subdivision of province)
ti'o, post-head Modif, continuous, §8.3.1
ti'o(-ra), A, sit, stay (on/at); *-ra'ina*, sit down hard/involuntarily on; *i-ti'o.ti'o*, residence; *va'a-i-ti'o.ti'o*, make a residence
toa, chicken, fowl
tobe(-a), O, plait (e.g. rope)
toci(-a), O, plane, dress (timber)
tolo-, trunk of, middle part of
tolu, Number, three; *tolu.tolu*, Adv, all three, §8.3.7
toma-na, B only, continue (e.g. a story, meeting)
tomi(-'a), O, pick up (all of something) (e.g. rubbish from grass around house)
toopoi, doughboy (type of boiled dumpling), Loan
toovata, Intr, be allies, act together
toro, Intr, move (in relation to some place/thing); *toro-va*, A, approach; *toro-ya*, O, move it (in relation to some place/thing); *va'a-toro.ca'e-ta'ina*, develop; *vei-va'a-toro.ca'e-ta'i*, development
toso, Intr, move (generally); *toso-va*, A, move towards (something); *toso-ya*, O,

move it; *vei-toso-ya'i*, move here and there all over the place
totolo, Adj, fast, early; *va'a-totolo*, Adv, fast, quickly; *va'a-totolo-ta'ina*, make it be fast
toto'a, Adj, pretty, handsome
tou B (**datou** V), Pronoun, 1incpa, §6.3
tovo, see *i-tovo*, customs, habits
tovole-a, taste, try, test
to'a, post-head Modif, to a certain extent, §8.3.1
to'a, Intr, squat, sit on heels; *to'a-ra*, A and O, put on (kettle on stove; one's clothes on); sit on a horse
to'a, see *va'a-to'a-a*, give a name to
to'i(-a), A, move house (object can be goods)
tua'a-, elder sibling
tuba, outside
tubu-, grandparent
tubu(-ra), A, grow (on/in)
Tuei, title of king of Waini'elif Vanua
tui, king
Tui Ca'au, title of paramount chief of Ca'audrove (lit: king of the reef)
tunuloa, see *va'a-tunuloa*, shed
туру(-ma B, **-va** V), A, (liquid) drips (on), (house) leaks
tusa-na'ina, explain
tuu, post-head Modif, permanently, §8.3.1
tuu, Intr, stand, be at a place (of tall things); *tu-ra*, *va'a-tu-ra*, O, stand something up; *tuu-ta'ina*, A, stand up to do (e.g. work); *i-tuu.tuu*, place for a thing (where it is kept, or stands)
tuuraga, (i) chief, (ii) married man; *tuuraga.bale*, high chief; *tuuraga.bete* (or just *bete*), Catholic priest; *tuuraga.ni.vanua*, traditional chief (hereditary head of Yavusa); *tuuraga-ni.'oro*, elected village secretary; *va'a-tuuraga*, Adv, chiefly, noble
tuva(-a), O, set in order, arrange, stack; *i-tuva*, arrangement, row, program; *i-tuva.tuva*, order
tu'i(-a), O, strike at, knock at, pound; *i-tu'i*, a hammer
tu'u(-ca), O, let down on rope
tu'u-na, tell (object must be piece of news, or person of whom tale is told, not addressee); *i-tu'u-ni*, report; *i-tu'u.tu'u*, news, story

ua, sea, tide
ua.bale(-ta'ina), A, go in a straight line (through/over)
ube, original B form (now replaced by *tale*, from V), post-head Modif, again, another, §8.3.8
uca, rain
ucu-, nose; *ucu.ni.vanua*, promontory
udolu, Number, thousand, §13.1
udre(-va) B only (**kama(-ca)**, **waqa** V), O, shine, be burning, make burn (S/O is flame/light/etc)
uli(-a), O, mix up, stir up
uli(-va'ina), A, give thanks for gift/hospitality/etc received (object: gift given in thanks)
ulu-, head; the most important part of anything; *ulu.ni.vanua*, mountain
unu(-ma) B (**gunu(-va)** V), A, drink, sip, suck, lick; *unu.tii*, drink tea with some starch food/bread as accompaniment; *unu.sede*, fund-raising kava party
unu.unu B (**koo** V), Intr, gargle
uru(-ca), O, lower (e.g. lower flag, take clothes off line), slacken (rope); *ta-uru*, become slack
uto, breadfruit (*Artocarpus altilis*)
uu, Interjection, gesture of surprise, §22.6
uvi, a cultivated yam (*Dioscorea alata*)
uvu(-ca), O, (person) blow(s) e.g. blow light out, blow conch shell

vaa, Number, four
vaa-qoo V ('ene(ii)-yai B), Intr, do like this, §7.2
vaa-'aasama(-ta'ina), A, think (about)
vacu(-'a), A, punch; *vei-vacu*, to box; boxing
vaka-yaa V ('ene(ii)-mayaa B), Intr, do like that
vala(-ta) original B (*ca'a(-va)* from V is now used as well), O, do, make, work (at); *vala.va'a.mau*, wedding takes place
vala(-ta/-ta'ina), A, fight (with/over); *vei-vala(-ta'ina)*, engage in fighting (against)
vale, house; *vale.ni.'uro* (lit: house of pots and pans), kitchen; *vale.ni.vei-vesu* (lit: house of tying/holding), prison

valu-ta, make war on; *i-valu*, a war, an army
vana(-a/-ta'ina), A, shoot (at/with)
vanua, (i) a social unit, §1.1; (ii) land (as opposed to sea); (iii) place (geographical place, or place on someone's body, or on any object); *va'a-vanua*, Adv, traditional
varasa V (**parasa** B), string onion (*Allium cepa*); now: any onion
varo(-ta), O, saw wood
vata, post-head Modif, together, §8.3.8
vata 'ei, Preposition, with, §14.3
vatu, stone, rock
vatu'a-, form of, shape of
vava(-a), O, carry baby on back
vavi(-a), O, bake in earth oven
va'a-, derivational affix, §17.2, §8.4.
 Note that *va'a-* forms are generally included in this vocabulary under the root; those for which the root appears not to be used without *va'a-* are listed below
va'aa(-ta'ina), Trans, relating to, like, §7.2
va'a-bau-ta, believe in, accept (proposal)
va'a-cava, Adv, do how, §16.6
va'a-itaamera, Adj, huge, monstrous
va'a-jaabolo, naked, heathen, Loan (from Greek diabolos, §2.1)
va'a-mau, get married (in ceremony), marriage; *va'a-mau-ta'ina*, marry (subject: priest/official; object: either or both of couple getting married)
va'a-rau, pre-head Modif, ready to, about to, §8.3.5
va'a-rau(-ta'ina), A, prepare (for); *va'a-va'a-rau(-ta'ina)*, A, prepare with greater and greater assiduity (for); *i-va'a-rau*, preparation, method
va'a-siisila(-ta'ina), O, consider worthless/disgusting
va'a-somaa B (**wasomaa** V), frequent, often
va'a-soosaa, annoyance, noise; *va'a-soosaa-ta'ina*, annoy, intrude on
va'a-tagisici(-ta'ina), A, blow whistle/hooter (to attract attention of)
va'a-titiqaa-ta'ina, be doubtful about
va'a-to'a-a, give a name to
va'a-tunuloa, quickly constructable shed-like building (first built by people

from the district of Tunuloa—see map 3)
va'a-vuudua, Adv, seldom
va'o(-ta), O, impale with pointed object; *i-va'o*, nail
vea, soft, overripe (breadfruit)
vei, Preposition, with pronouns and personal names, chapter 14
vei, Interrogative, where (must be preceded by preposition or 'ai-), §16.3
vei-, derivational affix, collective, §17.1
vei-maamaa, half, space between, §13.4
vei-sau(-ta'ina), O, change
vei-taaliala, Intr, do as one pleases; doesn't matter; *va'a-vei-taaliala*, Adv, at will, randomly
vei(-vei)-tau, Intr, to race
vei-vutuni(-ta'ina), A, be sorry (about), repent (of)
vere, plot, conspiracy
vesu(-ka) V (**nasu(-'a)** B), O, tie up, catch
ve'a(-ca), A, defecate/shit (on); *-ca'ina* (object: composition of stool)
via, pre-head Modif, want to, need to, §8.3.5; *via-'ana*, be hungry (lit: want to eat); *via-unu*, be thirsty (lit: want to drink); *via-moce*, be tired (lit: want to sleep)
via.via, pre-head Modif, act like, §8.3.5
vica, Interrogative/Indefinite, how many/much, some; *va'a-vica*, Adv, how many times, some number of times, §16.4
vina'a, Adj, good, pl *vivina'a*; *va'a-vina'a* B, Adv, do well; *va'a-vinavina'a*, Intr, thank
vina'a-ta, want, deem good
viro(-ca), original B (now largely replaced by *lesu(-va)* from V), A, return (to)
Viti, Fiji; *va'a-Viti*, Adv, Fijian
vitu, Number, seven
vivi(-a) B, **-ga** V), O, roll up (e.g. mat); *i-vivi*, a roll (e.g. of toilet paper)
vivili, shellfish
voce(-ta), A, row, paddle (object: distance covered); *-ta'ina* (object: boat that is rowed/paddled)
voci(-a), O, peel, skin (fruit, vegetables)
vodo(-'a), A, mount, board (vehicle,

etc); *va'a-vodo-'a*, put (goods etc) off board
voi.voi, a pandanus, leaves used for mat-weaving (*Pandanus thurstonii*)
vola-a, write; *vola(-a)*, O, register (e.g. child, at birth); *i-vola*, written document (letter, book, etc)
voli, post-head Modif, change in activity, §8.3.1
voli, Intr, go round and round, move around
voli(-a), O, buy; *voli(-ta'ina)*, O, sell; *vei-voli*, do business
volo(-ta'ina) B (**vuni(-a)** V, now also used in B), O, hide; intransitive can be inherent reflexive
vonu, turtle
vo, Intr, remain, be left over
voodea, Adj, shallow
voole'a(-ta), A, be close/near (to); *vei-voole'a-ti*, be near to each other
voro(-'a), O, smash; Intens *-la'ina*
vosa, Intr, speak, talk; Noun, word, language; *vosa-'a*, ask for hand in marriage, chat up (someone of the opposite sex); *vosa-ta'ina*, tell off, advise of error; *vei-vosa'i*, discuss, discussion
voso-ta, be patient over, endure; see *yalo.vosota*, Adj, patient
vou, Adj, new, pl *vovou*
vo'i(-ta), A, go round
vua, see *i-vua*, yoke
vua-, fruit of tree; *vua.ni.'acu*, pill
vua(-), grandchild
vuaa, fusion of preposition *vei/mai vei* plus 3sg pronoun 'ea, §14.1
vucu, song, poem
vudi, plantain (a banana-like vegetable)
vula, moon, month
vula.vula~vula, Adj, white
vuli(-ca), A, study, learn; *va'a(-taa)-vuli-ca*, teach; *vei-va'a-taa-vuli-ci*, be involved in teaching; *va'a-taa-vu-vuli*, begin to practise
vuli(-ta'ina) B (**droo(-vaka)** V), A, run away (with)
vulu.vulu(-ta'ina), O, wash hands (of person)
vuni(-a) V and now also B (**volo(-ta'ina)** B), O, hide; intransitive can be inherent reflexive; *-ta'ina*, hide (something) on behalf of someone else

vura.vura, the world
vure, Intr, spring up (of water)
vuti(-a), O, pluck a bird
vutuni, see *vei-vutuni(-ta'ina)*, A, be sorry (about), repent (of)
yu-, (i) reason of, cause of; *va'a-vu-na*, to cause; (ii) trunk (of tree)
vuudua, see *va'a-vuudua*, Adv, seldom
vuulagi, visitor, stranger
vuunau(-ca), O, advise, preach (object: person advised); *-ta'ina* (object: advice given)
Vuu.ni.saa, title of king of the Boumaa Vanua
vuu.ni.vola, secretary
vuuvuu(-ta'ina), A, be jealous (of, e.g. person)
vu'a(-ca), A, fly (across/to)
vu'e(-a), A, help (object: person who is helped); *vei-vu'e*, Intr, help; *i-vu'e.-vu'e*, deputy (to leader)
vu'i(-ca), O, turn; *ta-vu'i*, turn spontaneously
vu'u(-ta'ina), A, be clever (about)
vu'u-, cause of, sake of
waa, string, wire
waalai, plant sp (*Entada phaseoloides*)
waanavavu, Adj, wonderful
waa.waa, Intr, wait; *waa.waa.basi*, wait for a bus; *waa-ca'ina* B (*waa-raka* V), A, wait for
waa'olo B (**gaunisala** V), road, track; *waa'olo.levu*, main road
waa'ua~'ua, semi-auxiliary verb, don't, not (used after relator *me*), §23.4; §24.3
waci, edible leaves of taro plant
wai, water, liquid; *wai.ni.mate*, medicine, fly-spray (lit: liquid associated with disease)
wai.tui, sea
wai.wai, oil, paint
wale, post-head Modif, without proper effect, §8.3.5
wali(-a), O, rub (e.g. person) with oil
walu, Number, eight
waqa, boat; *waqa.vu'a* (lit: flying boat), airplane
waqona, original B (**yaqona** V and now also used in B), kava, (*Piper methysticum*), the plant and the drink made from its pulverised root

waruta, Intr, move away quickly
wase(-a), O, divide, separate, share out; *i-wase(-wase)*, a portion
wati-, spouse; *va'a-wati*, Adj (de facto) married (cf. *va'a-mau*, married in a ceremony); *vei-wati-ni*, married couple; *va'a-wati-ta'ina*, marry (subject: one partner; object: the other)
wa'i(-a), O, mix up; *vei-wa'i*, muddle up
we~o- B (**ne~no-** V), classifier prefix; chapter 12, §6.3
wele(-ta'ina), A, do nothing, be neglectful (of)
weleti, papaya, pawpaw (*Carica papaya*)
were(-ca), A, weed (object could be grass)
we'a-, relative, friend; *vei-we'a-ni*, relationship
wili(-'a), O, count, read; *wili.i-vola*, read a book
yaa, Interjection, well!, §22.6
yaa B (**keri(o)qori** V), that/there (mid-distant); (o) *yaa* V (*mayaa* B), that/there (distant), §7.1.1
yaa-, distributive prefix with numbers, §13.5
yaavala(-ta), O, put in motion
yaa.yaa, see *i-yaa.yaa*, goods, things
yaba'i, Time, year
yaca-, name; *yaca*, namesake
yaco(-va), A, happen, take place, arrive (at), reach; *va'a-yaco-ra*, make happen
Yadi, title of respect for noble lady, or respected elder lady
yadi-va'ina, choose, set apart
yadra, Intr, be awake; *yadra-va*, A, watch for. Also: *yadra*, greeting "good morning"
yaga, Adj, useful; *va'a-yaga-ta'ina*, use; *i-va'a-yaga-ta'i*, the use; *i-va'a-va'a-yaga-ta'i*, way of using
yago-, body (of person)
yai B (**kee(o)qoo**-V), this/here, §7.1.1
yakavi V (**yavi** and now **ya'avi** B), Time, late afternoon and evening
yala, rivermouth
yala(-na), O, make stop, e.g. make a boundary for plot of land; *i-yala.yala*, boundary
yala-ta'ina, promise (object: thing promised)

- yalewa**, woman, female
yali, Intr, absent, not visible, *va'a-yali-a*, lose
yalo-, spirit, soul; *yalo.bula*, ghost
yalo.caa, Adj, angry, bad-natured (lit: bad spirit)
yalo.dina, Adj, faithful (lit: true spirit)
yalo.do'a.do'aa~do'a.do'aa, Adj, boastful (lit: (self) admiring spirit)
yalo.lailai, Adj, apprehensive, timid, easily discouraged (lit: small spirit)
Yalo.tabu, Holy Ghost (lit: holy spirit)
yalo.vina'a, Adj, good-natured, kind (lit: good spirit). Also: please (in a request)
yalo.vosota, Adj, patient (lit: spirit that endures (things))
yalo.vuni.vuni, Adj, modest (lit: spirit that always hides)
yalo.yalo, see *i-yalo.yalo*, film, movie
yame-, tongue; blade of knife
yane B (**yani** V), post-head Modif, to there, §8.3.3
yanu.yanu, island
yaqa(-va/-ta'ina), A, creep/crawl like a crab (to/with)
yaqona V and now also B (**waqona** B), kava
yaragi, see *i-yaragi*, weapon, protection
yaremawa(-ta'ina), A, yawn (over)
yasa-, side of; *yasana*, province
yase.yase, thunder
yate-, liver
yate.dei, Adj, determined (lit: liver firmly fixed)
yate.va'a-laione, Adj, lion-hearted
yatu, a row; *yatu.dua*, in one row/column
yau, Pronoun, 1sg, §6.3
yava-, lower leg and foot
yavi, original B (*yakavi* V, now *ya'avi~yakavi* in B), Time, late afternoon and evening
yavu, foundation of house; *va'a-yavu*, make foundation
yavusa, social unit, §1.1
yawa(-'a), A, be distant (from); Noun, length, distance
ya'avi~yakavi B (**yavi**, original B; **yakavi** V), Time, late afternoon and evening; *va'a-ya'avi*, evening meal
'a (Old High Fijian **ka**), Relator, and; §22.1
'a-, verbal prefix, §18.7
'aa, thing; *'aa-ta'ina*, do the thing; *'aa.ni.maarau*, thing of happiness; *'aa.ni.vuli*, lesson (lit: thing of learning)
'aa.tuba (levu), door; *'aa.tuba (le'a)*, window
'aa.ana, food
'aba(-ta), A, climb a steep surface (often, in the olden days: to capture a village); invade, besiege; *i-'aba.aba*, ladder
'abi(-ta), stick, dock (of boat), stick to (e.g. gum sticks to garment); *va'a-'abi-ta* B (*yaka-kabi-ra* V), make stick
'abu, mist; *'abu.abua*, Adj, misty
'abu-ra'ina, sow (seed), spread (news)
'aci(-va/-va'ina), A, call (to/about); *i-'aci.aci*, shouted announcement
'acu B (**kau** V), tree (generic)
'ada(-va/-va'ina) B (**cici(-va/-vaka)** V), A, run (for/with)
'adree(-ta'ina), A, shoot up, sprout (with) (object can be colour of blossom); *va'a-'adree-ta'ina*, plant out
'ai-, prefix to place name, native of the place; *'ai-loma*, half-caste, §17.5
'alo(-va) B (**kalu(-va)** V), A, whistle (at someone near); *-va'ina* (at someone further off)
'ami.amica, Adj, sweet
'amu, B only, deictic noun, that sort of thing, that one, §7.3
'ana, Intr, *'ani-a*, A, eat; *va'a-taa-'a-ana*, have a picnic
'ara.arawa, Adj, blue
'ari(-a/-ta'ina), O, scrape (e.g. coconut bark)
'asa, Intr, (boat) runs ashore; *'asa-va*, watch boat run aground; *va'a-'asa-va*, make boat run ashore
'ata.ata, Adj, hot
'ati-a, original B, burn (now also *kama(-ca)*, O, burn, from V)
'ati(-a), A, bite; Intens *-la'ina*
'ato, box; *'ato.taga.taga*, long basket; *'ato-na*, put into box, record
'atu, distance between finger tips with arms outstretched, "fathom"
'auai(-ta'ina), A, be concerned (with), be interested (in)

- 'au(-ta)**, O, carry, take or bring goods; *va'a-'au-ta*, send (goods or letter)
'e- B (ke- V), classifier prefix; chapter 12, §6.3
'ea, Pronoun, 3sg, §6.3
'ece~kece, post-head Modif, all, §8.3.7
'ee~eeva'aa, Relator, if, §22.2
'eefaru B (**keedaru** V), Pronoun, 1incdu, §6.3
'ei, Preposition, together with, §14.3
'eimami, Pronoun, 1excl, §6.3
'eirau, Pronoun, 1exclu, §6.3
'eitou, Pronoun, 1excpa, §6.3
'ele(-va), A, stop (at a place); *va'a-'ele-a*, make (e.g. a boat) stop
'eli(-a), O, dig (object can be either ground, or what is dug for)
'elo(-va), O, make crooked; *ta-'elo*, be crooked; *ta-ta-'elo.elo*, be winding (lots of bends)
'emudou, Pronoun, 2pa, §6.3
'emudrau, Pronoun, 2du, §6.3
'emunu B (**kemunii** V), Pronoun, 2pl, §6.3
'ena~'enc(ii), B only, deictic verb, do like this, be like, §7.2
'ere, Intr, (water) boil(s), *va'a-'ere(-a)*, boil (water/kettle)
'ere-a~'ere.ere, ask for, beg request (see §1.2). Note that *'ere.ere*, although structurally of the form of an intransitive verb, can be used transitively with the thing sought as object.
'eta B (**keda** V), Pronoun, 1incl, §6.3
'etatou B (**kedatou** V), Pronoun, 1inclpa, §6.3
'ete.ete, palm of hand, sole of foot
'eve(-ta), O, carry baby on hip
'ida-ca, encounter, come across, sense presence of
'idacala(-ta'ina), A, be shocked/amazed (about)
'ila-a, know, understand; *va'a-taa-'ila-a*, make known, show; *'ila.aa*, be intelligent (lit: know things)
'ila(-va'ina), A, be shy/scared (of)
- 'ila.ila-a**, guess
'ola(-ta), O, split wood (with wedge); *i-'ola.ola*, slice of bread
'olii, dog, *va'a-'olii*, own a dog
'olo(-va), A, throw a stick at; *-ta'ina* (object: stick thrown)
'oro, village; *va'a-'oro*, Adv, relating to the village; *va'a-'oro*, Intr, establish a village
'oro.ni.vuli, school (lit: village associated with learning)
'oti(-va), O, cut with scissors or shears (object: clothes or hair, etc)
'oto, post-head Modif, brought to a (successful) conclusion, §8.3.1
'oto(-ra), A, lie down (on); *va'a-'oto-ra*, put lying down; *i-'oto.oto*, sleeping place
'ove-a, grab without permission (e.g. land belonging to someone else); snatch ball from another player in Rugby
'ua~waa'ua, semi-auxiliary verb, don't, not (used after relator *me*), §23.4, §24.3
'ubou, smoke
'ubu, B only, rear of a house
'uca B (**vaka-cava** V), interrogative verb, do what, §16.6
'udrou B (**kodro** V), Intr, (dog) barks
'udru(-va'ina), A, (person) grumbles (about), (pig) snorts
'uli, skin, bark, peel
'umala, sweet potato (*Impomoea batatas*)
'umi-, beard
'umu-na, gather, amass, pile up
'uri(-a), O, continue (with)
'uro, pot, pan
'usa(-ta'ina), A, hasten (with, e.g. work)
'usi(-a) B (**quasi(-a)** V), O, wipe with a cloth; *'usi.usi*, wipe hands after washing them at the end of a meal, Noun, the cloth used