ALBERT J. SCHÜTZ

THE FIJIAN LANGUAGE

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UNIVERSITY of HAWAI'I PRESS

OPEN ACCESS

The Fijian Language is dedicated to the two people who have most inspired and encouraged my study of Fijian—Charles F. Hockett, of Cornell University, and G. B. Milner, of the School of Oriental and African studies, University of London. The completion of this grammar nearly coincides with their respective retirements, and I offer it as a festschrift for the occasion. May we continue discussing, (perhaps) disagreeing, and—above all—learning about Fijian.

By the term Fijian language ... I mean the language of the predominant race of people resident in what have been long known as the Fiji Islands and which is fast becoming the lingua franca of the whole group ...

"The Fijian Language" Beauclerc 1908–10b:65

Bau is the Athens of Fiji, the dialect there spoken has now become the classical dialect of the whole group. In it all translations and official documents are written, and it will probably soon supersede all other forms of the language, except among the lowest orders of the people.

Two Years in Fiji Forbes 1875:167–68

The most elegant of these is the dialect of Mbau, which is as much the Attic of Fiji, as those by whom it is spoken are the Athenians of the group ...

Fiji: Our New Province in the South Seas De Ricci 1875:38

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PREFACE

In 1972 I gave the title The Languages of Fiji to a short history of the study of the indigenous languages of the Fiji Group, Some reviewers, expecting a demographic treatise on Standard Fijian, Hindustani, Rotuman, Cantonese, and other languages spoken in Fiji, expressed their displeasure with the title. It was meant, however, to underscore my misgivings about the term "dialect" and to emphasize the extent of language/dialect diversity in Fiji.

The present title does not replace the former one, for the term "dialect" is just as imprecise now as it ever was, and language diversity appears to be even more complex than we thought earlier. The title The Fijian Language merely indicates a different theme. This is a study of Standard Fijian, and it treats language diversity only as a background for this theme.

Because Beauclerc first used the title The Fijian Language, the preface is headed by his confident speculation, which gives special status to one particular variety of Fijian because of an unsupported historical claim. The next writer set up an implicit connection between languages and their speakers. Note that the "nonclassical" dialects were predicted to survive only among the "lowest orders". The third writer attributed special qualities to the standard language itself, describing Bauan—the basis for Standard Fijian—as "elegant".

Although none of these quotations is recent, such views have not faded away entirely. I hope that the account in this study of how a lingua franca was chosen will make it clear that it was accidents of history rather than any innate qualities of the Bau language that caused it to be chosen as the standard,

PURPOSE

This work is not directed to a particular readership, but simply to those who want to learn more about the Fijian language. It is intended as a reference work, treating in detail such topics as verb and noun classification, transitivity, the phonological hierarchy, orthography, specification, possession, subor-

dination, and the definite article (among others). In addition, it is an attempt to fit these pieces together into a unified picture of the structure of the language.

However, in the attempt to achieve such a unification, I have found it difficult to treat a multidimensional topic, for after all, writing flows in only one direction. For instance, it is impossible to describe one unit on the hierarchical scale without referring to the smaller units that are its constituents and to the larger unit of which it itself is a constituent. But, in general, I have tried to move from larger unit to smaller, backtracking and jumping ahead as necessary.

Within the presentation of each topic, or each unit, I have paid more than customary attention to previous works. The reason for this practice is somewhat of a missionary effort to achieve these goals:

1. to trace the development of ideas about Fijian grammar;

2. to understand the framework in which grammatical statements were made;

3. (with apologies to my predecessors) to correct mistakes; and

4. to explain the reason for my different interpretations.

A more general reason for this type of discussion is to show that there is a tradition of scholarship connected with the Fijian language that reaches back into the 18th century. A careful examination of the material collected by early explorers and traders can help us reconstruct a portion of what these first linguistic researchers found at that time.

Finally, I wish to dispel the notion that Fijian (and indirectly, any other Oceanic language) is in any way simple—either grammatically or phonologically,

METHODOLOGY

1. Use of previous grammars

In this grammar, as in previous works on the history of the study of Fijian, I have tried to understand the earlier descriptions according to the linguistic models of the periods in which they were written. Very few grammars are completely

original; for example, David Cargill's pioneering work on Fijian drew on his experience with Tongan grammar and—earlier—his training in the classical languages. The present work is no exception, for I have used the three major Fijian grammars—those by David Hazlewood, G. B. Milner, and C. M. Churchward—as starting points formany sections of this description. Where I have relied most on my prede cessors—especially Milner—is in the treatment of grammatical markers, both their meaning and their order in the phrase. It would have been shortsighted to ignore Milner's valuable tables showing an order-class analysis of the "general phrase", even though he did not make the important distinction between the verb phrase and the noun phrase.

Most features of higher-level organization—the hierarchical organization of the phonology, the approach to sentence construction, the forays into discourse analysis—are my own contribution, along with the overall form of verb classification. Underlying all these areas of the grammar is an attempt to explain as many features as possible from the point of view of form, function, and meaning.

2. The Fijian Dictionary Project and its role in the grammar

Just as important as this grammar's forerunners is its connection with the Fijian Dictionary Project (FDP). Although the main goal of the project is the dictionary itself, it is also concerned with many other aspects of language and culture, including grammar. I have developed the grammar out of the lexicographic work, especially through designing the entry format and classifying verbs. Working with the FDP has given me access to the dictionary files, the preliminary work with verb derivation, original text material, and—most important—the advice of the rest of the staff, especially the Editor, Tevita R. Nawadra, and the Research Associate, Paul Geraghty. The other members of the staff—Saimone Nanovu, Adi Bera Kurasiga, and Luisa Tuvuki—have also made important contributions, as has Apenisa Seduadua, of the Department of Education. Because of the frequency of "personal communication" citations from these people, I have abbreviated such references to initials (TRN, PG, SN, BK, LT, and AS) and the date.

3. An attempt to avoid translation analysis

Most of the previous grammars concentrated on translation for a valid reason: their purpose was to help those whose work it was to translate English into Fijian (e.g. Christian missionaries), or to help people who wanted to or were required to learn to speak Fijian (e.g. civil servants).

But one must take care in using English translations to explain Fijian function words. For example, grammars sometimes translate the marker mada (which makes initiating an action more culturally acceptable) as 'just', as in kauta mada mai 'just bring it here'. This "explanation" does not help me understand the function of mada, for in my variety of English, 'just' does not mark politeness, but rather, makes a command more abrupt, and would not be used except in exasperation.

As another example, the marker gā is said to have "several important functions". But those functions are never stated. Instead, different uses of gā are explained through translations. This is not what I understand by the term "function". Furthermore, the primary responsibility for defining Fijian words lies with the dictionary. Throughout the present grammar, I have tried to follow this principle: not to rely wholly on translations to explain the function and meaning of grammatical markers.

4. Discourse

This study took an important turn toward discourse analysis (albeit at a superficial level) when it became apparent that the presence of a noun phrase in a sentence could not be accounted for by looking at only the sentence itself. This is when the notion of specification began to grow and color my view of other parts of the language, from the analysis of markers to the treatment of contrastive intonation. As a result, although many examples are given out of context, the analysis of a number of grammatical features depended on an environment larger than the sentence.

However, the analysis of discourse is still at an embryonic stage. I hope it will be possible to extend the study of Fijian grammar so that it reaches beyond the sentence.

5. Bibliographic sources

The Acknowledgments and the Bibliography give some indication of the libraries and archives that have provided material for the historical sections of this work. In addition to the

wide geographical spread of this part of the study, it has been of rather long duration, beginning in 1960 and continuing sporadically through the completion of the final draft, with a number of extended periods of concentration.

6. Glosses

In a grammar of this type, the purpose of the gloss is to help the reader understand the particular feature being explained. It follows, then, that stylistically pleasing English is not the most important consideration.

7. Text material

Insofar as possible, I have avoided using translated material as a source of examples. Thus excluded are Bible translations (except for an occasional example of "translationese") and Fijian translations of such English classics as The Pilgrim's Progress and Treasure Island. In an effort to use fairly simple material at first, I concentrated on two series of Fijian primers—The Fijian Readers and Na Viti—although the first seems to have based some of its stories on outside models, and the second, in its effort to simplify, has sometimes distorted natural discourse.

In the grammar, the sources of most example phrases and sentences are identified so that the reader can find the contexts.

8. Elicited material, or material out of context

Some of the work on verb classification has drawn from the extensive work done by the FDP. Based on the primary classification of verbs into active and stative, Tevita R. Nawadra developed a check list for verbs, showing forms that might occur. This list was based on the more nearly regular verb affixes; the irregular verb forms could not be dealt with in such an organized manner. For these verb roots, Saimone Nanovu checked the forms he knew.

Although the analysis of the semantics of verb affixes is based mostly on forms in context and on the advice of the FDP staff, the "morphological skeleton" for verbs referred to above was very useful for certain formal matters, such as multiple transitive suffixes for some verbs, and the different forms and functions of reduplication.

9. The phonology

Like some of the other parts of the grammar, the phonological description is based on earlier studies. The most important source for phonology and phonetics is Scott 1948. Cammack 1962 was useful for its detailed treatment of intonation, although the model he used is difficult to follow. My treatment of individual intonation types is based first on Milner's sketch (1972;147–51), although his approach was to construct analogues of pitch contours, and mine was to seek contrastive patterns. For simple sentences, I used Milner's recordings (kindly supplied by him), designed to accompany his text. In the chapters on phonology, some examples are labeled according to Milner's transcription of the records. Other recorded materials used are:

A recording of English loan words by Saimone Nanovu

A recording made for C. F. Hockett by Niko Bulai

Recordings made by Apenisa Seduadua during his course work at the University of Hawaii

Language-learning tapes made for the University of Hawaii by Paul Geraghty, Lasarusa Vusonivailala, and Pio Manoa

The statements in the sections on vowel shortening are backed up by extensive acoustic phonetic research by Iovanna Condax, conducted at the University of Hawaii in 1978–79.

These more formal sources were supplemented by listening to the language in context and by direct eliciting from the FDP staff members.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

PREFACE

B. W. Bender, F. Clunie, J. Hall, W. V. Hall, T. Hill, K. Lunde, R. Kiste, B. Parham, H. Parham, J. Robarobalevu, R. T. Sanders, K. E. Stevens, M. Tawake, S. Tawake, D. M. Topping, S. Uhalley, and S. Wolf.

I should like to express my gratitude to His Excellency the Prime Minister of Fiji, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, for his guardianship over the dictionary project, which made the past decade of research possible.

PACIFIC COLLECTIONS CONSULTED

Australian National Library, Canberra

Barker Library, Suva

Bernice P. Bishop Musuem Library, Honolulu

Essex Institute Library, Salem (Mass.)

Fiji Archives, Suva

Hocken Library, University of Otago, Dunedin

Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (Mass.)

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Mitchell Library, Sydney

Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii, Honolulu

Pacific Manuscripts Bureau microfilms

Peabody Museum Library, Salem

School of Oriental and African Studies Library, University of London

Seminar für Indonesische und Südseesprachen, Universität Hamburg

Tozzer Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (Mass.)

Turnbull Library, Wellington

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Library, London

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Grammatical terms

Grammatical terms are abbreviated with no more than three capital letters. Even though some one-letter abbreviations are listed (such as D for dual), they are not used alone. In an interlinear gloss, the only single capital letters stand for proper names. Abbreviations in parentheses are those that are not used interlinearly.

(A)	active
(A1)	one-referent active
(A2)	two-referent active
ABL	ablative
AFM	aforementioned
APR	appearance
ASP	aspect
CAU	causative
CNC	concomitant
CNJ	conjunction
CNT	continuative
D	dual
DEF	definite article
DEM	demonstrative
DES	desiderative
DIR	directional
DIS	distributive
EMP	emphatic
(freq.)	frequentative
FT	future tense
GEN	general
HAB	habitual
I	inclusive
INC	inclusion
IND	individuality
INI	initiation
INT	intensifier
(intens.)	intensive
ITR	iteration
LOC	locative
LIM	limiter
MAN	manner
(no.)	number

NOM	nominalizer
(NP)	noun phrase
NUM	numerical
ORG	origin
P	plural
POS	possessive
POT	potential
PRP	proper
PRX	proximity
PT	past tense
REC	reciprocal
REL	relative marker
RES	respect
S	singular
(S)	stative
(S1)	one-referent stative
(S2)	two-referent stative
SEN	sentence modifier
SEQ	sequential marker
STA	stative affix
SUB	subordinate marker
T	paucal
TEN	tentative
TR	transitive
ULT	ultimate
(VP)	verb phrase
X	exclusive
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

2. Symbols

[ ]	in quotations: a guess, or, if empty, an undecipherable word
*	protoform, or an incorrect form
‘ ’	gloss. Quotations use “ ”.
( )	grammatical explanation, as opposed to a gloss
( )	within a gloss: a noun that serves as subject or object
+	in the convention just above, a noun followed by + means that the noun is only an example. This convention is from Geraghty 1983a:10.
↓	falling intonation
↑	rising intonation

.	measure division
:	phonological phrase division
::	phonological sentence division
x < y	y modifies x.
x > y	x modifies y.

3. Text abbreviations

FMC61	conversations recorded and transcribed on Bau in 1961 by Floyd M. Cammack (with the assistance of R. T. Komaitai) as part of the linguistic research leading to his Ph.D. dissertation
FR	The Fijian Readers, 1–6
NL	Nai Lalakai. Fijian language newspaper
NV	Na Viti, 1–4. Materials prepared by the Curriculum Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, Suva
SF	Spoken Fijian (Schütz and Komaitai 1971)
SR	Siga Rarama. Fijian language newspaper
T74	Tovolea, four original stories written in Fijian (edited by Asesela Ravuvu)
VG	Na Volagauna. Fijian language newspaper
VV	entries in Ivolavosa Vakaviti and material recorded and transcribed for the Fijian Dictionary Project
FDP	miscellaneous materials in the collection of the Fijian Dictionary Project

Fuller identifications, such as "Nawadra 1982", refer to items that are listed in the Bibliography.

FIJI ISLANDS

50 Miles
0 10 20 30 40

179°W

Vanuabalavu

LAU
ISLANDS   Tuvuca

Oneata

Moce

Vatoa and
Ono-i-lau

Lakeba

Cicia

Taveuni

Somosomo

CAKAUDROVE

Natewa Bay

MACUATA

MOALA
GROUP

180°

Koro

LOMAIVITI
ISLANDS

Gau

VANUA LEVU

179°E

BUA

Ovalau

Bau

Nukulau

Rakiraki

TAILEVU

RA

NAITASIRI   Rewa

REWA

Suva

NAMOSI

Beqa

Deuba

Bligh Water

NAKAROGA...

SERUA   Navua

Kadavu

178°

VITI LEVU

BA

Sigatoka

NADROGA

Vatulele

Lautoka   Vuda

Sigatoka

Naviti

YASAWA
ISLANDS

Waya

177°

179°W

180°

179°E

178°

17°

18°

19°

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SECTION I

BACKGROUND

The Fegee group is but little known, it consists of a great number of Islands, large and small. the Inhabitants do not appear to be very numerous, their Complexion, language, customs, religious Ceremonies, &c prove them to be a different race from the generality of the South Seas Islanders.

John Davies, in what is thought to be the first letter written from Fiji. 5 January 1810.

The language of Fiji, so much the most important of all ...

The Melanesian Languages Robert H. Codrington 1885b:7

... what is undoubtedly the most important native language of the Oceanic region.

Sydney H. Ray, commendation in A New Fijian Gramar C. M. Churchward 1941:[3]

1 DISCOVERY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In 1971, a committee of people interested in Fijian—both native speakers and visiting linguists—decided that a Fijian monolingual dictionary was needed. The Fijian representatives on the committee wrote:

> The basic outlook of the dictionary should be one of recording Fijian words for speakers of Fijian now and in the future.

With this philosophy, the Fijian Dictionary Project was formed, and since that time has moved from external to internal direction and support. It now serves not only as a research unit but as an académie as well, advising on linguistic matters and helping to form language policy for education. To spur interest in lexicography and grammar among teachers, the Project has conducted a number of workshops, stimulating the interest of Fijian teachers in the structure of their own language.

The present situation contrasts sharply with the past. In the 1920s and '30s, when a revised dictionary and grammar were desired, the search for compilers was almost exclusively external. For example, it was suggested that S. H. Ray, the leading figure in Melanesian linguistics, write the grammar, even though Ray's knowledge about Fijian was entirely secondhand.

When we explore further into the past, we find even more reliance on external observations. Therefore, to extend our view of the language to the earliest dates possible, we must rely on the written records of the early vāvālagi (foreign) visitors to Fiji.[1]

1.2 PRELUDE TO DISCOVERY[2]

Unlike the first sighting of the Fiji Islands, or the first encounter with the people, the discovery of the Fijian language by outsiders cannot be said to have occurred at a particular time on a particular day. Instead, the earliest written records hold tan-

talizing glimpses—a few words collected, then a few more, then phrases, and so on. Before we discuss the first Fijian words actually recorded, it is interesting to examine the near misses. Some voyagers passed so close to Fiji that a slight change in direction would have resulted in an earlier sighting. Those who did pass through Fiji apparently had neither the opportunity nor the inclination to record samples of the language.

The earliest recording of an Oceanic language is probably the thirty-eight words (Amherst and Thomson 1901:lxxxiv-lxxxv) scattered through the Manuscripts of Alvaro de Mendaña [?–1595], who discovered the Solomon Islands in 1568. Although his collection is historically interesting as a "first", it does not seem to have been used by later explorers in the area. By contrast, the lists collected half a century later by Iacob Le Maire [1585–1616] did serve a practical purpose.

As the Dutch ship Eendracht sailed west across the Pacific, it encountered many islands in the Polynesian group. But it lingered at two groups fairly near Fiji: Tafahi and Niuatoputapu, and Futuna and Alofi. "At both places a friendly intercourse was established with the native inhabitants; trade was going on, the crew went ashore and the native chiefs paid visits on board. Here it was that Le Maire made two vocabularies: one in each group" (Kern 1948:218). However, because that part of the Pacific was only very roughly charted, Le Maire thought that he, like Mendaña, had touched the Solomon Islands, and it was that name that his successors attached to the word lists. Le Maire's two vocabularies combined consist of some 150 items, a considerable increase in size over those collected by Mendaña.

It is not clear whether the ultimate purpose of the collection was to satisfy intellectual curiosity, to serve some practical purpose, or to do both. Today, they serve the first purpose well. For example, it is satisfying to find Wacka in one list and puacca in the other, both referring to 'pig', for it firmly refutes one of those folk etymologies that have come to be believed even by Pacific islanders themselves. Intrigued by a chance resemblance of sound, and ignoring widespread cognates, some amateur philologists have stated with conviction that the word was from English 'porker' (e.g. Henderson 1933:229n; Thurston 1881:162–69).

Fison (1907:xlii-xliii) maintained just as firmly that the word came from Spanish:

The word for Pig in Fijian is Puaka, or Vuaka. In other groups we find it as Puaka, Buaka, Pua'a, Bua'a, the apostrophe denoting a curious break or catch in the pronunciation, which in the South Seas languages invariably marks the absence of a consonant which has been dropped. Spanish words are of frequent occurrence in more than one of those languages, and in them we see traces of the old adventurers who roamed the South Seas in search of El Dorado, the Golden City, the Fountain of Youth, and who knows what other phantom. It is almost certain that Puaka comes from Puerco or Puerca, and that the animal which it represents was brought to Fiji, or to one of the neighboring groups, by the Spanish voyagers ...

Explorers, however, first used the lists to satisfy more practical needs. In Abel Tasman's [1603?–59] account of his contact with the Maori people in December 1642 (1898:19), he wrote that as a group approached his ship in a canoe, "they called out several times, but we did not understand them, their speech not bearing any resemblance to the vocabulary given us by the Hon. Governor-General and Councillors of India, which is hardly to be wondered at, seeing that it contains the language of the Salamonis islands, etc."

The language was not extremely different from Maori. Some perseverance eventually would have allowed the two groups to find words they could both understand (e.g. numbers, body parts, and some common nouns like 'house'), but instant communication would have been miraculous.

At Tonga the next month, Tasman tried the list again, with similar results:

They called out to us several times, to which we responded in the same way, but we could not understand each other ... We now showed them an old cocoa-nut and a fowl, and with the aid of our vocabulary inquired after water, hogs, etc.,[3] they did not understand us, nor we them, but they constantly kept pointing to the shore.

Time and experience lessened these difficulties. Eventually, the necessity of bartering to obtain provisions opened the door to some communication, and in a later entry Tasman wrote: "... after staying here for some time we again asked after the Aisy or Latouw[4] (which in their speech means king or chieftain)."

From our language-centered point of view, it is unfortunate that Tasman did not have a chance to speak with Fijians. But as he maneuvered through Fiji's reefs in 1643, his main concern was for the safety of his ship, and there was no chance for him to discover the language as well as the islands. If there had been such an opportunity, he might have effected readier communication than in his previous encounters with the Maoris and the Tongans, for by now he had improved on Le Maire's list. Some time after leaving Fiji,[5] he reported passing an inhabited island:

> We called out to them the words Aniew, Oufi, Pouacka,[6] etc. (meaning cocoa-nuts, yams, hogs, etc), which they seemed to understand, for they pointed to the shore, as if they wanted to say: they are there.

Bad he been able to try out these words on the Fijians, they would almost certainly have been recognized as niu, uvi, and vuaka. But the first recording of Fijian words was postponed for a surprisingly long period—over 130 years.

1.3 CONTACT

Although Captain James Cook [1728–79] sighted one of the Fiji Islands (Vatoa) in 1774 on his second voyage, it was not until his third voyage that he gathered any information about the Group. It is from the journal of William Anderson [?–1778],[7] his linguistic specialist, that we glean the earliest comments about the Fijians and their language, for Anderson had the opportunity to observe both the people and some of their arts in Tonga. After describing the superiority of their clubs, spears, mats, pots, and other artifacts, he noted in July 1777 (Beaglehole 1955–74 [III] :959):

> Their language too differs almost totally from that of Tonga, as may be seen in the small specimen I was able to procure subjoined, where Eeo, Yes is the only word that agrees, & Latoo, a chief is mentioned by Le Maire as signifying the same thing at Cocos Island.

He then gave a sample of twelve words, most of which are indeed unrelated to the Tongan equivalents. Although Anderson's comments are brief, they may have sown the seeds of an important controversy, one that cropped up repeatedly until

more was known about Fiji. Indirectly, he had asked the nature of the relationship of Fijian to the Polynesian languages, which were better known. Moreover, the brevity of his list is mysterious. Why was he content to gather a mere dozen words from Fijian, especially since he devoted so much attention to Tongan, for which he "been able to collect about six hundred of their words, amongst which are terms that express numbers as far as a hundred thousand ..." (Beaglehole 1955–74 [III]:957). Had Anderson, like some others of the crew, expected Cook to continue on to explore Fiji? His failure to do so has long been a subject of speculation (Beaglehole 1974:547–8).

1.4 EXPLORERS, TRADERS, A MISSIONARY IN FLIGHT, AND THE FIRST PHILOLOGISTS

It remained for one of Cook's own officers, William Bligh, [1754?–1817] master of the Resolution on the third voyage, to record the first Fijian words in situ. Even then, it was not until Bligh's second trip through the Group that he was able to report on any of the language. Although he passed through Fiji in 1789 on his famous voyage by launch to the Dutch East Indies, he did not land there, and his only contact with the Fijian people was a narrow escape from two pursuing canoes. But on his subsequent voyage through the Group (this time under much more agreeable conditions) he not only met with Fijians, but took note of a few words. On 6 August 1792, near the island of Moce, he entered the following remarks in the log:

> A Cannoe came off to us with two Men in her, who bartered without reserve a few Coco Nutts for Toeys axes & Nails ... Two of the Men came on board and looked about them with some surprise ... We could not understand them except in a few Words which were of the Friendly Island Language. I happened to mention Tongataboo, when they got hold of it, and I saw that they were perfectly acquainted with that Land.

The next list was collected in a situation very much like Anderson's. Antoine Raymond Joseph de Bruni d'Entrecasteaux [1739–93] was appointed in 1791 to search for the missing explorer La Perouse. A secondary but still important mission was to gather scientific information. He stated explicitly (Rossell 1808:300) that one of the reasons for calling at Tongatapu (23

March–9 April 1793) was to obtain some knowledge of the inhabitants. The ultimate goal of the linguistic part of the investigation was a broad plan for comparison:

> The vocabularies of different people will be brought together in a public depository so that everyone will be able to determine the similarities and dissimilarities that exist between the same words understood by different individuals.

Curiously, although he had access to Anderson's Tongan and Fijian word lists, he did not consider them to be of much value:

> … either because of the difference that exists between the pronunciciation of the Englishmen and ours, or because most of the words that Cook thought belonged to the language of the Friendly Islands were most often words mispronounced by the English themselves and repeated by the islanders with a sign of approval, which could have made them believe that they could understand each other.[8]

D'Entrecasteaux listed seven Fijian words, and their Tongan equivalents, with French glosses. As with the Anderson-Cook list, these words seem to have been chosen to show the differences—not the similarities—between Fijian and Tongan.

Up to this point, it was only Bligh who observed and recorded any of the Fijian languages in their own environment. One reason is that reports on the navigational difficulties posed by the Fijian reefs made ships' captains reluctant to try the uncharted waters. Another was the reputation of the Fijians. Anderson wrote (Beaglehole 1967 [II]:958): "The inhabitants … are much dreaded from their fighting with Bows and Slings but more so from the unnatural practice of eating their enemies whom they kill in battle." But even this obstacle was eventually surmounted by the all-powerful motive of profitable trade, based not on a European market for exotic commodities, but instead on an enthusiastic market in the Orient for the wood of a parasitic tree: various species of Santalum—sandalwood.

Thus inspired by potential profits, two ships—the Marcia and the Fair American—purchased sandalwood in Fiji for the first time in 1804.

As with all the early visits, we are dependent upon logbooks and personal journals for most of our information about the Fijian language. Fortunately, some of the logbooks from this period have survived, especially those of the East India Marine Society in Salem, Massachusetts. For the earliest of these, survival was a matter of chance; later, it was due to a policy stated by the Society, much like that of the Wesleyans (see CH 5), but relating to journals in general. In 1827, it was decided that the following notice should be added to the blank daybooks that were issued to captains or their clerks:

> VOTED, that it being of importance to Navigation and for the benefit of this Society, that as many of the Journals of its Members, kept during their absence at sea, as can be procured, should be bound and deposited at the Museum. It is therefore requested of every Member, during his absence at sea, to keep a Journal of his Voyage, and on his return to hand it immediately to the Inspector or Distributor of Journals, or to the Superintendant of the Museum (Essex Institute M 656 1832B).

It is true that many of the journals spawned by this requirement are concerned mainly with navigation and weather, but occasionally a writer was moved to record details of historical, anthropological, or linguistic interest. For much of our knowledge of premissionary Fiji, we are greatly indebted to these collectors of curiosities.

However, our first record from someone who collected words along with sandalwood comes not from a ship's journal, but from the narrative of a "true adventure" story. The writer was Samuel Patterson [1785–?], a professional sailor from Rhode Island. Patterson sailed on the Eliza from Port Jackson (Sydney) at the beginning of May 1808 and arrived at Tongatapu less than two weeks later. There, his captain took on board Charles Savage and others who claimed to be survivors from the wreck of the Port au Prince, purchased "canoes to carry to the Feegee islands to purchase Santle wood", and set sail for Fiji. Their ship was wrecked on Mocea Reef near Nairai on 20 June, and Patterson spent over six months in Fiji. His Narrative (1817) contains no organized word list, but scattered through the text are eighteen words, proper names, and phrases.

Most of the American sandalwood trade originated from Salem, Massachusetts. The merchants of Salem were so active during the first several decades of European trading in Fiji that the Fijians "thought Salem comprised all the remainder of the outer world about which they knew so little" (Hurd 1888:86). Their trade began in about 1806, and not very long after that, William Lockerby [1782–1853], a Scots sailor serving on the American ship Jenny, found himself in Fiji and in a disagreement with his captain. He wrote (im Thurn 1925:23):

> I paid particular attention to making myself acquainted with their language, and in a few months I could make myself not only understood, but could discourse with them on any subject; which made my wretched situation more tolerable.

To thwart the captain's plan to establish a trade monopoly, Lockerby compiled sailing directions for "Sandalwood Island" (Vanualevu), accompanied by advice about carrying arms on shore, the most desirable articles for trade, personality sketches of various chiefs, and a "vocaboulary of thier Tongue sufficnt to purchase Sandle Wood". When he left Fiji in June 1809, he took his documents with him, ready to turn them over to someone who could provide competition for his disagreeable captain.

Lockerby's word list, ninety-three items in length, probably compiled sometime early in 1809, is the first list found that is longer than a few words. It also contains our first examples of Fijian phrases and sentences. But another vocabulary was collected surprisingly soon.

As Lockerby was preparing to leave Fiji, a series of uprisings against the king in Tahiti and against the bearers of Christianity caused the missionaries there to ponder "their great unprofitableness in the work of the mission" (Newbury 1961:133). In late October 1809, they boarded the Hibernia, originally bound for Canton via Fiji, where it was to stop long enough to pick up a cargo of sandalwood. But the reefs off the north coast of Vanualevu damaged the ship seriously enough that it had to stop at a small island off the Macuata coast to make repairs.

One of the missionary party, the Reverend John Davies [1772–1855], was a careful diarist and later the chronicler of Tahitian mission history. Having arrived in Tahiti in 1801, and considered "something of a grammarian and, compared with his

companions, a scholar" (Newbury 1961:xlvi), Davies was thus in a position to make the first nearly professional statements about the Fijian language and culture, based on firsthand observation. At first, he and his brethren had little contact with the Fijians, but as their stay stretched on to seven weeks, more trading was necessary to obtain supplies.

By the end of December, Davies was writing Fijian phrases, and after he left the Fiji Islands in late January (1810), he thought it "might be expected we should make some observations on them and their inhabitants" (im Thurn 1925:150). Among lists of islands and descriptions of some customs appears an unfortunately short word list (twenty items), seemingly not intended to represent a sample of Fijian, but—like some previous lists—to show that "the main part of the language has no affinity with [Polynesian languages]".

Davies, with his superior training, and—more important—his experience with Tahitian, might have been able to present the scholarly community with a fairly accurate sample of the Fijian language. As it turned out, his manuscript remained unpublished for over a century. When he published his Tahitian grammar (1823), however, he included his version of some Fijian words (p. 5), and contradicted the theoretical point belabored in his earlier work:

> The Fejeeans are undoubtedly a different race of people from the Friendly islanders, and apparently, from all that speak the Polynesian: and tho' their language is partly Polynesian, yet it has a mixture of words that indicates a different origin. The words Kalao God; Leva, a woman, Singa, the Sun, tolatola, a shoulder, sala, a leg &c. seem to have no affinity with the true Polynesian, tho' they may have with some of the Malay dialects: bulam or bulan the word used by the Fejeeans for the moon is used also by the Malays.

The next list collected represents a move back to commercial motives, and is connected with the vocabulary compiled by Lockerby. When he reached Salem, probably in early 1810, Lockerby apparently made good his intention of passing on his sailing directions and word list by giving them to William Putnam Richardson [1785–1826]. Richardson left Salem in June of that year (Dodge 1972:182) as captain of the Active. Sometime in 1811, he collected his own considerably more ex-

tensive list. On his return to Salem, he deposited both his and Lockerby's lists in the collection of the East India Marine Society.

The list itself, about 280 words and phrases, is a combination of "basic" words like numerals, phrases for collecting sandalwood, and cultural items like tabu 'sacred' and madrai 'fermented starch crop'. But the last few words show that the Captain strayed far enough from his New England background to satisfy an interest that could only be called prurient.

One particularly interesting gloss is that for Pappelange (pāpālagi in some areas, vāvālagi in Standard Fijian): a white man or a ghost. The following account adds support to this gloss. William S. Cary [1804–83], in an account of his shipwreck in Fiji in 1825 (Cary 1928:51–2), told of cleaning Tānoa's musket. While

> taking the locks apart and putting them together the old man watched me with the keenest interest. When I had finished he said: "Are you a spirit?" I told him no, that I was flesh and blood the same as himself. "Well," said he, "if you are the same as me, what makes you so white?" I told him it was because I belonged to a colder climate and had always worn clothes. But he seemed to think I must have some supernatural aid or I could not take the locks apart and put them together again so readily.

A similar meaning exists elsewhere in Melanesia. Hilliard (1973:183) wrote:

> To the Melanesian islanders, Europeans first appeared as supernatural beings—"either as ghosts or spirits"—whose most remarkable attribute was their display of seemingly unlimited stores of wealth.[9]

The meaning of 'ghost' or 'spirit' for vāvālagi is not widely known today. But it is a more plausible etymology for the current use of the word than many others that have been proposed (e.g. Barrow 1921, Heycock 1922).

At the East India Marine Society, Richardson's list was copied by a Salem scholar, John Pickering [1777–1846], whose insightful principles outlined in his "Essay on a Uniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North America" (1820) were in part responsible for the Hawaiian orthography. Those

principles are not represented in his copy of Richardson's list, since he himself was not able to hear the language spoken. Thus Richardson's English-based orthography remained unchanged. Pickering was able, however, to alter the list to fit in with a pet hobby of his: Catherine the Great's "root words", an ambitious pioneering project in comparative vocabulary.[10]

Pickering then loaned his copy to William Ellis [1794–1872], who had been a missionary in Tahiti for a period long enough for him to have claimed later that he had devoted ten years to the "study of the uncultivated languages of the Pacific" (Ellis 1827:preface). It was this interest in Pacific languages that prompted him to follow his comments on the Hawaiian language with those of Davies on Fijian (mentioned above), supplemented by a "Vocabulary of the Fejeean Language". He justified its inclusion:

> In the preceding article ... the remark is made, that the Fejeean language has not probably the same origin with the Polynesian. As specimens of this language are very rare, and as no professed vocabulary of it has, we believe, ever been published, it was thought, that it might be useful to subjoin the following, compiled from a more extensive one ...

Ellis alphabetized the list and deleted some ninety words that—except for the risqué items—seem to have been chosen randomly. Some fifty-five words are printed in capitals, indicating that their glosses were included in Catherine the Great's list of root words.

The Journal of the American Oriental Society (vol. 1, No. 1, p. 52, Boston, 1843; quoted in Putman 1930:157–58) described the next stage in the progress of the word list:

> Among other islands, our countrymen first furnished a valuable vocabulary of the Fiji language, which supplied an important deficiency in the known vocabularies of the Polynesian family of languages ... This vocabulary ... is made the subject of a particular notice and acknowledgement of the late eminent philologist, Baron William von Humboldt [1767–1835], to whom it was communicated about twenty years ago in his great work ...

In Über die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java, Humboldt expressed his regret that the words were rather too specialized—names of plants, herbs, and goods—to be of much use

for general comparative linguistics. But because of the number of words that corresponded with the Empress's root words, it is hard to justify his complaint. Humboldt compared a number of items with Polynesian cognates, but he could easily have included more.

In August 1820, the Russian exploring ship Vostok, Thaddeus Bellingshausen [1779–1852] commanding, touched at Ono-i-Lau in the southern Lau group. There, the captain collected a list of forty-nine words, which seems to have remained generally obscure until Henderson published it in his account of the early European contact with Fiji (1933). An English translation of the narrative of the voyage was published in 1945 (Debenham).

A few years after this, John Davies had an opportunity to improve on the word list he had collected in 1810. In 1825 there arrived at Tahiti a man from Lakeba named Tākai [1777?–1850], described by Cargill as a "petty chief" (Schütz 1977:59). Tākai had been an emissary to Tonga, seeking instruction in Christianity, and a "pilot interpreter" for Peter Dillon, who took him to Sydney, and thence to Tahiti. There, with Langi, his Tongan travelling companion, he set himself to the task of preparing to be a missionary to Fiji. He attended school, learned some Tahitian (he had already learned some English on his travels), and sought teachers to return with him to Fiji. To help him prepare to instruct his fellow countrymen, John Davies (building on his previous encounter with the Fijian language) worked with Tākai and Langi to write a Fijian primer. Davies wrote in his journal:

> The Fijians are different people and have a different language, and we think there is now a providential opening to make a trial; with this view we have agreed to send Hape and Tafeta[11] to accompany Langi and Takai, and nothing will be charged for their passages. To forward this design I have compiled a small spelling book in the Fijian, and have had it printed, and Takai and Langi have been learning it, also Hape and Tafeta. Having been myself among the Fijians in the end of 1809 and beginning of 1810 I made some progress in their language. I wrote down many of their words and sentences[12] which these strangers enabled me to correct.[13]

This eight-page booklet (Davies 1825) is, so far as we know, the first printing in the Fijian language beyond the few words in Davies's Tahitian grammar. At any rate, it gave Tākai the first glimpse of his language in written form.

In 1827, an extensive vocabulary was collected on a French scientific voyage—one that followed d'Entrecasteaux's unsuccessful attempt to discover the fate of La Perouse. Under the command of Jules Sébastien César Dumont d'Urville [1790–1842], the Astrolabe approached Fiji from Tonga, sailed north through the Koro Sea nearly to Taveuni, then southward to Matuku and finally across to Nukulau, where it anchored. This last spot is a likely one for Joseph P. Gaimard [1790–1858], the zoologist, to have collected a word list of nearly 300 items, plus numerals, from an informant named Tomboua-Nakoro [Tubua-nakoro], with the help of interpreters from Manila and Guam. It is difficult to imagine communication resulting from this linguistic mélange, but the list is surprisingly accurate.

In addition to its size and accuracy, Gaimard's list is important for its attention to regional variation, which was later to become a linguistic cross for the Wesleyan linguists and lexicographers to bear. Although Gaimard attached no phonetic labels, he took note of the palatalization that distinguishes the pronunciation of a speaker from Lau from that of one from the Bau-Rewa-Verata area:

Dent. Ambati (à Embaou), batchi (à Laguemba)

Other entries point out vocabulary differences between the two areas as well.

An inadvertent British adventurer in Fiji during this period was John P. Twyning, boat steerer in the brig Minerva, on a sperm-whaling voyage out of Sydney. After the Minerva was shipwrecked in September 1828 (?) on Nicholson's Shoals, Twyning and his companions reached Vatoa in a small boat and for the next few years moved around in the vicinity of Lakeba. Twyning did not collect a word list as such, but there are about thirty-five words and phrases scattered throughout his account (1850).

In the 1820s, Fiji's supply of sandalwood was sufficiently reduced that ships sailed the Fiji waters to eke out their trade with other goods as well—especially bêche-de-mer and tortoise shell. One of these ships, the Glide, was wrecked on a reef near

Vanualevu on 22 March 1831, and its third officer, William Endicott [1809–81], lived among the Fijians for several months, long enough to collect a word and phrase list of 104 items. But the list remained for nearly a century in the Peabody manuscript collections at Salem until it was published in 1923. Although mainly of lexicographic interest, it has two distinguishing features. First, accents are marked—a rarity for lists of this period. Second, Endicott added a short but sweeping grammatical observation: "The natives always add the word sah, to all words excepting substantives" (1923:71). This statement will be seen to have important implications for ascertaining what kind of Fijian was spoken to foreigners.

Another member of the crew of the Glide, James Oliver [?–1845], brought a number of Fijian words to the attention of the outside world within two decades of the shipwreck. His account of the incident, published in 1848, contains no word list as such, but a number of words, phrases, and proper names are scattered throughout.

One Salem ship captain who appears as a supporting player in a number of journals and memoirs with a Fiji setting is John Henry Eagleston [1803–84]. Apprenticed when only eight and a half years of age, Eagleston eventually commanded a series of trading vessels that touched Fiji. In his journals of the Emerald, 1833–6 (Essex Institute M 656 1833 E5), which contain valuable observations of Fijian customs and personality sketches of various chiefs, we find a fairly extensive word list, compiled by Joseph W. Osborn, the Emerald's clerk. The list of 207 items was first published as an appendix in Geraghty 1978.

In 1831, George Bennet,[14] historian and philologist, wrote an article on the "Polynesian dialects", comparing forty-three words in Fijian with forms from Tahitian, Maori, and Tongan. Bennet's comments about the language add to our knowledge about the sociolinguistic relationship between Fijian and Tongan at that time (Bennet 1831:199–200):

> The Tongatabu chiefs regard a knowledge of the Fijian language as an accomplishment, and there is much intercourse between the islands. From the frequent visits of the natives of Tongatabu to the Fidgis, the language of the latter will, no doubt, in some degree become corrupted by the introduction of several Tonga words. It will not be improbable, that on a close inquiry being made, other words will be found used at the Leeward Group of

the Fidgis (where the Tonga natives have but little, if any, intercourse), instead of those now used at the Weather Group of the Fidgi Islands.

The list itself provides strong evidence that Bennet collected the words from a Tongan, for his spelling reflects Tongan, not Fijian, pronunciation.

The last premissionary treatment of Fijian discussed here is that by William Marsden [1754–1836], a philologist and historian, whose principal interest was Malay languages and history. But his interest was broad enough to extend to related languages, and among his works is an article on the "Polynesian, or East-Insular languages". It includes "new vocabularies from Tanna and Fiji".

Although Marsden's data were scanty—sixteen of Bennet's list of forty-three words—he ventured some opinions on Fijian's external relationships:

Of the same ambiguous nature is the language of the FIJI-island people, with respect to that of their Polynesian neighbours in the Friendly islands. The main part is peculiar to themselves, but independently of the numerals and many other terms derived from the latter, we find some that belong to the more western dialects: such as vula for bulan the moon, and tangi for tañgis to weep—in which it must be observed that the final consonants are systematically rejected.

The persons, features, and hair of the Fijíans are described as being of the papuah or negrito class; yet Mr. Bennett informs us, that their language is remarkably soft, and even acquired as an accomplishment by the principal natives of Tongataboo; but although the islands are much frequented on account of their produce of sandal-wood, our knowledge of the people is still very imperfect, and some of the facts stated seem to be inconsistent with each other.

Nearly a century later, Sidney H. Ray [1858–1939] used some of Marsden's (that is, Bennet's) examples in the introduction to his important work, A Comparative Study of the Melanesian Island Languages (1926).

1.5 INTERPRETERS

These word lists, the oldest of which have been preserved for over two centuries, are evidence that there was at least some communication between the Fijians and their visitors. But how was it achieved in the early years when no English was spoken or understood by the Fijians? There were a number of different ways. With Lockerby, who recorded a detailed word list, one assumes that his fourteen or more months in the islands gave him a certain control of the language. By comparing Richardson's list with Lockerby's, one can see that the latter served as a starting point for the former, since identical entries such as "a fort surrounded with water" are unlikely to have been coincidental. The production of Davies's primer was facilitated by Tākai's and Langi's developing multilingualism—a combination of Lauan Fijian, Tongan, English, and Tahitian.[15] And Bellingshausen's list hints that it could have been gathered by what is called the "monolingual" method, for it consists almost entirely of words for items that could be pointed to, such as food products, artifacts, body parts, and natural phenomena,[16] thus avoiding the need for an eliciting language.

Some of the men who gained experience with the language on early voyages served as interpreters on later ones. Ships' records mention a number of them—J. King and George Maninni, among others. Benjamin Vanderford typifies the practical experience that many of these interpreters had. Serving variously as second mate of the Active, master of the Indus (1819), and in an unidentified position aboard the Roscoe (1822), Vanderford was chosen in the late thirties by Commodore Wilkes as a pilot and interpreter for the United States Exploring Expedition because he was familiar with the customs and languages of the South Pacific area (Putnam 1930:158–9).

William S. Cary played a similar role in the sandalwood-trading days. Oliver (Dix 1848:98) mentioned him in his capacity as "linguist":

> Several years after the loss of the Oeno, the ship Clay, Captain Vanderford, of Salem, arrived at the same island. Mr. Cary's acquaintance with the language and customs of the natives enabled him to render important services in the way of trade ... As a linguist, assistant trading-master, and companion, he was much esteemed by officers and crew.[17]

Cary himself, in his account of his stay in Fiji, wrote (1928:40):

> As the reader may surmise, I had by this time quite mastered the language of the natives with whom I had resided.

Nor did all the language learning take place in one direction. One of the earliest reports of Fijians learning some English is from Lockerby (Dodge 1972:196); in describing a chief from the Dreketi River area, he added: "he has a young Chief which we called Coconut Jack. you will find him very usefull he can speack a few words of English."

In their commercial dealings, ship captains were also aided by the Rewan Cokānauto, rechristened "Phillips" in honor of Eagleston's employer in Salem. Eagleston was so impressed with Cokānauto's services that he took him to Tahiti, presented him with two head of cattle, and gave him a letter of reference to present to traders who might call at Rewa in the future.

Another group of people who were in a position to interpret for visiting traders were the beachcombers. Captain Eagleston singled out David Whippy:

> from Nantucket, and who left home on a whaling voyage with his brother as master, but owing to unbrotherly treatment, ran away at some of the other Pacific islands, and came to this group with one Capt. Dillon. He appeared to be a man above his companion and much more respected by the natives ...

1.6 PLACE NAMES AND PERSONAL NAMES

In addition to the word lists per se, there is another source for early transcriptions of Fijian words: the recording of place names and personal names. Even though it was the rare captain or clerk who obliged us by collecting vocabularies, many of the ships' logs of this period do yield a few Fijian words among their more mundane contents. Because the official charting of Fijian waters came later, most of the island names are Fijian, not English.

Because many of these proper names were learned by Europeans from other Europeans (contrasting with the usual method of collecting a word list directly from the islanders themselves), they wander rather widely from the target. But they do reflect early impressions of Fijian words.

Even the word "Fiji" itself is an approximation. Moreover, it is not based on a Fijian pronunciation. Spelled in a variety of ways at first, it stems from the Tongan word for Viti: [fiči]. Because the [č] is relatively unaspirated, speakers of English heard it as closer to English [ǰ] and wrote it as j or g.

1.7 SUMMARY

These first reports on the Fijian language are not as isolated from each other as we might think if we merely looked at the items on a bibliography. Instead, some of the earlier lists served as a foundation for the later ones, and the people who were in Fiji earlier passed on useful information to those who came later. Still, compared with the later efforts of the Wesley an missionaries, all of the work done on the language before 1835 merely scratched the surface. In spite of the efforts of a succession of visitors, the language was still largely unrecorded.

2 ORTHOGRAPHY

By comparing the early word lists (Appendix) carefully, one can note that the spellings appear to represent Fijian words run through several different filters. Some of the differences involve production: the language the transcribers actually heard varied according to whether it was spoken by Tongans, speakers of different varieties of Fijian, or speakers trying to accommodate to their hearers. Other differences involve reception: the educational level of the transcriber, his facility for languages, or his native language or even regional dialect. Consider the various transcriptions of the common word vinaka 'good'. This word appears with twelve different spellings by twelve different compilers. (The date indicates when the list was collected, not necessarily when it was published.)

Anderson (1774)	veenága
d'Entrecasteaux (1793)	vinaca
Lockerby (1809)	venacka
Richardson (1811)	venackah
Bellingshausen (1820)	minako
Davies (1825)	vinaga
Cary (1825)	venaka
Gaimard (1827)	binaka
Endicott (1831)	ba-ná-kak
Oliver (1831)	benacka
Osborn (1833)	wenackah
Cargill and Cross (1835)	vinaka

The various spellings of Viti (Fiji, Fejee, Feejee, Fidgi, Feise, etc.) illustrate the same problem: everyone who heard the language had his own way of writing it.

Had such an orthographical hodgepodge continued, it is doubtful that the Fijians would have achieved literacy as quickly as they did. It is probably safe to say, then, that the first and most important contributions of the Wesleyan missionaries David Cargill [1809–43] and William Cross [1797–1843] was to develop a writing system with a high degree of consistency. The

word "develop" is appropriate here, because the present system was not invented at once. Instead, it evolved over several years, not surprisingly going through a trial-and-error period.

To understand Cargill and Cross's orthographical contribution, it is important to be aware of the events that led up to their work. Thus, we must return to John Davies in Tahiti and his Fijian language primer that was to be a tool for the first missionaries, Haepe and Tafeta, If matters had worked out as planned, it might have been they, not Cargill and Cross, who were the bearers of literacy to Fiji. But such was not the case. Expecting to go to Fiji eventually, they went to Tongatapu in March 1826, and remained there until November 1827, At that time, Tafeta returned to Tahiti, and Haepe remained less than a year longer in Tonga to assist two missionaries there. Neither of them served in Fiji.

It was three different men from Tahiti who went to Lakeba in 1830, When they arrived, they found the chief there—Tui Nayau—much less receptive to missionaries than they had been led to believe. They ended up on the island of Oneata; two died there, and the third died at Vanua-balavu—all in 1846 (Wood 1978:23).

With five years' lead on the Wesleyans and nearly sixteen years in Fiji, why didn't these first missionaries have an effect on literacy? Cargill's firsthand observations give us a clue:

Thursday
22 February 1838

… When we arrived in Feejee, a few of the natives had taken upon them the profession of Christianity principally through the instrumentality of three Tahitian teachers … The Tahitian teachers have been in the habit of speaking to the people in a dialect of their own, —composed of the Tahitian, Tonguese [Tongan] and Feejeean languages. What the Feejeeans of Oneata now know respecting the design and advantages of true religion, has been communicated to them since our arrival and through the instrumentality of our people … They lately sent a request for a teacher to instruct them in the doctrines of Christianity in their vernacular tongue … They seem very thankful for a teacher whose language they can understand.

(Schütz 1977a:104–5)

Cargill's report suggests that the Tahitian teachers could not speak Fijian,[1] much less use Davies's primer to introduce literacy. As for the primer itself, it was noted in CH 1 that it reflects the impressions, to an Englishman accustomed to Tahitian, of a Tongan speaking "foreigner talk". An inaccurate record of the language, it seems to have had little effect on the Fijians. If it had, and if the Tahitians had been better trained, it might have been they who introduced literacy to Fiji.

In a way, the circumstances that led to A Vosa Vaka Viji i Manda (Cargill and Cross 1835) were similar to those connected with Davies's earlier primer: both were prepared outside Fiji with the assistance of travelling Fijians. For the later work, the place was Vava'u, Tonga—where Cargill and Cross were awaiting passage to Fiji. Their linguistic consultant—Mateinaniu (Wood 1978:34)—was much less of an oddity in Tonga than the Fijian—Tākai—had been in Tahiti, for communication between the Lau Group in Fiji and nearby Tonga was commonplace.

There were also similarities between the analysts. Davies was considered better educated than his colleagues (Newbury 1961:xlvi); Cargill, too, stood out from his colleagues because of his university education and his familiarity with classical languages.

Could the missionary-linguist in Tahiti and those in Tonga preparing to serve in Fiji have exchanged ideas? Rather than an exchange, there might have been a one-way passage of information, because the Tahitian, Haepe, worked with Cross in Tonga for about nine months in 1827 and 1828 (Wood 11/77). Since Haepe was originally bound for Fiji, he would have had copies of Davies's primer with him, and a copy might have made its way into Cross's hands, and later, Cargill's. But neither of them wrote of having seen the booklet, and even if they had, its inaccuracies would have become apparent after a single session with a native speaker.

The content of Cargill and Cross's first work is rather different from that of Davies's primer. After two and a half pages of the alphabet, numerals, and one-, two-, three-, and four-syllable words, the compilers applied themselves to the business at hand: religious instruction. Cargill's journal entry for 9 February 1835 reads:

> Spent a great portion of this day in translating a part of the first
> of the Conference catechism into the Fijian language with the as-
> sistance of a native of those islands.

Since many Lauan Fijians knew Tongan, it is almost certain that
Tongan was the working medium for the missionaries and their
consultant. And the orthography is an adaptation of the Tongan
system used at that time, with the discrepancies the result of
Fijian's larger set of consonants.

One of the reasons that many Pacific islanders achieved lit-
eracy so quickly is the convenient match between the five-vowel
systems[2] for their languages and five vowel letters with which to
write them (Hockett 1961: 116). True, there were deviations at
first—such as the short-lived six-vowel orthography for Tahitian
(see the Appendix, Davies I), carry-overs from first impressions
(like the spelling of English 'taboo' from Tongan or Tahitian
tabu), and the missionaries' own habit of writing place names in
a spelling less objectionable to outsiders. But for the most part,
by 1835 the vowels were written as a, e, i, o, and u, with their
"continental" values.

The consonants, however, presented some problems that
caught the analysts unawares. These problems were eventually
solved by a practice adopted early in the Polynesian missions
and readily taken up by Cargill: having noted that the languages
of the area did not have consonant clusters, missionaries in
Samoa and Tonga wrote /ŋ/ (as in Toga 'Tonga') as a unit rather
than as the misleading combination ng. The symbol chosen for
those languages was g, since there was no contrast between
voiceless and voiced stops. Cargill carried this system over into
Fijian; in the booklet we can see that he used it for at least two
common words, gone 'child' and tūraga 'chief', which are still
spelled that way today.

In English, another deceptive spelling "cluster" is th, which
does not really represent a cluster, but either of two separate
units: /θ/ or /ð/. Because he had studied Greek, Cargill was fa-
miliar with the letter θ, and when he recognized the similarity
of the Fijian sound /ð/, he made an unusual request of John
Hobbs, the Wesleyans' printer. Hobbs recorded the incident in
his journal (Spooner 1955:23), explaining the origin of a con-
vention that still puzzles casual observers of the writing system:

> I next printed a leaflet for Fiji. Mr. Cargill said, "I want you to cast me some Greek thetas." I said "The th in Fijian is flat [voiced] and I am not a type founder; take one of our spare letters and make that do." In a short time I got the thing printed giving c the sound of th.[3]

However, some orthographical clusters do appear in the primer: mb, nd, and ndr. These, along with [ŋg] (later written as ngg or ngk), remained in the tentative system until the missionaries were well settled into their work at Lakeba and beginning to teach Fijians to read their newly-written language. It was with respect to the written clusters that they met with some resistance to their proposed orthography.

But first, note that from the point of view of a speaker of English, there is a difference in principle between what we write as th and what we write as mb. The th (as in that) represents only one unit, whereas mb (as in member) is made up of two units: /m/ and /b/. In Fijian, however, speakers interpret [mb] as a single unit, as Cargill discovered. In his own words (letter to the General Secretary, 18 June 1839):

> Each of these consonants [mb, nd, ngk, and nj] does not of itself form a distinct independent sound, but the united effect of each cluster of consonants is one compound sound. Therefore the sound of each combination of consonants must be expressed by one letter; as Q to express the sound of ngk, b that of mb, d that of nd, and j that of ng [nǰ]. We at first wrote two consonants where these compound sounds occur, but the natives could not pronounce the two consonants without inserting a vowel between them. We therefore substituted one consonant for the two & the natives were quite delighted with the improvement, and joyfully exclaimed, "You have just now known the nature of our language; we are just now able to read the books which you have written."[4]
>
> These consonants are never found at the termination, but invarably at the beginning of syllables and words; e.g. Lake-ba (Lake-mba), not Lakem-ba; ndo-ndo-nu, not don-do-nu, ko Bau (Mbau), the island of Bau, not kom Bau.

Elsewhere, Cargill noted that when he wrote Lakemba for the Fijians to read, they pronounced the syllables La-ke-ma-mba; that is, they interpreted each written consonant as a separate syllable.

It must be remembered that even after this important modification–that is, using single letters to represent phonetically complex sounds—the orthography was subtly different from that used today. The difference lies in the use of nj and (eventually) j. These letters are traces of sounds that were typical of Lakeba or all of Lau. Like Tongan, the languages of Lau palatalize the sequence /ti/ to [či], and /di/ to [nǰi]. Thus, phonetic [nǰina], which was was first written as njina, and then in the revised system as jina, is phonemic /dina/ 'true'. Similarly, jina [čina] 'mother' is /tina/. And here one of the faults of that system is revealed: because the palatalized form of /ti/ is much less aspirated than the /č/ in English, the early linguists interpreted it as voiced. Thus, both /di/ and /ti/ were eventually written as ji.

When Bauan, which has little if any palatalization, was chosen as the lingua franca, the letter j was not discarded, but was used for words introduced from English and from other Fijian languages. The letters f and p were used for the same purpose.

Perhaps one could call Cargill and Cross's primer and catechism the second stage in the development of the orthography, the first being the impressionistic, haphazard attempts of the first collectors to "write what I hear".

TABLE 2:1

THE ALPHABET

Forms | Powers of the letters
Vowels

A — as a in father, alas
E — as a in fate, hate
I — as e in me, or i in machine
O — as o in note, mote
U — as oo in wood, or u in full

Consonants

B — as mb in member, number
C — as th in that, this: not as in thick
D — as nd in end, hand
F — as f in English—used in introduced words
G — as ng in sing, rang

J	as j in English—used in introduced words
K	as k in English
L	as l in English
M	as m in English
N	as n in English
P	as p in English—used in words introduced
Q	as ng-g in younger, stronger; or nk in bank
R	rather harder than r in English
S	as s in English
T	nearly the same as t in English
V	as v in English
W	as w in English
Y	as y, when a consonant, in English

The end product of this orthographical evolution is the alphabet shown as Table 2:1, with examples showing the "Powers of the letters", adapted from a table in David Hazlewood's grammar (1850b:3).

It should be noted that /dr/ [nř] was interpreted as a cluster, so was not included on the list.

DISCUSSION: ORTHOGRAPHICAL EVOLUTION

On the following pages are given samples from the beginning and end points of the development of the Fijian writing system. The former is represented by Cargill and Cross's primer of 1835; the latter by the revised version of 1840 (page 1 only). Notice the following points:

> 1. The addition of q, w, and y accounts for the difference between a 21- and a 24-letter alphabet. Because the missionaries wrote [ŋg] as a cluster (e.g. igkoia for iqoya 'that'), they did not use a separate letter for that sound. Either because of their own expectations, or because their consultant assimilated partially to a Tongan pronunciation, the missionaries heard w as a v (e.g. valu for walu 'eight'). The omission of y from the list and the transcription in the primer of alo for yalo 'spirit' could also be due to an assmilated pronunciation on the part of the consultant.

> 2. In both versions, dr is analyzed as a cluster of d plus r.

3. The reinterpretation of [mb] and [nd] does not show up on the 1840 spelling leaf. However, the b- and d-syllables now represent their current values, not just [b] and [d], as they did in 1835.

4. It is no longer the language of Lakeba that is being described, for the sequence /ti/ is not palatalized in the 1840 version.

5. On the 1840 leaf, the tentative list of diphthongs has been removed.

6. Both versions treat syllables next in importance to the segmental phonemes. Incidentally, Paul Geraghty pointed out (1978) that the 1840 leaf omits ci and si. Is this a misprint, or is it because of the meanings of these syllables when the vowels are lengthened (as they are in citation form): respectively, 'break wind' and 'semen'? If the latter, we note, however, that da (dā 'excrement') and mi (mī 'urine') remain.

4

E valaji Atama ena Kalou jina. Sa siri ko ekenda i vuravura. E tatou bula mai na ea kive Jisu Karaisi, e vakaimbula vuravura. Ta tou vakavinaka kina Kalou. Tou loloma kina Kalou, na vala a ona talai. Tou ka kua ni valata meea ea. E jiko ive a Kalou jina? E rombota vakaandua a vanau a Kalou. A eava a siri? A vutavuta ea kina talai ni Kalou. A eava jikina a eana ko heli? A jikina ea ko heli, a jiko kina ko tevolo. E lako ki heli leveni agaea.

Cegu na omu Kalou a meea ka nomu Kalou a Kalou jina. Ko nanuma Kalou nalomu. Ka kua ni vosa valega kina Turaga. Ko nanuma a siga tambu; ka kua ni gaue ina siga igkota. Ko aga vinaka kive tamainu kai jinamu, e tuai ena nomubula i vuravura. Ka kua Ka kua ni dauleva. Ka kua ni endrivadiva. Ka kua ni taini vekamu. Ka kua ni endomoni kueo.

E tamai ke tou i hevani, ke tambu a omu eamu; ke vakatatama mai a omu bule; e vala a omu finagalo ki vuravura, ka vaka kina koira ki hevani. Solia mai ni kana ke tou kakana; vakadondonu a ni tou siri; ko na ka kua ni tukuei ke tou kina vakasala; ka ko vakaimbula e ke tou mai na ea; a omu bule, ka na omu kaua, ka na rogorogo sa oji ka na tubutubua. Emeni.

TONGATABOO.
Printed at the MISSION PRESS, March, 1835.

First Proof   No. 1.

A
VOSA VAKA VIJI
1 MANDA.

AEIOURCDFGHJKLMNPRSTV
a/ k e i o n b c d f g h j k l m n p r s t v
KJMOSVAGEHUFLDBTRNCIP
f m u l e d g n b h i k p j o t s c a r

ae ai ao au ei ou

B ba	H ha	M ha	M sa
D da	J ja	N na	T ta
F fa	K ka	P pa	V va
G ga	L la	R ra	C ca

Dua	I	1	Jinikandua	XI	11
Rua	II	2	Jinikarua	XII	12
Dolu	III	3	Jinikadolu	XIII	13
Va	IV	4	Jinikava	XIV	14
Lima	V	5	Jinikalima	XV	15
Ono	VI	6	Jinikaono	XVI	16
Vitu	VII	7	Jinikavitu	XVII	17
Valu	VIII	8	Jinikavalu	XVIII	18
Civa	IX	9	Jinikaciva	XIX	19
Jini	X	10	Ruasagavlu	XX	20

ba ca da fa ga ha ja ka la ma na pa ra sa ta va
be ce de fe ge he je ke le me ne pe re se te ve
bi ci di fi gi hi ji ki li mi ni pi ri si ti vi
bo co do fo go ho jo ko lo mo no po ro so to vo
bu cu du fu gu hu ju ku lu mu nu pu ru su tu va

2

bae coe dae fae gae hae jae kae
bai coi dai fai gai hai jai kai
bau cau dau fau gau hau jau kau

lae mae nae pae rae sae tae vae
lai mai nai pai rai sai tai vai
lau mau nau pau rau sau tau vau

auta	ulu	doko	kete	lasu	moko	sala
auto	unu	dolu	kio	leilei	moli	sasau
nuvi	uro	drika	kila	leva	moti	sandra
aucu	uvu	driva	kina	levu	moto	sega
ago	uca	faca	kini	liina	motu	sele
ankou	ucu	gata	kira	livi	moce	seru
alo	baba	gaga	kiso	loa	musu	siga
ame	baji	gone	koi	loga	muri	siki
andra	bali	gusu	koji	loma	namu	sina
andre	bele	jiko	koli	lovo	nene	siri
ara	bera	jina	kovu	luvu	nunu	sira
asa	besi	jini	koro	maumi	raica	sego
atu	biau	jilo	koce	mabu	ravi	somba
ava	biuta	kanka	kumi	ṭalu	rava	sola
ena	bikeu	kalou	kuro	mana	rega	sare
endai	bilo	kalo	kutu	marai	regu	soro
eso	bobo	kanta	kuvu	masi	rere	sovo
ika	bogi	kanji	lagi	mate	reva	sua
iko	bona	kana	lago	matai	redeu	sui
ive	buka	kara	laki	matau	riri	suka
oji	bula	kasa	lako	mata	riva	sucu
ono	buna	kasi	lante	mavu	rogo	taiga
one	butu	kato	lava	meko	rovo	tagi
oso	buce	kace	lave	mema	rua	tabu
umbi	duru	keli	lasa	meca	ruru	takau
vuta	donu	kota	lube	muna	ranu	tambu
vitu	damo	kanji	lulu	nacu	rika	taku

3

acanbra	buaka	loloma	nimbogi	tagomu
aivalu	jikina	luvena	ramma	taruga
aisala	kakana	maobo	rereka	tatana
akatu	kalobo	makutu	sambogi	tatauca
ambesi	kambaji	malugu	sambula	toromai
andago	kanusi	maravu	sambata	tumbera
andrano	katuba	masalo	sanbira	turaga
andriva	lakemba	masima	savana	tutuvi
anremu	lakomai	matani	segata	vakase
alona	ligamu	matana	tamata	vanua
asucu	lekutu	macala	tambogi	vavagu
endreli	lomoce	meoro	tagani	veleko

uvuuvu	kelikeli	manumanu-	tagotago
babalagi	kelimate	munamuna	tagomata
bogibogi	lakotani	moromoro	tavatui
bunobuno	lavalava	murimuri	tokailabe
lukulamba	lekaleka	rikarika	tuiloma
jilajila	levulevu	rekireki	vakambula
jikojiko	liyaliya	sigasigan	vakimbuto
kalku gata		sombo	vakambana
kalokalo	loaloa	suasua	vakasoro
katakata	magimagi	tagivutu	volivoli
talatala	milamila	tokitoki	ṇalavala

Ko ce a Kalou jina? A Kalou jina ko Jihova. Ko ce ko Jisu Karaisi? A gone ni Kalou ko Jisu Karaisi. A Turaga alojinaka ko Jihova. E vakambula vuravura Jisu Karaisi. E valaji vuravura ina Turaga ko Jihova. E valaji cokocoko a meca ena Turaga ko Jihova. A meca vinaka a toci ni Kalou. Tou maobo ina talai ni Kalou. E vinaka e ta tou vala kina talai ni Kalou.

NA
VU NI VOSA.

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N
O P Q R S T U V W Y.

---

a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w y.

Q F L U K S Y B R O C W D I J P A T G
V N E M H.

---

s a m o t r v i w q l k e f h d y u g p n b j c.

Dua	. . . .	I	.	1	Tinikadua . XI	.	11
Rua	. . .	II	.	2	Tinikarua . XII	.	12
Tolu	. . .	III	.	3	Tinikatolu . XIII	.	13
Va	. . .	IV	.	4	Tinikava . XIV	.	14
Lima	. . .	V	.	5	Tinikalima . XV	.	15
Ono	. . .	VI	.	6	Tinikaono . XVI	.	13
Vitu	. . .	VII	.	7	Tinikavitu . XVII	.	17
Walu	. .	VIII	.	8	Tinikawalu XVIII	.	18
Ciwa	. . .	IX	.	9	Tinikaciwa XIX	.	19
Tini	. . .	X	.	10	Ruasagavulu XX	.	20

---

ba ca da fa ga ha ja ka la ma na pa qa ra sa ta va wa ya
be ce de fe ge he je ke le me ne pe qe re se te ve we ye
bi cu di fi gi hi ji ki li mi ni pu qi ri su ti vi wi yi
bo co do fo go ho jo ko lo no no jo qo ro so to vo wo co
bu cu du fu gu hu ju ku lu mu nu pu qu ru su tu vu wu ya

3 THE SOCIOLOGY OF SPELLING: EXTERNAL IMPRESSIONS[1]

From its beginning, the official Fijian orthography has had strong endorsements from two groups: its users (the native speakers of the language), and professional linguists. The reason for the high marks is that the system fulfills the requirement that there be a one-to-one relationship between the symbols used and the distinctive sounds they represent. In other words, a particular sound is always represented by a particular symbol, and vice versa. If this relationship exists, one who knows the conventions[2] of the system can pronounce a word correctly when he reads it, even if he has never heard it spoken.[3] And conversely, he is able to spell a new word correctly when he hears it.

When judged by this criterion, the Fijian orthography deserves much higher praise than does the English system. One might expect, then, that speakers (and spellers) of English would approach the Fijian system humbly and admiringly. But that is seldom the lay reaction, for many people, unaware of the arbitrary nature of symbols, expect a more conventional use of the Latin alphabet.

From an English reader's point of view, the Fijian orthography veers farthest from the expected with its use of single letters to represent what sound like clusters:

b for [mb]

d for [nd]

q for [ŋg]

Moreover, using

g for [ŋ]

c for [ð]

constitutes an even less familiar use of familiar symbols. Thus, the system appears to be at fault because it does not "spell words the way they sound".

The loudest criticism has been from those who have understood the system least–for example, travel writers and other casual visitors. Typical of this kind of outcry is the following excerpt, written by a popular San Francisco newspaper columnist in 1967. It includes historical errors and insults to the originators of the system:

> The London Missionary Society first took notice of the heathen Fijian in 1835. They sent out the Rev. Mr. Cross and Mr. Cargill who translated the Bible into Fijian—which nobody could read except themselves.
>
> They put the Fijian sounds into English letters, forever snarling things up in a way you can't believe …
>
> Why and how Cross and Cargill arrived at these ideas I could not understand. Something about simplifying by using fewer consonants.
>
> Anyway, the island of Beqa you see offshore here is pronounced "Mbengga". And King Cakobau who ceded the island to Britain in 1874 wouldn't have known who you were talking to unless you said it, "Thakombau".
>
> Korolevu is the oldest resort here on Viti Levu. (Means Big Fiji. That's Cross and Cargill with their tin ears. Viti sounded like Fiji.)

Also typical is the pseudo-learned evaluation:

> It is a curious system which may have had some validity at the time, but now it is preserved in defiance of common sense (Perkins 1967:58).
>
> To persons in the constant habit of writing Fijian, these abbreviations are no doubt convenient, but to others they are more likely to prove misleading (Smythe 1864 :iv).

Even more likely to mislead are the accounts by people with some scholarly reputation, who give a historical verisimilitude to their inventive stories. The first is by S. M. Lambert, a physician who was a leading figure in the campaign (in the 1930s) to rid Fiji of yaws:

> I must dwell on a trick of Fijian spelling that has driven native schoolboys to despair. Johann Sebastian Bach, descendant of the great composer and for years Fiji's public printer, told me how this mad spelling came about so that the island of Mbengga, for instance, is printed "Beqa". In the early days the man who did the missionaries' printing ran short of type. In Fijian every g and d has an n sound in front of it, so to save n's, none were used, the n sound being understood in front of each g and d. Every Fijian b has an m sound in front of it so that letter was understood there and dropped. The plentiful th sound ran the printer out of that character, so he substituted c for th. The common ngg was replaced by a handy q. A full account of this typographical theory would require pages, but I hope I have outlined its principle, which shows some remarkable results (Lambert 1941:129–30).

Lambert was not the only victim of this flight of fantasy. Degener (1949:35–36), after referring to the "queer orthography invented by the missionaries" and "the colonial's queer method of spelling", repeated Lambert's account and concluded: "I have tried to spell Fijian words the way they sound to an average American rather than the way a printer with a paucity of type spelled them some hundred years ago."

Another myth was preserved in print by A. B. Brewster [1855–1937], author of The Hill Tribes of Fiji and King of the Cannibal Isles:

> I arrived in Fiji in 1870 and was told by an old settler that the best guide to the native language was Hazlewood's Fijian Dictionary and Grammar.
>
> He also instructed me on some of the difficulties of Fijian pronunciation and that when the early Wesleyan Missionaries had made their vocabularies they sent them to the head of the Wesleyan authorities in London.
>
> As Fijian is a soft and pleasant language, somewhat like Italian, they arranged with an Italian professor to make a written language of Fijian after the model of his own country. That explains in a manner why T in Fijian is equivalent to CH[4] which seems to be one of the stumbling blocks to the newly arrived in Fiji (in Fijian Orthography, p. 20).

Nor has the system been without criticism from more reputable scholars. The historian G. C. Henderson, in a note (1929) attached to Cargill's Lakeba grammar manuscript, favored spelling reform:

> There are many students who think that the Missionaries would have done better to spell out phonetically each word containing a b, c, d, j, or q as the British Admiralty has done, rather than give such anomalous powers to letters whose distinctive sounds have been known for hundreds of years in civilized countries. The Missionaries and Government officials with whom I discussed the subject were adverse to making a change in that direction now. It would no doubt involve far-reaching trouble, and cause confusion in the native minds to do so; but the troubles and confusion will be greater if it has to be done in the future. The subject is one of first-rate importance.

It is not clear when speakers (and spellers) of English began to voice their objections to Fijian's unorthodox orthography. The earliest official notice I have seen[5] is from 1916. From a desire to conform to the so-called phonetic system used by the Admiralty Charts, the Colonial Secretary sought suggestions for Fijian spelling reform. In one respect, the proposed changes stand out even in the bizarre field of spelling reform: in addition to changing the spelling, apparently Government thought it desirable to change the language itself, suggesting that the "double-sounding consonants" be done away with and be "given the single consonantal sound they have in English".

F. M. Dupont, of the Catholic Mission, neatly countered all Government's objections to the system, listing his objections: the widespread use in the Pacific of some of the conventions (such as g for [ŋ]), the cumbersome spellings produced by the proposal (such as ng-gathing-gathia for qaciqacia), and the confusion caused by introducing a new system. Dupont's summary reaction is especially to the point:

> I would say: let those who want to correctly pronounce the Fijian language take the trouble of mastering the few peculiarities of its spelling. It is the case with every student of any language the world over. The language belongs to the people and should not be tampered with to gratify the whim of globe-trotters lazily looking at a chart. It seems absurd to correct a language to suit people who will not go to the trouble of learning it.

However, the phoenix of alphabetic tampering rose again.[6] At the October 1933 session of the Legislative Council the following motion was made by the Colonial Secretary: "That in the opinion of this Council the phonetic spelling of Fijian words should be adopted in all official publications."

One reason cited was that the delegate to the Ottawa Exhibition, G. K. Roth, seemed sensitive about the way that Canadians had reacted to Fijian spelling:

> Some rather sarcastic comments were passed at what was considered our queer way of spelling Fijian words and names, more especially on the cans of pineapples where "Nandi" is written "Nadi", and in maps of the Group where some names were written in the missionary orthography and some according to a standard of the Royal Geographical Society and some according to no particular system at all …

Ratu (later Sir) J. L. V. Sukuna opposed the reform movement, indicating his own satisfaction with the system: "A Fijian pineapple canned in a tin, if it comes from Nadi and is spelt 'Nadi' or 'Nadi' would taste just as sweet."

But Roth maintained: "We are being laughed at as slow-coaches for using a spelling system which includes letters that do not nearly approximate to the sounds which they purport to represent, and we do not do something about it."

The Chairman of the Fiji Publicity Board felt the system a hindrance to the tourist trade. "A visitor seeing the word "Beqa" in a publication may be forgiven for pronouncing it 'Beaker', but he feels very small when the correct pronunciation is communicated to him."

The debate was not without racial overtones. At one point, the Junior Indian member said, "In my opinion, we should try our best to improve the defects of the language. There is no reason why we should not correct our mistakes of the past which occurred owing to the incompetency of somebody or other." Sir Maynard Hedstrom rose to the implied slur on the early missionaries' efforts:

> This is one of the most remarkable utterances that I have heard in this council based on abysmal ignorance of the subject. For a man such as the Second Indian member, a member of a race which did not appear in this Colony until something like 50 years after these

Missionaries had devoted years of labour to the study of the language and of reducing it to a written language, to talk about the incompetence of these people! ... I think, Sir, it would be equally ignorant and equally wrong on my part if I were in an assembly in India, because I did not understand the language and the values of the symbols used in the written language, that I should talk of incompetence and mistakes.

The Indian member, K. B. Singh, took offense. "Not only at the present time but on previous occasions he [Hedstrom] has suggested that the Indian members should not speak or should not express their views against the views of the European members."

One voice of reason amid this din was that of the Secretary for Native Affairs, A. A. Wright. He pointed out that it was not easy to find a satisfactory "phonetic spelling", since in the English system, neither th nor any of the vowel letters is unambiguous. He gave other examples and concluded, "I cannot see why there should be sarcastic re-marks because our written language in the English script does not happen to be pronounced exactly as English is pronounced. Such an attitude is narrow and insular."

Eventually, the question was referred to a committee, which later recommended that the spelling system used on maps be used for "Fiji Official documents published in English and normally read by persons outside the Colony not acquainted with the Fijian language".

In May 1936, an earlier committee was reappointed to examine the possibility of changing the spelling to be used in the proposed revision of Hazlewood's Grammar and Dictionary. It is no suprise to find that two of the strongest advocates of this proposal were G. C. Henderson and G. K. Roth. But more authoritative and more experienced voices, including those of the British and Foreign Bible Society and S. H. Ray, spoke against the change.

The Methodist Mission, backed up by a century of experience, also opposed any changes to the orthography. C. Maxwell Churchward, who was at that time finishing a draft of his own Fijian grammar, wrote the following letter to the chairman of the mission in Fiji (Churchward 1936):

11th Nov., 1936

Rev. C.O. Lelean,

Chairman of the Methodist Mission,
SUVA.

Dear Mr Lelean,

Your letter of 7th inst., relating to FIJIAN SPELLING, reached me yesterday. Today I sent the following reply by radio: STRONGLY SUPPORT CHIEFS AND ELECTED MEMBERS OPPOSING SUGGESTED CHANGES.

I am opposed to the proposed changes, first, because the proposed new spelling is clumsy. Look at Nggangga, as compared with the simple qaqa! This is an extreme case, certainly; but the five consonantal changes suggested mean a total of 11 letters replacing 5: mb, th, nd, ng, and ngg, for b, c, d, g, and q. (I note that Ratu Sukuna pointed this out in the debate.)

My second ground of opposition is that the proposed system (called, remarkably enough, phonetic spelling) is less strictly phonetic than the present system.

A perfectly phonetic system would mean :-

(a) Always the same letter for the same sound.

(b) Always the same sound for the same letter.

Now, the present system is perfect as regards (a), but not quite perfect as regards (b)[7]; the proposed system, though likewise perfect as regards (a), is far less perfect as regards (b).

I say, the proposed system is far less perfect … than the old as regards having the same sound always given to the same letter. Thus, in the word tathina (his brother), the first t has the usual t-sound, but the second has not: for the the so-called th-sound is not a combination of the sound of t and that of h. Again, in the word ngone (child), the second n has the usual n-sound, but the first has not: for the so-called ng-sound is not a combination of the sound of n with that of g. So that, in the proposed new spelling, the letters

t and n will each have two values, thus making the spelling less phonetic than the present system, in which t and n have but one sound each.

Of course, I agree also with other objections which you mention: cost, confusion, outrage to Fijian sentiment. But these are so patent as not to need any elaboration.

I admit, of course, that the proposed changes would make the reading of Native names easier to persons having no knowledge of the Fijian language. But that, surely, is a small consideration in comparison with those mentioned on the other side of the argument. As someone pointed out in the debate, the Fijian language was, and is, written primarily and mostly (say 90 per cent) for the Fijians: and the present system is not at all difficult or confusing to them, but is a model of simplicity and consistency.

I admit, too, that the proposed spelling would bring Fijian spelling more into line with English spelling. But, surely the less said about that, the better for the supporters of the new system: for English spelling is notoriously un-phonetic and inconsistent.

Let me conclude with a practical suggestion. I suggest that, on all maps and documents etc. intended mainly or largely for the use of English persons not acquainted with the Fijian language, but in which the standard Fijian spelling is used, a concise explanation of the pronunciation of b, c, d, g, and q, should be printed in a convenient corner. It could be a stereotyped form, blocks being prepared to save time. Something like this:-

Fijian Spelling
b = mb
c = th as in "this"
d = nd
g = ng as in "singer"
q = ng as in "finger"

(sgd.) C. M. Churchward

The Department of Overseas Missions, Methodist Church of Australasia was just as firm in its rejection of the changes, and on 14 November 1936 sent the following cable:

> BOARD AFTER CONSULTATION STRONGLY OPPOSE ALTER-
> ATION URGES RETENTION LETTERS AS IN HAZLEWOOD'S
> DICTIONARY.

In a follow-up letter, the acting General Secretary raised some important practical problems (Kitto 1936):

> The Bible, Hymn Book, and, indeed all religious books in Fiji are printed in the old orthography. If the new method of spelling is enforced in Government circles we shall have the clash of two methods; for it is unlikely in view of the trouble and cost which would be incurred that the Mission could change over. The Bible itself would be a tremendous task. It is most unreasonable to enforce it.

In addition, he brought up an interesting lexicographic problem:

> It is a moot point as to whether the word "Bau" (or any word beginning with B) would be pronounced "MB" at the beginning of a sentence, as it must do in a dictionary. Some Fijians claim that initial B is pronounced without the M sound. In that case where would be the scientific accuracy of a dictionary built up on those lines?

On the basis of the debates and such outside opinions, the Governor decided that "for internal purposes Fijian orthography should be used by the Government". The revised dictionary and grammar retained the traditional spelling.

As for "external purposes", the principal users of Fijian words outside Fiji are cartographers, and their conventions dictate a uniform "phonetic" system. Thus, Bau is Mbau, Beqa is Mbengga, etc.

R. A. Derrick's history and geography are interesting examples of books meant for both internal and external use. How did he solve the orthographical problem? He chose to use the conventional system, justifying his choice with the following (Derrick 1951:5):

> The reader who desires accuracy of pronunciation may achieve it from the Fijian spelling merely by spending a few minutes in studying the conventions, and an hour or so practising them and the vowel sounds.

The Fijian people themselves, whose land this book attempts to portray, are entitled to spelling which they can recognize.

But in his preface he stated his justification more philosophically:

The use of the Fijian orthography in preference to the phonetic will no doubt be criticized in some quarters. There are those who regard the Fijian system of spelling as an anachronism, but there are many others who will have nothing else. It is impossible to please all.

4 THE SOCIOLOGY OF SPELLING: INTERNAL PROBLEMS

The criticisms and disputes described in the last chapter reflect mainly an outside point of view. They were the reactions of casual visitors or people who made little use of the orthography. They failed to understand its underlying principles, and they objected to the system because it differed from their expectations.

There have also been disagreements among the users[1] of the system. Within Fiji, no one seems to dispute the use of the letters b, d, q, g, and c, but arguments focus on these more general problems:

1. Word division

2. The use of w and y

3. The use of the apostrophe

4. The distinction between long vowels and sequences of identical vowels

5. Variant spellings and pronunciations of loanwords

6. The use of hyphens and capital letters within a word

Moreover, those who are describing the grammar and compiling a dictionary are faced with an additional problem:

7. Features of the sound system not reflected in the orthography

4.1 WORD DIVISION

4.1.1 I- nouns. One of the earliest disputes over word division involves nouns formed with an i prefix. This prefix, attached to a verb like sele 'cut', forms a noun: i-sele 'knife'. As in this ex-

ample, there is often an instrumental relationship between the noun and its root verb. Cargill, in his Lakeba grammar (1839a), attached the i to the preceding word:

ai qava	a spade
ai lakalaka	the meaning [apparently archaic]
a tamatai valu	a warrior

Hazlewood followed this practice, which was not questioned until the early years of the 20th century (Hocart 1910, Ray 1910). Then it was suggested that the practice be discontinued,[2] but still it continued. Capell (1941a) noted: "this is wrong. Its correct place is on the noun ... but as this is now impossible through long usage, it is best written separately from both ..."

Churchward (1941:13) expressed a similar opinion:

Note, finally, that it has been customary to join the performative i to the preceding word, writing (for example) nai sele for 'the knife' and na noqui sele for 'my knife'. To be strictly logical, however, one would have to write the i as the initial letter of the noun: na isele, na noqu isele, etc. To write the i separately, as the present writer and some natives (and others) do, is a compromise between the strictly logical method and a fairly well established custom.

Milner (1972:58) agreed with the "logical" answer, but not with the compromise:

There is little to recommend this practice, which is no more than a half-hearted concession to accuracy, and which leads to an unnecessary waste of printing space in books, pamphlets, posters, etc.

For this reason, he wrote the derived form as a single word[3]: isele, isulu, etc.

At present, the usage is somewhat flexible. The practice of attaching the i to the preceding word has now been almost entirely abandoned, except for an occasional relic like the newspaper name Nai Lalakai.[4] In spite of the attractiveness of Milner's proposal and the validity of his argument, now each i-noun is written as two words—hence a phrase. The strongest argument against this practice is that there are at least three other phrase markers of the same shape:

i Suva	to Suva (directional)
i Jone	of Jone (possessive)
i cēī	to whom? (object)

Writing isulu, isele, etc. would be a way of distinguishing between derived nouns and phrases such as those above.

4.1.2 Subject "pronouns": words or phrases? Another class that enters into the word-vs. -phrase controversy, smaller than that made up of i-nouns, but more frequent in occurrence, consists of certain subject "pronouns". These forms are often combinations of proclitics plus longer forms, and there are no criteria for deciding on word division. Hazlewood and Churchward wrote edaru, edatou, eda (first person exclusive; dual, paucal, and plural, respectively), and erau, eratou, and era (third person; dual, paucal, and plural, respectively). Milner and the writers of recent material for school readers have written the e separately in each form.

Some writers have chosen word division as a way of distinguishing between homophonous combinations. Churchward (1941:14n) noted that e 'he' plus na (future) is

> usually written ena, not e na, to distinguish it from e na, in the, as e na koro, in the villages: ena moce e na koro ko koya, he will sleep in the village.

Another such pair is era 'they plural' and e rā 'below'; since vowel length is not usually written, these two forms are homographs if a distinction is not made between word and phrase.

4.1.3 Forms with gā. The form gā (limiter), often occurs immediately after any of three other markers; sara (intensifier), tale (iterative), and wale (limiter). Hazlewood was inconsistent in his analysis of the forms: he listed kecega, talega, walega, and ga (without marking the the long vowel in each), but did not suggest that gā itself could be "suffixed" to the other markers. Churchward wrote gā as a separate marker, and Capell followed his practice, describing (for example) walegā as a "misspelling for wale gā". Currently, the one-word spellings still exist, principally in the Fijian translation of the Bible and in Fijian-language newspapers.

4.1.4 Compounds. One of the most productive ways of forming new lexical items for Fijian is the construction (ROOT (ni ROOT)), with the first root as head and the ni phrase modifying it (See CH 34).

ucu ni vanua	point (literally, nose pertaining to land)
i–cōī ni lovo	non-carbohydrate food to accompany oven-baked root crops

This construction has also been used for ideas introduced into Fijian culture, taking a familiar concept and using the ni phrase to indicate a meaning different from the usual one. Examples are:

Vale ni kana	restaurant (literally, house for eating)
Vale ni lotu	church building (literally, house for religion)
yaqona ni vāvālagi	alcoholic beverage (literally, European kava)

Some ni constructions have taken on idiomatic meanings. For example, vale lāīlāī, literally 'little house', is used idiomatically to mean 'toilet'.

The problem of word division is an obvious one: is the expression Vale ni kana or vale lāīlāī one word or two?

English faces a similar problem with such contrasts as green + house, referring to (1) a house that is green, and (2) a glass-covered building for growing plants. However, the two combinations are accented differently, allowing for a phonological definition of "compound" for English. For this particular pair, the compound is written as one word, the adjective plus noun combination as two. But the English writing system is by no means consistent in its practice of indicating compounds.

For Fijian, there are no phonological clues to distinguish between a phrase and a word. Vale lailai can refer literally to a 'small house', and it is not pronounced differently from the form for 'toilet'. Therefore, some people distinguish the two forms in writing: vale lailai vs. valelailai. Here, the term "idiom", referred to above, is useful. An idiom is any combination of

morphemes whose meaning is different from what one would expect, knowing the meaning of the individual parts. More examples of idioms are:

sitima-ni-vanua	train (literally, land steamer)
waqa-vuka	airplane (literally, flying boat)

In their idiomatic use, these forms are usually written without spaces.

Historically, it is likely that a number of factors have contributed to some inconsistency in writing compounds.

a. Although many of Hazlewood's decisions about word division (as reflected in his dictionary entries) seem refreshingly free of undue English influence, some of his decisions seem arbitrary. His entry for via 'want to, feel like' is interesting in that it reveals some of his criteria for word division:

> Via is also used in the sense of being inclined, or disposed to; as, sa via mosi na tikiqu o qo, this part of me is disposed to be painful. Eda sa via rere sara, we are quite disposed to fear ...
>
> When via is followed by v. of sensation, it is better to unite it with the following verb, as they are but one verb in sense.

The following entries are: viagunu 'thirsty (literally, desire to drink)', viakana 'hungry' (literally, desire to eat)', vialua 'feel like vomiting', viamoce 'sleepy (literally, desire to sleep)', viamī 'desire to make water', viaveka 'desire to make stool').

Hazlewood may have been influenced in his decision by the English translations of the common forms viagunu, viakana, and viamoce: 'thirsty', 'hungry', and 'sleepy', each a single one word rather than a phrase.

b. Although some proper names can be rather long (e.g. Tamanikai-rukurukuiovalau) and still be written as one word, there may be a tendency to avoid such long forms with common nouns and other words. For example, writers disagree about the form for 'spider', literally 'mother relating to web':

tina ni viritālawalawa vs. tinaniviritālawalawa

c. There may be a tendency to treat as a compound any construction that can follow a noun as a modifier. Thus:

e tauvi mate o Sai	S is ill (literally, 'disease-infected')
na gone tauvimate	the sick child

It is in the second construction that the form seems to function as a unit.

4.2 THE USE OF W AND Y

The consonants w and y in Fijian have a limited distribution, the result of a hazy distinction between these sounds and u and i, respectively.

The most significant distributional restriction for w is that it does not occur after u or o (Scott 1948:741). Or, to rephrase this statement, there is no contrast between the members of such pairs as ua and uwa, ue and uwe. Still, conservative writers cling to the spelling kaukauwa 'strong'. Other such examples are bu(w)awa[5] 'shortsighted', i salu(w)aki 'perfume', and bo(w)iri 'dizzy'.

Words borrowed from English have produced similar options. Note the following alternate forms:

suiti / suwiti	switch
tāūelu / tāūwelu	towel
kuaya / kuwaya	choir
droa / drowa	drawer

A parallel problem exists for y after the front vowels i and e: there is no contrast between ia and iya, ea and eya. For example, Hazlewood wrote kea (keā) 'over there', Capell (1941a) wrote keyā, and Churchward wrote kea—which is interesting in light of the claim in the preface to Capell's dictionary that it is cross-referenced to Churchward's work.

A borrowing from English that illustrates this problem is;

sovea / soveya / savea / saveya	surveyor

These spelling problems are relatively unimportant, because they involve alternate forms for the same pronunciation. There is another problem involving y that is more serious, for the generally accepted spelling of a common word does not represent the pronunciation. The form in question is the first person singular when it occurs as a separate noun phrase—written as koi au. Churchward (1941:76) discussed this spelling, along with ko and koi forms, but with apparently no reference to pronunciation: after discussing some other forms, he wrote:

> This tendency for the -i of the article to attach itself to the pronoun is apparently at work also in the first person singular: for natives frequently write ko yau instead of koi au.

This last observation is interesting, revealing—as it does—a reaction of native speakers against the spelling (k)oi au. Some analysts have a similar reaction, for it does not represent the pronunciation. Normally, each of the vowel sequences (written) oi and au represents a diphthong,[6] and all diphthongs are accented. Thus, any form written (k)oi au should be accented as follows:

> (k)òi áu

with each of the diphthongs long.

However, the form is actually pronounced as a single accent group (see 37.4). Thus the sound immediately preceding au is not a vowel, but a consonant, producing a sequence of one short unaccented syllable followed by an accented syllable:

> (k)o yáu

PG (7/82) has noted another native speller's use of w and y: some people insert the appropriate glide before a long ā. For example:

kidrowa, a spelling of kidroā   startled

He suggested that this practice indicated an attempt to distinguish vowel length, at least in some positions.

4.3 THE USE OP THE APOSTROPHE

4.3.1 The putative lost a. From Hazlewood's time on, certain combinations of morphemes have been interpreted as contractions, and an apostrophe has been used to mark the "missing letters". From its very beginning, the practice has been applied inconsistently. Note the following entries from Hazlewood's dictionary:[7]

deu, a contraction of de au ... More properly written as de'u ['lest I']

kau, a contraction of ka au, better written as kau'u ... ['and I']

meu, me'u, an abbreviation of me au ['that I']

niu, or better ni'u, a contraction of ni au, or ni ka'u ['when I']

seu, se'u, a cont. of se and au ['whether I']

Churchward (1941:30–31) noted the inconsistency:

> The form u, being a contraction of au, is written 'u, thus: ka'u and I (as in ka'u kilā, and I know); ke'u, if I; se'u, whether I; ni'u, when (or for, or because) I; etc. To be quite consistent, we ought to use an apostrophe in the other contracted forms, as well, writing ni'da, when we (first inclusive plural), etc. This, however, is not usually done, and it is perhaps not worth while to try to introduce it now.
>
> It has been customary also to write ka'u for kau (I). But there is surely no justification for the apostrophe in this case, for this kau, meaning 'I,' is not a contraction, but is simply an alternative form, perhaps an older form, of au, as it is in Tongan. ... Mr. S.H. Ray writes:
>
> "There is no justification, as you say, for ka'u."

Current advocates of the apostrophe argue that it is necessary to represent the a that has been dropped from au. Geraghty's findings (1977b) refute this argument by showing that u is a vestige of an older first person exclusive marker that preceded the verb, replaced in most instances by the independent phrasal "pronouns".

4.3.2 Other noncontractions. The history of the apparent alternation between ko and o (the reason for writing o) is a curious one. Cargill, who spent the first years of his Fiji period at Lakeba, found no alternation, for there the form is regularly ko, as his grammar shows. However, when he moved to Rewa, he was confronted with a different situation. The early word lists (Appendix) allow us to reconstruct something of the linguistic picture in Fiji in the early 1800s. Those lists collected in the vicinity of Lau and Vanua Levu (some of which contain phrases in "foreigner talk"; see Geraghty 1978)—Lockerby 1809, Richardson 1811, Davies 1825, Endicott 1831, and Oliver 1831—contain a total of fifty-two relevant forms, all but one of which are written with ko. The lists collected in the Bau-Rewa area—Gaimard 1827 and Osborn 1833—contain ten relevant forms, all but two of which are written with o (the two forms with k-are suspect; they very likely reflect a pidginized form of the language).[8]

Although we have no record of how Cargill reacted to this dialectal difference, Geraghty (2/82) has suggested that because of the missionaries' experience first with Tongan, and then with the Lakeba language, both of which use ko, they viewed the Rewa and Bau o as a reduced or shortened version of ko.

By the time Hazlewood wrote his grammar (1850), the idea seems firmly fixed (1872:4,5):

> The articles are ko or o; koi or oi, a or na, ai or nai. These are properly but two, ko and na; but the above includes the different forms which these two may assume.
>
> O is the same as ko, k being sometimes omitted for the sake of euphony, chiefly at the beginning of a sentence.

Churchward (1941:12) strengthened this assertion by rephrasing it: "At the beginning of a sentence, ko is sometimes shortened to o ..." Milner (1972:14) followed suit: "The proper article is o or ko. The form o may be used when the article is the first syllable of an utterance."

Have these statements served as self-fulfilling prophesies? Perhaps some people have been taught to speak thus, but very few. TRN (2/82) reported simply that o, not ko, is spoken. A casual look at transcribed texts (Cammack 1961) shows that the initial-versus-medial explanation for a supposed alternation is

absolutely false. Thus, in the form o, the k is not dropped (or lopped off, in Churchward's terminology: p. 12n), and the apostrophe is unnecessary.

4.3.3 Some real contractions. The forms laki and lai (literally, 'go to' but used to mean 'and then …') are, in most uses,[9] apparently contractions of lako ki or lako i. The former is sometimes written la'ki.

With the set of personal locatives oqō, oqori, and oyā (located near 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person, respectively), the spellings just given represent a formal written style, but not always the colloquial style. In the spoken language, the forms qō, qori, and yā are more common; they are often written 'qo, 'qori, and 'ya.

As with the other uses of the apostrophe, these spellings do not add any information or disambiguate any confusing pairs.

4.3.4 The apostrophe: a summary. Arguments about whether or not to use an apostrophe may seem like splitting hairs—and, to a certain extent, they are. But there are at least three reasons not to use the symbol as it has been used.

First, the present use is inconsistent. For example, when rāū, ra-tōū, and ra are used instead of erāū, eratōū, and era, they are not written 'rāū, 'ratōū, and 'ra. Often the subject e and the ablative marker e are omitted, and no apostrophe marks the omission. Va (vā), which occurs instead of vaka before velars, is not marked va'. These are only a few examples of forms that could be interpreted as contractions, but are not written with an apostrophe.

Second, the apostrophe adds no information. Context can distinguish between ni u (or niu) 'that I' and niu 'coconut'. After all, the hearer has no apostrophe to tell him the difference between such forms.

Third, from a practical point of view, the symbol itself is needed to represent the glottal stop, present in many languages in Vanua Levu and the Rā area of Viti Levu.

4.4 LONG VOWELS VERSUS VOWEL SEQUENCES

Except in recent dictionaries and descriptive grammars, vowel length is not marked. Thus, the difference between, for example, kila 'wild' and kilā 'know it' has to be deduced from context. Similarly, a sequence of identical vowels that give the phonetic effect of a long vowel is written as a single vowel. For example:

 taci + i + tama-qu   my father's younger brother

has been written

        taci tamaqu

On the other hand, phrases that produce an unaccented vowel followed by the same vowel accented are written more accurately, because the combination sounds like two vowels:

 vū + ni + ivi   ivi tree

has been written vuniivi.

    To resolve this inconsistency, it would be necessary to write phrases like the first above as follows:

 taci i tamqu   my father's younger brother
 vūniivalu   (chiefly title)
 waqaniivola   envelope

4.5 VARIANT SPELLINGS AND PRONUNCIATIONS OF LOANWORDS

Disagreements about the spelling of loanwords usually focus on the following topics;

        1. P and f vs. v

        2. J vs. ji vs. ti and di

        3. Should h be written?

        4. Spellings that disrupt the accent pattern and the canonical form of syllables

5. Miscellaneous problems with borrowings

4.5.1 P and f vs. v. Because of the Tongan influence in the eastern part of Fiji, it has long been assumed that words with /p/ in that area were borrowed from Tongan. However, Geraghty (1983a:104) has noted that for many forms, there is no evidence to suggest a Tongan source. Instead, the forms can be traced back to a Proto-Oceanic *p. No matter which of these two sources a particular word with p has, it is now an integral part of the Lauan system (see Schütz 1963a).

4.5.1.1 P in borrowings from English. Since Cargill's "Feejeean" (the Lakeba language) included p in its inventory of sounds, he treated it no differently from the other voiceless stops. Thus, when he introduced English words into the Lakeba language to facilitate Bible translation, they did not stand out from indigenous words. The following list, gleaned from Cargill's manuscript dictionary of some five or six thousand entries, comprises the /p/ words borrowed from English:

prisoni	prison	peni kacu	pencil	Pasova	Passover
profisai	prophesy	sipi	sheep	pusi	cat
profiti	prophet	papataiso	baptize	palesi	palsy
peni	pen	peni vatu	slate pen		

When Cargill's successor shifted his focus from the Lakeba language to Bauan, he viewed /p/ differently. In his dictionary, Hazlewood wrote:

> P / This letter is not found in the Bau dia. except in a few words that have been introduced from other dia. or in foreign words introduced, as in parofita

The actual pronunciation of words spelled with p is a complicated matter. For some words that seem to be confined largely to a Biblical context, /p/ prevails. Examples are the words for 'prophet' and 'prophesy'. Many borrowings that are used more often in a secular context alternate between /p/ and /v/: peni / veni 'pen' and pusi / vusi 'cat' are examples. And some early borrowings, such as vinivō 'dress' (from 'pinafore'), have become assimilated to the extent that the English source seems to have been forgotten.

One can make some broad sociolinguistic observations about the alternation between /p/ and /v/:

1. It is possible to set up a continuum of speakers, ranging from CONSERVATIVE to INNOVATIVE. At the conservative end of the scale are many older speakers, relatively uninfluenced by English, who have few /p/ words. For these speakers, even such proper names as those based on the English names "Peter", "Paul", or "Ebenezer" are pronounced with /v/, even though for these particular names, such a pronunciation is definitely in the minority. At the other end of the scale are those speakers whose familiarity with English leads them to approximate the English model of a borrowing as closely as possible. For these speakers, /p/ words are much more numerous than for the conservative speakers.

2. TIME forms another continuum. As noted above, such early borrowings as vinivō 'dress' are unlikely to be heard with /p/. In contrast, however, the newest borrowings—from English "tape", "plastic", and "Prime Minister", for example—are seldom heard with /v/. However, there have been waves of nationalistic feeling against the use of p in both spelling and pronunciation. There was one such attempt at language planning in the 1970s, in which an effort was made to curtail the use of p in educational materials, in newspapers, and on the radio. P was said to be "foreign"; v was "true Fijian". However, the movement did not have much effect on pronunciation.

At any rate, the complexity of the situation has left its mark on the language, for many p borrowings have alternate forms:

paipo / vaivo	pipe
paodi / paudi / vaoni / vaudi	pound
pasidia / vasidia	passenger
peleti / veleti	plate

4.5.1.2 F in borrowings from English. The status of /f/ in Fijian is similar to that of /p/: it is phonemic in Lau (Schütz 1963a:68, Geraghty 1983a:98–120), present in many Tongan borrowings throughout eastern Fiji, and felt to be "foreign" in the standard language. During the height of discussion of such matters, Thomas Williams wrote in the Somosomo Quarterly Letter No. 4 (1846):

> We would now say a word about the letter f. After patient investigation, we are unable to find any Fejeean word of which this letter forms a part. Mr Cargill, in his dictionary, gives eight words under the letter F. One of the eight is the word "finagalo", and to the definition of this word, Mr C adds, "a Tonga word used in the wind ward groupe of the Fejee Islands." We think this remark is applicable to all the eight … These words are in use at Lou [sic], and some of them so thoroughly naturalized, that it might cause confusion on more hands than one, to attempt the restoration of them to their native soil, indeed we should be sorry to see such an attempt made, as the result of it, if successful must inevitably rob them of their "funumalie". Yet, while we are thus willing to leave the Lou islands in quiet possession of their Tonga acquisitions, and with them, the needed F, we have doubts as to the propriety, and good taste, of admitting F to figure in those dialects Which really do not need it. We do not object to F simply because it is an exotic, but, because we are not aware that there is any need of its assistance in the orthography …

Hazlewood's reaction to this letter was similar to his comments on p. He wrote in his dictionary:

> The Fijian has no F. A few words from the Tonga language, having F, are commonly used in the Lau dia. It is used also in words introduced as Filimoni ['Philemon'], parofita ['prophet'].

Since Hazlewood's time, of course, words introduced from English have come to form a significant part of the vocabulary, and the status of sounds such as /f/ has to be reconsidered. For borrowings from English, the frequency of /f-/ words is lower than that for /j-/ or /p-/.[10]

4.5.2 J vs. ji vs. ti and di. The variation in the use of j vs. ji vs. ti and di in the current spelling of loanwords is due to a complex mixture of historical, geographical, and sociological factors.

It is possible that had the missionaries not begun their linguistic analysis and translation in the Lau area, the letters j, p, and f might not have been used at all. In a historical sense, the existence of j, as well as p and f, in current Standard Fijian can be traced to the phonological structure of the language of Lakeba.

Because palatalization is prominent there, the first missionaries did not hesitate to include j in their alphabet, even though they did not realize that the sounds [č] and [ǰ] occurred only before /i/. Thus, for a short time, j words were introduced freely into the language. Examples include such proper names as Jone (from 'John'), Jale (from 'Charlie'), and Joji (from 'George').

When the attention of the missionaries shifted to the Bauan language, two general factors contributed to the retention of the existing j words and the addition of more. First, certain borrowings were now fixed in the minds of the translators, and these forms had assumed an aura of prestige, connected as they were with the introduced religion. The following proper names are examples: Josua, Jope, Jeremaia, Joeli, Jona, Jiova, and Jisu. In fact, there was so much a Lauan flavor to the 1850 translation of the Bible that some Fijians accuse it of tasting of pawpaw (Cammack 1962:14), based on an uncomplimentary epithet for Lauans.

Next, it is important to note that even though some sounds (and the letters to represent them) have been overlaid on the Bauan language to form Standard Fijian, these sounds were not "foreign" in the sense of coming from outside Fiji. Instead, they existed in the overall pattern of Fijian languages (Schütz 1962:26). Palatalization, for example, exists as nearby as Rewa (PG 2/82). Moreover, since some people from the Bau area were aware of the languages of other areas (Hale 1846 and Hunt 1846 noted this awareness), the sounds were familiar to them. Thus, adding j to Bauan was less drastic than introducing e or z would have been.

Even so, conservative and innovative elements form opposing forces in a language. So although the Bauan versions of the names above—Tiosua, Tiope, Tisu, etc.—may have been spoken by some people, the pronunciations were generally suppressed by the writing system, which reinforced j.

When secular features of European culture began to make an impact on Fijian culture, this early trickle of proper names and biblical terms became a flow of words. However, these new words entered in a somewhat different manner: their spelling was not as indelibly fixed as the purely biblical words. (Many people are reluctant to make changes, even small spelling changes, to the version of the Bible that they are used to.) Now, there was not only the option for a spelling that reflected Bauan pronunciation, but also the option for the j or ji spellings.

And unlike the words introduced into Hawaiian and Tahitian, in which spellings with "foreign" consonants were seldom pronounced that way, these new words offered a variety of pronunciations as well. Thus, there was a kind of tug-of-war between opposing forces, resulting in alternate forms for many words. For example, currently one can find the following spellings:

tisi / jisi	cheese
tiamu / jiamu / jamu	jam
tieke / jieke, jeke	cheque

In the last two examples, we find three degrees[11] of closeness to a strictly Bauan pronunciation:

Bauan	Lauan	Assimilated
tiamu	jiamu	jamu
tieke	jieke	jeke

In general, the most conservative speakers use the forms on the left. The forms in the center admit palatalization so long as it is limited to the usual pattern: before /i/. The forms on the right represent the recognition of /j/ as a new phoneme in the system, contrasting with /t/. Below is an example of the contrast:

jeke	cheque
teke	kick with heel

4.5.2.1 Introducing z. The examples of j in the preceding section all show the voiceless readings—that is, the [č] forms related to Lauan /ti/. The voiced reading has not carried over into Standard Fijian, even though in Lauan, jina represents both /tina/ and /dina/. Here, the orthography inadequatly represents the pronunciation, for [nǰ] exists in the spoken language. For example, the borrowing for "ginger" is always pronounced with [nǰ], rather than [nd] or [č]. Other forms from English words with [nč] or [nǰ] are:

idi	inch
idini	engine
idinia	engineer

Obviously, for any of these forms, neither d or j is wholly satisfactory. The Fijian Dictionary Project has filled a 150-year-old gap in the orthography by introducing z to represent [nǰ]. Following this convention, the word for 'ginger' is spelled ziza. For the other words, the d spelling represents the principal pronunciation, the z spelling an alternate pronunciation.

4.5.3 Reintroducing h. Since the first analysis of the Fijian sound system (Davies 1825), the letter h has hovered on the periphery of the Fijian alphabet, sometimes included, usually excluded. Davies's alphabet does not include it, but Cargill and Cross's (1835) does, as well as the borrowed words hevani 'heaven' and heli 'hell'. As Cargill became more aware of the differences between the Lakeba language and Ton-gan, he qualified h as a member of the alphabet (Cargill 1839a):

> … this letter does not occur in any word in the Feejeean language, but is inserted in the alphabet for the sake of those foreign words, which it may be necessary to introduce, as Hami, Ham.

The spelling leaf of 1840 (CH 2) contains h, complete with the syllabary ha, he, hi, ho, and hu.

From Hazlewood's time on, the letter was excluded, although as the missionaries grew more familiar with the languages to the west of the Bau-Rewa area, they realized that it did exist in Nadrogā (see Hunt's comments, CH 5). But in spite of its existence there, h has not generally been used for words borrowed into the language. Even the place name Hawaii seems fixed as Āwai.

But, perhaps because of a growing familiarity with English, for some forms there are alternating pronunciations. For example, among a group of sixteen borrowings from English /h-/, staff members of the Fijian Dictionary Project found the following:

oki / hoki	hockey	afakasi / hafakasi	half-caste
olo / holo	hall	aleluya / haleluya	hallelujah
ōsana / hōsana	hosanna	ula / hula	hula
ōtela / hōtela	hotel		

4.5.4 Spellings that disrupt the accent pattern and the canonical form of syllables. Recently the winds of change have again stirred a segment of the orthography, this time by disturbing the foundation—the realization that at a phonological level, there are no consonant clusters in the language. In spite of the importance of this principle, it has been proposed that a particular loanword be spelled with a cluster of three consonants. The misconception behind the proposal is similar to that of Henderson and other outsiders (CH 3) who supported spelling reform: that we should spell words "the way we hear them". In practical terms, the idea is naive, for it ignores the principle that alphabets should reflect distinctive differences and not minute phonetic variations. The bone of contention in this particular case is the spelling of the Fijian form of the English word ministry.

The difficulty with this loanword lies in the difference between English and Fijian syllable structure—a difference that requires Fijian borrowings to represent each consonant in an English cluster by a Fijian syllable, if they are to imitate as closely as possible the consonants of the model. Thus, the English syllable /striy/ is "Fijianized" as /sitirī/. (Note that the only Fijian syllable reflecting an English vowel is the last. Thus it is long—the only way in which a final vowel can be accented. It is desirable to keep the other syllables short, since they do not reflect English vowels. Moreover, these particular syllables— /si/ and /ti/—often have devoiced vowels. Thus, they are ideal to reflect English consonant clusters.)

In terms of spelling, then, the word has this form:

minisitirī

However, Fijian prosodic structure will not allow the accents to match the English form very closely (see Schütz, in press). Because of the patterning of accent units, a form with the spelling above[12] has to be divided into either three accent units:

.mini.siti.rī.

.mī.nisiti.rī

.mī.nisi.tirī.

or two:

.minisi.tirī.

(In the examples here, periods separate the units. Each unit has one accent—on the penultimate syllable, or on a long syllable marked with a macron. For a fuller explanation of measures, see CH 37 and 41.)

Each possibility has its drawbacks:[13] some have three accents, as opposed to one for the English model; others accent a syllable that does not correspond to an accented syllable in the model. Therefore, a hybridized[14] pronunciation has developed:

.mini.sitirī.

even though accent units like the second do not occur in the language, at least not in slow formal speech.

As mentioned above, the unaccented syllables /si/ and /ti/ occur with voiceless vowels, as they often do in indigenous words when unaccented. Since the phonetic effect is rather like a consonant cluster, those in favor of the spell-it-as-we-say-it principle have proposed that str in this word be written without intervening vowels.

The fallacy in this approach is this: it would be inconceivable, for example, to write /masi/ 'tapa' or /viti/ 'Fiji' or /nomu/ 'your' as mas, vich, or nom, even though those phonetic manifestations are often heard.

As for the hybridized pronunciation .mini.sitirī., it is neither English nor Fijian. TRN (3/82) reported that for this word, a number of pronunciations exist in a Fijian context: English, hybridized, and (in slower speech) .minisi. tirī.

If the last pronunciation seems unsatisfactory in terms of its prosodic match with the English model, one should remember that the match becomes less important as the word becomes recognized as Fijian rather than English. Such must have been the case with vinika 'vinegar' (rather than *vinikā); the prosodic mismatch no longer matters.

At any rate, the str spelling—an attempted orthographic coup—has not met with public acceptance.

4.5.5 Miscellaneous problems with borrowings. The remaining alternating forms borrowed from English fit into a number of smaller categories:

Added vowels. One of the principal changes an English word undergoes when it is "Fijianized" is that vowels are added so that in the final form there are no closed syllables or consonant clusters. A study of English borrowings in Fijian (Schütz 1978d) showed that, although in this process there are strong tendencies for certain vowels to follow certain consonants, there is by no means absolute predictability in the pronunciation and spelling of these forms, especially since, ideally, these added vowels produce syllables that are unaccented. Examples are:

porōfesa / parōfesa	professor
dolafina / dolofini	dolphin-fish
laima / laimi	lime
sitarake / sitaraki	strike
kirimi / kirimu	cream

Other unaccented vowels. There is also some variability in the Fijian vowels that reflect unaccented vowels in the English model. Examples are:

konivoi / konivoe	convoy
kofe (kove) / kofi	coffee
makisini / mekasini	magazine
majirini / majarini	margarine
sikareti / sikereti	cigarette

Initial voiced vs. voiceless stops. Because all voiced stops in Fijian are prenasalized, there is some variability in the pronunciation and spelling of borrowings from English /b-, d-, g-/. Examples are:

qesi / kasi	gas
qaranidila / karanidila	granadilla
dikirī / tikirī	degree
viniqa / vinika	vinegar

Shortening. Some alternating pairs consist of a long and a short version of the same English model. Examples are:

ararotu / ārotu	arrowroot

elevanidi / elevadi   elephant
ositiriji / ositiri   ostrich
sekinideri / sekederi   secondary
weseti / wesi   west

The Fijian interpretation of English /æ/. From an oversimplified phonetic point of view, the English vowel /æ/—as in 'gas' and 'brandy'—lies somewhere between Fijian /e/ and /a/. Alternating forms for borrowing reflect this intermediate position:

qesi / kasi   gas
mekasini / makisini   magazine
beqa / baqe   bank
kebinete / kabinete   cabinet

PG (3/82) has suggested that the alternation also reflects different models for the forms: British English /æ/ being closer to Fijian /a/; Australian and New Zealand /æ/ being closer to Fijian /e/. He has also suggested that since the influence of British English preceded that of Australian and New Zealand English, earlier borrowings tend toward /a/ and later ones toward /e/.

4.6 THE USE OF HYPHENS AND CAPITAL LETTERS WITHIN A WORD

Different languages establish different conventions for using capital letters. Because the Fijian conventions follow those used for English, certain combinations of morphemes have produced a dilemma for Fijian writers. These combinations consist of a prefix followed by a form that is always capitalized when it occurs as a separate word. Take, for example, the word Viti 'Fiji'. To make this word into a modifier, vaka is prefixed:

vaka + Viti   Fijian

Which part of the word for Fijian (if any) should be capitalized? There are several possibilities:

Vakaviti   Vaka-Viti   vakaViti   vakaviti

The hyphen seems to be used because there is a reluctance to capitalize any letter in the middle of a form unless preceded by a hyphen.

This type of spelling problem belongs to that category for which the solution is entirely arbitrary. That is, there are no phonological, morphological, or practical clues leading to a solution—except, perhaps, that a shorter form is more economical.

4.7 FEATURES OF THE SOUND SYSTEM NOT REFLECTED IN THE ORTHOGRAPHY

From a pedagogical point of view, there are three features of Fijian pronunciation—never indicated by the conventional writing system—that are much more important than word division or apostrophes. These features are vowel length, measure division, and phrase accent.

4.7.1 Vowel length. Although Hazlewood did not distinguish entirely between vowel length and accent, he realized the importance of these prosodic features. He wrote in the preface of his dictionary:

> When the accent is on the last syllable, it has been noted thus: kilā; and all words not so marked are to be considered as accenting the penultimate. Also, all vowels that have a more than ordinarily long sound are shown in the usual way, as lāmawa.

And in the section of his grammar entitled Prosody (1872:58), he wrote:

> Quantity differs from accent, as a syllable may be long without being emphatic.[15] Quantity is an important subject in Fijian, as a different quantity not infrequently alters the sense of a word.

Fijian seems to have fewer examples of vowel length contrast than do some other Oceanic languages.[16] Still, it is possible to construct ambiguous sentences. For example, if the long vowel is not marked in the word bolā in the following sentence, it is ambiguous:

e bola na weleti

With bola, it means 'the papaya was split'; with bolā, it means 'he split the papaya'. Pragmatically, of course, the result is the same: a split papaya. But there is a difference that is important in discourse.

4.7.2 Measure division. Similarly, the spelling of the Fijian word for 'consider'—vakasama—gives us information on the consonants and vowels, but not on vowel length and accent. There are several possible parsings that are consistent with Fijian morpheme structure. First, the segment vaka could be the familiar prefix:

vaka-sama

Or, it could be the alternate form vā-, which occurs before k, q, and g:

vā-kasama

However, the correct form is neither of these, but the following:

vākāsama

The actual form of the word differs from the preceding two possible forms not only in vowel length, but in accent as well. Those potential (but nonexistent) forms above would be accented:

vàkasáma   vãkasáma

whereas the actual form is:

vãkãsáma

Each accented portion of the word is a unit in the sound system called a measure. The units in the example are marked as follows:

.vā.kā.sama.

Both of these marking conventions—noting long vowels and measure divisions—are used in the dictionary to give the reader enough information to pronounce an unfamiliar word. They are not proposed as spelling conventions, although some languages (such as Tongan) do mark vowel length.

4.7.3 Phrase accent. A third kind of prosodic feature—phrase accent—is almost never indicated in the spelling system. The most important measure in a phrase is marked by a change of pitch on its accented syllable. We call this measure the head of the phrase. Its place in the phrase is not fixed; thus it is unpredictable. For example, in the following phrase, the accented syllable is indicated by capital letters:

vakamaCAlataka he explained it

There is nothing in the usual orthography that marks the location of the phrase head, although some writers occasionally use italics (or underlining, in manuscript) to show extra emphasis or emphasis in an unexpected place.

4.8 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have pointed out two types of problems in the use of the Fijian spelling system.

The first is that, although the users of the orthography seldom disagree about the letters themselves, there are still minor areas of disagreement. Some of these problems can be solved by linguistic reasoning, but many are simply a matter of making an arbitrary decision.

The second problem arises because there is more to the language than meets the eye (literally) when we are confronted with the written word. In a fairly recent guide to Fijian pronunciation (written by a native speaker for both native speakers and nonnative speakers), one can find the following statement:

Written Fijian is phonetic and it therefore presents very few problems.

There is some truth in this statement, especially when Fijian is contrasted with English. But I have tried to show that beyond the relative regularity in the use of consonant and vowel letters, there are some important elements of Fijian pronunciation that are not reflected in the orthography.

5 PRELUDE TO THE GRAMMAR:[1] THE TONGUES OF MEN AND ANGELS

5.1 CARGILL

During the trial-and-error period of the Fijian orthography, David Cargill did not concentrate exclusively on spelling problems, for his linguistic mission had been stated explicitly by the Wesleyans:

> To draw up a comprehensive statement respecting the character of the language, the difference between it and the other Polynesian dialects, the principles on which you have settled its grammatical form, and the rules by which you have been guided in translating into it the word of God.

Within a few months of his arrival at Lakeba, Cargill began translating the New Testament into Fijian (Schütz 1972a:8), and before a year had elapsed, he had prepared some lengthy accounts of the "character of the Feejeeans, —the genius of their language, the appearance and produce of this Is., and the prospects of the Mission". Unfortunately, his notes were lost when the Active, the ship carrying them, was wrecked on a reef. But by October 1836, he was able to send to the General Secretary of the Wesleyan Mission in London a five-part abridgement of the lost letter. It gives an idea of the progress he had made with the language:

> The language of the Feejeeans varies in the different Is.[s] of the group. But it is a difference in words, not in principles. The idiom, genius & construction of the various dialects are the same. So that one Grammar & one Dictionary compiled as a polyglot will be sufficient for all Feejee.[2] A Grammar is in contemplation. A Dictionary is in progress; I have inserted in it nearly 3000 words exclusive of the names of persons & places: the number is being daily increased. The accent, —pronunciation, meaning & derivation of the words are attempted.

66

This was a good showing for less than a year's work, fitted into the time left over from preaching, teaching, and coping with the extreme hardships of his post. Cargill wrote:

> I am very happy in my work. My time is wholly given up to the language & duties purely Missionary. Although my knowledge of the language is by no means what I wish it to be & what I hope it shall be, yet I am able to converse in it with some freedom & make known the love of God to man extemporaneously & without an interpreter. Difficulties arising from the inflection of the verbs, —the number of the pronouns, & their juxtaposition, cannot be surmounted without close and long application. The articles are frequently the cause of perplexity and doubt. A thorough knowledge of the use of the Greek article would be of invaluable advantage to all who wish to acquire an accurate knowledge of the Feejeean language.

Compared with his colleague, William Cross, Cargill was academically well-equipped to translate the Bible and analyze the grammar. With a degree from King's College, Old Aberdeen, he had some familiarity with Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, and he began studying French while in Fiji. His claim to be able to preach extemporaneously after only a year in Fiji may have been no idle boast, for somewhat earlier, his colleague in Tonga—Peter Turner—wrote his impressions of Cargill as a new arrival (Turner journal extracts, 20 May 1834):

> I think he will soon acquire the language. He has a naturally bold and daring spirit—which is necessary in the acquirement of a lang.

Cargill wrote his first sketch of Fijian grammar (other than the primer prepared on Vava'u) to help his wife learn the language.[3] When three more missionaries arrived at Lakeba, he found a reason to enlarge on the sketch: that "they might be able to avail themselves when necessary of all the observations which [he] had previously made."

An expanded version of the grammar[4] —still rather more a sketch or a first draft than a finished version—was sent to London in March 1839, along with Cargill's long essay on the "character" of the language.

This essay tells us more of Cargill's impressions and feelings toward the language than of his perception of its structure. Thus, it is difficult to reframe his statements into a more modern terminology. For example, terms like "copiousness", "expressiveness", and "precision" are impossible to define. And what is meant by saying that certain features "embellish or deform" a language? Cargill's style was just as impressionistic when he tried to show how the language adapted "to the genius of the people". Did he feel that the structure of the language reflected, somehow, the Fijians' skill at canoe building, house-building, or pottery making?

But such views of language were widely held at that time, and they are not so much a feature of the individual writer as they are a product of his time.

The grammatical part of Cargill's description is also a product of his time. Most grammars of that period were divided into four parts: orthography, prosody, analogy, and syntax. Aside from his innovative work on the orthography, the bulk of Cargill's grammar treats analogy, now called morphology.

The first major word class he discussed was nouns. For this part of speech, he listed three properties: GENDER, NUMBER, and CASE. For the first of these, he distinguished between such pairs as tagane 'male' and lewa 'female'. Here, he relied heavily on the notion of gender in the classical languages, which divide nouns into three categories: feminine, masculine, and neuter. Such a system does not exist for Fijian, but many grammarians of the period attached special significance to the labels, and looked in all languages for reflections of the classical system.

Cargill also tried to apply his familiar ideas of number to Fijian by relating the system to nouns, which actually do not reflect number at all. Instead, Fijian distinguishes number only in its pronouns, which distinguish among singular, dual, paucal, and plural. Curiously, Cargill, perhaps influenced by his knowledge of Tongan, recognized only three numbers for Fijian.

It is easy to see that Cargill attached a great deal of importance to case, for noun declensions take up over three pages, and pronoun declensions about sixteen pages—almost a third of the grammar. Here, too, there is an attempt to overlay Fijian with a Latinate system.

Similarly, Cargill tried to fit Fijian adjectives (or statives) into the classical mold. He wrote of "Comparison ... the variation of a Word by Degrees", and then subjected the language to extreme pressure to make it fit the system.

In his treatment of verbs, Cargill was again intent on following the familiar model. As a result, verbs are "conjugated" through moods, tenses, and different numbers and persons, although those categories are indicated by morphemes rather removed from the verb itself. The one area in which verb morphology is especially rich—transitivity—is covered in one short section, with no mention of such common forms as causatives (except by a few examples) and reciprocals.

The last four parts of speech in the model—adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections—occupy only five pages. As with many grammars of this period, there is no mention of syntax; any patterns of word order must be gleaned from the examples.

In spite of its brevity, this grammar served as a foundation for all that followed it. Even those later missionaries who were primarily translators rather than analysts, acknowledged its usefulness. If we are disappointed that Cargill's grammar does not show the brilliance of Hazlewood's, we must remember that the version that has survived was not necessarily meant to be published, but merely to satisfy the requirements of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in London.

Slightly over four months after the date of this manuscript, Cargill left Lakeba for Rewa, where he had to endure even more extreme vicissitudes. If the external pressures had been slighter, if he had been allowed to continue his work on the Lakeba language, and if it had been chosen as the lingua franca, Cargill's name, rather than Hazlewood's, might have appeared on the title page of the first published grammar and dictionary.

5.2 HALE

Although a connecting thread runs through most of the grammatical studies of Fijian, that between Cargill's work and Horatio Hale's is more direct than most. In mid-May 1840, Cargill wrote in his journal:

> Late this afternoon I sailed in the Mission canoe to visit Suva, a place about twelve miles from Rewa ... When near Nukulau, I met one of the boats of the Peacock of the American Squadron, and received a letter from Capn. Hudson requesting information respecting the natives and the mission. I went on board the Peacock and was kindly received by the captain, purser, and officers.

The Peacock, and the three other ships of the United States Exploring Expedition cruised in Fiji waters for three months during 1840. Included among its scientists was a 23-year-old Harvard ethnologist named Horatio Hale [1817–96].

If Hale seems unusually young to have served in such a responsible position, we have only to look at his background to realize that he was also unusually well prepared for his linguistic and anthropological work. For the class that entered Harvard in the early 1830s, instruction in languages was neither haphazard nor optional. Greek, Latin, and modern languages made up a significant portion of the curriculum for three of the four years. Thus, the class of 1836–37 was well-grounded in such studies. Surrounded by classmates (such as Henry David Thoreau) who made a name for themselves in later years, Hale had already achieved a scholarly reputation by publishing an Algonquin vocabulary at the age of seventeen. It was this interest, along with his academic training, that led to his appointment at twenty as philologist and ethnographer to the United States Exploring Expedition.

Hale's rich linguistic background was amply supplemented by unusual opportunities that the expedition afforded: by the time he reached Fiji in early 1840, he had already collected data from many other Pacific languages. But in spite of this experience, his limited time in Fiji would not have allowed him to produce a work of the breadth of his "Grammar and Vocabulary of the Vitian Language" had he not been able to base his work on Cargill's manuscripts. In his introduction, Hale gave Cargill full credit for his assistance:

> The materials which have served for the construction of the grammar and dictionary which follow are (1st), an abstract of a grammar of the Lakemba dialect, by the Rev. David Cargill, late missionary to the islands; (2nd), a brief grammar of the dialect of Somusomu [sic], by Mr. Hunt, the missionary residing in that town; (3), a dictionary of the Vitian language, drawn up by Mr.

Cargill, in the dialect of Lakemba, and revised by Mr. Hunt ... for that of Somusomu; (4th), the translations, by the missionaries, of portions of the three first gospels, into the dialect of Lakemba, with a brief catechism in that of Somusomu; and (5th), a large collection of words and sentences, taken down from the pronunciation of the natives, while we were at the group, —principally at Ovolau [sic], Rewa, Mbua, and Mathuata.

Hale's grammar differs most from that of Cargill in that it moved away from the classical mold that hindered Cargill and blinded him to many features of the language. Note the contrast between the following treatments:

Cargill: "Nouns have three numbers ..."

Hales: "The number is also generally left to be gathered from the subject of conversation, or from the context ..."

Cargill: "There are three degrees of comparison ..."

Hale: "Comparison is expressed by various circumlocutions,"

In his discussion of pronouns, Hale followed Cargill in calling the paucals "limited plurals", and in speaking generally of three, rather than four, numbers. With respect to the possessive suffixes, Cargill made no generalizations about the type of noun with which they occurred. He merely listed tama 'father' and about fifteen names for body parts, and said that "experience alone can acquaint the student with those nouns which are preceded or followed by their pronouns." Hale was much more explicit in his description:

The nouns which require these affixes are the names of the different parts of the body, with words signifying soul and mind, and the names of some of the nearest family relations. In general the possession implied by them seems to be more intimate than that denoted by the separate pronouns.

For the interrogatives, Hale noted, as Cargill failed to, that cei 'who?' patterned with proper nouns, and cava 'what?', with common nouns. But he did not see the relationship of the demonstratives oqō, oqori, and oyā to first, second, and third persons.

Differences similar to those above are found in the comparison of the two treatments of verbs:

> Cargill: "Verbs are declined by numbers, persons, moods, and tenses."

> Hale: "The verb has, properly speaking, no inflections. All the accidents of tense, mood, &c., are expressed by particles prefixed or suffixed. The only exception is the occasional duplication of the verb, or a part of it, to express frequency of action."

Perhaps from his experience with related languages, Hale was able to describe accurately the causative function of the prefix vaka-. cargill had noted its other functions, but not that primary one.

Thus Hale, because he was able to make use of Cargill's and Hunt's manuscripts, and because he was able at the end of his fieldwork to draw on an exceptional amount of firsthand experience with Pacific languages, produced a Fijian grammar that was considerably more detailed than Cargill's. But because his work did not appear until 1846, and even then was limited in distribution,[5] it is unlikely that the missionaries in Fiji had a chance to see it and take advantage of its innovations.

5.3 DIALECTAL BABEL: THE PROBLEM OF LANGUAGE DIVERSITY

During their first two years at Lakeba, as the missionaries met visitors from other parts of Fiji, they realized that Fijian was not one uniform language, but instead, a complex of languages or "dialects". Since the missionaries planned to establish other stations in Fiji, it became important to know how different those languages or dialects were. While William Cross was waiting for passage to the Bau area, he began studying the Rewa language, using as a consultant a Rewan resident in Lakeba. He observed, "In examining about 500 words of the language of Lakeba I have discovered that more than half of them axe different in the language of Rewa; so that it will be absolutely necessary to have books in both dialects" (Cross, letter to the General Secretary, 2 February 1837).

Cargill's ideas of dialect variation alternated between the extremes of homogeneity and diversity. On 18 October 1836 he wrote of the former, but by 17 January 1837 he had changed his opinion: "The difference of the language in the various groups of Feejee is another reason for sending a press with all possible despatch. Each group of islands has a dialect peculiar to itself, & must have a version of the Scriptures in its own tongue ..." (Letters to General Secretary, 1832–40).

But when he began his own study of the Rewa dialect, he noted the following in his journal, in direct contrast to Cross's observations (4 May 1839):

> The difference between the Lakeba dialect and that of Rewa, is not so great as I formerly supposed. It exists principally in the pronouns and a few other words. The same idiom prevails among these and the other dialects ... I may in a short time and with comparatively little labour become master of all the dialects in the groupe.[6]

It now appears that Cargill may have been led to this position on linguistic homogeneity by hearing the kind of pidginized language that the speakers of the eastern Fijian languages used with outsiders or an early type of "Standard Fijian" that was "the language of diplomacy and trade within Fiji" (Geraghty 1984:33).

Hale, too, may have observed this pidgin communication, or his opinion may have been influenced by Cargill's. At any rate, his conclusions were similar:

> Whether the variations in the language as spoken at different parts of the group are sufficiently important to constitute what may be properly termed dialects, is doubtful. The principal points of difference of which we obtained information were the following:
>
> 1. In the windward chain of islands ... many Polynesian words are employed which are not known elsewhere and which are probably derived from the Tongan. Thus in Viti-levu, the word for 'thing' is ka; but in Lakemba it is meca, evidently from the Polynesian mea. In other parts of the group, meca means an enemy. In Lakemba, also, the t (as already remarked) is pronounced like ch, when it precedes i. This is likewise a peculiarity of the Tongan.

2. In Vanua-levu and Somusomu, a dialect is spoken, distinguished principally by the omission of the letter k, its place being indicated by a slight gutteral catch, —as wa'a for waka, nu'u for nuku. At Mathuata, in addition to this, the t is frequently dropped, —as, 'ama'a for tamata. This pronunciation, however, is considered faulty by the natives themselves. In some words which are elsewhere pronounced with the double consonant nd, the natives of Vanua-levu employ the single element t, as, vundi, banana, is pronounced vuti; nduru, knee, turu; ndatou, we, tatou. There are also verbal differences, such as ngoli, for ika, fish; but these are few in number, at least for words of common occurrence. It is said by the missionaries that in words and locutions of a more recondite cast, such, for instance, as those expressing the operations of the mind, and particularly in compound terms, the difference is much greater. Indeed, they fear that they shall be obliged to make distinct versions of the Bible for the two stations.

3. On the eastern side of Viti-levu, and particularly in Rewa, the language is said by the natives to be spoken in its greatest purity. There are, however, some slight verbal [i.e., vocabulary] differences even between the neighboring towns of Mbau and Rewa. The dialect of the adjoining islands, Ovolau [sic], Koro, Ngau, & c., is very nearly the same. That of Kandavu is said to vary somewhat more.

Hale had less contact with Fijians from the west side of Viti Levu. Although even today some areas share with Bauan fewer than 60 percent of the most common words, a consultant must have convinced Hale that there was much more similarity:

4. On the western side of Viti-levu, we were informed by the white men resident on the island, that the difference of dialect was so great as to render the language nearly unintelligible, at first, to natives of other parts. The inhabitants have very little intercourse, either for commercial or hostile purposes, with other sections of the group, and are considered the most barbarous of the Feejeeans. I saw but one individual from this quarter, and in a brief vocabulary of common words obtained from him, found but a small proportion that were peculiar.

The dialectal variations, both of words and construction, are noted in the grammar and dictionary. But it should be observed that even where a word or form of expression is peculiar to one section of the group, it will commonly be understood by the natives of most others.

While Cargill was Chairman of the Fiji District, and his opinion of dialect homogeneity prevailed, there was no move made toward establishing a lingua franca. The Reverend Thomas Williams (n.d.) described the difficulties encountered in trying to use the Lakeba material at the other mission stations. It revealed, he said,

> ... the unwelcome fact that, of the books sent out from the press, only the alphabet could be satisfactorily used. The dialect dissimilarities were even sufficiently marked to justify applications from Rewa, Bau, and Somosomo for Scripture lessons spoken on those several stations. The accumulated darkness of ages called for the printed word as well as the living herald to effect its dispersion. The existing medium was too dim, and word conveyed by it did not give the required light. These applications for such books as would more clearly convey it caused a flutter in the press room; the representatives of the fourth estate saw before them a serious difficulty, and one sufficiently formidable to retard the progressive work of the press. Fifteen dialects were already known to exist in the group. How many more might await discovery in a group of islands equal in extent to the Kingdom of Denmark, became a natural enquiry. An alarming prospect of increased labour and cost rose before them. The difficulty which confronted the Mission at this juncture was loud voiced and outspoken as to the impracticability of the accepted plan. However, to [ ] for the present case, 12 pp. of the book of Genesis, and other Scripture lesson books were published in the three new dialects. This was a tacit admission that the dialect of Lakemba could not be accepted as the only mission dialect, but the time had not come for the election of one so to be honoured.

Cargill did not participate in the choosing of a standard language for Fiji. After his wife's death of in 1840, he returned to England, and when he was reassigned to the mission field, it was not to Fiji, but to Tonga. Even so, although he was to work primarily with Tongan, utilizing, as the Mission Committee put it, his "peculiar talents" there, he was to take "suitable opportunity of visiting the Feejee Islands, and in conjunction with

the Brethren there consider the translations which have been laid before the Bible Society ..." But his death in 1843 put an end to such productivity, and because the nature of his death (suicide) was distasteful to his colleagues, they took steps to obliterate most traces of Cargill's stay in Fiji. John Hunt, the new Chairman of the Fiji District, began by abruptly but justifiably changing Cargill's previous policy on languages and dialects (letter to WMS, Viwa, 26 August 1843):

> The Feejeeans speak to our knowledge ten different dialects, each of which has so many peculiarities that they cannot understand either books or preaching in any dialect but their own. On this subject we all differ entirely from our late Chairman D. Cargill A.M., not because we wish to differ, but because we are certain that his views are erroneous. Mr. Cargill had not an opportunity of knowing the real state of the case as he had visited very few places in the group, not a third of those which have been visited by his Brethren, and he could not therefore judge of what he had neither seen nor heard.
>
> Besides his enquiries were conducted in a way most likely to lead to wrong conclusions. His argument was, If people who come to Lakemba from other parts of Feejee understand me when I speak in the Lakemba dialect, and I understand them when they speak in their own dialect, there can be no great difference in the dialects of Feejee. This may look very clear, but it is very erroneous.
>
> In the first place this argument supposes that people from all parts of Feejee have visited Lakemba, whereas very many of the people of Feejee do not know there is such a place.
>
> Secondly it supposes that all who go to Lakemba speak their own peculiar dialect when at Lakemba, whereas many of those who are in the habit of visiting that place know something of the L. dialect, and will often use many words which they know will be understood by a person at L.
>
> There are linguists in Feejee as well as in other countries. Many of the chiefs can speak two or 3 dialects. One of us lately made a tour round the large island called Navitilevu, and was much surprised to find that all round it the chiefs understood the Rewa and Bau dialects sufficiently to be well understood. Now suppose we had come to the conclusion that the dialects of Bau and Nandroga were alike because we could converse with the Chiefs in the Bau dialect, what an egregious mistake we should

have made, as there are no two dialects more unlike, and yet we ought to have done this on David Cargill's plan. Why we might as well say, that because Mr. Cargill understood Latin, Latin is the vernacular tongue of Scotland.

Thomas Jaggar, writing from Rewa, had a similar view of the problems. First, he found that the "dialects" were not discrete elements, but tended to merge into each other (letter to WMS, 10 Oct. 1839):

We continue busy at the Dictionary: it is a very difficult matter to search out the Rewa dialect, as the people mix it up with the Bau and other dialects: but our determination is to persevere.

As time went on, Jaggar seemed almost overwhelmed by the language complexity (letter to WMS, 29 May 1843):

Our excellent Brother [Hunt?] has obtained some useful information which he will no doubt communicate to you. The dialect to the leeward and our inland tribes are widely different from any of the dialects hitherto known by your Missionaries. The dialects of the different districts where we are at present labouring are alike when compared with those of the parts of which I am now writing. It appears to me to be quite another branch of the Feejean tongue, and I can say that perhaps not one word in fifty should I understand. There are of course some words which are common to every part of the Group and others which are well known in other places, but never used to the leeward. The Chiefs are generally acquainted with many dialects, but not the common people with the exception of those who are continually sailing about from place to place.

Hunt continued his criticism of Cargill's policies:

In order to show how little Mr. Cargill knew on the subject I need only state, that soon after I came to Feejee he related what he then considered a most curious fact to me, namely that there are people in Feejee who never use the t, but pronounce tamata, amaa; why there are whole Districts who omit it. Not that any of us knew any more at the time if so much, as we were about discarding the h altogether, as we f [inally perc] eived the aspirate to be unknown to the Feejeeans, whereas we now know that in one of the dialects of Feejee it is used much more than in the English language, perhaps 10 times more. We were all

quite persuaded, that such words as house, pig, garden, see, hear, etc. were capable of being uniformly rendered vale, vuaka, were, raica, rogoca, but we now know that these words are some of them entirely unknown in some parts of the group, or used in an entirely different sense.

Hunt's own opinion of the number of dialects[7] was based on the experience of a number of missionaries. Among them, they decided on ten: Lakeba, Somosomo, Bau, Rewa, Rakiraki, Bā, Nadrogā, Deuba, Bua, and Namata, but realizing that many areas in Fiji had not been touched by their personnel, Hunt reasoned that there might be many more. His example of Bau and Rewa, which follows, is particularly fitting, since it points out the inexactness of the terms "dialect" and "language".

> These [the ten just listed] are the leading places of ten different districts, but it must be remembered that the places written above are many of them far from each other, and that the places between them in some instances speak dialects as different from the principal ones as they are from each other, so that if Bau and Rewa are to be considered as different dialects, there are at least 50 different dialects in the Group, perhaps 150 as we know nothing [ ] of the inland tribes of Navitilevu, or Large Feejee, an island upwards of 300 miles in circumference and said to be well populated in the interior.

Hunt seemed annoyed with Cargill's title for his manuscript: "You will see with what justice an outline of a Grammar of the Lakemba dialect and a Dictionary of that Dialect, are called 'A Grammar and Dictionary of the Feejeean Language'" (Hunt, letter to General Secretary, 26 August 1843). Yet later, after receiving the official sanction of the Church, Bauan was called by the missionaries themselves "Fijian".

Hunt went on to give some specific information about the differences among the dialects:

> In the first place it must be acknowledged that there is a great similarity in many respects, many words are common to all dialects, and especially those words which are in common use. But there are others, even of this class, which are very different. For instance the personal pronoun third person singular 'He' is in the Lakemba dialect koi koya, Somosomo o ea, Bau and Rewa, ko koya, in the western part of the group, kia. The common word 'all'

is, in the Lakemba cokocoko, Somosomo coocoo, Bau kece, Rewa qima, Deuba and the other parts westward devu. Other pronouns and many other words, are quite as different as those mentioned as the books I shall send you in these four dialects will show.

But the principal difference in dialects is to be found between the western part of the group and all those dialects now known to us. In many instances the most common words are different; not the same word in a different form as is the case in the other dialects, but an entirely different word. In the four dialects known by us, the following words are precisely the same in each. I need therefore only compare one of them with one of the dialects in the western part of the group, Bau and Nandronga will answer the purpose:

English	Bau	Nandronga
house	vale	were, sui
fire	buka	quia
life	bula	cola
hate	ceita	burasia
ill	baca	raraci
bad	ca	bura

These are specimens of the differences in the most common words. There are however a few words exactly the same, and many which are only altered in form.[8]

Hunt briefly mentioned such grammatical differences as varying pronoun sets and transitive endings. He closed his letter with a final implied criticism of Cargill's research methods:

It is very easy for a person to sit in his study and look over a dictionary of the various dialects, and conclude that, because there are so many words alike, one translation of the Scriptures will serve the whole group, but when he visits the people in their villages and houses, and converses with them closely, he will see it is necessary to acquire the peculiar phraseology of each peculiar dialect in order to make himself understood.

5.4 STANDARDIZATION

The mere recognition of dialect diversity, whatever its extent, solved no problems for the translators. The minutes of the annual meetings show that for 1841 and 1842, translation continued in the languages of Lakeba, Somosomo, Rewa, and Bau. In 1843 a group effort at translation was organized, apportioning certain books of the New Testament to the various missionaries, whatever the language spoken at their stations.

The experiment failed; the choosing of a lingua franca was inevitable. There were internal wars during that period, and it was important that the Mission be on the winning side. Lakeba was relatively small and powerless, compared with Rewa and Bau. So it became necessary to choose between the latter two. The following quotation shows Williams's attempt to justify the choice of Bauan on linguistic rather than political grounds (Williams, n.d,):

> Again the Missionaries sat in council on the best mode to be adopted. After the pros and cons affecting the question had received their prayerful consideration, it was resolved to brave the discontent that would arise in Lakemba and its dependencies when their dialect was laid aside; and also the proud, but futile opposition of aristocratic Mbau, to the use of a dialect regarded as sacred, by the common people, and announce that henceforth, the Scriptures would be printed in the Mbau dialect. Only those Missionaries who were familiar with the Rewa dialect contended that it was the more pure of the two, but in consideration that the advantage on its side, even in this respect was small, and counter balanced by the important fact that the Mbau dialect in Viti occupied a position similar to French amongst the languages of Europe, it was selected as the one to be preferred.

But was it strictly the Bauan language that was selected? PG (3/82) has suggested that perhaps the language chosen as standard was the generally known Bau-Rewa-Verata type used as a lingua franca before the arrival of the Europeans. Even David Hazlewood [1819–55] qualified his statement about Bauan as a base for the standard: "… which dialect we have generally [emphasis added] adopted" as he justified the inclusion of non-Bauan words in the dictionary (1850a:4).

At any rate, the linguistic attention of the missionaries was now much more narrowly focused, and there was little need for further analysis of the other languages. Nor was there any longer a necessity to rely on Cargill's grammatical sketch and dictionary for Lakeba.

For some time around the mid-1840s, it was not certain who would become the official grammarian and lexicographer for the Fiji Mission. Although it turned out that David Hazlewood would eventually have that honor (and the labor connected with it), the records of the missionaries' correspondence during the 1840s shows that he was not the only one dealing with linguistic matters.

5.5 HAZLEWOOD AND HIS COLLEAGUES: THE GRAMMAR AND DICTIONARY AS A COOPERATIVE ENTERPRISE

In order to understand the development of the Fijian grammar and dictionary, one must take into account the dispersal of both the languages and the missionaries in Fiji during the 1840s. In the earlier part of the decade, the Wesleyans were translating into the languages of four areas: Lakeba, Rewa, Viwa, and So-mosomo. The almost inevitable byproducts of these "multidi-alectal" translation efforts were word lists and grammatical sketches for the language of each area. None of the mission-aries, however, started from scratch, for each of them used Cargill's manuscript grammar and vocabulary of Lakeba as his base. For example, Hazlewood wrote in his diary:

27 October 1843. Mr. McKenny consulted with Mrs. Cross concerning teaching me the Fijian language, which she readily consented to do.

3 November. Left Mr. McKenny's, received from him a Fijian Grammar, with a few other small books in the language, which I began to study and transcribe.

Somosomo, 5 September 1844. ... employed daily in writing out Mr. Cargill's Feejeean Vocabulary ...

16 September. Finished writing Mr. Cargill's Vocabulary of 219 pp. ...

17 September. Began a Vocabulary of my own on a different plan from Mr. C though chiefly selected from his.

11 October. Began transcribing Bro Hunt's Feejeean Grammar.

1 November. Wrote a part of Bro Hunt's Grammar of the Language.

9 December. At Writing Dictionary.

One can see here that Hazlewood drew on the work of several of his colleagues. And this sharing of ideas was not an isolated event; as the missionaries became more involved in translation and the related lexicographic and grammatical problems, they began discussing ideas in the only way possible in their situation of limited communication: through manuscript newsletters, called Quarterlies. These letters emanated from the four Mission stations of the mid and late 1840s, and bore the titles The Lakemba Note, The Vewa Record, The Somosomo Quarterly, and The Nandy Chronicle (from Nadi in Bua). As an example of their linguistic content, The Vewa Record for December 1845 includes articles on translating and Fijian poetry (by John Hunt). In The Somosomo Quarterly Letter No. 4 (for June 1846), the writers discussed the use of f in loanwords, incidentally referring to a previous article [missing] on j. They also considered, for their translations, putting noun phrases in parentheses to clarify the pronoun translated from English. For example, an English sentence containing both he and she can be ambiguous when translated into Fijian, which does not make the same kind of distinction. However, they decided against it: "It does not look well; it occupies so much more space."

In the same issue, they mentioned a dictionary of proper names by William Cross[9] in connection with one of their more persistent problems: the choice of added vowels in loanwords. They referred to "rules formed by the Brn. Hunt & Lyth whilst together at Somosomo" as perhaps useful "in preparing the 'authorized' orthography. Let us aim at uniformity," they wrote.

Since these Quarterlies served as the principal means of exchanging grammatical information (unfortunately few of them have survived), the missionaries' correspondence and journals are less rich in these details than they might have been. But there are hints as to how information was exchanged. In the middle of the decade, while the missionaries were still com-

piling their separate word lists at their various Stations, they were also exchanging these lists—and ideas—for their mutual benefit:

> Viwa, 21 September 1843 (Hunt to Lyth): I am glad that you have found a passive verb in the Feejeean language. I do not think there is such a thing in existence.

> Lakeba, 18 August 1845 (Lyth to Williams): I like the look of friend Hazlewood's Dictionary—he will do not only himself but the District credit. I include also the Grammar.

The fullest exchange developed between Lyth and Hazlewood. The following quotations are from Lyth to Hazlewood:

> Lakeba, 12 March 1845: I am glad you speak freely to me on the language. I should be glad to be favoured with any remarks—and you may rest assured I would not make a bad use of them. If I can help you in any way—you have only to tell me. The grammar I am to prepare has not yet had a line, and I know not whether I shall be able to do anything at it before the D[istrict] M[eeting] —perhaps yours will be ready before mine—if so, sa vinaa ga. Do not be discouraged if you do not see into the language all at once. The Somosomo dialect, I consider, the most difficult we have yet had to do with. Persevere. "Labor omnia vincit".[10]

> 19 August 1845: Language is a wide field, and the grammar of a language is not only wide but intricate, and how many different, and even conflicting views may be entertained on the grammar of the same language is strikingly illustrated in the number of English Grammars, and particularly modern ones that are to be met with. A reference to your colleague's Library will abundantly convince you of this. One moral lesson at any rate is taught by seeing so many learned and other writers differing on the same subject viz, that each one should be modest of his own opinion as well as respect the opinions of others.

> 4 December 1845: I thank you for your kind letter and re-marks on the verbs. [I] hope you will continue to write with the same freedom. I cannot now be particular—time will not allow—but your remarks at the time I received them—appeared to me very just. Also your article in your Quarterly. Language has not yet gained any attention from me—as yet this year—it probably will now. The ordinary every day duties of this Circuit are very pressing and leave but little time for anything else. Rejoice—your

turn of mind leads you to study language & to enter deeply into the subject. Favour me with as many suggestions in the Grammar of the Feejeean dialect as you think claim our regard. I mean points unnoticed in the Messrs. Cargill's & Hunt's Grammars as well as on points on which they have written.

On 7 November 1846, Lyth recorded sending Johnson's Dictionary to Hazlewood.

7 May 1847: In our Quarterly you will see my thoughts on a Feejeean Dictionary. I hope you will devote yourself to the task and prepare something, as a specimen, for the District M[eeting]. Mr Hunt is [away] from home, or I doubt not he would write to request this of you—as he has said as much in conversation. We think that you to compile and Bro Calvert to revise would be a good plan— so that it would be to your joint work yours would be the labour—and then his the supervision, for he has a quick eye and quick conception—would give the work a rapid finishing [?] & render it more correct. It's quite enough for any two men to make a Dr. Johnson.

Also in May 1847, Hunt wrote to Lyth:

The Dictionary proposed to be done by Mr Hazlewood with remarks.

Thus, it was finally decided that Hazlewood would be the official grammarian and lexicographer for the Fiji Mission. Indeed, his qualifications for such a task seem to set him apart from all his colleagues, with the possible exception of Lyth. The following eulogy (Williams, n.d.) was meant to praise Hazlewood's work in the translation of the Old Testament, but it also showed his qualifications for grammatical research:

Although his early educational advantages were meagre, when able to do so he purchased a Greek Grammar in the Latin tongue, and learned Greek without the assistance of a tutor. When he entered on a religious life he prosecuted linguistic studies as a means to an end. In his appointment as a Missionary to Viti he recognized the hand of God supplying him with a rare opportunity for carrying out a noble purpose. Naturally painstaking, plodding, and persevering, he applied himself to the study of the dialects in use in Viti, resolved to understand their principal differences thoroughly, and to use that of Mba[ua] n effectively. Comparative

philology was a congenial employment, his new position favoured a pursuit of which he never became weary. If I take a liberty in speaking of the Herbarium of human language, it is not a serious one, the word answers my purpose, and I will hope for toleration; Mr. Hazlewood acted as though he had the idea, so that anything he could collect for it, or cull from it, gave brightness to the passing hour. Coincident [?] with his settlement in Viti was his serious application to the mastery of Hebrew. Further on he added one, if not two living languages to his acquirements. Attainments of this kind were easy to him because through continuous years his studies had included the philosophy of language generally. Mr. Hazlewood was known only to a favoured [?] few. He was reticent and retiring, remarkable for the absence of the faculty of impressiveness and inability to exhibit his gifts with effect to those around him. He was willing to remain unknown, and his inclination has not, up to the present, been seriously interfered with; hence this notice of his qualifications is due to his memory, and in justification of the act which assigned to him a trust so important. The comparative obscurity in which Mr. Hazlewood has remained is the more remarkable because he had already done honour to the Mission by preparing an admirable grammar of the Fijian language ... To this valuable contribution he added a Fijian and English dictionary, a casual inspection of which will satisfy any philologist as to his competency ...

Probably each Missionary in the field, in the early days, contributed to the store of words; and one or two sketchy grammars even given into his hands but of these he did not make much use.

Although Hazlewood had obviously been collecting and forming his opinions about Fijian grammar from the time of his very arrival in Fiji, most of his work toward the end of the decade was directed toward the dictionary, his "monumental work" (Wood 1978:91). Thus, the actual compiling of the grammar started rather late.

27 August 1850: Commenced the Grammar, Excepting about 7 pages (in writing) done at Nandy.

The final products of Hazlewood's work—the dictionary and the grammar—stand on their own merit,[11] but it is difficult not to admire them even more because of the circumstances under which they were written. A. H. Wood (1978:91) wrote:

What he accomplished under the most discouraging circumstances —the loss of his wife and two children, his own ill-health, and the tides of war that flowed around his Mission station at Nadi—made his work equally meritorious with that of of Hunt.

Among other setbacks were the hurricanes that struck the Nadi area periodically. On 26 March 1850 one of these flooded Hazlewood's study and extensively damaged his books; it took him several weeks to dry out those books that were still usable.

After completing the grammar and dictionary, Hazlewood continued to translate the Old Testament, but in 1855, at the age of thirty-six, he died of consumption. "Calvert truly said of Hazlewood that he had put thirty years' work into his ten years in Fiji" (Wood 1978:91).

SECTION II

SENTENCES AND VERB PHRASES

> At night [I] began and I had a hard tug at the verbs till 20 minutes to 1 o'clock. This subject I feared more than any other as being so important and so difficult. But I believe the Lord helped me and I was surprised at my work when I had done it. Good or bad, it is very much better than I had anticipated. The great difficulty was in a proper arrangement. But I flatter myself that the one I have followed is the clearest and the most useful.
>
> *David Hazlewood, Journal entry for 4 December 1850.*

A NOTE ON SYMBOLS

As stated in the chapters on the orthography, Fijian uses the following symbols in an unconventional way:

b = [mb]   d = [nd]   q = [ŋg]   g = [ŋ]

r = [r̃] or [ř] dr = [nr̃] or [nř] y = nonsyllabic [ɛ]

The remaining vowel and consonant letters have approximately the same values as they do in the International Phonetic Alphabet. I have added macrons to indicate long vowels, both simple and complex. Thus (for example):

a (short);   ā (long)
au (short);   āū (long)

The last example does not indicate a sequence of two long vowels, but a long diphthong.

6 SENTENCE TYPES

6.1 SENTENCES: A SEMANTIC APPROACH

A FULL SENTENCE in Fijian is a phrase (or series of phrases) that contains reference to the semantic elements of TOPIC and COMMENT. The topic is the entity about which something is said; the comment is what is said about the topic.[1]

For example, in the sentence

era	ā	dabe	tiko[2]	they were sitting
3P	PT	sit	CNT	

era 'they (plural)' refers to the topic, and the rest of the sentence refers to the comment.

An ELLIPTICAL sentence contains reference to only one of these elements, the other being supplied through context. The sentence

o	ira	they
PRP	3P	

which answers the question

o	cēī	ā	dabe	tiko?	who was sitting?
PRP	who	PT	sit	CNT	

is an example of an elliptical sentence.

Both these sentence types are distinct from EXCLAMA-TIONS—such as sobo (exclamation of surprise)—which cannot be expanded into full sentences.

In this grammar, the term "sentence" is taken to mean "full sentence" unless further qualified. In general, elliptical sentences can be analyzed only with reference to discourse.

6.2 SENTENCE TYPES

As an introduction to sentence types, consider the following story, written in the style of the early primers:

rai-c-a	mada!				look!
look-TR-3S	INI				

a	cava	na	kā	oqō?	what's this?
DEF	what	DEF	thing	DEM:1	

e	dua	na	nīū	oqō	this is a coconut
3S	one	DEF	coconut	DEM;1	

e	nīū	madū	it's a mature coconut
3S	coconut	mature	

e	levu	na	nīū	e	there are a lot of coconuts
				Viti	in Fiji
3S	big	DEF	coconut	ABL	
				Fiji	

e	yaga	sara	na	nīū	the coconut is very
3S	use	INT	DEF	coconut	useful

These sentences are fairly simple; they might have been found in the first few lessons of any primer. But they illustrate a number of different types of sentences. In this chapter, we discuss a broad classification of Fijian sentences and the criteria used for the classification.

Fijian sentences can be divided into two main types, based on formal criteria:

1. Sentences that consist entirely of, or have as their principal component, a VERB PHRASE (VP).

2. Sentences that consist of juxtaposed NOUN PHRASES (NPs).

Of these two types, the first is by far the more frequent, which is the reason for the prominence of the VP figures in this description. Sentences that consist of a VP alone may seem unusual to those who by their grammatical training automatically divide all sentences into NP + VP. But this type is not unusual

in Fijian, for every VP contains a MARKER that serves as the subject, and some as well contain one that serves as the object. Note the following sentences (NV1):

e	siga	ni	lotu		it's a day for worship
3S	day	POS	religion		

e	bogi	ni	lotu		it's a night for worship
3S	night	POS	religion		

āū	rawa	ni	lako		I can walk
1S	able	SUB	go		

āū	rawa	ni	qasi		I can crawl
1S	able	SUB	crawl		

e	katu	tolu		it's three fathoms long
3S	fathom	three		

e	vaka-somo	ka	vā-kula		it's blackened and fringed
3S	MAN-stained	CNJ	MAN-fringe		

Each of these sentences consists of a VP alone; within the phrases, e 'he, she, it' and āū 'I' function as subjects. NPs are included in the sentence only when the referent of the subject iss to be stated more specifically.

6.3 VP TYPES

A VP consists of two obligatory items: a SUBJECT and a VERB. A subject is one of a closed set of MARKERS (function words) that indicate person, number, and exclusiveness. Table 6:1 shows this set.

TABLE 6:1[3]

	First person exclusive	inclusive	Second person	Third person
Singular	āū	-----	o	e
Dual	kēīrāū	(e)daru	(o)drāū	(e)rāū

	First person exclusive	inclusive	Second person	Third person
Paucal	kēītōū	((e)da)tōū	(o)dōū	(e)ratōū
Plural	kēīmami	(e)da	(o)nī	(e)ra

A verb is composed of a ROOT (content word) plus optional affixes. It follows the subject and allows the VP it functions as part of to serve as a complete utterance. Examples of VPs are:

āū   lako   I'm going
1S   go

kēīrāū tiko   we (dual exclusive) are staying
1DX   stay

kēītōū gunu   we (paucal exclusive) are
1TX   drink   drinking

kēīmami sā   cala   we (plural exclusive) are
1PX   ASP wrong   wrong

VPs can be divided into four subtypes, the most important of which are dependent on the semantic relationship between the referents of the subject and the verb. These four types are:

1. ACTIVE

    3. EXISTENTIAL

    2. STATIVE

    4. IDENTIFYING

We now discuss each of these types.

6.3.1 Active. In an active VP, the subject represents the ACTOR—someone or something performing an action (in a broad sense) or causing an action to be performed. Thus, in most cases, the actor is controlling a situation. Examples are:

| e | kana | | she's eating |
| 3S | eat | | |

| āū | vodo | | I'm riding |
| 1S | ride | | |

| daru | sīsili | | let's (dual) bathe |
| 1DI | bathe | | |

| era | laga | sere | they (plural) are singing |
| 3P | sing | song | |

| e | qoli | | he's fishing |
| 3S | fish | | |

6.3.2 Stative. In a stative VP, the subject represents the GOAL—someone or something being acted upon or described. The goal, in contrast to the actor, does not control the situation. Examples are:

| e | levu | it's big |
| 3S | big | |

| era | bulu | they (plural) are buried |
| 3P | buried | |

| e | cola-ti | it was carried |
| 3S | carry-TR | |

| kēīrāū | rai-ci | we (dual exclusive) were seen |
| 1DX | see-TR | |

6.3.3 Existential. In an existential VP, the subject represents neither the actor nor the goal, but merely an entity whose existence is being affirmed. An existential VP also indicates existence in a particular location or time, existence of a particular quantity, or existence in a particular posture (PG 7/82). Examples are:

| e | tiko | there is some, it's here |
| 3S | stay | |

| e | dua | there's one |
| 3S | one | |

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e	levu[4]			there are a lot
3S	big			

e	sega			there is none
3S	not			

6.3.4 Identifying. In an identifying VP, the referent of the subject is identified as a member of a class. Again, it is neither acting, acted upon, nor described. In this construction, the class is represented by a noun that serves as a verb. For example, qase-ni-vuli 'teacher' is usually a noun, but in this construction, it serves as a verb:

e	qase-ni-vuli			he's a teacher
3S	elder-POS-learn			

e	siga	ni	lotu[5]	it's a day for worship
3S	day	POS	religion	

e	vinivō	totoka		it's a pretty dress
3S	dress	pretty		

e	kāū	yaga	sara	it's a very useful tree
3S	tree	use	INT	

As an example of an identifying VP in the negative:

ni	sega	ni	tamata	dina	… that he was not a real human
SUB	not	SUB	person	true	(FR5:16)

As with other VPs, tense markers can also be included:

o	cēī	beka	e	na	Adi-Senitoa	ni	1977?
PRP	who	INI	3S	FT	Miss-Hibiscus	POS	1977

who will be Miss Hibiscus for 1977?

Semantically, such sentences are related to those that consist of NP + NP, as the following section shows.

6.4 JUXTAPOSED NPS (NP + NP)

Sentences that are composed of two NPs still fit into the se-
mantic category of comment-topic, but "comment" has a special
meaning here: the comment states that the topic belongs to a
class. In the following sentences, the NPs are joined by "+":

na   yaca   ni   gone + o   Tubarua   the name of the
DEF name   POS child   PRP T   child was T (FR6:6)

na   kā   e   qara-i   + na   totolo   what is needed is
DEF thing 3S   need-TR   DEF fast   speed (T74:52)

na   ke-na   i-līūlīū   + na   kānala   its leader is a colonel
DEF   POS-3S   NOM-lead   DEF   colonel

na   siga Vakarāūbuka + na   siga e dāū vaka-rāū-taki kina
DEF day Friday   DEF day 3S HAB CAU-ready-TR ABL:3S

     na   i-voli   Friday is the day on which
     DEF   selling   things for selling are prepared
                               (NV4:12)

na   mate levu lā   + na   kāveti   ka   tū   ni   ra sā
DEF sick big INT   DEF cabbage REL stand SUB 3P ASP

     sega   tū   ni   voli   the only big illness is that
     not   CNT   SUB   sold   the cabbage remains unsold
                                   (NV 3:40)

Table 6:2 shows the semantic structure.

TABLE 6:2

Comment	Topic
General class	Specific member
na yaca ni gone na kā e qara-i na ke-na i-līūlīū	o Tubarua na totolo na kānala

NP + NP sentences and identifying sentences are almost identical in meaning, but have this formal difference: in an identifying structure, the VP can serve as a full sentence, for the VP contains reference to both comment and topic:

e	yaca	ni	gone	it is the name of the child
3S	name	POS	child	

e	kā	e	qara-i	it is the thing that was needed
3S	thing	3S	need-TR	

However, an NP that serves as comment cannot stand alone as a full sentence.

6.4.1 A cava and o cēī. Many NP + NP sentences have as one of their phrases a cava 'what?' or o cēī? 'who?'[6]

   na cava + na i-wali ni leqa? what was the solution to the DEF what DEF NOM-anoint POS problem problem? (SR 20/4/82)

na	cava +	na	i-wali	ni	leqa?	what was the
DEP	what	DEP	NOM-anoint	POS	problem	solution to
						the problem?
						(SR 20/4/82)

a	cava	beka +	na	vu-na?	what might the reason
DEF	what	INI	DEF	reason-3S	be? (NL 13/5/82)

o	cēī	+ oyā?	who's that (over there)
PRP	who	DEM:3	

6.5 PHRASE ORDER AMD INTONATIONAL FEATURES

In the NP + NP sentences immediately above, the intonation pattern is similar to that of VP (+ NP) sentences. This similarity matches their similarity in semantic structure: that is, the order of comment and topic. Many NP + NP sentences, however, have the topic fronted. E.g.:

oyā	+	o	Mataisuva	that's M (PR5:10)
DEM:3		PRP	M	

```
o    yāū + na    luve   i    Radi ni   Nawāītale
PRP 1S      DEF   child  POS  R    POS  N
I am the child of R of N (FR5:12)
```

```
o    iko sara gā  + na    makubu-qu              it is you
PRP 2S INT  INT    DEF   grandchild-1S           who is my
                                                 grandchild
                                                 (FR5:12)
```

In these sentences, the intonation of the first phrase is similar to that of other fronted phrases (39.1(F)).

6.5.1 Intonation as a guide to grammatical structure and meaning. An NP + NP sentence in which one of the NPs is oqō 'this', oqori 'that (by you)', or oyā 'that (distant)' can sometimes be ambiguous in its written form. Note the following (syllables in capital letters indicate phrase peaks):

```
na    vosa       ni   i-vola      tabu      oqō
DEF  language  POS  NOM-write  sacred  DEM:1
```

If there are two peaks of intonation—TAbu and oQŌ—the two phrases make up a full sentence, as follows:

```
na    vosa       ni   i-Vola      TAbu   oQŌ    this is the
                                    +            language of
DEF  language POS  NOM-write  sacred DEM:1 the Bible
```

In this sentence, oqō constitutes a separate phrase, and can be fronted. However, if there is only one phrase peak, the whole phrase makes up an elliptical sentence, as follows:

```
na vosa ni i-Vola Tabu oQŌ    the language of this Bible
```

6.6 NP SENTENCES

By referring to the semantic definition of the sentence (6.1), one can see that most utterances consisting of a single NP are not full, but elliptical sentences. For example, the following short utterances were taken from transcribed conversations (FMC 61). Each relies on context to supply the missing topic or comment:

| ke-na | vuaka | his pig (the speaker prompts |
| POS-3S | pig | the previous speaker) |

Cola-i-Suva, ē?		C-i-S, right? (the speaker
C-i-S	yes?	provides the word when
		the other speaker
		hesitates)

ōī, māī Mokani	oh, from M (the speaker repeats last
oh ABL M	phrase of the previous speaker's
	sentence)

| koya | that's it |
| DEM:3 | |

kēī cēī?	with whom? (a response to: kēīrāū sā na
CNJ who	qāī gādē 'we (dual exclusive) will then
	holiday') The answer is the following:

| Tu | Rusi | Rātū R |
| (title) | R | |

One type of NP sentence, however, is complete in itself, since it contains reference to both topic and comment: the modified NP. Examples (from FMC 61) are:

| na | soli | cava? | which offering? |
| DEF | offering | what | |

| ōī, | vanua | batabatā | oh, a cold land |
| oh | land | cold | |

| mate | cava? | what kind of illness? |
| ill | What | |

| tamata | levu? | a big person? |
| person | big | |

Although these sentences appear to be examples of ellipsis, they are instead full sentences. As the section on attribution shows (32.3.1), each of these examples is related to a sentence containing two phrases:

| a | cava | na | soli? | what's the offering?[7] |

DEF what DEF offering

| e | batabatā | na | vanua | the land is cold |
| 3S | cold | DEF | land | |

| a | cava | na | mate? | what's the illness? |
| DEF | what | DEF | ill | |

| e | levu | na | tamata? | is the person big? |
| 3S | big | DEF | person | |

6.7 SUMMARY

If we return to the five sentences at the beginning of the
chapter, we can now classify them into sentence types and sub-
types.

1. raica mada   look
2. a cava na kā oqō?   what's this?
3. e dua na nīū oqō   it's a coconut
4. e nīū madū   it's a mature coconut
5. e levu na nīū e Viti   there are lots of coconuts in Fiji
6. e yaga sara na nīū   the coconut is very useful

The classification distinguishes between VP sentences and NP
sentences. The only example of the NP + NP sentence is (2). The
rest all consist of VPs (some with optional NPs). (1) is active, for
the referent of the subject (understood to be 'you') is acting. (3)
and (4) are identifying. Note that the head of the construction
is a NP serving as a verb. (5) is existential. Here, levu does not
describe; it merely indicates the existence of a large quantity. In
(6), however, the verb does describe; thus the classification of
sentence is stative.

6.8 DISCUSSION

6.8.1 Existential and identifying VPs. Although Hazlewood was
unusually successful in discarding his own European-based
grammatical expectations, he was occasionally hampered by
his Mission's notion of the function of the grammar: to aid in

learning Fijian and translating the Bible. It was probably these factors that led him to lament the absence of a direct translation of English "to be" (1872:45):

> There is no verb to be in Feejeean, which appears a strange defect to a learner, who is perpetually needing in this respect what he can never find. This defect will be felt till he gets a good knowledge of the language.

Hazlewood's major difficulty seems to be an underlying idea that the various functions of English "to be" could (or should) be handled by one verb in Fijian. But note the following distinct functions of "to be":

Existential, as in:	there is some
Linking subject with predicate adjective, as in:	it is good
Linking subject with predicate noun, as in:	this is the house

In spite of the diversity of these functions, grammarians seemed determined to find one Fijian form that could translate all of them. Nearly a century after Hazlewood, one primer writer (Goepel 1938:4) sought the advice of Ratu (later Sir Lala) Sukuna, who wrote:

> There is no verb "to be" in the Fijian language. Its nearest equivalent, as a finite verb in the sense of existence, is the verb tiko which means primarily 'to stay'. In addition the verb tu (to stand) and toka (to squat) are used in the third person, but with an added meaning expressive of quantity;[8] in the first and second persons they retain their primary sense.
>
> To form the present tense these verbs core conjugated with sa; in the past with sa, and oti following the verb; in the future with sa na.

Present

Au sa tiko, I am, or I will stay, according to the context. Ko sa tiko, You are, &c. Sa tiko ko koya, he is, &c.

Past

Au sa tiko oti, I was.

[etc.]

If we return to the three functions listed earlier, we find that Fijian has three separate means of expressing them:

1. The existential, as the main thrust of Sukuna's statement indicates, is expressed by words like tiko and tū.

2. The "predicate adjective" construction is represented by the construction SUBJECT + STATIVE VERB. See 8.2.

3. The "predicate noun" construction is expressed by the identifying VP: SUBJECT + NOUN (used as a verb).

It is difficult to find in earlier grammars any treatment of this last construction. Milner (1972:13) came closest with his discussion of e vs. sā:

These two particles fulfill many of the functions of the auxiliary "to be" in English:

e totolo	it is fast
sā bogi	it is night
sā moce	he (she) is asleep

Arms (1978:1269) mentioned an "identificational" restricted it to "all the pronouns and all proper nouns".

However, it is a construction of high frequency, examples are from the first nine pages of Na Viti 1:

e siga ni lotu	it is a day of worship
e bogi ni lotu	it is a night of worship
e siga ni vuli	it is a day for schooling
e qase ko tamaqu	father is older, (literally, father is an old person)
e gone ko koya	he is younger, (literally, he is a child)
e taci i tamaqu	he is Father's younger brother
e tamaqu lāīlāī	he's my uncle

Markers of tense, aspect, etc. can occur in identifying VPs. Examples are:

ni	sā	caka oti	na	sevu,	sā	na	qāī	ke-na	gauna	me ra	sā
SUB	ASP	made ASP	DEF	offer	ASP	FT	SEQ	POS-3S	time	SUB 3P	ASP

vili	ivi	na		lewe-ni-vauna
gather	ivi	DEF		inhabitants

after the offering is over, then it's time for the people to go ivi
  gathering (NV4:15)

Here, the VP includes the markers sā (aspect), na (future), and qāī (sequential).

6.8.2 Subjects and predicates? The present analysis of the Fijian sentence differs markedly from previous ones by treating as subjects the so-called pronominal elements that precede the verb. To understand the reason for doing so, we must examine the subject-predicate relationship in general.[9]

The practice of dividing sentences into two major parts goes back to the origins of grammatical analysis. Plato, "concerned with the structure of sentences as the vehicles of logical argument" (Robins 1966:6), proposed two principal constituents of the sentence: ónoma and rhêma, roughly topic and comment, actor and action, or NP and VP.

The function of these two elements is to name something and then say something about it. For English, the two major divisions were eventually called the subject and the predicate (Latin praedicāre 'to declare publicly; assert', ultimately from dīcere 'to say, make known'). The following quotation exemplifies the basic approach to sentences used by grammarians for centuries:

"Women applauded." The word women names something, and applauded tells something about the women. Words used as women is employed in this sentence are called subjects. Words used as applauded is employed are called verbs. The subject is the basic naming element in the sentence. The verb is the basic part of the element, called the predicate, that says something about the subject (Hook and Mathews 1956:79).

But does such a relationship apply to all languages? Even the order of the elements as named—subject followed by predicate—reflects a largely Indo-European point of view. It seems to be felt to be somehow more "logical". Note the implicit "logical" order in the quotation above: the speaker introduces a topic, and then makes a comment about it.

The ordering of major elements in a sentence is thought to be so important that it is often used as a major criterion for classifying languages. Thus, grammarians contrast SVO (subject-verb-object) languages with VOS languages. Looking at Fijian with this kind of classification in mind, they usually note that order is opposite that of English, for they invariably interpret specifying NPs as subjects. The following section shows how a similar interpretation has carried through the lineage of Fijian grammarians.

Following the fashion of their era, Fiji's first grammarians discussed not the subject, but the NOMINATIVE. Hale (1846:382) observed that "the nominative, if it be a pronoun preceded by ko or koi, usually follows the verb; other pronouns commonly precede. If the nominative be a noun, it generally follows the verb …" Note that Hale used three adverbial escape words in his description: usually, commonly, and generally.

Hale did not recognize what eventually came to be the major problem in defining the subject: the fact that one sentence often contains two entities that might qualify as subject(s). The following can serve as a simple example:

erāū	sā	dabe	na	gone	the two children were sitting
3D	ASP	Sit	DEF	child	

In this sentence, both erau 'they (dual)' and na gone 'the child/children' could fit the traditional definition of subject. This review of the grammatical treatment of "subject" in Fijian focuses on this problem.

Curiously, Hale avoided analyzing such sentences, but came close to the topic when he treated the following sentences:

o	yāū,	āū	sā	lako		as for me, I go
PRP	1S	1S	ASP	go		

āū	sā	lako	o	yāū		as for me, I go
1S	ASP	go	PRP	1S		

The first example, he said, was a NOMINATIVE ABSOLUTE, and the second, a REFLEXIVE. His translation of the second underscored his analysis: "I go myself".

Hazlewood, however, did confront the problem, and he did so by treating the relationship between the two entities as one of several types of CONCORD (1872:56).

Like his predecessors, Churchward did not treat syntax at length. It is difficult to form a clear idea of his notion of "subject". But he seems to have interpreted the noun phrase at the end of the sentence as the clearest example of a subject, for he noted (1941:14) that "the predicate usually precedes the subject". All his examples, however, are in the third person. In such sentences as

āū   lako   I'm going
1S   go

the subject was considered to have shifted to precede the predicate. For nonsingular third person markers, one gets the impression (p. 15) that their main function is to signal the number of the noun phrase subject:

> ... the use of a pronoun ... in apposition or concurrence with the noun, often serves to show whether one, two, a few, or many, are referred to ... E.g., erau sā tiko na gone 'the two children are present' —where erau ... meaning 'they-two', shows that gone refers to two children.

When we examine Milner's treatment, we find that he interpreted the sentence to consist of three main parts:

1. Particle	2. Predicate	3. Subject
sā	moce	na gone
e	lekaleka	na lawa

It is difficult, however, to find in his description a consistent use of the term "subject". The problem, again, is the one mentioned earlier: that two very different entities appear to function as subject: the "pronominal" element preceding the verb, and the noun phrase that refers to the same semantic referent. Milner stated (1972:18) that "the pronoun only 'signals' the number and person and the subject may not come until the end of the sentence". Thus, one assumes that the noun phrase alone is the

subject. But later (p. 53), he listed "the first person verbal pronouns … in the form used when they occur before the base, that is to say as the subject of a sentence". On the next page, these "verbal pronouns" are renamed subjective verbal pronouns or simply subjective pronouns.

Cammack's description of subject (1962:80) began by presenting a number of types of subjects, but did not specify which are obligatory and which are optional. But further on (p. 81), he introduced two useful notions: apposition (a term used by Churchward) and split subjects:

> If the phrases in apposition are divided between preposed and postposed subject position, we speak of a split subject. The preposed part is ordinarily a cardinal pronoun and may serve to specify the number not indicated by the postposed part.

Here, then, like several of his predecessors, Cammack seemed to consider that one of the main functions of the person-number marker preceding the verb is to serve as an indicator of number—a task shirked by the noun phrase.

6.8.3 A reanalysis of subject. The present solution hinges first on the interpretation of e as third person singular. The origin of such an interpretation is unclear, but Hocart (1917–18:889–90) reported the following native-speaker reaction. In the sentence

 e vinaka na kawai   the yam is good

the speaker responded that "e merely stands for kawai", which Hocart footnoted "He has been taught to look upon e as a pronoun." However, this analysis was not widely known, and it remained for Arms (1974:34–36) and Pawley (e.g. 1973e:118) to propose the idea independently, thus removing the "irregularity" earlier grammarians noticed in the lack of a third person singular "subject pronoun" before the verb. If we use this analysis, we can see that all VPs begin with a person-number marker, allowing for the deletion of e in many instances, and e or o in most imperatives.

The next stage in the analysis concerns the frequency of sentences with and without a noun phrase "subject". It is possible that we have received our impression of a "normal" Fijian sentence from the type of linguistic questioning that was common

until fairly recently. Just as some phonological misinterpretations have resulted from eliciting words in isolation, so have similar problems grown out of eliciting patterns of short sentences. And as each "word" was actually a complete phrase with respect to intonation, so was each isolated sentence (in a sense) a discourse in itself. As an example, note the following sentences (adapted from FR1):

e	dabe	tiko	o	Jone		J is sitting
3S	sit	CNT	PRP	J		

e	tū	cake	tū	o	Mere	M is standing up
3S	stand	DIR	CNT	PRP	M	

sā	lako	tiko	i	vale	o	Jone	J is going home
ASP	go	CNT	ABL	house	PRP	J	

sā	lako	tiko	i	vale	o	Mere	M is going home
ASP	go	CNT	ABL	house	PRP	M	

and the following language-learning exercises (adapted from Moore 1906b:12)

sā	vinaka		vatu-ni-volavola	my writing slate is good
		no-qu		
ASP	good		slate	
		POS-1S		

sā	ra-musu	na	no-munī	i-sele	your knife is broken
ASP	STA-broken	DEF	POS-2P	knife	

sā	cā	na	me-dra	wāī	their water is bad
ASP	bad	DEF	POS-3P	water	

sā	lako	oti	na	tamata	the man has come already
ASP	go	ASP	DEF	person	

sā	lako	māī	na	gone	the child has come
ASP	go	DIR	DEF	child	

Granted, the purpose of the exercises was to fix particular patterns in the minds of the learners. But some scholars have used such texts not to learn the language, but to analyze the grammar. And the impressions they have formed have not been

accurate. Geraghty (1983a:391) found that in a body of transcribed tapes (Cammack 1961), only a minority of sentences followed the pattern above by including the noun phrases. Thus we see that the noun phrase is not an obligatory element of the sentence, but an optional element, added to give more information about the semantic referent when that information is necessary to the hearer.

Because the person-number marker is obligatory and the noun phrase optional, I have chosen to interpret the first element as the subject,[10] The function of the noun phrase is discussed in CH 23.

7 CLASSIFICATION OF MORPHEMES

Most part-of-speech classifications have the WORD as their foundation. For Fijian, however, the word is not a precise technical term, for it cannot be explicitly defined (see 36.6), still, the term has social significance, and since the illustrative examples should be easily understood, I will use most of the usual conventions of word division. Moreover, the terms connected with the concept, such as "word", "prefix", and "suffix" are convenient ways to refer to forms. The reader must remember, however, not to attach any formal significance to these terms.

Eliminating "word" from our technical vocabulary creates a void when we try to establish a part-of-speech system for Fijian. We fill that void by using a minimum unit of meaning: the morpheme, or—in some cases—word-like groups of morphemes, as the foundation for the classification.

7.1 ROOT VS. MARKER

Most criteria for classifying morphemes are functional. In this grammar, both function and form are used to classify morphemes into two main types: ROOT and MARKER (discussed briefly in 36.3.2).

A root:
1. consists of at least one MEASURE (i.e. accent unit).
2. is reduplicated more often than a marker.
3. usually has external reference to such entities as persons, actions, qualities, etc.
4. occurs as the head of each basic phrase.
5. belongs to an open class; that is, new forms, such as loanwords, can enter freely.
6. serves as the peak of the phonological phrase.

A marker:

1. can be less than a measure—that is, a short syllable (see CH 37 and 42).
2. is seldom reduplicated.[1]
3. usually shows relationships among roots, changes class membership of a root, or signals grammatical categories.
4. never occurs as the head of a phrase.
5. belongs to a relatively closed class. Markers form a more or less finite set, and new forms seem to develop slowly.[2]
6. is ambiguous in its function in the phonological phrase. Certain types of markers can serve as the peak of a phrase; others cannot.

Of these criteria, function is the most important. Roots function as heads of phrases; markers do not.

Let us examine some sentences (NV1:74), classifying the morphemes as either root (R) or marker (M).

```
e    dāū   cici tale  gā   + na    basikeli
3S   HAB   run  ITR   INT    DEF   bicycle
M    M(R)  R    M(R)  M      M     R
a bicycle also runs
```

In this sentence, the centers of the two grammatical phrases[3] (separated by +) are cici and basikeli. Both are roots and are always used as such. E satisfies all the conditions of a marker. Note particularly that it consists of a short syllable and is therefore accented according to its relationship to other syllables in the measure. Dāū consists of a long syllable, but functions as a marker.[4] Tale, as well, has a dual function: it can be used either as a root (as in e tale mai. 'he returned') or as a marker (as in the example sentence).[5] Gā and na are both used exclusively as markers.

```
e    rua   gā   +  na    yava-na
3S   two   INT     DEF   foot-3S
M    R     M    M   R         M
it has only two feet (i.e. wheels)
```

The new forms in this sentence are the two roots, rua and yava, and the marker -na.

```
āū  sega ni   dāū  vodo + e    na   motokā
1S  not  SUB  HAB  ride    ABL  DEP  car
M   R    M    M(R) R        M    M    R
```
I don't usually ride in an automobile

In this sentence, there are three roots: sega, vodo, and motokā. The new markers are ni, which introduces a subordinate phrase, and a different e, which marks an ablative phrase.

In summary, roots include such words as the following:

bā	fence	cā	bad
baba	side	vinaka	good
baca	worm	cabe	ascend
baka	banyan	cadra	rise
bale	fall	cagi	wind (noun)

Markers include such words as:

1. Person-number indicators used as subjects and objects:

āū	1st singular
kēīrāū	1st dual exclusive
kēītōū	1st paucal exclusive
kēīmami	1st plural exclusive

2. Articles

na	definite
o	proper

3. Ablative markers

e	at
māī	at, from, hither
i	toward

This short list provides only a sample. In addition, there are a number of other function morphemes—that is, any kind of form that is used (at least for the nonce) in a position other than head of a phrase. We now discuss these forms and some difficulties in classifying them.

7.1.1 The gray areas of morpheme classification. In the discussion of the first sample sentence above, we noted that the form tale could serve as either root or marker. There are a number of such morphemes and/or morpheme combinations:

tiko	stay[6]	wale	worthless
koto	lie	māī	come
tū	stand	koso	sever
vaka	resemble	vaka-rāū	ready
lāī/laki	go to	tekivū	begin
toka	squat	voli	go around

It might be more accurate, then, to view our two-part classification instead as a continuum, with most words belonging at either the root end or the marker end, but with a number of forms at various points closer to the middle. The following diagram illustrates such a continuum (adapted from Schütz 1975b: 112):

FIGURE 7:1[7]
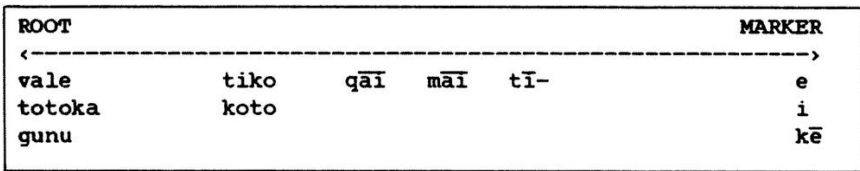
The forms at the extremes are "purely" root or marker: vale 'house', totoka 'beautiful', and gunu 'drink' can be used only as roots. E 'at', i 'to', and kē 'if' can be used only as markers. But (moving from left to right) tiko 'stay' and koto 'lie' are used not only as roots, but also as forms with more of a grammatical function than most roots have—in this case, to indicate progressive or continuative action. Qāī, used in Standard Fijian to show that a verb is one part of a sequence, occurs in other Fijian languages as a root, with the meaning 'go'. Māī 'hither', on the other hand, seems primarily a marker, but it can be used as an imperative (a contraction, perhaps, of lako māī) meaning 'Come!' Tī- rarely occurs as a root[8], but seems fused to certain morphemes, as in tītolo 'pith of certain trees' (also tīdolo) and tīdromu 'sink', to indicate vertical Movement or distance.

It has been suggested in a number of sources that markers develop from roots. Among others, Nguna (Schütz 1969a), with its "verbal prepositions" (Ray 1926:218–19), offers contemporary evidence for such a historical hypothesis. Thus, we might envision—for a few forms—a slow left-to-right drift in Figure 7:1.

7.2 DISCUSSION

7.2.1 Root vs. marker. The division of forms into roots and markers[9] closely follows Milner's innovative treatment (1956). With this classification, he formed a working definition of the phrase—one obligatory root with (mostly) optional markers clustering around it (see his tables, 1972:84, 94, and 116).

Because of the relative freedom of most roots to occur in both noun phrases and verb phrases,[10] Milner did not classify roots further.

In a review of Fijian Grammar, Biggs and Nayacakalou (1958:80–82) criticized that classification, which they considered too broad:

> The implication is that all bases can occur with both nominal and verbal particles. This is not the case for Fijian. While it is true that most Fijian bases can occur with either nominal or verbal particles, there is a large class which can occur only with nominal particles, e.g., ose (horse), kolii (dog), vale (house). The failure to differentiate such classes impairs the value of a grammar as a set of combinatorial rules for constructing acceptable utterances in the language.

Milner (personal communicaton) countered this argument with examples like these:

| kēū | ose | if I were a horse |
| SUB | horse | |

| kēū | kolī | if I were a dog |
| kēū | vale | if I were a house |

Each side of the argument seems to show the futility of the opposite position. This is why I have chosen a more subjective criterion for classification: how forms are usually used.

7.2.2 Noun vs. verb. The next step in classifying words is to examine roots to see if there is any pattern in their distribution. On the basis of general knowledge of other languages and linguistic theory, we look first for a division between verb phrase and noun phrase.[11] Such a division, it turns out, is a clear-cut one. All verb phrases that can serve as independent sentences begin with a marker that indicates person and number.[12] This marker, then, serves to identify verb phrases. Phrases without such a marker are, by default, classified as noun phrases.

However, although the larger element—the grammatical phrase—can be identified formally, its principal component—the head—is not so easily labeled. In Fijian, simple roots contain no formal clues as to functional class: for instance, verbs do not consistently end in a particular vowel, begin with a particular consonant, have a special number of syllables, or have an infinitive form (as Latin does). And although including some markers closely associated with certain bases, such as -va in gunu—va 'drink it', increases the chances that a form will be used in verb phrases, it may still be used in a construction like na no-na gunuva 'his drinking it', which is a noun phrase. And conversely, there are forms that do not take suffixes like -va, but still appear to be verbs.

Because of these difficulties, we end up with a definition that is circular but workable: a verb is a form that occurs most commonly as the head of a verb phrase. In the absence of extensive statistical information about the use of words, "most commonly" is sometimes difficult to determine. However, the following examples (from PR1:10) show that the matter is often straightforward (verb phrases are enclosed in square brackets; the verb appears in capitals):[13]

1	[sā DUA tani]		na	katakata		the heat is exceptional
	ASP one different		DEF	hot		

2	[e KATAKATA]		na	gone		the child is hot
	3S hot		DEF	child		

3	[e KATAKATA]	na	tina	ni	gone	the child's mother is hot
	3S hot	DEF	mother	POS	child	

4 [erāū sā LAKO]   ki   na   vūnikāū   na   tina   ni   gone   kēī

   3D ASP go   ABL DEF tree   DEF   mother   POS   child   CNJ

   na gone   the child's mother and the child go to the tree

   DEF child

5 [sā   KOTO]   e   na   ruku   ni   vūnikāū   na   ibe

   ASP lie   ABL DEF under POS tree   DEF mat

    a mat is lying under the tree

6 [e SEGA]   ni   katakata   e   na   ruku   ni   vūnikāū[14]

   3S not   SUB hot   ABL DEF under POS tree

    it isn't hot under the tree

7 [e na DABE]   e   na   ruku   ni   vūnikāū   na   tina   ni   gone

   3S FT sit   ABL DEF under POS tree   DEF mother POS child

   the child's mother will sit under the tree

8 [e na DAVO]   e   na   ruku   ni   vūnikāū   na   gone

   3S FT lie   ABL DEF under POS tree   DEF child

    the child will lie under the tree

The phrases themselves are defined in this way: the beginning is marked by a person-number morpheme that serves as subject, or by certain markers with which the third person singular subject is deleted. For our purposes here, the phrase ends when another phrase begins.

I chose this simple story, uncolloquial as it is, because all the words used as heads of phrases turn out to occur "most commonly" in such a position. Often, such is not the case. On the first page of another primer (NV1), we find:

e siga ni lotu   it is a day of worship
3S day POS worship

with siga 'day' fulfilling one of the requirements just stated for verbs: it occurs after the person-number marker. However, siga with this meaning (it can also mean 'to stop raining, to dry') seems to occur more often in noun phrases than in verb phrases.[15] Therefore, it is not classified as a verb, but as a form used as a verb.

So far, most of the verbs have been easily recognizable as the element within the phrase that carries "lexical meaning". Then too, the orthography has reinforced our impressions: particles indicating (for example) aspect and tense are written separately from the verb.

But as more function morphemes are added to flesh out such skeleton phrases, the task of classification grows more complex. Although the person-number particle is easily identified (from a closed list of fifteen forms), other function morphemes present a problem: should they be interpreted as affixes or as separate particles? As the earlier discussion shows, the decision has to be arbitrary. The solution adopted is a partially functional one.

First, those morphemes that change the ultimate classification of the verb (with respect to the relationship between actor and goal) are considered to be derivational affixes and are written here as part of the verb.[16] Examples are:

via-gunu	thirsty[17]
vaka-cici	make [something] run
vēī-wati-ni	[be] husband and wife
vēī-vaka-mate-i	destruction, killing

In contrast, those markers that show tense, aspect, discourse relationships, respect, etc., and which do not change the classification of the verb, are treated not as affixes, but as separate markers. Examples are:

ā	(past)
sā	(aspect
qāī	(sequential)
bāū	(tentative)
baci	(iteration)
mani	(sequential)
na	(definite)

Next, function morphemes that occur between such derivational affixes and the base, while not necessarily making derivational changes, are considered affixes. Examples are:

vaka-tā-kilā	reveal it
vaka-nā-daku[18]	turn the back

Finally, because of customary orthographic conventions, the transitive marker (-Ci or -Caki; the first C may be ø) and the third-person singular object a are written as suffixes:

rai-c-a[19]   see it

When C is ø, and the base ends in -a, the addition of the object a results in a long vowel, which is written ā rather than aa, and no visual separation is possible. Thus,

kila + Ø + a-→ kilā know it

In addition, the other morphemes (discussed earlier) that were once considered to "change the accent" are written as suffixes.

On the other hand, the objects other than third person singular, since they are all at least a measure in length, are written separately:

rai-ci ira	see them (plural)
rai-ci iko	see you (singular)
rai-ci kēīrāū	see us (dual exclusive)
rai-ci āū	see me

Following is a partial list of verbal markers written as affixes:

via-	(desiderative)
vēī-	(reciprocal)
vaka-	(causative, etc.)
ta-, etc.	(stative)
-tā-	pretend, play at, etc.
-Ci	(transitive marker)
-Caki	(transitive marker)
-a	(third-person singular object)
-(C)a	(stative suffix)
yā-	(counter)

8 VERB CLASSIFICATION I: EXISTENTIALS, ACTIVES, AND STATIVES

In the previous chapters, we discussed the classification of sentences and morphemes. In the present chapter and those that follow, we deal with verbs, describing such matters as verb classification and the relationship of affixation to derivation.

The major classification of a verb follows the classification of the VP in which it occurs—or can occur.[1] It, in turn, is based on the semantic relationship between the entity and the action/state that the subject and the verb refer to. To provide a test frame, we use the following pattern:

SUBJECT	VERB

with the subject represented by e 'he', 'she', or 'it'. We then ask a series of questions, based on the meaning of the verb in this frame:

> 1. Does the verb assert the existence of something, or the existence of certain quantity?
>
> 2. Does the verb represent an action?
>
> 3. Does the verb represent a state?

Thus, verb types are based on the types of VPs discussed in CH 6, with this exception: because the head of an identifying VP is a noun serving as a verb, it cannot be classified. This leaves three main types of verbs to be treated: existential, active, and stative.

8.1 EXISTENTIAL VERBS

Existential verbs indicate either that (1) an entity exists or doesn't exist, or (2) there is a particular number or quantity of that entity.

8.1.1 Tiko, tū. The most common verb in the first category is tiko, which in some contexts means 'stay, reside'. However, in its existential use it can be considered a separate lexical item, meaning that there exists or is available (at a particular time) an unspecified number or quantity of some entity. Thus, tiko has taken on a special meaning in this use. For example, one might ask a storekeeper:

Q: e	tiko	e	sō	na	raisi?	is there any
						rice?
3S	exist	3S	some	DEF	rice	

A: io,	e	tiko.	yes, there is
es	3S	exist	

An alternate answer to the question illustrates another very common member of this category; sega, a negative existential, meaning 'there is none';

A:	e sega (na raisi)[2]	there isn't any

Thus, according to TRN (2/82), tiko refers to entities that are moveable, not fixed in a place. Note that this meaning fits the meaning of "temporary continuance" that tiko has as a marker (22.11.1).

Other, less common members of this class are:

Tū. The non—existential meaning of this word is 'to be upright'. However, it is also used as an existential similar to tiko, but indicating more permanent existence, and hence, not confined to the situation at hand:

e tū	there's some (somewhere); there's a general quantity available

Some members of this class are more restricted in use. For example, dodo is used to assert the existence of something stretched out horizontally, such as a road or a rope. Tawa refers to the existence of the contents of a container:

 e tawa e na tavaya   there's some in the bottle

Taqa means 'to exist in layers'; tō, 'to be filled (with liquid)'. Others, such as koto and nō, seem derived from other dialects, and are now used in literary Fijian as synonyms of tiko.[3]

8.1.2 E + numeral. The construction e + numeral means 'there are (so many)'. In addition to numbers, the category "numeral" includes the following:

 sō   some   vica   few vuqa   many
 levu   many   lāīlāī few vica   how many?
 bini   plentiful

These numerals occur with a number of restrictions. For example, levu and lāīlāī mean 'many' and 'few' when used as existential verbs, but mean 'big' and 'small' when used as statives. They are also different from other numerals in that they do not occur as a modifier after a noun. Although a specific number (preceded by e) may modify a noun;

 na   vale   e   tolu   three houses
 DEF house 3S three

the general numeral may not (* indicates a form that is not permitted, or an underlying form):

 *na   vale   e   levu   a lot of houses

Fijian linguists do not accept the use of vuqa as a numeral meaning 'many', noting that its use in such contexts as

 sā   vuqa   na   tiki-na   e   na   vale   ne-i Tama-qu
 ASP many DEF part-3S ABL DEF house POS father-1S
 in my Father's house are many mansions (John 14:2)

is an example of missionary Fijian (TRN 7/81). In its undisputed use, it occurs after lewe, referring to numbers of people;

e lewe vuqa   there are many (people) (Milner 1972:36)

Other numerals are limited in certain constructions (PG). Standard Fijian does not use the following:

*e bini na vale   there are lots of houses
*e lāīlāī na vale   there are few houses

8.2 THE ACTIVE-STATIVE OPPOSITION

To classify a verb as active or stative, we examine it in the context described earlier—the basic verb phrase. We place it in the frame:

e	VERB

and we ask the following questions:

> 1. Does the subject represent the actor? If so, the verb is active (A).

> 2. Does the subject represent the goal—that is, something or someone being acted upon or described? If so, the verb is stative (S).

The following examples show the difference between these two categories:

STATIVE		ACTIVE	
e mate	it is dead	e cawī	it flew fast
e levu	it is big	e kedru	it snored
e totolo	it is fast	e kaka	he stuttered
e kāū	it is carried	e lāmawa	she yawned
e caka	it is done	e lako	she went
e bīū	it was left	e sili	she bathed
e dola	it is open	e qalo	he swam
e bulu	it was buried	e voce	he paddled

For each item in the left-hand column, we find that the referent of the subject is not acting, but is being described. Thus, these verbs are stative. In contrast, for those phrases in the right-hand column, the referent of the subject is acting. Thus, these verbs are active.

Almost any verb can be classified using this frame. In dictionary entries, roots are labeled according to this system. For example, mate 'dead' is classified as a stative. Also, any morphologically complex construction can be classified according to how it is used in the frame. Thus, although mate is a stative, vaka-mate-a 'kill it' is identified as an active, because in

e vaka-mate-a	he killed it

the subject e represents the actor.

8.2.1 A functional criterion. So far, the criterion for classification has been semantic. It is also possible to propose a functional criterion for identifying statives. Although all verbs occur in the frame above, generally only statives occur in the following frame:[4]

<div align="center">NOUN   +   STATIVE</div>

The nature of this construction is attributive; that is, HEAD ATTRIBUTE. Examples are:

kalavo mate	dead rat	manumanu yaga	useful animal
kā levu	big thing	gauna makawa	olden times
waqa totolo	fast canoe	idini lāīlāī	small engine
draki cā	bad weather		

In general, active verbs do not fit into this frame, unless through idiomatic usage (as in manumanu vuka 'bird [literally, flying animal]').[5] Thus we do not usually find such constructions as the following:

*tamata gādē	strolling person

| *yalewa lāmawa | yawning woman |
| *gone qalo | swimming child |

A functional characteristic of active verbs not shared by stative verbs is their occurrence as imperatives.[6] Note the following:

m-o lako!	go!
m-o cici!	run!
m-o vosa!	speak!

8.3 PROBLEMS WITH THE CLASSIFICATION

As with most systems of classification, the one just proposed does not explain all the data as neatly as we might wish. There are two hazy areas, each connected with the active-stative distinction.

1. Some verbs do not occur in the test frame e [ ]. Kila 'know' is such a verb. E kilā 'she knows it' is common; *e kila does not occur. Therefore, how can we know whether the base kila is active or stative?

Kila does occur in other constructions, however; for example, kila kā 'intelligent (literally, knowing things)'. But this use alone does not solve the problem, for both active and stative verbs enter into such a construction:

| caka kākana | food preparation |
| (caka is stative) | |

| gunu wāī | water drinking |
| (gunu is active) | |

No doubt, semantics plays an important role here. Just as some verbs occur more often with only one referent expressed (e.g., lako occurs with the actor expressed more often than with the goal expressed), so others—perhaps because of their meanings—more often express both actor and goal. For example, it might be unusual to speak of 'knowing' in a general sense, without a goal expressed; 'eat.ng', on the other hand, is often discussed as a general activity, without reference to a goal.

Thus, the behavior of some bases requires us to classify them not on the basis of the active-stative opposition, but rather only to the number of referents implicit in their meaning. But this matter affects the dictionary more than the grammar.

Sometimes the presence of other forms provides a clue to how the base might be classified, even if it doesn't occur in the frame e [   ]. Following a suggestion by Arms (1974), we start with a root we cam classify: for example, caka 'done, made'. We know that if the transitive marker and an object are added, e will switch to express not the goal, but the actor. But suppose we want to give the idea that the actor is engaged in an activity, while keeping the goal implicit. The phrase e caka-vi will not suffice, for e still represents the goal. There is no choice but to change the root morpheme in a way that lies outside the grammatical area of transitivity, but in such a way that keeps its morphological identity. Reduplication is such a change.

If a root does not occur in the frame e [   ], but the rest of its behavior matches that of caka, we could guess that it might be classified as a two-referent stative (see the next chapter), as is caka. Take wā 'wait', for example. *e wā does not occur. But Table 8:1 shows how its various derivatives compare with those of caka (A2 = two-referent active; S2 = two-referent stative). Based on its similarity to caka, we might suggest that wā be classified as an S2. The Fijian Dictionary Project has taken a more cautious approach and has classified such forms simply as two-referent verbs, omitting the active-stative distinction.

TABLE 8:1

wā	caka	classification
	e caka	S2
wā-raka	caka-va	A2, goal signaled and expressed
e wāwā	e cakacaka	A2, goal implicit

2. For some bases, even when they do occur in the frame e [   ], it is difficult to decide whether the subject is the actor or the goal. Consider vuce 'swell, swollen':

```
sā     vuce  tū    na    vacu-mu      i-matāū
ASP    swell CNT   DEF   eyebrow-2S   right
```
your right eyebrow is/has swollen (FR3:40)

In this sentence, part of the meaning reflected in the English translation by the participial form of the verb is due to the presence of the aspect markers sā and tū (see Schütz and Nawadra 1972:102). So the question remains: is the subject acting or being described? If the verb is active, it is an A1, since there is no way to express a goal. If it is stative, it is S1, since there is no way to express an actor.

Other examples are moce 'sleep, asleep', yadra 'wake, awake', mate 'die, dead'. In e moce, e yadra, or e mate, does the subject e represent the actor or the goal? Or, in the following example is the subject acting or in a state?

e bue na wāī   the water boils

The solution to this problem lies in function, rather than semantics. We mentioned earlier a functional criterion for identifying a stative: occurrence as attribute after a noun. That is the test we apply here. The three verbs turn out to be stative, as illustrated by the following phrases:

na mata vuce   swollen eye
na lago mate   dead fly
na wāī bue   boiling water

A root showing similar ambiguity is lasu 'false, tell a lie'. But lasu differs from the verbs just discussed in that when it is active, the subject represents a human actor:

e lasu   she is lying

With the stative meaning, however, the goal that the subject represents is nonhuman and inanimate:

e lasu   it is false

As with some other verbs, one might divide lasu into two separate roots: one active, and one stative.

PG (81) pointed out a small class of verbs that strain the classification. Examples are mātāī 'skilled', vōraki 'reluctant', and māqusa 'excited'. In the frame e [ ], each behaves as a stative. But unlike stative verbs, two NPs can follow the VP:

e	mātāī	sara	o	koya	na	qoli	he's skilled at fishing
3S	Skilled	INT	PRP	3S	DEF	fish	

e	vōraki	o	koya	na	laga	sere	he's reluctant to sing
3S	reluctant	PRP	3S	DEF	sing	song	

sā	māqusa...	na	vaka-rāū	i-voli		it was excited about
ASP	excited	DEF	prepare	selling		preparing goods (NV4:12)

In each of these examples, the question of classification arises because of the doubtful function of the last noun phrase. Clearly, the e in each refers to the goal; 'he' is being described. One would expect, then, that the last phrase would be "prepositional": e.g. e na qoli 'at fishing'. On the other hand, if we consider that mātāī means 'skilled at', it should be capable of occurring with the markings of transitivity, such as a transitive suffix and an object.

Historically, it seems that the former possibility was correct. PG noted (7/82) that when the last NP is fronted, the contraction ki-na is added to the VP. Ki-na normally substitutes for a fronted ablative phrase under those conditions:

na	qoli,	e	mātāī	ki-na		as for fishing, he's skilled at it
DEF	fish	3S	skilled	ABL-3S		

Thus, it is likely that the underlying sentence is:

*e	mātāī	e	na	qoli
3S	skilled	ABL	DEF	fish

The following is a somewhat different situation:

e	gū	na	vuli	he's keen on studying
3S	eager	DEF	learn	

One might have expected sentences with gū to match those with rawa able' or sega 'not'—that is, to introduce the second verb with a subordinate marker. But the following sentences, each with an appropriate subordinate marker, are unacceptable:

| *e | gū | ni | vuli | he's eager to study |
| 3S | eager | SUB | learn | |

*e	gū	me-u	lako	he's eager for me to go (PG)
3S	eager		go	
		SUB-1S		

8.4 SUMMARY

In spite of examples that strain the classification somewhat, most verbs (both morphologically simple and complex) can be classified according to the criteria discussed above. Of the three classes discussed, the existential class is relatively static, for its members do not enter into derivation. The important classes are active and stative, which figure prominently in the changes wrought by affixation.

9 VERB CLASSIFICATION II: ONE- AND TWO-REFERENT VERBS

In our first test for active vs. stative, we asked if the subject represented the actor or goal. So that we can refer to these entities in a general way, we use the term REFERENTS. Throughout this discussion it is important to keep these semantic entities distinct from grammatical entities like subject and object. The following example may help to show the difference.

e	regu-ci	rāū	ruarua	he kissed them both (FR3:48)
3S	kiss-TR	3D	INC	

The actor in the event that the story relates is Peni,[1] a fact that has been established in the preceding context. The goal is his two children, Rejieli and Apisai, also identified in the context. Thus, the terms "actor" and "goal" are specified in terms of the event itself.

"Subject" and "object", on the other hand, are elements in the sentence: e is the subject; rāū is the object. We say that in this construction, the subject e represents the actor, the object rāū represents the goal.

"Referent", then, is a general term that includes both actor and goal. When we classify verbs, we will treat only these two referents that enter into the meaning of the verb. That is, actor and goal can be manifested in the basic VP only by the subject and the object.

Since this classification is semantic, the actor and goal are not necessarily referred to explicitly in the verb phrase. The basis of the classification, then, is IMPLICIT reference to either actor or goal, or both. "Implicit" in this sense means expressable, but not necessarily expressed grammatically. Thus we are using "implicit" as a technical term. As an example of the difference between these two levels, note the following:

e	kaba	tiko	he's climbing
3S	climb	CNT	

In this sentence, only one referent is expressed grammatically: e 'he', which refers to the actor. However, kaba is the type of verb that contains an implicit goal, for in semantic terms, one has to climb something. This goal may remain implicit, as in the sentence above, or it may be expressed by a grammatical marker, as in:

e	kaba-t-a	he climbed it
3S	climb-TR-3S	

Thus, kaba 'climb' is a two-referent verb. With respect to voice, the subject refers to the actor, so it is also an active verb. Its complete label, then, is A2.

On the other hand, verbs like cawī 'fly fast' operate differently. In the frame,

e	cawī	it flew fast
3S	fly-fast	

the subject represents the actor. But there is no goal implicit in the meaning of the verb.[2] A goal cannot be expressed in a sentence with cawī as an object or a subject, but only as the object of a "prepositional" phrase. Therefore, cawī is classified as a one-referent active (Al).

9.1 ONE-REFERENT VERBS

When only one referent is expressed (indicated grammatically), it is always expressed as the subject (not the object). The subject of a one-referent verb can represent either the actor or the goal. When it represents the former, it is classified as one-referent active (Al); when it represents the latter, it is classified as one-referent stative (Sl).

9.1.1 Al verbs. In the sentence

e gādē[3]	she strolled

e, the subject, represents the actor. There is no goal, either implicit or formally expressed. In fact, it is not possible to express a goal formally:[4] one does not gādē to a place or for a purpose. In this respect, it differs from the common verb lako 'go', which does imply a goal.

Examples of other verbs of motion in the Al category are:

caqu	hasten
ceba	swerve
cōlovu	fall headfirst
vāniqa	go about stealthily
drī	rebound
kutuāvenuvenu	wriggle about
bolesēū	leap up
qera	fall heavily

For the verbs of motion above, it is the manner, rather than the goal, that seems important. For the set of verbs of motion describing natural phenomena, a goal is either obvious or nonexistent:

e bisa	it (rain) fell
e cadra	it (sun, moon) rose
e dromu	it (sun, moon) set[5]

Another set of Al verbs refers to actions confined to a particular body part:

bobo (perhaps both A and S)[6]	close eyes, have eyes closed
lāmawa	yawn
māuē	be noisy

Still another set refers to nonverbal noises the actor makes. Thus, there is no goal implicit in their meanings. Examples are:

e kedru	he snorted
e vutugū	he groaned
e cawedru	he emitted death rattle
e cabolo	it exploded with loud noise
e samila	he lisped
e tavidi	it made a slight noise
e kaka	she stuttered
e vadugu	it (reef+) rumbled

e tata	he stammered
e cevu	it exploded

But not all verbs with similar meanings are A1. Note the following A2 verbs:

e kodro-v-a	it barked-at her
e dredre-vak-a	he laughed-at it
e ci-t-a	she farted-at it
e tagi-c-a	she cried-for it
e yaso-v-a	it howled-over it
e qōlōū-vak-a	she shouted-about it
e kudru-v-a	it growled-at him

We have given only a sampling of Al verbs. fit into sets are: Some others that do not fit into sets are:

e būrāū	he prepared (kava) without proper means[7]
e cū	he turned-buttocks (as insult)
e dalagā	she opened-mouth
e tatalāī	she warmed-before-fire

Most of the forms we have just dealt with have been either simple roots (such as caqu) or dubious compounds (such as bole-sēū or ceguoca).

   In a later chapter, we will see that some grammarians have treated A1 verbs as rarities or exceptions. Such a treatment is based on insufficient data: a more careful study of the lexicon—particularly of certain derivatives (see CH 18)—shows that examples abound.

9.1.2 S1 verbs. For verbs in the S1 class, the subject expresses the goal[8] or that which is being described. Although traditionally called adjectives, these forms have more recently been classified as statives—a subclass of verbs, since their use in many constructions is parallel to that of active verbs. In the present treatment, their further subclassification into S1 verbs points out the special nature of the state indicated—that it is without actor or cause; that it is viewed as having come into being of its own accord.

The verbs in the following examples are classified as S1 because the subject expresses the goal rather than the actor (as in the previous section):

e maleka	it's pleasant
e levu	it's large
e balavu	it's long
it's red	e liliwa
it's cold	

9.2 TWO-REFERENT VERBS

When two referents—both actor and goal—are implicit in the meaning of the verb, we refer to the grammatical manifestation of the relationship between the two as TRANSITIVITY. In the etymological sense of the term, the verb acts as a connection between the actor and the goal.

9.2.1 A2 verbs. Verbs in this class express the actor as the subject, and the goal as the object. Note the following phrases:

 e rāī   she sees

In this phrase, one referent—the actor—is both implicit in the meaning and expressed grammatically by the subject e. Another referent—the goal—is also implicit in the meaning. And although it is not always necessary or desirable to be explicit about the goal, it still exists in the meaning of the verb. In other words, verbs of this type have the notion of actor and goal built into them.

 e rai-c-a   she sees it

In this phrase, the actor is again both implicit and expressed by the subject e (as in the previous phrase). But the phrase differs from the preceding one in that here the goal is not only implicit, but is also indicated formally in two ways:

    1. It is signaled by the suffix -ci (contracted here to -c-).

2. It is expressed grammatically by the object -a 'it'.

Earlier, we noted that the verb gādē 'stroll' was classified as A1 because no goal was implicit, and that it contrasted with lako 'go'. The following phrase shows lako with the goal expressed:

e lako-v-a   he went-for/went-on it[9]

A more detailed discussion of this class appears in CH 12–14, in Which we examine transitive markers and derivation more thoroughly.

9.2.2 S2 verbs. There is a large class of verbs that in most constructions appear to belong to the A2 verb class just described. Moreover, most of them are defined in the Fijian-English dictionary in such a way that we would not question that classification. For example, note the following excerpts from the dictionary entry for bulu (Capell 1941a):

to cover with earth, to bury ... Trans [itive] bulu-ta

With only this information to go on, we would be likely to say that bulu belongs with such verbs as rāī 'see' and lako 'go'. However, for this particular word, a clue to its actual classification lies in two phrases, further on in the entry:

Sā bulu vakavudi, he is buried like a banana

Sā bulu ko kā?, is so-and-so buried?

If bulu meant 'to bury', then these two phrases should be translated as:

*'he buried (someone) like a banana'

*'did so-and-so bury (someone)?'

Actually, it turns out that bulu, without affixes or other roots joined, is stative. A paradigm with subjects would be translated as follows:

āū bulu[10]   I am buried
o bulu   you are buried
e bulu   she is buried
(and so on)

In each of these phrases, the subject expresses not the actor, but the goal—which is the definition of stative. However, verbs like bulu differ from verbs like vinaka 'good' in that for the former, the state has been caused by something or someone. Thus, a second referent—the actor—is implicit in the meaning.

So long as an S2 verbs stays in its simple form, only the goal, and not the actor, can be expressed. In two other common constructions, however, the actor is here expressed by the subject, in the first type, the goal is expressed by the object:

1. e bulu-t-a   he buried it
    e vavi-a   she baked it
    e basu-k-a   she broke it open

In the second type, no markings of transitivity are present, and a noun that refers to the goal now functions as a modifier:

2. e caka were   he made garden
    e kāū yalewa   he courted (literally, 'woman carried')
    e tali magimagi   she was sennit-plaiting
    e canu kāīkoso   she was collecting shellfish
    me qiso lovo   to level hot stones in oven
    e basu tubu   he was breaking off new growth
    e loba sucu   she was milking
    e tā dovu   he was cane-cutting
    e qaqi suka   it crushes cane
    e tā sala   he was road-building

One reason so many of these verbs are mislabeled in the Fijian-English dictionary (other than a tendency for the lexicographer to analyze the English translation rather than the Fijian form) is this: in the constructions above, these verbs pattern just like A2 verbs. That is, the following constructions are parallel:

āū rai-c-a (rāī is A2)   I saw it
āū bulu-t-a (bulu is S2)   I buried it

e gunu bia (gunu is A2)   he was beer-drinking

e tā sala (tā is S2)   he was cutting road

This falling together of the two types explains the convergence at the bottom of Figure 9:1.

FIGURE 9:1

```
Verbs are classified according to. . . . . . VOICE



The two types of voice are. . . . . .ACTIVE. . . . . STATIVE



Each of these is divided into. . 1-REF-   2-REF-   2-REF-   1-REF-
                                ERENT    ERENT    ERENT    ERENT
                                (A1)     (A2)     (S2)     (S1)



In most constructions, S2 verbs
combine with A2 verbs. . . . . . . . . . . . .2-REFERENT
                                             (A2)
```
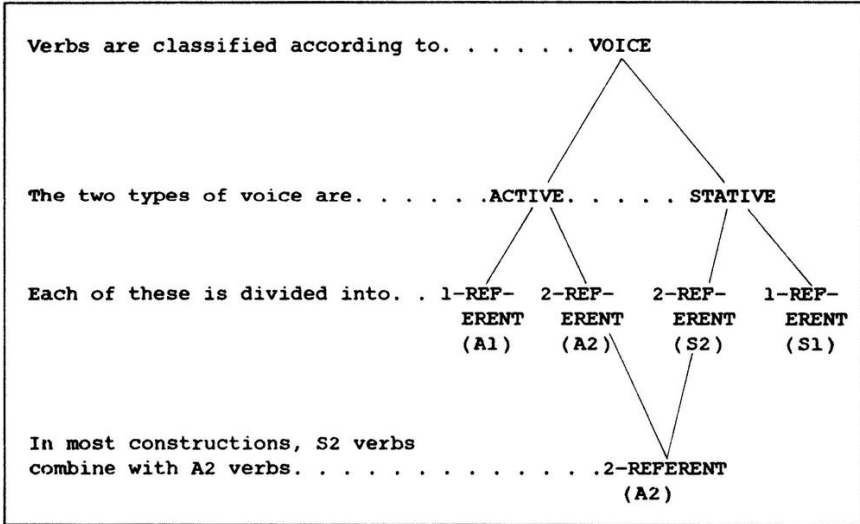
9.3 SUMMARY

The four potential verb types are illustrated by Figure 9:2.

FIGURE 9:2

ONE-REFERENT ACTIVE	ONE-REFERENT STATIVE
TWO-REFERENT ACTIVE	TWO-REFERENT STATIVE

The relationships among these four types and verbs in general are shown in Figure 9:1.

10 VERB CLASSIFICATION III: SEMANTICS

In the two previous dimensions of classification, the term "semantics" referred primarily to the grammatical manifestations of various relationships among actor, action/state, and goal. Even so, we noted some tendencies toward semantic unity within certain classes. For example, A1 verbs were shown to include (a) verbs referring to motion, with an emphasis on manner rather than destination; (b) verbs referring to natural phenomena; (c) verbs referring to certain sounds. S1 verbs might be characterized as referring to the qualities that an entity has.

In this chapter, we classify verbs in terms of their internal semantic components, rather than external (referent) components, focusing on some distinct types of verbs in the large two-referent class. For the most part, the classification is not based on meaning alone, but a combination of meaning and behavior.

The following list of subclasses is not exhaustive; the whole set of verbs (from the files of the Fijian Dictionary Project) has not yet been studied comprehensively.

10.1 VERBS REFERRING TO MOTION

Verbs that involve motion constitute a large subclass. The special behavior of these verb. is that they can often indicate two different kinds of goals, but only one at a time. These goals are often the destination and an accompanying entity. Examples are:

lako-v-a	go-for it	lako-vak-a	go-with it
soko-t-a	sail-to it	soko-tak-a	sail it (boat+)
voce-r-a	row-to it	voce-tak-a	row it (boat+)

A longer list of such verbs, along with a more detailed description (from the point of view of the suffixes), appears in 12.3.2).

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10.2 VERBS REFERRING TO EMISSION OR PROJECTION

With verbs referring to emission or projection, the actor causes something to move to a destination. These verbs, too, allow two different kinds of goals to be expressed: the projectile, and the target. Examples are:

kaci-v-a	call her	kaci-vak-a	call it (call+)
talā	send her	tala-vak-a	send it (message+)

This class of verbs is discussed more fully in 12.3.2.

10.3 VERBS REFERRING TO PROCESSES

This semantic classification picks out primarily the S2 verbs. In looking at S2 verbs from this point of view, we examine the nature of the state referred to. Following Chafe (1970:99–101), Foley (1976:159–61) labeled verbs in the S2 category PROCESS VERBS.[1] For such verbs, the state of the goal (expressed by the subject with the simplest form of the verb) is changed, often irreversibly, by the process indicated by the verb. Note that the feature of change applies to most of the following examples, as does the feature of irreversibility.

e bali	it was kneaded	e bili	it was divided
e bani	it was trampled	e bini	it was piled
e basu	it was broken	e biri	it was set open
e belu	it was bent	e bīū	it was left
e bena	it was dyed (hair)	e bola	it was cloven
e beti	it was plucked	e bono	it was blocked

Note also the contrast with A2 verbs, which usually do not change the goal by means of the action. For example, verbs of motion, such as:

e cabe-t-a	he ascended it
e cabe-tak-a	he ascended-with it
e cici-v-a	he ran-for it
e cici-vak-a	he ran-with it

Here, the goals are unchanged or largely unaffected by what has happened to them except for a change in location.

10.4 VERBS REFERRING TO STATES OF MIND

Another subset of S2 verbs consists of verbs that indicate a state of mind, or an emotion. In the usual frame, they are indistinguishable from S1 verbs:

S1:	e levu	she's big
	e lila	she's thin
S2:	e cudru	he's angry
	e mārāū	he's happy

The S2 verbs differ, however, in that they can indicate, through the formal markings of transitivity, the cause of the state—that is, the actor:

e lasa-v-a na cocoka	he enjoys spearing
āū cudru-vak-a no-qu	I'm angry because of my dog
kolī	(someone harmed it)
āū cudru-v-a	I'm angry at it
āū mārāū-tak-a na	I'm happy about my new shirt[2]
no-qu sote vōū	

Although translation-analysis might tempt one to analyze these verbs as active, with subject and object representing actor and goal, the semantics of the situation lead to this interpretation instead: the grammatical object refers to the cause of the state of mind or emotion. In that sense, the construction can be considered a transformation of a causative construction.[3] For example:

e vaka-lasā na soqo	it amuses the crowd
e vaka-cudru-i āū	she makes me angry
e vaka-mārāū-taki āū na no-qu	my buying a new shirt
voli-a na sote vōū	makes me happy
e vaka-rere-i koya na tūraga	the chief frightens him

Other verbs that fit into this class are:

oca	tired	nini	angry	ririko	anxious
kidacala	startled	reki	joyful	māduā	ashamed
kidroā	alarmed	garo	lustful	oga	busy
taqayā	worried	nuiqawaqawa	anxious	gū	earnest
kurabui	surprised				

Another difference between this set and S1 verbs is the way in which they are possessed. Since S1 verbs refer to qualities without an agent (actor), we can consider these qualities innate. Thus, possession of these qualities sets up a relationship that the possessor does not control: he neither initiates nor terminates it. Such a relationship is marked by a kē- possessive:

na ke-na lila[4]	its thinness
na ke-na tītobu	its depth

The verbs in the state-of-mind class, however, are possessed with nō- possessives, perhaps reflecting the ephemeral nature of emotions or states of mind (confined to human possession):

na no-na lasa[5]	his delight
na no-na cudru	her anger
na no-na mārāū	her happiness

This construction is similar in both semantics and form to the reason construction (discussed in 12.3.1):

e vosa-tak-a na loma-na   he spoke (it) because of his feelings[6]

In this sentence, one might interpret the function of na loma-na 'his feelings' as cause: 'his feelings caused him to speak'. Compare this interpretation with the analysis above: in both, the object represents the cause of the state.

10.5 VERBS REFERRING TO JUDGMENT

Another class of S2 verbs refers to states that are not thought to be absolute, but exist only as the result of someone's judgment. Consider, for example, the stative yaga 'useful'. Can something be intrinsically useful? Or is usefulness always a matter of judgment? The behavior of verbs in this class suggests the latter. Examples are:

e yaga	it is useful
e yaga-n-a	he deems it useful

e dina	it is true
e dina-t-a	she deems it true

e cā	it is bad
e ca-t-a	he hates it ('deems it bad'?)[7]
e vinaka	it is good
e vinaka-t-a	she likes it ('deems it good'?)'
e drēdrē	it is difficult
e drēdre-t-a	he deems it impossible

Note that in each pair, the role of the subject switches from goal to actor; when the object enters the construction, it then expresses the goal—the usual behavior for S2 verbs.

For one of the verbs at least, some of the causative forms reflect the idea that the state exists mainly through judging it as such. Thus:

e vaka-dinadina	he confirmed, witnessed
e vaka-dinadina-tak-a	he ratified it
na i-vaka-dinadina	the witness

10.6 VERBS REFERRING TO SKILLS

Some stative verbs referring to skills occur with a transitive marker and object, with the object referring to the activity at which the person is skilled. One might interpret the object as representing the actor—that which has caused the designation of "skillful". Examples are:

e maqosa	she's clever, skilled
e maqosa-tak-a	she's clever at it
e maqosa-tak-a na tali magimagi	she's clever at plaiting sinnet
e mākutu	he's diligent
e mākutu-tak-a	she's diligent about it
e mākutu-tak-a na no-na cakacaka	she's diligent about her work
e vuku	she's wise, learnéd
e vuku-tak-a	she's wise about it
e vuku-tak-a na vuli	she's wise about learning

10.7 MISCELLANEOUS VERBS

This section cannot be a complete catalog, but only a sketchy treatment of stative verbs that take a transitive marker and have a somewhat different relationship among actor, verb, and goal. 'Therefore, the patterns are less evident than in the previous sections. For example, in:

e wele	he's careless
e wele-tak-a	he neglected it

it stretches the imagination somewhat to propose that the object—the thing neglected—can be interpreted as the actor, or cause of the state.

With lasu 'untrue', the possibility of a homophonous root arises. Note that the root itself seems ambiguous as to classification as active or stative:

e lasu	it's untrue, he's lying
e lasu-tak-a	he lied-to him, he lied-about him

For this verb, the stative use of lasu seems to be secondary; the form with the transitive marker and object shows the usual relationships that A2 verbs show.

The following verbs show similar (but not identical) patterns:

e bī	it is heavily laden
e bi-t-a	it lies heavily on it
e bī-tak-a	it lies heavily on it

e māqī	he's stingy
e māqī-tak-a na i-lavo	he refused (to give) the money

sā oti[8]	it's finished
sā oti-v-a	he finished it off
e vaka-oti-a	he completed it

Note that the translations for the last two forms attempt to keep them distinct. The distinction, however, is not clear: the function of oti-v-a seems just as causative as that of the vaka-form. SN suggested that oti-v-a emphasizes the process. For instance, it could be used with the meaning of seeing an area

completely (for example, to tour New Zealand completely and see all there was to see), whereas vaka-oti-a would not have that meaning. The latter form, according to SN, emphasizes the end result. But it is also likely that the presence of the aspect marker sā contributes to the difference in meaning (see 21.3.1).

11 VERB CLASSIFICATION IV: HISTORY AND DISCUSSION

Because most of the early analysts used different grammatical models, it is difficult to compare the various treatments of verb classification. But reorganizing the grammars using a standard framework makes obvious certain points of similarity and difference.

11.1 CARGILL

Cargill (1839a) applied the then current model to Fijian. As a representative of the verb classification Cargill would have been familiar with, I have chosen Dilworth's model (1788:104). For example:

> Q.   How many Things belong to the Verb?
> A.   Four: Mood, Tense, Number and Person.

Cargill's primary classification is identical:

> Verbs are declined by numbers, persons, moods, and tenses.

Such a classification has no category into Which the notion "transitive" will fit, so Cargill added a section "On the terminations of verbs", in which he listed the various monosyllabic and polysyllabic[1] transitive suffixes. But the major part of his treatment consists of "conjugations" of verbs according to the four dimensions of number, person, mood, and tense. In a sense, his was not a classification at all, for Fijian does not fit into the pigeonholes that existed in the grammatical model of his day.

11.2 HAZLEWOOD

In contrast, Hazlewood hesitated to apply a ready-made model (1872: 29):[2]

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> The Feejeean verbs admit of many different modes of classifica-
> tion, from the many different ways in which they are formed, and
> the different ways in which they are used. In this respect they
> bear little or no analogy to European languages.

Hazlewood's first dichotomy is based on form: he contrasted
primtive" verbs with "derived" ones. (Compare this with Arms's
treatment, 11.6.) The next division is the important one: intran-
sitive, transitive, and passive. But how innovative was this clas-
sification? Actually, it turns out to be very close to that of the
representative model above. Dilworth divided English verbs into
three types: active, passive, and neuter. Note the similarity of
definitions in the two approaches:

> D: A Verb Active, is a Verb that denotest Action; but in such a
> manner as to admit after it the Accusative Case of the Thing it
> acts upon: as I love him.
>
> H: Transitive, or active verbs, are those in which the action
> expressed by the verb passes on to, or affects some object; as au
> sa lomani koya, I love him.

> D: A Verb neuter signifies the State of Being, and sometimes the
> Action of a Person or Thing, but has no Noun after it to denote the
> Subject of Action.
>
> H: [Intransitives] are those in which the thing (action) ex-
> pressed is confined to the actor, and does not pass on to an object.
> They include the class usually termed neuter verbs, as well as
> those which, though active, are intransitive. [Here, Hazlewood
> gave examples of verbs in which ''action is implied, but without an
> object affected by it" and those in which "existence and a certain
> state of existence, is implied, but no action."]

Hazlewood realized that a Fijian verb in a particular category
could not be expected to behave like an English verb with the
same classification. For example, English 'lie' and 'sit' (neuter
intransitives, in the terminology above) are not used transi-
tively, but Fijian koto and dabe can be. Even so, Hazlewood did
not establish sufficient distance from English translations like
'lie upon', 'go in', 'tread upon', and 'go for', for he placed much
emphasis on the prepositions in the translation: "the transitive
termination in such a case exactly answering to a preposition."

Within the finer categories of his classification, Hazlewood showed more originality, especially in his division of Transitive into Indefinite and Definite. The former is his label for constructions like

caka were	garden making
tara vale	house building

in which neither transitive suffix (usually) nor common article appears.

The construction in which those markers do appear he labeled Definite-Transitive. It is this category that received the most attention. Some of the topics he discussed, such as the meaning of the consonant in the transitive suffix, and the difference between the meaning of forms with monosyllabic and dissyllabic suffixes, we will treat in greater detail in CH 12.

11.3 CHURCHWARD

One can say with little fear of contradiction that organization is not one of the attractive features of Churchward's grammar (1941). Therefore, it is no surprise to find that he strung topics together like beads on a string, with very little indication of their interrelationships. For example, his description of verbs consists of the following sections, in this order:

Auxiliary Verbs

    Intransitive Verbs

    Definite-Transitive Verbs

    Indefinite-Transitive Verbs

    The Passive Voice

    Reciprocal Verbs

    Causative Verbs

    The Imperative Mood

However, the published version of Churchward's grammar did not include one of his major insights into the language. In early 1937, Churchward, having finished a draft version of the grammar, gave two copies to the Acting Secretary for Native Affairs in Fiji, asking for criticism. The Secretary sent one of these to the Rev. Fr. J. Neyret, who was writing a Fijian-English dictionary at the time. Many of Neyret's corrections seem to reflect a classical view of grammar, and it is evident, from comparing his comments with the published version, that Churchward's grammar suffered in the revision. The relevant matter here is Churchward's suggestion that verbs and adjectives were related, to which Neyret responded:

> I deny the parity between "savasava" [savasavā 'clean'] and "Cici" ['run']. The fact that "Cici" must take the particle "sa", like all the Fijian verbs, does not prove that "savasava" is a verb in the sentence "Sa savasava na gone" ['the child is clean']. "Cici" means the action of running. Whereas "savasava" means only the quality of being clean.
>
> "Quod gratis asseritur gratis negatur". [That which is freely asserted is just as freely negated.]

Unfortunately, Churchward accepted this criticism and adopted the more traditional view of verbs and adjectives as separate parts of speech. It remained for Milner to make the (implicit) connection between adjectives and verbs.

Churchward did not yield all his territory. As he wrote to Neyret (29/1/38): "whenever I have found that what I wrote is correct, criticisms notwithstanding, I am leaving things as they were." Such is the case with his analysis of sega 'not' as a verb. Neyret questioned this analysis, writing:

> "Sega" is really a Verb? "Gratis asseritur".
>
> Why is it not a Negative Adverb?

But Churchward maintained his position.

11.4 MILNER

Because Milner's grammar (1956) is organized as a teaching text, it is difficult to find in it any direct statement about the hierarchical organization of verbs. I have constructed Figure 11:1 from the definitions in his glossary.

FIGURE 11:1

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                    (Verb)                            │
│            ┌─────────┴──────────┐                     │
│         Transitive          Intransitive             │
│       ┌─────┴─────┐                                   │
│    Active      Passive                               │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
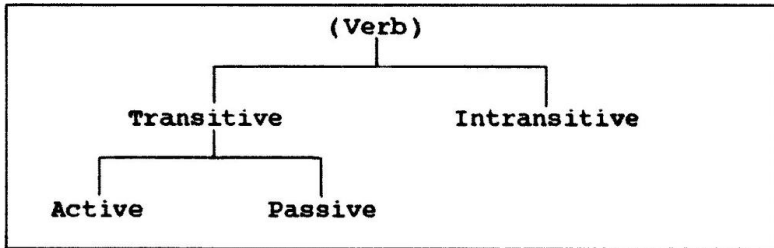
The term "verb" appears in parentheses because Milner dealt with the multiple functions of roots by defining only nominal and verbal environments (indicated by markers), not nouns and verbs per se. This decision led to some awkwardness. For example, "intransitive form" is defined as "a base not followed by a transitive particle" (1972:131). And since "base" ("root", in my terminology) can include words like vale 'house' and vatu 'stone', these words, too, would be classified as intransitive.

It follows from the definition of "intransitive" that "transitive" could be defined as "a base followed by a transitive particle". Milner's consistent use of his definition led him to make one classificatory departure from his predecessors: there exists in his scheme no "indefinite transitive", since no form can be transitive without the transitive marker. Constructions like gunu yaqona are classified instead as head plus modifer, and as intransitive. I show in CH 12 why I agree with Milner's analysis of this construction.

11.5 WILSON AND PAWLEY

In his discussion of verb classification for Proto-Oceanic, Pawley (1973e:126–40) began with "semantic considerations", citing Wilson's (1972) four types of verbs for Hawaiian:

1. Statives.

2. Intradirectives. (The actor both causes and experiences the action of the verb. Verbs of motion fall into this category.)

3. Spontaneous transitives (such as verbs of emotion, assuming that the object of the emotion has caused the actor to act involuntarily).

4. Deliberate transitives (referring to voluntary actions; this class differs from (2) in that the actor and the goal are different).

This classification may be useful for Hawaiian, since (we assume) the categories were formed not by first investigating the semantics, but by classing verbs into groups according to their behavior (in this instance, in nominalizations that are possessed differently). However, Pawley treated them as essentially semantic classes and proposed that "the semantic types distinguished by Wilson seem to correlate well with grammatical classes … [in Oceanic languages]" (p. 127).

If there were such a correlation for Fijian, the semantic classification could be useful, but I cannot see that one exists.

Pawley listed the following formal classes for verb classification:

1. Statives. His terms for S1 and S2 are A- and B-class.

2. Optional transitives. Examples are words like lako 'go' that occur both with and without the transitive marker.

3. Obligatory transitives. Examples are words like kilā 'know it' that do not occur without an expressed object or a so-called incorporated object.

4. Obligatory intransitives. "Active verbs which are incapable of occurring transitively are rare in the Fijian languages …", Pawley suggested. This class corresponds to our A1 verbs, which are, in fact, not rare. (See Arms's similar assertion in the next section.)

These formal classes appear to capture the behavior of Fijian much better than do the semantic classes. In particular, the optional and obligatory transitive categories are useful for Fijian; they reflect the fact (as mentioned elsewhere) that some two-referent verbs do not appear without the goal expressed. That is, they never appear in the frame e [   ] and thus are difficult to classify according to our test for the active-stative dichotomy. However, I take the position that this feature qualifies as a criterion for subclassification.

As a typology, Pawley's proposal is weak in its inability to point out the parallel behavior of two-referent verbs in most constructions. It is also weak in that it does not lend itself to a definition of derivation (see CH 14).

As for how well this formal classification for Fijian correlates with the general semantic classification Pawley proposed, we need only look at two examples. Under the class "Optional Transitives" (1973e:132–35), we find two kinds of Fijian verbs (semantically): intradirective and deliberate transitive. The class "Obligatory Transitives" (p. 135) includes, for Fijian, "nearly all verbs which are (a) spontaneous transitives … (b) deliberate transitives …" Thus, each of these formal classes contains examples from two semantic classes, and (viewing it from the opposite direction), examples from the semantic class "deliberate transitives" occur in two of the formal classes.

11.6 ARMS

Because transitivity was the topic of his study, Arms (1974) paid more attention to verb classification than did other grammarians. His first classification is a formal one: simple vs. derived ("primary" vs. "secondary").[3] Within the first of these categories, we find the next major division (1974:41):

> The important dichotomy within the verb system is that between intransitive forms (the base, CVCV, alone) and transitive forms (the base plus a transitive ending, -Ci or -Caki).

Note that his characterization of transitivity rests on form—and heavily so. In fact, this distinction between forms with and without a transitive suffix is given even greater weight by a later statement (1974: 43): "So then, a great many—probably

most—true verbs have both an intransitive and a transitive form." We will discuss this formal definition of transitivity in a later section.

Within this section of his study, there are some major points to take issue with. The first is alluded to by the quotation just above: that there are "true" verbs (which "refer to a physical or emotive state, or to motion") and that a true verb must have a corresponding form with a transitive suffix. The data argue against this notion on two fronts. First, all A1 verbs (like gādē 'stroll') would be excluded because they do not take a transitive suffix. Arms tried to explain this situation by suggesting that such verbs are exceptions of some sort. He concluded: "If they are true verbs, it is possible that they once had a transitive form that has now fallen into disuse" (1974:42).

That discussion, in turn, brings up the second point of disagreement. As a result of his analysis of word classes (1974:7–14), S1 verbs, or "adjectives", are kept entirely separate from the other stative verbs (that is, S2 verbs), in spite of the ways in which the two subclasses function alike. As an example of how this exclusion works against Arms's classification, consider statives like cā 'bad' (see 10.5) and oca 'tired'. Although they take transitive suffixes—which now seems to be the main defining feature for "true" verbs—they, too, must be excluded from the category of verbs, since they function as "adjectives". Arms accomplished this end by considering that for such morphemes as these, the transitive forms were less frequent and "thus relatively marked". However, the label will not make them disappear.

After he discussed the transitive-intransitive opposition, Arms moved to another basic distinction: agent-oriented (active) vs. patient-oriented (stative). (Since he excluded "adjectives" from his study, his patient-oriented class corresponds to our S2 class alone.) It is his treatment of the latter class that is one of the strong points of his study.

Among Arms's predecessors, it was Hazlewood who best described the "Patient-oriented" class, although perhaps he overestimated its size (1872:37): "The shortest form, or root, of most verbs is used as a passive." From that time on, until Arms's treatment, this class was given short shrift. Churchward (1941:20), for example, treated only dola 'opened', sogo 'closed', sere 'untied', basu 'broken open', and musu 'cut' as "passive" forms.

Given Hazlewood's treatment of this class, his statement that "the shortest form, or root, of most verbs is used as a passive",[4] and the responsibilities that a lexicographer has for classification, Capell might well have investigated all verbs in their root forms to check for "irregular passives". His failure to do so produced a very unreliable tool for learners of Fijian, for in most cases, it is impossible to know how a particular verb is used in the frame e [ ]. As a matter of fact, even of those verbs above that Churchward discussed in the grammar (described by Capell as "the companion to the present Dictionary"), Capell noted only dola as "adj. and pass, vb." Of eight verbs clearly labeled by Hazlewood, complete with illustrative phrases that showed their stative nature, Capell correctly labeled only three.

It is to Arms's credit, then—considering the sweeping un-reliability of Capell's treatment—that he recognized the impor-tance of S2 verbs and checked each entry for possible inclusion in this class. In spite of my disagreement with some points of his classification, I consider Arms's work on verbs the most com-prehensive and reliable to date.

11.7 THE ACTIVE-STATIVE OPPOSITION

It is difficult to trace the origins of the active-stative classifi-cation for Fijian verbs. Elbert and Pukui (1979:49) credited Buse with first using the term "stative" for Polynesian.[5] In Buse's article (1965: 46), he used "stative" almost in passing as a label for one of three major "full-word" classes:

> statives (S), which colligate with nominal and verbal particles, but are incapable of passive suffixation.

In an earlier work by Buse (1963:152), he labeled what we assume is the same class merely as type (B), defined as:

> words capable of standing alone as verbals, but incapable of passive suffixation.

I should emphasize that although Buse dealt with noun phrases and verb phrases separately, his classification seems to put all three classes in the same level. The classification in Figure 11:2 came later.

FIGURE 11:2
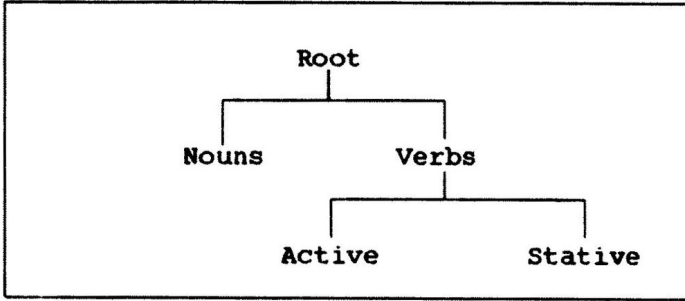
The present classification of Fijian verbs grew out of a sug-
gestion by A. K. Pawley in a seminar at the University of Hawaii,
fall 1973. In a preliminary form, it appeared as Schütz and
Nawadra 1972.[6] The thesis of this article is that those forms
traditionally described as passive are instead participles (that
is, statives). In the article, verbs are classified according to the
scheme in Figure 11:3.

Next, two-referent statives (but labeled "ergative", after
Arms) were fitted into the system as "participles''. Finally, a
number of types of affixation were organized (I think for the first
time) into two types of derivation:

Participle to Active

1. -(C)a   e.g. dola ⇢ dolava 'open it'
2. -(C)ak-a   e.g. rere ⇢ rerevaka 'fear it'
3. vaka ...   e.g.   ⇢ vakadodonutaka
   (C)ak-a   dodonu   'rectify it'

FIGURE 11:3
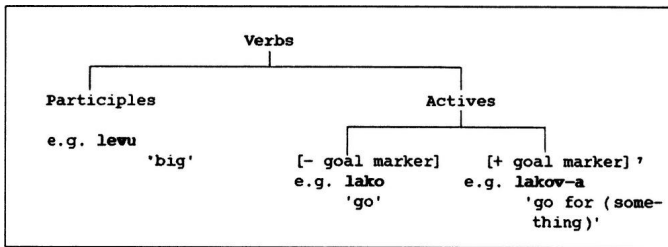
Active to Participle

1. -a ⇢ -i[8],   e.g. lakova ⇢ lakovi 'sought'
2. delete suffix, e.g. dolava ⇢ dola 'open'

> [A note explained that this process worked only for the "irregular passives"—that is, what are now considered as S2 verbs.]

> 3. prefixes lau-, etc. [The next section dealt with what we called participial prefixes: lau-, ta-, ka-, etc.]

At about the same time, other analysts were moving in the same direction. Arms was completing his dissertation, and in a lecture entitled "On the relation between the passive and transitive suffixes in Bauan Fijian" (10/73), Pawley acknowledged his debt to Arms for his observations on ergative and accusative verbs. Thus, it was probably Arms who first applied the active-stative classification to Fijian verbs.

But Biggs (1974:424) had independently developed a similar classifications:

Verb Classes in Fijian

> There are just two verb classes in Fijian, a goal-subject selecting class exemplified by tobo 'to be caught', and an actor-selecting class, exemplified by lako 'go'.

The classification used in the present work differs in two ways from those just described. First, "adjectives" like levu 'big' and irregular "passives" like tobo 'caught' are treated as subcategories of one larger group: statives. Also, our designation of subcategories in both active and stative sets as one-referent vs. two-referent is an innovation.

12 TRANSITIVITY

Two-referent verbs (A2 and S2) use a grammatical system to show the relationship among actor, action/state, and goal. This system is called TRANSITIVITY.

Transitivity is manifested in the VP by the following grammatical items in the order given:

SUBJECT   VERB   (TRANSITIVE SUFFIX)   (OBJECT)

Examples are:

1.	e	rai	-ci		-ira	she saw them (plural)
2.	āū	rere	-vak-		-a	I feared it
3.	kēīrāū	gunu	-v-		-a	we (dual exclusive) drank it
4.	o	kila	ø		-a	you (singular) know it

As the glosses indicate, the subject in each of the sentences above represents the actor, and the object represents the goal.

These sentences show a common morphophonemic change. With the third person singular object -a, as in sentences 2, 3, and 4, the transitive suffix, which has the underlying shape -Ci or -Caki, loses the final vowel. Thus:

-Ci +   -a   →   -ca
-Caki +   -a   →   -Caka

In sentence 4, the consonant in the transitive suffix is ø. The sequence of two like vowels /a/ + /a/ forms a long vowel: /ā/.

When the transitive suffix is not followed by the object, the subject represents the goal. Note the glosses for the following sentences:

	SUBJECT	VERB	TRANSITIVE SUFFIX		OBJECT
1	era	rai	-ci	ø	they (plural) were seen
2	e	rere	-vaki	ø	it was feared
3	e	gunu	-vi	ø	it was drunk
4	e	kila	-i	ø	it was known

Note that although in the first group of sentences the actor is expressed, it is not, and cannot be, expressed in the second set. Even so, the actor is not entirely ignored, for the form of the sentence tells us that the state (such as "seen" or "feared") did not come about by itself, but was caused by an actor. These examples show that Fijian transitivity is not an either-or matter, but instead, divided into degrees of SPECIFICITY with reference to the actor.

Specificity, which is treated as a grammatical category (see CH 30), also links transitivity with NPs that occur outside the VP. The formal manifestations of transitivity, then, lie within the VP, but the system is tied to forms that occur at the level of the sentence, and ultimately, at the level of discourse.

In this chapter, however, we treat only those manifestations of transitivity that occur in the VP, discussing the following topics: the transitive suffixes; different transitive suffixes with the same verb; the meanings of some suffixes that seem to pattern regularly; and constructions without the transitive suffix that seem to involve transitivity.

12.1 THE TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES

Whether they are simple or derived, verbs with two referents can signal[1] a second referent grammatically with a suffix of the shape -Ci or -Caki.

Note that we do not call this suffix an object marker, although it might be interpreted as one in many constructions. But in some, such as:

era tuku-ni	they (plural) were told

there is no object to be marked, and the suffix indicates (signals) an actor that is not further specified.

Table 12.1 (adapted from Milner 1972:27, 89) shows the consonants that occur in monosyllabic and in disyllabic transitive markers:

Table 12.1

ø[2]		c	g	k		m	n	r	t	v	y[3]
		c		k	l	m	n	r	t	v	y

PG has suggested (see note 2) that forms with ø and y are allomorphs. (The distribution of the "dispersive" suffix -yaki supports this proposal; see the discussion of y in the phonology section.) If we follow this analysis, the only differences between the two sets are the absence of g in the disyllables and the absence of 1 in the monosyllables. The former can be explained by examining the limitations on the distribution of consonants: sequences of *gVkV or *kVgV are prohibited. This leaves us with 1; its absence in the set of monosyllabes is unexplained (see Milner 1982, 1985).

Other prohibitions on sequences of consonants have a direct bearing on which transitive suffixes can occur with which roots (see Arms 1974, Geraghty 1983a, and Milner 1982, 1985).

12.2 DIFFERENT TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES WITH THE SAME VERB

For some verbs, context plays an important role in sorting out what seem (from the point of view of a speaker of English) rather divergent meanings of verbs when coupled with different kinds of goal referents. For example, when the goal of lako 'go' is an object that can be carried, e lako-v-a means "he went-for it, he fetched it'. When the goal is a route, like a path, the same sentence means 'he went on if'.[4] Thus, different sorts of goals axe signaled by the same transitive marker, -vi, when used with lako, and the hearer depends on context to resolve the ambiguity.

But a great many verbs—particularly those involving motion—indicate grammatically various sorts of goals with different transitive markers. Formally, they differentiate the markers in two ways:

1. Different consonants in the transitive marker. As examples, note the contrast between the members of the following pairs:

e gole-a	he turned it (head+)
e gole-v-a	he turned-toward it
e dabe-c-a	he sat-on it (mat+)
e dabe-r-a	he put it down[5]

2. A contrast between monosyllabic and disyllabic transitive markers:

e cabe-t-a	he ascended it
e cabe-tak-a	he ascended-with it
e cici-v-a	he ran-for it
e cici-vak-a	he ran-with it
e iri-v-a	he fanned him
e iri-tak-a	he fanned-with it
e kaki-a	he scraped it
e kaki-tak-a	he scraped-with it

Note that the translations using 'with' are ambiguous. In the first two sets, the goal indicated by -Caki is merely concomitant, whereas it serves an instrumental function in the second two.

12.3 THE MEANINGS OF THE -CAKI FORMS

The four -Caki examples above all involve performing some action directly by means of an instrument, or carrying something while performing another action. But these are by no means the only, or even the most common meanings of the -Caki form. We discuss some of the other meanings here.

12.3.1 Reason. Eliciting verbs in the paradigm above can obscure what is perhaps the most nearly regular form-meaning correspondence for the transitive marker: -taki,[6] (reason for, because of). This form occurs most often in a question, with the goal specified by the interrogative NP a cava 'what?'

a cava e gole-tak-a?	what is he turning for?
e gole-tak-a na kā	he's turning because of something or other
a cava e gutuwā-tak-a?	what is she fleeing for?
e gutuā-tak-a na kā	she's fleeing because of something or other
a cava e kedru-tak-a?	What is he snoring for?
e kedru-tak-a na kā	he's snoring because of something or other

As some indication of the extent of its use, 41 of a sample of 50 verbs[7] entered into the a cava e [ ] -taki construction in their simple form, and another 7 in their reduplicated form. And although the set of English loanwords contains few words that can be classified as primarily verbal, the following, as a sample, can be used as verbs with -taki in the reason construction:

dānisi	dance	fika	figure
tuisi	(do the) twist	inisua	insure
draiva	drive	kati	(play) cards
drili	drill	loka	lock
ota	order	pasi	pass
pamu	pump	sikinala	signal

In addition to verbs that are made up of either simple or reduplicated roots, another type of verb can also be used with reason -taki. It is based on an underlying relationship between action and goal, but grammatically, its form is verb plus modifier.[8] Some examples are:

gunu-yaqona	kava-drinking, as in:
a cava e gunu-yaqona-tak-a?	Why is he kava-drinking?

moku-siga	killing-time, as in:
a cava e moku-siga-tak-a?	why is he killing-time?

rāī-koro	village-inspecting, as in:
a cava e rāī-koro-tak-a?	why is he village-inspecting?

In the frame sentence, the NP a cava 'what?' is the specified object. Thus, all the verbs in this construction specify the object with an NP and indicate the subject grammatically. It follows, then, that -taki has the effect of adding a second referent to A1 verbs like kedru 'snore'. Thus, kedru-taki, in this construction, can be translated as 'snore-for', but with its goal always confined to the meaning of reason.

To show that -taki, and not a cava, carries the meaning of reason, note the following examples:

Q:	a cava e rāī-tak-a?	why is he able to see?/what causes him to look?/why is he looking?
A:	(e rāī-tak-a) ni sā via-kana	(he's looking) because he's hungry

or

> (e rāī-tak-a) na no-na   (he's looking) because-of his hunger
> via-kana

The first alternative provides no proof, since the meaning 'because' is built into ni. But in the second answer, na no-na via-kana 'his hunger' is not marked in any way for 'because' or reason, so that meaning must lie in e rāī-tak-a.

For some verbs, reason is also built into another construction—the basic transitive form—but not as the central meaning. For example:

e lako-v-a na i-vola   he went-for the book

could be interpreted as: he went for the purpose of getting the book

But this meaning is contained more directly in:

> e lako-tak-a na i-vola

For other verbs, -taki is the principal (and for some, the only) transitive marker. The following are some examples:

bā	deny	nui		hope	līū	precede
bāī	fence	basori		stop up	bēī	accuse
baece	extend	(ramparts)				

Theoretically, then, -taki forms with such roots could be ambiguous. However, it has been suggested (PG 7/82) that the ambiguity does not exist, because reason -taki is added only to verbs with which it does not indicate a goal. For example,

*wā-tak-a, but wāwā-tak-a	wait because of it
*leti-tak-a, but vēī-leti-tak-a	dispute over it
*kere-tak-a, but kerekere-tak-a	request leave of it

In each of these examples, the stem of the verb has been rendered "intransitive", either by reduplication or the addition of vēī-.

For some verbs that take only -taki, the semantics of the root are such that the goal and reason can be the same sort of referent. Nui 'hope' is one of these:

a cava e nui-tak-a?　　　what did he hope-for?/what is the reason he is hoping?

For each of the readings, the answer could be:

na i-loloma　　　　　　　　　　　　　　a gift

Rāī. 'see', cited earlier, may be the same kind of verb, for one could argue that the object of seeing is the reason for seeing. But rāī separates the two meanings with -ci and -taki, so there is a difference between 'what did he see?' and 'why is he looking?'

　　Another kind of ambiguity exists for gutuā-taki:

a cava e gutuā-tak-a?　　　what is he fleeing-for?/ what is he fleeing-with?

Here, the form can be interpreted as involving either reason or accompaniment.

　　Many of the verbs that take only -taki are semantically rather different from, say, verbs of motion, in that fewer topics and fewer modifications of the action are normally involved. (Take līū 'precede', for example. Perhaps it is awkward to imagine speaking of preceding something while carrying an object or preceding something with intensity. If the need arose to express these meanings, a speaker could express them as modifying phrases.)

　　Some verbs use not -taki, but a transitive marker with a different consonant to indicate a meaning similar to that of the reason construction. An example is:

e oso-vak-a na no-na via-kana　　　　he's barking because of his hunger

Oso 'bark' maintains a contrast between 'bark-at' and 'bark-because-of' with different transitive markers, -vi and -vaki, but, as in some of the previous examples, the semantic difference can become rather hazy:

e oso-vak-a na vulagi　　　　he's barking because of the visitor
e oso-v-a na vulagi　　　　　he's barking at the visitor

In summary: The -taki construction, indicating reason as a goal, although not mentioned in the lineage of Fijian grammars, is a construction of high frequency.

12.3.2 Means or accompaniment. When describing the function of the disyllabic transitive marker, analysts have usually focused on means or accompaniment. This function usually occurs with verbs that refer to motion.

For verbs of motion such as the following, the subject refers to something or someone who moves toward a destination (marked by -Ci) by means of or accompanied by something (marked by -Caki). This accompanying object (in both senses!) never refers to another actor,[9] but to something that can be carried.

lako-v-a	go-for it	lako-vak-a	go-with it
qalo-v-a	swim-to it	qalo-vak-a	swim-with it
sobu-t-a	descend-for it	sobu-tak-a	descend-with it
dromu-c-a	sink-under it	dromu-cak-a	sink-with it
soko-t-a	sail-to it	soko-tak-a	sail it (canoe+)
kara-v-a	pole-to it	kara-vak-a	pole it (canoe+)
		kara-tak-a	use it as a pole
cici-v-a	run-to it	cici-vak-a	run-with it
kaba-t-a	climb it	kaba-tak-a	climb-with it
lade-v-a	jump—over it	lade-vak-a	jump-with it
rido-v-a	hop-over it	rido-tak-a	hop-with it
cabe-t-a	ascend it	cabe-tak-a	ascend-with it
qasi-v-a	creep-toward it	qasi-vak-a	crawl-with it
yaqa-v-a	crawl-toward it	yaqa-tak-a	creep-with it
vuka-c-a	fly-to it	vuka-tak-a	fly-with it
nunu-v-a	dive-for it	nunu-vak-a	dive-with it
rika-t-a	jump-down-on-it	rika-tak-a	jump-down-with it
sili-m-a	dive-for it	sili-mak-a	wet-it (net) initially
voce-r-a	row-to it	voce-tak-a	row it (boat)
tere-g-a	brush-against it	tere-nak-a	brush it (body part, canoe+) against
tido-v-a	hop-towards it	tido-vak-a	hop-with it
vulagi-t-a	present-to it (village)	vulagi-tak-a	offer it (gifts)

Some verb roots show a similar contrast in goals not with -Ci vs. -Caki, but with a different contrast in transitive markers. (In the following examples, the transitive marker is Ø in the first column:)

uli-a	steer it	uli-v-a	steer-toward it
kele-a	anchor it	kele-v-a	anchor-at it
voce-a	paddle it	voce-r-a	paddle-to it

At least one A2 verb takes only the suffix referring to accompaniment:

e cāroba	he fell face-down
e cāraba-tak-a na i-vola	he fell face-down with the book

The following verbs of emitting or projecting are similar to verbs of motion, but here the actor himself does not move to the destination (marked by -Ci), but causes something else (indicated by -Caki) to:

kaci-v-a	call him	kaci-vak-a	call it (the call+)
kalu-v-a	whistle-at him	kalu-vak-a	whistle-it (whistle or tune)
kāsivi-t-a	spit-on it	kāsivi-taka	spit it (saliva or blood+)
vanā	shoot-at it	vana-tak-a	shoot-with it
viri-k-a	throw-at it	viri-tak-a	throw it
ula-k-a	throw-at it	ula-tak-a	throw it (club+)
kolo-v-a	throw-at it	kolo-tak-a	throw it
cokā	pierce (spear) it	coka-tak-a	spear-with it (spear+)
rabo-k-a	sling-at it	rabo-tak-a	sling it
dia-k-a	throw-at it	dia-tak-a	throw it [also Reason]
mi-c-a	urinate-on it	mī-cak-a	urinate it (urine)
talā	send him	tala-vak-a	send it (message+)

The following verbs may fit into the category above, but for these, the -Caki form has often been described as instrumental. It is not clear, however, that these goals are any more instrumental than, say, spit is for spitting, or a spear is for spearing.

ta-y-a	chop it	tā-tak-a	chop-with it
iri-v-a	fan it	iri-vak-a	fan-with it
kaki-a	scrape it	kaki-tak-a	scrape-with it
ko-r-a	gargle it (throat)	kō-rak-a	gargle-with it (liquid)
uso-r-a	poke it (oven)	uso-rak-a	poke-with it (stick+)

And where do the following forms fit?

masu-t-a	pray-to it	masu-lak-a	pray-for it
soro-v-a	atone-to him	soro-vak-a	atone-for it

The function, then, of the disyllabic transitive suffix to indicate means or accompaniment is fairly common among two-referent verbs. The label of "instrument", however, is too limited to serve for this category.

12.3.3 Intensive. Two transitive markers, -laki and -raki, occur with a large number of roots to add an intensive meaning to the action. "Intensive" here is a general label that covers meanings like "repeatedly", "thoroughly", "multiple", and "violent", depending on the various meanings of the roots. For example, gude 'shake (container of liquid+)' already involves rather vigorous, repeated action. Thus, e gude-rak-a is glossed 'he shook it violently'. A similar relationship exists for yamo 'massage, grope' and yamo-lak-a, yamo-rak-a. For bases with which both the 1 and r forms occur, the r form is more intensive.

As for the frequency of these indicators, in a sample of 57 roots, 27 took -laki, 2 took -raki, 3 took both, and 25 took neither.[10] The semantics of the various roots account partially for this distribution. Examples of roots that take 1 are:

tuki	pound	dusi	point
drē	pull	dolo	broken-in-two
kana	eat	domo	desire
cāī	copulate	dia	throw
bete	broken	bolo	pelted
bura	pierced	bila	lie-on
bari	nibble	kati	bite
ceru	sip	kara	scold
caqe	kick	kere	beg
belu	bent		

The two that take only r are:

bili	push	gude	shake

Those that take both 1 and r are:

yamo	massage	dabe	set, place
bika	press		

Finally, the following are a sample of the roots that take neither:

bēī	blame	iri	fan
gādē[11]	stroll	garo	lust
katariva	blink	gudu	cut (vine, rope+)
katalau	breakfast	digi	choose
bā	deny	yadra	wake, awake

bole	challenge	taro	ask
gunu	drink	dike	investigate
cabe	climb	iro	peep
dara	put on	kalu	whistle
digo	inspect	kaci	call

Note that for many of these, intensifying the action does not seem likely. This is not, however, a claim for complete predictability of -laki or -raki on semantic (or any other) grounds. As an example of how the semantics of one root allow the -laki and -raki forms, while those the semantics of one root allow the -laki and -raki forms, while those of another do not, note the following:

cavu	pull up
cavu-t-a	pull it up
cavu-lak-a	pull it up vigorously
cavu-rak-a	pull it up vigorously

but only the following for its homophonous form:

cavu	pronounce
cavu-t-a	pronounce it

12.3.4 Lexical change. For a number of verbs, the contrast between -Ci and -Caki marks an important semantic distinction in the root itself. For example,

voli-a	buy it[12]
voli-tak-a	sell it
sau-m-a	answer, repay it
sāū-mak-a	reverse it
sili	bathe
vēī-sili	bathing (general)
sili-m-a	plunge-for it
vēī-sili-mi	diving (general)

There are several different roots that have the form tāū, and they can be distinguished by their occurrence with different transitive suffixes. For example, tāū '(rain) fall on' takes -ci:

e tau-ci āū na uca	the rain falls on me

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Tāū 'infect' (infected?) takes -vi:

e tau-vi mate o koya   she's ill (infected by illness)

Tāū 'hold, take' takes -ri:

e tau-r-a   he took it

This form, in turn, can enter into further derivation:

e tau-ri-vak-a   he used it

na	vosa	e	sō	ka	sā	tau-ri-vaki	rāraba	tū
DEF	talk	3S	some	REL	ASP	take-TR-TR	wide	CNT

some words that are widely used (SR 20/4/82)

It has been suggested (PG 7/82) that we could interpret tauri 'use' here as a separate root, since its connection with tau-ri is tenuous. The same suggestion has been made with respect to the various meanings of sāū above. From this point of view, then, the whole matter of the transitive suffixes as "lexicalizers" is complex. From a lexicographic point of view (and this grammar is closely connected with that point of view), we are faced with a choice: does the difference in meaning of such morphologically complex forms come from the transitive suffix, or does the language present us with a large number of homophonous roots?

At any rate, the complexity of the situation is an argument against the simplistic treatment of -Ci and -Caki as different case endings (see 18.5.2, 18.6, and Foley 1976:166–67).

12.3.5 General transitivizer. For words that have not inherited a -Ci form, -taki is used as a general transitivizer. This use of -taki occurs with the following set of forms:

1. Words that are not used primarily in verb phrases. Their use with -taki allows a subject and an object to be stated grammatically, thus clarifying the semantic role of the subject. Take, for example, gato 'glottal stop'. In this form, the morpheme is

usually used in noun phrases, although it can, of course, occur in the existential construetion. With -taki (and -a, the object), however, it becomes an A2 verb:

e gato-tak-a   he spoke it in one of the dialects that is characterized by glottal stop

Other examples are:

bāī	(a) fence
bāī-tak-a	put a fence around it

2. Loanwords. Loanwords from English[13] obviously do not come with a special transitive marker attached. But some can be used transitively, with the object signaled by what seems to be the all-purpose transitive marker, -taki. Note the following:[14]

na	no-na	ā	parofisāī-tak-a	e	na	yabaki	sā	oti
DEF	POS-3S	PT	prophesy-TR-3S	ABL	DEF	year	ASP	finished

his having prophesied it last year

no-na	i-tavi	na	rejisitā-tak-a	na	i-Soqosoqo		Cokovata
POS-3S	custom	DEF	register-TR-3S	DEF	assembly		joint

	ni	Vēī-voli		its custom of registering the Cooperative
	POS	commerce		Society for Commerce

sē	taipa-tak-a	me	vēī-yawa-ki	na	ke-na	i-yatu
CNJ	type-TR-3S	SUB	REC-far-TR	DEF	POS-3S	row

or type it doublespaced

ni	ke-na	mākete-taki	na	jinijā	ki	vanua	tani
SUB	POS-3S	market-TR	DEF	ginger	LOC	land	other

for the foreign marketing of ginger

e	pasi-tak-a	na	polo
3S	pass-TR-3S	DEF	ball

he passed the ball

Interestingly, some one-syllable suffixes are used with loan-words:

bata-r-a[15]	butter it (bread+)
bomu-t-a	bomb it (place)
loka-t-a	lock it (building+)

pamu-t-a[16]	pump it (liquid)
sovu-t-a	wash it with soap
kala-t-a	color it
jili-a na i-mau	shuffle the cards (from 'deal')
kī-v-a (Lauan)	lock it (from 'key')

Some of these borrowed roots enter into other transitive constructions:

loka-taki koya	lock him
sovu-lak-a vā-kāūkaus	wash it vigorously

3. The suffix -taki also has a special (but not exclusive) relationship with vaka- (causative) (see 15.1), directly related to its use as a general transitivizer. Once a verb is made causative with vaka-, the object can be included grammatically if preceded by the usual transitive marker for that root. But since many causatives are formed from words that do not usually occur with the transitive marker, -taki is the form most often used to mark the object. Examples are:

vaka-dinadina-tak-a	confirm it
vaka-yaga-tak-a	use it
vaka-levu-tak-a	increase it
vaka-rāū-tak-a	prepare it
vaka-mārāū-tak-a	make it happy

12.3.6 Duration. A rather special use of -Caki appears with two common words that refer to specific stretches of time: siga 'day' and bogi 'night'. The constructions do not lend themselves easily to parsing, and might be considered idioms:

e	siga-lak-a	na	no-dra	yadra	they were up until dawn (literally, their
3S	day-TR-3S	DEF	POS-3P	wake	wakefulness lasted until day)

e	bogi-vak-a	na	bose		the meeting lasted until night
3S	night-TR-3S	DEF	meeting		

sā	kama	siga-vak-a		it burned until morning
ASP	burn	day-TR-3S		

e	Siga-Tabu-vak-a	na	soqo	the meeting lasted until Sunday
3S	day-sacred-TR-3S	DEF	meeting	

The Ivolavosa Vakaviti has listed under bogi 'night' the following forms with transitive markers: -caki, -laki, -taki, -vaki. All the forms are defined as 'last from daylight to dark'. Examples in sentences are:

e	bogi-cak-a	na	nēī-tōu	tēītēī:	e	tekivū	māī		e	na	siga	ka
3S	night-TR-3S	DEF	POS-1TX	planting	3S	begin	DIR		ABL	DEF	day	CNJ

	yaco-v-a	na	bogi	na	nēī-tōū	tēītēī
	arrive-TR-3S	DEF	night	DEF	POS-1TX	planting

Our (paucal exclusive) planting lasted all day: it started in the daylight, and lasted until dark—our planting.

e	bogi-cak-a	na	nēī-tōū	sara	qito:	e	yaco-v-a		na	bogi	na
3S	night-DR-3S	DEF	POS-1TX	look	play	3S	arrive-TR-3S		DEF	night	DEF

	nēītōū		sara	qito
	POS-1TX		look	play

Our (paucal exclusive) game-watching lasted all day: it lasted until dark—our game-watching.

a	cava	o	bogi-tak-a	māī?	a	cava	na	vū	ni	no-mu	qāī
DEF	what	2S	night-TR-3S	DIR	DEF	what	DEF	source	POS	POS-2S	SEQ

	yaco	bogi	tū		māī?
	arrive	night	CNT		DIR

Why are you continuing until dark? What is the reason for your continuing until dark?

ratōū	siwa	ka	bogi-vak-a:		ratōū	tekivū	siwa	ni	se	siga	ka
3T	fish	CNJ	night-TR-3S		3T	begin	fish	SUB	ASP	day	CNJ

	yaco-v-a	na	bogi
	arrive-TR-3S		night

They (paucal) fished until night: they began fishing before it was light and continued until dark.

For the first two examples, the meaning seems to be that the activity (expressed by the subject e and specified by the noun phrase) extended until the beginning of the period represented by the verb root. (Note that we refer here to siga and bogi as

verb roots. They are not usually used as such, but their use with a transitive marker gives them at least temporary status as such.)

The difficulty in analyzing these constructions lies in establishing what the object -a refers to. Unlike other -Caki constructions, these seem to have the notion of object built into the verb root itself.

In the third example, the -Caki construction is used as an attribute.

A somewhat different construction is (Capell 1941a):

sā butō-lak-a na vula   the moon does not rise until late at night[17]

12.3.7 Dispersive movement: -yaki. The transitive suffix -yaki,[18] used with vēī- + root, shows that the action is dispersed or unfocused. Some examples showing literal movement are:

lako	go	vēī-lako-yaki	go around
suka	disperse (after meeting)	vēī-suka-yaki	disperse (in separate directions)

Some examples with verbs that do not refer to literal movement but are still active are:

e	ā	vēī-leca-yaki	na	i-tovo	ni	vā-kāsama	ne-i	Mārica
3S	PT	GEN-forget-TR	DEP	manner	POS	CAU-think	POS	M

M's way of thinking was confused (T74:41)

e	levu	na	kā	e	vēī-nanu-yak-a	ko	Mārica
3S	big	DEF	thing	3S	GEN-think-TR-3S	PRP	M

there were a number of things M was thinking about (jumping from one topic to another) (T74:41)

e	ā	vēī-rāī-yaki	toka	ko	Mārica
3S	PT	GEN-see-TR	CNT	PRP	M

M was looking all around (T74:43)

Arms noted (1974:95) that -yaki differs from the other two-syllable transitive suffixes in that it takes the major stress (that is, the phrase accent in the present analysis). This intonational feature is evidence for interpreting -yaki differently from the other transitive suffixes: in terms of its function at the phrase level, -yaki is more like an attribute than a grammatical marker.

12.4 CONSTRUCTIONS WITHOUT THE TRANSITIVE SUFFIX

A definition of transitivity based solely on form (that is, on the presence of the transitive marker) is severely strained by two constructions—one argued about since Hazlewood's time, the other generally unnoticed by grammarians.

12.4.1 The gunu-yaqona construction. Let us take Arms's definition of transitivity (1973:503) as a prototype of the strictly formal approach:

> an intransitive verb … is made transitive by the addition of a transitive suffix.

Where does this definition leave the constructions illustrated by the following phrases (Hazlewood 1872:36–37)?

me caka were	to work garden
me tara vale	to build house
me wili ivola	to read book
me vāū waqa	to fasten canoe
me vavi vuaka	to bake pig
me voli kā[19]	to buy things

Most of the examples here are simple ones. The construction can, however, be more complex:

ka	cola	i-sū	mata-ni-dalo	tiko
CNJ	carried	bundle	taro-stems	CNT

and was carrying bundles of taro stems (NV2:4)

Here, cola is the verb, and the constituent directly following is i-sū mata-ni-dalo. (Note that the continuative marker tiko occurs outside this whole construction.)

The element that follows the verb is also not confined to forms that are obviously nouns:

na	gauna	ni	dui	caka	no-na	e	na	vosa
DEF	time	POS	DIS	done	POS-3S	ABL	DEF	talk

the time of doing one's own thing with respect to (writing) the language (SR 20/4/82)

In this construction, the noun-like element is no-na 'its'. Hazlewood, who was not bound by a formal definition of transitivity, classified these items as "indefinite transitives" (1872:31):

> These are the shortest form of the verb, or the simple root; which is immediately followed by the noun which is its object. It does not admit of an article or any other word to intervene between it and the noun which it takes as its object. And it expresses an action in a general and indefinite manner.

If we deal with only Hazlewood's data, there are two formal characteristics of this construction: (1) the verb is used without the transitive markers -Ci or -Caki; (2) the noun is used without an article.

However, Churchward enlarged on Hazlewood's treatment and showed that the first formal characteristic was not necessary: that the transitive marker can, in fact, occur in this construction—as in:

masu-laki	kā		pray for things
pray-TR	thing		

Thus, the second characteristic—lack of an article before the noun—is the main defining feature. (Note, however, that the transitive suffix -laki still lacks the object a [PG 7/82].)

Churchward retained Hazlewood's "indefinite" label, using it in the following contrast:

tali-a	na	magimagi	(DEFINITE)		plait the sennit
plaited-3S	DEF	sennit			

tali	magimagi		(INDEFINITE)		sennit plaiting
plaited	sennit				

Most later linguists, particularly those who were discussing transitivity in general rather than describing Fijian in particular, followed Hazlewood's and Churchward's analysis, sometimes changing the terminology. Clark (1973:564), for example, called the noun in this construction a "generic object … incorporated[20] into the VP".[21]

These later interpretations had the disadvantage of being based largely on sentences out of context. As a contrast, Milner's analysis (1972:26) was based on a knowledge of the language in discourse. His solution is markedly different from the others: he did not interpret the construction as transitive at all, but as attributive.

Wolff (1976:3) characterized both the gunu-yaqona type and the kumuni i-lavo type (to be discussed later) as having within the predicate "a noun phrase which refers to the goal". But he distinguished between them by referring to the verb in the former as intransitive, that in the latter as transitive. The inconsistency of this analysis comes to light in one of the main points of the article (p. 5):

> the transitive verb focuses on the object of the action; the intransitive, on the action itself.

Thus, according to Wolff's proposal on FOCUS, gunu-yaqona and kumani i-lavo have quite different functions within the sentence. But in fact, their functions are identical, as I will show below. This view shows the disadvantage of a formal definition of transitivity that forces the analyst to make a distinction that doesn't exist.

I think each of these views is accurate in some respects. Hazlewood's has merit because it recognizes that transitivity depends on meaning, not on grammatical particles. In addition, his definite-indefinite distinction is a step in the right direction.

Milner's analysis, in spite of the intransitive label, is appealing because his explanation of one base qualifying another is closer to an accurate description of the function of the noun with respect to the verb.

I suggest the following analysis. The construction is not formally transitive (à la Arms), but the verb is semantically transitive, since it has the option of occurring in constructions that express both referents. All verbs in this construction implicitly refer to two referents.

Next, a transitive suffix can occur in this construction only if it marks a lexical distinction. For example, note the following two phrases:

voli yaqona   kava buying

voli-taki yaqona   kava selling

Here, the function of -taki is obvious: it lexicalizes—that is, expands the meaning of the root.

Consider the root masu 'pray' in the example below. Its two transitive markers distinguish between two types of goals:

e masu-t-a   she beseeched him
e masu-lak-a   she prayed-for it

Now, if masu is to enter into the gunu yaqona construction, perhaps the form

     *masu [noun]

is avoided to bypass the ambiguity of whether something is being prayed to or for. Thus, for the meaning 'say grace' (in the sense of praying before eating), the -laki form is used:

masu-laki kākana   say grace, pray-for food

This form avoids the ambiguity that *masu kākana would produce.

Another example, very similar, is viri-taki polo 'ball throwing'. Viri can take either of two transitive markers:

viri-k-a   throw-at it
viri-tak-a   throw it

Therefore, in the construction viri-taki polo, the function of -taki might be to resolve the ambiguity that *viri polo would produce.

We can see, then, that the function of the transitive suffix in this construction is no longer to index the referents, but rather to keep meanings apart.

Finally, although the meaning of the construction is loosely related to a definite-indefinite opposition, I think this distinction operates not on the noun, but on the verb. One of the reasons for assigning the distinction to the noun has been the pairing of the wrong constructions for contrast. For example, Hazlewood (1872:40–41) presented a list of 37 verb roots in three construction types, arranged and labeled as in Table 12:2.

TABLE 12:2

1]	2]	3]
INDEF. TRANS.	DEF. TRANS.	ACT. INTRANS.
caka were	caka-v-a na were	cakacaka
bulu ivi	bulu-t-a na ivi	bulubulu
tavu uvi	tavu-n-a na uvi	tatavu, tavutavu

[The meanings of the roots are as follows:
caka 'made', bulu 'buried', tavu 'broiled',
were 'garden', ivi 'chestnut', uvi 'yam'.]

Possibly because of the neat contrast of labels on columns 1 and 2, Churchward chose to use those pairs to illustrate the contrastive meaning of the construction in question:

1. e tali magimagi   she was sennit plaiting
2. e tali-a na magimagi   she plaited the sennit

I propose instead that the significant contrast is between columns 3 and 1:

3. e talitali   she was plaiting
1. e tali magimagi   she was plaiting sennit

Talitali refers to a broad range of plaiting. For example, one can plait i-dreke 'carrying cord', ibe 'mat', Wā 'string, yarn', i-sū 'basket', or ketekete 'basket'. But note especially that tali wā, tali ibe, and tali magimagi refer to distinct activities, as reflected (only incidentally, of course) by their English translations: 'knit', 'weave', and 'plait'. so whereas talitali refers to the general activity, tali magimagi refers to a particular type of that activity. Thus, one function of this construction is to make a general activity more specific.[22]

The construction can also be described in terms of its function in discourse, for it allows an entity to be introduced into a discourse without calling attention to it. Note the following:

ni	da ...	vaka-rogo	i-vunāū	when we listen to a sermon (SR 20/4/82)
SUB	1PI	CAU-hear	sermon	

Here, in 'listening to a sermon', the entity 'sermon' is brought up only as an example, and has no further use in the discourse. Using 'sermon' in a construction like

vaka-rogo-c-a		na	vunāū	listen to the sermon
CAU-hear-TR-3S		DEF	sermon	

gives the entity importance in the discourse. This contrast is also discussed in CH 24 with reference to na (definite article).

12.4.2 The viri na polo construction. Another construction,[23] closely related in form to that just described, is made up of an A2 verb[24] without a transitive marker or object, followed by a noun phrase, this time marked with na. Note the following examples:

e	ā	viri	na	polo	vēī	Jone	he threw the ball to J
3S	PT	throw	DEF	ball	ABL	J	

ni	sā	dreke	ko	Tarāīvini	na	kato	kāīkoso
SUB	ASP	carried	PRP	T	DEF	basket	shellfish

	ki	no-dratōū	vale			when T carried the basket of shellfish to
	ABL	POS-3T	house			their house

e	dāū	cola	na	buka	it (regularly) carries firewood
3S	HAB	carried	DEF	firewood	

era	dāū	drē	na	i-siviyara	they (regularly) pull a plow
3P	HAB	pull	DEF	plow	

e	cici	sara	ki	vuli,	ka	roqo	toka	na	nīū
3S	run	INT	ABL	learn	CNJ	carry	CNT	DEF	coconut

he ran to school and carried the coconut (FR4:4)

For each of the verbs in the sentences above, there is a form consisting of a root + transitive marker + object:

viri-tak-a	dreke-t-a	cola-t-a	dre-t-a

Further examples (elicited, not taken from texts) are:

e ciqo na polo	he caught the ball

e caqe na polo	he kicked the ball
e pasi na polo	he passed the ball
e dara na sote	he put on the shirt
e laga na sere	she sang the song
e yavi na siwa	she hauled in the line

These verbs, as well, have forms with a transitive marker and an object:

ciqo-m-a   caqe-t-a   pasi-tak-a   dara-mak-a   laga-t-a   yavi-a

The difference between e caqe-t-a na polo and e caqe na polo cannot be explained through glosses, but only through context. Moreover, as with the construction discussed earlier, the significant opposition is among such phrases as the following:

e laga	she sang
e laga sere	she sang-songs
e laga na sere	she sang the song
e laga-t-a na sere	she sang the song

When we examined the laga sere type of construction in the preceding section, we found that there is not one specific goal in the semantic structure, but a general one. Note the following examples:

tali magimagi	sennit plaiting
laga sere	song singing
sara qito	watching sports
sara yaloyalo	watching cinema
canu kāīkoso	picking up shellfish
kana cō	eating grass
sili sici	diving for trocus shell
basu tubu	breaking off new growth
loba sucu	milking

However, in the laga na sere type, the underlying semantic goal is a specific one. The sentence:

e laga sere	she was singing

refers to the general activity of singing songs—but not one particular song. The sentence:

e laga na sere	she was singing the song

still concentrates on the activity, but now one specific song is involved.

Both these constructions, then, consist of

Head + Modifier

and contrast with

e laga-t-a	she sang it
e laga-t-a na sere	she sang the song

The last two examples draw attention to the goal (signaled by -ti and expressed by the object -a, and, in the second example, further specified by the noun phrase).

12.4.2.1 Discussion.

1. The construction just described (viri na polo) cannot occur with all verbs; for example, gunu 'drink', masi 'rubbed', sava 'washed', keli '(been) dug' cannot be used.[25]

2. With S2 verbs, the construction (when it is possible) presents an ambiguity unless the subject is specified. For example, of the sentences given earlier, the one repeated here is ambiguous:

e yavi na siwa	she hauled in the line/the line was hauled in

The following examples are also ambiguous:[26]

e tavo na waqa	he drew the canoe/the canoe was drawn
e talo na yaqona	he poured the kava/the kava was poured
e tabe na i-kovu vonu	she carried the turtle-bundle/the turtle-bundle was carried
e vue na lawa	he lifted up the net/the net was lifted up
e yāū na i-yaya	she carried the goods/the goods were carried
e yaku na sosō	she removed (with fingers) the dirt/ the dirt was removed
e yara na vuaka	he dragged the pig/the pig was dragged
e yavi na i-kelekele	he hauled up the anchor/the anchor was hauled up

3. In one respect, however, the laga na sere construction differs from the laga sere one: in the placement of postverbal particles. The shorter construction is treated as a unit, and particles like tiko gā and mada occur after it, just as they do with a simple verb, a verb with a transitive marker and an object, or a verb with a proper object:

gunu mada	go ahead and drink
e gunu yaqona tiko gā	he's drinking kava
gunu-va mada	go ahead and drink it
rai-ci koya mada	just look at him

But with laga na sere, such particles precede the noun phrase modifier:

laga mada na sere	go ahead and sing the song
e laga tiko gā na sere	he was singing the song

Thus, structurally this feature allies the construction more closely to laga-t-a na sere or gunu-v-a na yaqona, even though semantically it is closer to laga sere or gunu yaqona.

12.5 SUMMARY

A superficial view of the grammar of Fijian transitivity is that each verb has one particular transitive marker. As an example of a verb that can take several of the suffixes discussed above, note coka 'headlong movement toward, thrust':

e cokā na ika	he speared the fish
e coka-va	he lunged-toward, dived-toward
e coka-ta	he tackled him
e coka-taka na moto	he speared with the spear
e coka-taka na nona cudru	he speared because ot his anger
e coka-raka na vuak-a	he speared (intensively) the pig
e coka-laka na vuak-a	he speared (repeatedly) the pig

We can see, then, that in addition to its primary use, an important function of the transitive marker is to 'expand' the meaning of the root —to allow a number of variations on a theme.

13 TRANSITIVITY: HISTORY AND DISCUSSION

13.1 DEFINITIONS OF TRANSITIVITY

Hazlewood (1872:34) considered that the

> distinctions into Intransitive, Transitive, and Passive are much more important in Feejeean than in English, on account of the variety of forms assumed by the Feejeean verb to express these distinctions.

His criteria for determining the differences among these types are a mixture of semantic and formal. The first definition is from "the grammars":

> Intransitives "are those in which the thing (action) expressed is confined to the actor, and does not pass on to an object. They include the class usually termed neuter verbs, as well as those which, though active, are intransitive".

As examples of active-intransitive, he gave:

āū sā cakacaka	I work
era sā vavavi	they bake

As neuter-intransitives:

āū sā moce	I sleep
era sā tū	they stand

The members of this second class, he noted, could become active-transitives with the addition of a "transitive termination":

moce-r-a[1]	sleep upon
tu-r-a[2]	stand upon

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> Transitive, or active verbs [he wrote] are those in which the action expressed by the verb passes on to, or affects, some object; as

āū sā loma-ni koya   I love him

> The object of a transitive verb must be expressed or clearly understood.

Hazlewood's two criteria are emphasized by the following statement: "There are two kinds of transitive verbs in Feejeean which are clearly distinct both in their senses and forms." He labeled them Indefinite and Definite; we discussed the indefinite in the preceding chapter; it is what I call the gunu-yaqona construction.

Hazlewood's classification, complete with the indefinite-definite transitive contrast, survived for slightly over a century. Then Milner made the move toward a totally formal definition that has been used by most analysts since. As indicated earlier, Milner analyzed transitive and intransitive in very simple terms: a transitive form is defined as "a base followed by a transitive particle"; intransitive is defined negatively.

In his lengthy treatment of Fijian transitivity, Arms (1974:17–18) based his definition on form, but in rather vague terms:

> Decisions about transitivity depend a good deal on surface form. Of the various possible noun phrases in a clause, one or two typically enter into an especially close relationship with the verb and with each other. This close relationship may consist of physical proximity to the verb, special ordering requirements, loss of specific case marking, phonological prominence, or some other feature or combination of features. The construction where two noun phrases[3] exhibit these properties is regarded as a "transitive" construction.

> Another factor in determining transitivity is the ways in which the cases of agent and patient[4] (cf. Chafe 1970) are typically realized in a language. The typical structure employed when these two cases occur together is the transitive structure of the language—a structure that may also be used, however, by other cases.

The main problem with Arms's definition of transitivity is that it hinges on the function of NPs, which play no part in the VP itself and are optional in the sentence. In other words, there are a great many sentences that exhibit transitivity but have no NPs at all.

In his second paragraph, Arms brought up the crucial matter of the semantic relationship between the entities that the subject and object refer to (in relation to the verb). His reference in passing, however, to "other cases" that may be manifested by transitivity is a controversial point. The issue is whether "other cases", such as instrumental and comitative, lie in the structure of Fijian or in the minds of the analysts. If there is an answer to this question, a great deal more study has to be done before we find it.

As he was plowing new semantic ground (so to speak) for Fijian, Arms occasionally confused semantic and formal matters. He was careful to begin with a purely formal definition of subject and object (1974:19): "In this work, 'subject' and 'object' will be used to designate certain elements of Fijian surface structure." The confusion arises in the next sentence: "The subject is the referent of the pronoun occurring before the verb in the verb phrase, the object the referent of the pronoun or proper noun occurring after the verb in the verb phrase …" Referents, of course, cannot be a form in a sentence; they are concepts denoted by a form, existing in the real, or extralinguistic, world.

Several other studies of transitivity in general followed that of Arms, drawing on his ample and generally accurate[5] supply of data. They also followed a strictly formal definition of transitivity. For example:

Foley (1976:3): "Transitive clauses in Fijian are those in which the verb is marked with a transitive suffix."

Wolff (1976:3): "Fijian … has transitive and intransitive verbs. The transitive verbs are marked by the presence of the transitivizing suffix, a morph shaped -i (or zero in Bauan if the third-person singular object marking suffix -a is present)."

Naylor (1978:25): "It is clear from the literature that the term "transitive" is generally used to refer to form rather than to meaning. If a verb has a transitive suffix, it is ipso facto transitive. For example, Fijian gunuva 'drink-if' is transitive but gunu 'drink' is intransitive."

13.2 THE MEANING (?) OF -C-

There was an early beginning to the argument about the interpretation of the consonant that introduces the transitive marker. Hazlewood (1872:37–40) could find no definite way to predict which ending a verb might take, but suggested that the choice was not entirely arbitrary. First, he noted that "verbs formed from nouns without prefixing vaka" take -na, and related that -na to the third person singular pronoun (evidently comparing it with the possessive form). Next, he proposed a semantic connection for -va, listing twenty verbs of motion that take that suffix, while admitting that some verbs outside this category also occur with that suffix. Then he noted that two-syllable suffixes often "have either a more intensive sense or take a different object." He singled out -laka and -raka for their use as intensives.

As a summary, Hazlewood proposed that "most probably the terminations … were originally distinct words, and that in their present use they retain more or less of the original sense." After this speculation, he returned to the business at hand with: "But this may be a subject for further investigation. It is not of essential importance."

This idea lay dormant for well over a century. Then the further investigation that Hazlewood proposed was carried out in detail by Arms (1973, 1974), who examined some 1100 different morphemes, occurring as formal transitives in 1680 forms. Arms suggested meanings for the nine[6] one-syllable suffixes and eight two-syllable suffixes, arriving at an average of 60 percent "semantic fit".

On the whole, I think that the exercise was a useful one, for Hazlewood's suggestion should indeed have been acted upon. But for a number of reasons, it is safer to use the study as an indication of tendencies rather than as conclusive findings. Its major weakness is the semantic framework that is assumed. Although some of the categories, such as Motion, support the ar-

gument, others are so vague as to discourage any exceptions. For instance, Pliancy; Gentle Contact; Bodily Experience (also singled out in their general criticism by Geraghty (1979:253) and Clark (1977:10–11)), and which includes bika 'press down', bōī 'smell', and kuvu 'puff into smoke'); Use of Limb or Instrument; Moderate Force; Performative (which includes bora 'speak angrily to', cā 'hate', and kaba 'climb'). This example shows that one might achieve perfect "semantic fit" if one makes the categories general enough. For a detailed criticism, see Milner 1982, 1985.

Finally, there is a chicken-and-egg quality about the whole problem. One might just as well suggest that the v in lako-v-a 'go for if' or cici-v-a 'run for it' means Motion Toward simply because the semantic quality of motion is inherent in the root. Once the most common verbs of motion (such as lako) are firmly established with -v- as a transitive marker, analogy might play an important role in enlarging the class to include more and more verbs of motion.[7] One has only to note the current disagreement among speakers over certain forms (for example, Cammack 1962:94–7 and discussions with the staff of the Fijian Dictionary Project, August 1978) to suggest that there is competition among consonants for some forms, and that the status of Standard Fijian as a second language for the majority of the population makes the choice of consonant rather a moot point for more obscure words.

13.3 SUFFIX OR PART OF STEM?

Both Arms's position and the variation just mentioned play parts in another, though minor, grammatical controversy: should words like lakova be divided morphologically as (1) lako-va, (2) lakov-a, or (3) lako-v-a? Solution (1) seems to have been considered standard until fairly recently. The first appearance of the second solution that I am aware of is an exercise in Hockett 1958 (pp. 469–70) in which the reader is given a number of pairs of words (intransitive and transitive, in the traditional use of these terms) and asked, first, to propose a base form that will allow one to predict both forms, and, second, to infer the form of verbs in "Pre-Fijian". For both these requirements, we assume that the correct answer is a list of verbs ending in a consonant.

Cammack (p. 91) followed the practice of writing verbs with a final -C-, describing this consonant as a "connective element between the base and the suffix which we take to be part of the stem, and which we shall call a thematic consonant".

This interpretation is directly opposed to that of Arms, which assumes a meaning for each consonant. The merit of Hockett's analysis is that it allows one to predict either form from a hypothetical base. Of course, citing only the longer form would have the same effect, but the device was born during a period when economy of description was more important than the reactions of native readers.

Also, both these analysts overestimated the reliability of Capell's dictionary and underestimated the amount of variation that exists. As we find more verbs with multiple "thematic consonants", the efficiency of such a system dwindles.

In the present study, I follow the third interpretation, based mainly on the work of Pawley and Arms, who reinterpreted the -Ca suffix as the morphophonemic result of -Ci + -a.

13.4 -CA VS. -CI

It is now generally accepted[8] that in Standard Fijian, the final -a of the syllable -Ca and disyllable -Caka is not part of the transitive marker, but instead the third person singular object. Thus, the transitive suffixes themselves are -Ci and -Caki.

I cite the -C-a and -Cak-a forms frequently, for I consider it important to include and identify the object while discussing the verb. Thus, raica, for example, will regularly be glossed not as 'see' but as 'see it.

13.5 THE VARIOUS FUNCTIONS OF -CAKI

13.5.1 The independence of vaka- and -taki. Although Hazlewood (1872:46) discussed the causative function of vaka- without saying or implying that -taki was connected with it, Churchward (1941:21) expanded the earlier statement, beginning a misconception that some other analysts have adopted. Churchward's statement gives the impression that the causative

in Fijian is formed by a kind of envelope—that verbs are surrounded by a prefix and a suffix to make them causative. He wrote:

> Causative verbs are formed by means of the prefix vaka- and a transitive suffix.

However, he noted correctly that with verbs derived from other types of roots, the suffix was not always -taka, giving examples of roots inherently verbal, with t.eir own monosyllabic transitive marker: vaka-tu-r-a 'cause to stand', vaka-bale-a 'cause to fall over', vaka-yaco-r-a 'cause to happen'. Still, he mistakenly considered the transitive marker as an integral part of causatives.

Milner (1972:67) avoided confusing the causative and the transitive, albeit defining causative rather idiosyncratically:

> Often a form with vaka- has a "more decided", "more active" or "more thorough" meaning than one without. For that reason vaka- has sometimes been called a "causative" particle. It may be compared to a specialised use of the prefixes per- and for-in English: e.g.

form	and perform
swear	and forswear
annual	and perennial

His Fijian examples, however, are causatives in the literal and grammatical sense:

vaka-mate-a	cause him to die
vaka-sucu-ma	cause him to be born
vaka-bulā	cause him to live

One statement, perhaps related to the causative (1972:88), is in error: "-taka is the only two-syllable suffix that can be used with the vaka- prefix." Note the following exceptions (a sample):

vaka-roba-lak-a	slap him repeatedly
vaka-butu-rak-a	charge, mob him
vaka-bali-lak-a	knead it repeatedly
vaka-bari-lak-a	scrape it (with teeth) repeatedly
vaka-basi-lak-a	split it repeatedly, randomly
vaka-vesivesi-lak-a	break it off (more and more)

vaka-basu-rak-a   tear it into bits

Milner may have had in mind the causative use of vaka-; these examples show its frequentative, distributive use. They have this structure:

      (((vaka-roba) lak) a)

To show that the prefix and the suffix occur in different layers of the hierarchy, note the following construction:

e vaka-roba gone   she was (repeatedly) child-slapping

The -laki indicates an intensification of the action; the -a is the object.

    Although Cammack (1962:90) listed a "causative -Cak-suffix", he kept the functions of causative and transitive separate in his discussion (one example: vaka-yadra 'wake someone up'; his use of "someone" in the examples signifies a goal that is not expressed grammatically). In addition, his list of "combinations of prefixes, suffixes, and stems" (pp. 104–13) is a conveniently organized treatment of some of the most common "word-forming" processes in Fijian.

    Arms's statement about causatives (1973:517) is a swing back to the Churchwardian view:

> The ending -tak is used regularly with the prefix vaka- to form causatives.

The errors in this statement are the assumptions that the suffix is part of the causative, and that -tak occurs "regularly" with vaka-. In statements like this, it is difficult to decide whether "regular" is a statistical or impressionistic judgment. Perhaps it is the latter, because Arms contradicted the statement in the same paragraph:

> Causative forms in vaka- and ø are also common.

Through several of these treatments, then, runs a common thread of misanalysis: that the transitive indicators are an inseparable part of the causative construction (see 15.1).

13.5.2 The meaning of the -Caki forms. The lineage of grammarians from Hazlewood through Cammack were properly general about a meaning for the -Caki forms. Hazlewood, for example, noted for suffixes other than -laka and -raka a general use (1872:33–4): "different terminations affect different objects; or the same object in a different manner ..." After a substantial list of examples, he concluded:

> The above examples will be sufficient to show that many verbs take different objects when they take a different termination; or if they affect the same object, it is in a very different manner; as, me vanataka nadakai, is to shoot with a gun; me vaná na dakai, to shoot a gun. It is not to be supposed that the nouns given above express only objects which either of the terminations take.

But Pawley (1972:46), possibly from comparative data, attached the label of "dative, instrumental" to a list of cognate suffixes from thirty-one Eastern Oceanic languages, including Standard Fijian. In the introduction to his article on the transitive endings. Arms (1973:503) took up this label:

> the dative-instrumental suffix -ak-(cf. Pawley 1972:46), e.g., cici-vi 'run to', cici-vaki 'run with'.

Whatever the situation in the other thirty languages examined by Pawley, the label "dative, instrumental" is clearly much too narrow for Standard Fijian. First, a true Instrumental use is relatively rare. There are some examples like the following, which do show an instrumental meaning:

e tā-tak-a	she chopped-with it
e iri-tak-a	she fanned-with it
e kaki-tak-a	she scraped-with it

but the examples usually quoted (for example, cici-vak-a above) seem to assume naively that English "with" always implies instrument. In cici-vak-a, and most of the other verbs of motion, the object does not refer to an instrument of the action, but simply something carried along.

Next, underlying the argument for "dative, instrumental" is the notion that -Caki and -Ci refer to different goals. However, one of the most frequent uses of -Caki is in Intensive (-laki, -raki), for which the object refers to the same goal as does that for the -Ci form.

In summary, the "dative, instrumental" label seems to have been based on a few, often repeated examples, rather than on a comprehensive study of a large number of verbs.

Wolff (1980:158–59) labeled the difference between -Ci and -Caki as "close transitive" and "remote transitive". His examples:

Close transitive: dreti 'pull something'

Remote transitive: dretaki [drētaki] 'pull on'

He explained the difference as follows:

> In Fijian the close transitive is marked by -i and the remote by -aki … The close transitive verb focuses on a goal which is directly affected by the action or (in the case of verbs of movement or posture) refers to the place gone to, on, or at, or the thing gone to fetch. The remote transitive form focuses on the instrument, cause, concomitant, or the thing conveyed. Some oft-quoted pairs from Fijian: kabati 'climb upon', kaba-taki 'climb bringing'; kacivi 'call (a person)', kacivaki 'announce'; curumi 'enter a place', curutaki 'place inside …'; murii 'follow', muritaki 'escort'.

These labels are as over-generalized as most of the others, although the more detailed description is accurate in some respects. Of course, the description gives us the impression that most verbs that are marked for transitive allow such a two-way contrast. It is not at all clear that such is the case.

As another example, see 12.3.2, with the following verbs:

kaci call   kalu whistle kāsivi spit   viri   throw
ula   throw kolo throw   rabo   sling vosa talk

For these actions, the goal is often not made formal in any way. Still, it occurs semantically. Which suffix is likely to be used if the goal is given formally? Those indicated by a one-syllable suffix are generally semantically optional; those indicated by a two-syllable form ("remote") are essential. For example, one

cannot spit without material to do it with; one cannot throw without throwing an object. But one can certainly spit without spitting at something, or throw without throwing at something. And as an anonymous colleague has noted, it is often the case that one breaks wind without doing it at someone.

Foley's treatment (1976:167) of -Caki is a slight an improvement; he recognized not just one case relation for the marker, but a list of them: "Instrument/Comitative, Source and Benefactive". In particular, comitative is treated accurately: "[a] sub-role of Instrument when it is not efficacious to the action, but merely accessory".

But even though Foley's label for -Caki is not so narrow as to call the suffix instrument alone, it still operates within a framework that will not work except in a very general way. To understand why, one has only to return to some previous examples:

e voli-a	she bought it
e voli-tak-a	she sold it

Can this difference be explained by a case label? And what is the difference, with respect to case, between the following:

e gunu yaqona	he drank kava
e masu-laki kākana	he said grace

It has already been shown (12.3.4) that the transitive marker in masu-laki kākana is used to avoid ambiguity, and that the function of the last two examples—one without and one with a transitive marker—is exactly the same. Thus, the use of the marker is not regular.

One should not like to claim, however, that patterns do not exist in this area of Fijian grammar; certainly the earlier discussion shows that there are some uses of particular transitive markers that form fairly regular sets. But an attempt to fit the markers into neatly organized pigeonholes ignores a very important function of their diversity: it provides an additional way of distinguishing among different meanings.

13.6 TRANSITIVITY AS FOCUS?

In the discussion sections of this grammar, I have tried to show that grammatical ideas do not develop in a vacuum. The analyst's point of view is conditioned by his intellectual and linguistic background. For example, many of the earliest transcribers heard and wrote Fijian in terms of their own sound system. Analysts have perceived the grammatical structure in terms of the grammar of their own language and their knowledge of classical languages. Those missionaries who came to Fiji from Tonga expected a Polynesian-like language. I view some parts of Fijian grammar differently than other linguists do because of my work with the Nguna language in Vanuatu.

Similarly, a number of linguists who specialize in the grammars of Philippine languages have looked in Fijian for a grammatical category that is familiar to them: FOCUS.

13.6.1 A definition of focus. Focus in Tagalog (which is often used as a display case for this grammatical category) is a formal means of marking—at the clause level—one NP that is most important[9] in the clause. Its semantic role is indicated by affixes on the verb. It is a pervasive system; nearly all NPs are marked for focus no matter what the sentence type (Michael Forman, 1/82).

In her paper proposing focus as a feature of Austronesian, Naylor (1978) reviewed the focus system of Tagalog. The following English sentences (adapted from pp. 6–7, draft version) show—in translation— different nouns in focus, serving in different semantic roles:

It was the CHILD who ate.

It was the FISH that the child ate.

It was the PLATE that the child ate from.

It was the CAT the child gave the fish to.

It was the KNIFE that was used by the child to eat the fish with.

It was the WOMAN for whom the child bought the fish.

13.6.2 Proposals for Fijian. John U. Wolff (1980)[10] has proposed a focus system for Fijian. His principal example of a minimal pair is the following (p. 156; macrons and morpheme divisions added):

na   no-mu LAKO sē   sega e   vaka-tāū   vēī āū
DEF POS-2S go   CNJ not 3S   depend   ABL 1S
if you go or not depends on me

 na   no-mu LAKO-V-A sē   sega e   vaka-tāū vēī āū
DEF POS-2S go-TR-3S   CNJ not 3S depend   ABL 1S
if you go-get-it or not depends on me

Wolff drew this conclusion: "In the first case the verb lako focuses on the action; in the second, the verb lakova focuses on the goal of the action."

Naylor (1978) has also proposed a focus system for Fijian.[11] Her background material is insightful: she analyzed verbs into one- and two-place verbs (one- and two-referent verbs here) and into actor—oriented and goal-oriented (active and stative here).

In general, she seems to have followed Wolff's analysis (first presented in 1976)—that the formally transitive verb—the one containing the transitive marker—focuses on the goal. She concluded that "the syntactic object ... is also the syntactic subject", but that seems to be a misprint for "semantic subject".[12] If so, then it is an unfortunate mixing of terms, for "subject" is an exclusively grammatical term.

13.6.3 An evaluation of the proposals. To evaluate Wolff's argument, we must consider the lako, lako-v-a pair. These verbs lend themselves to his interpretation partially because of their English translations. Even though lako is an A2 verb, an English-speaker's notion of "going" does not necessarily involve a goal. Therefore, the contrast with lako-v-a is more vivid than a contrast between a pair like rāī, rai-c-a 'see, see it'. However, the main difference between the sentences above is that in the first, the goal is not indicated grammatically at all, whereas in the second, it is. Somehow, proposing that such a contrast illustrates "focus" seems an indirect explanation.

In some of Wolff's other examples, I disagree with his interpretation of the "focus" of particular sentences. For example (in the form of a text; macrons and morpheme divisions added):

na	cava	e	māī	caka-v-a?			what
DEF	what	3S	DIR	done-TR-3S			did he come here to do?

e	māī	lako-v-a	na	no-na	waqa.	he
3S	DIR	go-TR-3S	DEF	POS-3S	boat	came to get his boat

e	na	soko-tak-a	nikua?	will
3S	FT	sail-TR-3S	today	he sail it today?

In spite of the contention that "each verb focuses on what happens to the things and not on what someone does" (1980:156), I cannot see that the focus (using Wolff's description of focus as a "semantic component") of the second sentence is waqa 'canoe'. The function of the sentence is to answer the preceding question, and that answer does not involve "canoe" alone, but the entire action of "getting his canoe".

If 'canoe'[13] is the focus of the sentence above, but is not the most important element in the sentence, then what does focus mean? What function does it serve?

These doubts about the analyses of focus lead to the following catalog of objections to and questions about the proposal.

13.6.4 Arguments against focus as a grammatical category for Fijian.

1. My first general objection to the proposals sketched above concerns the vagueness of definition that characterizes them and (according to Michael Forman, 1/82) most other descriptions of focus in Philippine languages. Is focus a sentence-level phenomenon? What does a NP in focus represent in terms of discourse? And if focus does not have a function in discourse, how does one prove that the NP is indeed in focus?

We can ask the same questions about the putative focus system in Fijian, and add this one: how does this proposed system fit with other means that the language uses to tie discourse together?

For Fijian, the choice of the form of the verb itself is a form of focus (in its nontechnical use). Consider this set of similar sentences:

1. e gunu	he drank
2. e gunu tī	he drank tea
3. e gunu-v-a	he drank it
4. e gunu-v-a na tī	he drank the tea
5. e gunu-vi	it was drunk
6. e gunu-vi na tī	the tea was drunk

As mentioned above, Wolff proposed (1980:157) that "the transitive verb focuses on the object of the action, the intransitive verb[14] on the action itself". To a certain extent, this is true. In sentences 1–6, his statement applies in a general way to the distinction between 1 and 3 (or the sets 1–2 and 3–4). But there are two problems with this proposal.

First, although the comparison of the two types out of context supports the proposal, it is not at all clear that it would hold in context. Take sentence 4, for example. In a non-contrastive context, the peak of the phonological phrase would fall on tī, indicated in the following transcription by uppercase letters:

e gunu-v-a na TĪ

However, one could set up a contrastive situation: 'He didn't throw the tea away, he drank the tea.'[15] In this pair, the verbs are contrasted, as shown by the intonation: the peak of the last sentence would be on gunu-va, not na tī:

e guNU-v-a na tī

Thus, a "focus" system based only on the presence or absence of the transitive suffix ignores phonological phrase and sentence peaks as carriers of discourse peaks (see CH 40).

Second, the proposal ignores the most significant way of putting the "object" in "focus"; changing the form of the verb. Thus, sentences 5 and 6 are the major way of focusing on the goal.[16] With this construction, the actor is indicated only subtly,[17] but the goal is highlighted and can be indicated at two levels: by e (subject), or e + the noun phrase that makes it fully specific. Thus, the following sentence is nearly the epitome of "goal-focus":

e gunu-vi na tī   the tea was drunk

Nearly? This adverb brings us to another way in which the treatments of focus for Fijian have been oversimplified: they ignore the common feature of fronting as a way of singling out an NP for special attention. In the right context, the following could occur:

na tī, e gunu-vi   as for the tea, it was drunk

Is fronting an example of focus? And if it is, what then is the function of the transitive marker?

2. The focus system proposed for Fijian works only for an active or stative VP whose verb is of the two-referent type (A2 or S2). Although such sentences are popular with those who analyze Fijian from a distance, they comprise only one sentence type among many. Thus, the proposal gives us a focus system that is quite different from, say, that of Tagalog, which is much more pervasive.

3. Even within the area of A2 and S2 verbs, the system is extremely irregular. Some verbs of motion allow a distinction to be made between goals:

e cici-v-a   he ran-to it
e cici-vak-a   he ran-with it

e qasi-v-a   he crawled-to it
e qasi-vak-a   he crawled with it

But not many verbs allow such a distinction. Moreover, as CH 10 shows, many two-syllable transitive suffixes do not contrast with the one-syllable suffixes with respect to different kinds of goals, but instead show such varied features as reason, intensity, and duration.

4. According to Wolff, only the object is in focus. This seems a logical improbability. Since objects always refer to goals, is the actor never in focus (in semantic terms) when a VP indicates both?

5. One of the main objections to the proposal is that focus, as realized in the "model" languages, is a system that marks NPs. Elsewhere in this grammar, but especially in CH 30, I show that at least with respect to actor and goal, all NPs are grammatically optional and that their occurrence depends on discourse—especially what the speaker predicts about what the addressee knows about his theme. Geraghty (1983a: 391) has shown that relatively few Fijian sentences in discourse occur with actor and goal fully specified by NPs, and many occur with none at all specified.

Most of the treatments of Fijian from "outside" have taken examples out of context—examples that are simplified exercises for language learners and bear little relationship to how the language is actually spoken. These examples reflect a view that every Fijian sentence with a verb that is marked for transitive specifies actor and goal with an NP. Foley's treatment (1976) is perhaps the quintessential one.

Foley has cited about sixty sentences, most with both actor and goal expressed by the grammatical subject and object, but some with only one of these expressed.[18] Of these, all subjects and objects are specified by a noun phrase except eight, and two of those are not in third person. Thus, a kind of language is presented that is quite different from that actually spoken.

Naylor's treatment (1978), in spite of its insightful statements about verb classes, is too strongly influenced by the misinterpretations of Foley and others. For example (p. 418):

> The syntactic function of the NPs is identified by position relative to the verb and by pronominal cross-reference.

This statement is partially true, but misleading. For many sentences with subject and object (in my terms) in third person singular and containing one specifying NP, the position of the NP tells us nothing of its function. It could specify either the actor or the goal. Note the following sentence:

```
                                        ┌──────he (she, it) ate the dog
                                        │
    e kani-a na kolī     ───────────────┤
                                        │
                                        └──────the dog ate it
```
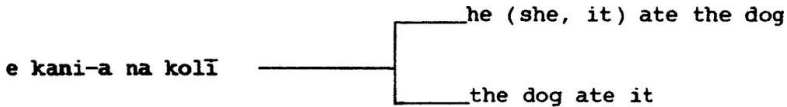
But although position alone does not tell us the function of the NP, intonation does. When an NP specifies an object, it is included in the same phonological phrase as the verb. When it specifies the subject, it constitutes a separate phonological phrase. Thus, with the first meaning, the sentences consists of two phonological phrases; with the second, one.

The following statement (1978:416) is another example of how the analysis of written texts alone obscures the real structure of the language.

> Transitivity therefore occurs only in sentences that contain a verb and more than one NP.

The error here is the idea that the NP is the basis of transitivity. According to its place in Naylor's argument, it is derived from another misinterpretation (Arms 1974:17):

> Transitivity is the relationship of one noun phrase to another as mediated through (or "across", by etymology) the verb.

This misunderstanding, an insufficient understanding of Fijian grammar, and an overreliance on Foley's idiosyncratic data and analysis, resulted in the following incredible statement (1978:418), which gives the impression that at least one NP is obligatory in "transitive" sentences:

> As Foley (1976) pointed out, the nominal position immediately following the verb is the pragmatically salient one in Fijian. It is, furthermore, the obligatory [italics mine] NP. The other NP in a sentence with a two-place verb is the actor and it comes after the goal-NP. The actor-NP is what the initial e third-person pronoun cross-references. It is deletable.

Naylor's definition of transitive for Fijian (see 13.1) is one that was previously accepted by various grammarians, especially Milner, Cammack, and Arms, but I think it is at the root of the misunderstanding.

6. These treatments view focus as an either-or proposition: either something is in focus, or it isn't. There are too many manifestations of focus (intonation, fronting, etc.) for such an interpretation.

13.6.5 Summary. I show elsewhere (particularly in CH 30) that the principal function of the transitive suffix is to make the actor or goal (which are implicit in the meaning of certain verbs) more specific. Moreover, we find that specificity and focus have distinct functions:

Specificity: adds information about a referent

Focus: identifies a referent as the element within a sentence that carries the "thread of discourse".

Does formal transitivity, then, serve as an indicator of focus? Yes, but in a very small way. If we return to Wolff's main point, we can see that—other discourse tools aside—a verb that includes the transitive suffix does focus on the goal in some cases. But that is only because the -C-a or -Cak-a ending includes the object. We should restate Wolff's lake and lako-v-a example: lako focuses on the activity, because the goal is not mentioned; lako-v-a focuses on the activity plus the goal … but only when the other means of providing emphasis are not at work. For example:

 o Jone, e kani-a na dalo   as for Jone, he ate the taro

Here, it is not the goal alone that is in "focus", it is just as much "Jone". This sentence would answer the question: "and what did Jone do?"

In short, the presence of the transitive suffix and/or object often does indicate that a particular referent plays a significant role in discourse. But its principal function is not comparable to that of the tools of Philippine focus. Instead, it is part of the grammatical category of specificity.

14 VERB DERIVATION, OR HOW VERBS CHANGE CLASSES

In CH 8 and CH 9, verbs are classified first according to the semantic role of their expressed subject (does it refer to actor or to goal?) and then according to their capability of expressing either one or two of these referents.

It is also possible to reverse the order of the classification, making the first cut between one-referent and two-referent verbs. This alternate classification is interesting in that it throws together different categories of verbs for comparison. It works as follows:
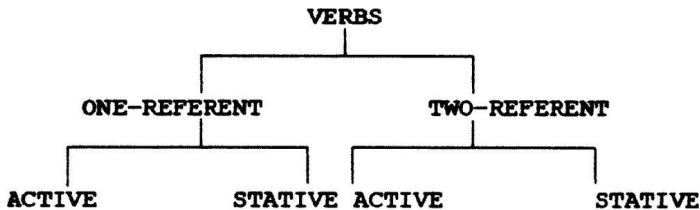
Taking the two-referent verbs as a class, then, one might propose that the language has already picked a "focus" in its selection of the verb. For example, basic verb phrases with lako 'go' (without a transitive marker), express only the actor; those with bulu 'buried', only the goal:

| e lako | she went |
| e bulu | it is buried |

This juxtaposition highlights the categories proposed by Biggs (1974:424): actor-subject selecting and goal-subject selecting; and by Arms (1974:44): agent oriented and patient oriented. It suggests that Fijian has a kind of semantic focus system at a very basic level—one that works automatically, as it were, as soon as the verb is selected.

If derivation can be described as the means by which the classification of a verb is changed, then one of the broad functions of derivation could be to allow the emphasis to shift from one item to another. However, the study of emphasis or focus (in a general sense) lies beyond the sentence. For the time being, we shall treat derivation on the sentence or phrase level, describing (1) the specific changes that operate on verbs, and (2) the forms that manifest those changes.

THE MECHANICS OF DERIVATION

The 2 x 2 system of classification described in the preceding sections developed from a lexicographic point of view, for it labels VERB ROOTS—the forms that usually comprise (for verbs) the main entries in the dictionary. However, the criteria for classification—the role of the grammatical subject, and the number of referents implicit in the meaning of the form—hold for any verb, even though it consists of more than just a simple root. Thus, just as we can classify the following root gunu 'drink' as active by putting it in the frame

e gunu   he drinks

and as a two-referent verb by taking account of its meaning and the other constructions it occurs in, so can we classify a form that consists of more than just a bare root by putting it in the same frame:

e gunu-vi   it is drunk

Here again we note the relationship between subject and verb, finding that the subject is not acting, but is being described. Thus, the form is stative. And again, by noting the semantics and privileges of occurrence, we find that two referents are involved: that there is an actor that has caused the state to occur.

When a root is changed so that the resultant verb has a different classification, we speak of this change as DERIVATION. Because of the nature of our system of classsification, there are four types of changes possible, arranged in two sets:

| ACTIVE | ⇢ | STATIVE |
| STATIVE | ⇢ | ACTIVE |

| ONE-REFERENT | ⇢ | TWO-REFERENT |

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Derivation must involve one of these changes, but it may also include another—necessarily from the other set.

The following types of derivation have been noted.

14.1 A2 ⇢ S2

A2 verbs become S2 when -Ci or -Caki is added and no object follows:

e drē	he pulled
e dre-ti[1]	it was pulled
e gunu	she drank
e gunu-vi	it was drunk
e masu	he prayed
e masu-laki	it was prayed-for
e cabe	he ascended
e cabe-ti	it was ascended
e caqe	she kicked
e caqe-ti	it was kicked
e tagi	she cried
e tagi-ci	it was cried-for

Since the subject of a stative verb represents the goal rather than the actor, this particular derivational process has the effect of bringing the goal into the verb phrase and rendering the actor less prominent. Note that in the examples above, the forms with -Ci or -Caki indicate that the state (represented by the verb) was caused by someone or something. But the grammatical form does not make this agent or actor specific.

14.2 A2 ⇢ S2 (LĀŪ-)

Some A2 verb are also made stative by adding the prefix lāū-[2]:

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e gunu	she drank
e lāū-gunu	it was drunk, drinkable
e kana	she ate
e lāū-kana	it was eaten, edible
e kadru	she scratched
e lāū-kadru	it was scratched
e rāī	she saw
e lāū-rāī	it was seen, visible
e rū	she cursed
e lāū-rū	it was cursed

See the discussion of lāū-, 17.4.1.

14.3 STATIVE TO ACTIVE

Stative verbs are made active in several ways:

    14.3.1 S2 + C-a ⇢ A2. Most S2 verbs (the "irregular passives" of earlier descriptions) become A2 by adding the transitive marker and the grammatical object:

e musu	it is cut
e musu-k-a	he cut it
e kāū	it is carried
e kau-t-a	he carried it
e sogo	it is shut:
e sogo-t-a	she shut it
e bīū	it is left
e biu-t-a	she left it
e dola	it is open
dola-v-a	she opened it

It should be pointed out here that any morpheme in this class appearing with the transitive suffix and an object can also appear with the transitive suffix alone:

e musu-ki	it is cut
e kau-ti	it is carried
e sogo-ti	it is closed
e biu-ti	it is left
e dola-vi	it is opened

This process, however, is not treated as derivation, since no change in classification has taken place. That is, both sogo and sogo-ti are S2 verbs. The difference between them is that the actor is more SPECIFIC in the second—a concept treated in CH 30.

14.3.2 S2 + reduplication ⇢ A2. Some S2 verbs become active through reduplication. Consistent with the general nature of reduplication, the process as used here is irregular. As an example of how it is used, consider caka 'done, made'. When used in its underived form, it is classified as an S2:

e caka	it was done

Including an object automatically changes its status, for then the subject represents the actor, and the object represents the goal:

e caka-v-a	he did it

The reduplicated form provides a way of allowing the subject to represent the actor without signaling, expressing, or specifying the goal:

e cakacaka	he's doing [something], working

This form, in turn, can also take the transitive suffix and an object:

e cakacaka-tak-a	he worked-with it (tool)

In a way, then, reduplication is used as a means of providing a form to fill a desired function.[3] As Arms (1974:79) explained it:

This means that reduplication is filling out a gap in the paradigm of Patient verbs, providing them with an Agent-oriented intransitive form comparable in many respects[4] to the simple intransitive form of Agent verbs.

14.3.3 S2 + modifier ⇢ A2. S2 verbs can become active through the addition of a modifier, sometimes interpreted as a specified object, but usually without a transitive marker and always without the definite article before the noun (see 12.4.1):

e caka	it is done
e caka kākana	she is food-making
e moku	it is struck
e moku siga	she is wasting time (literally, 'day-killing')
e cā	it is carried
e cā buka	she is gathering firewood

14.3.4 Vēī- + S2 ⇢ A2 (suggested by PG, 9/83).

qara-vi	served	vēī-qara-vi	serve
cula	pierced, innoculated	vēī-cula	administer an injection
sele	operated on	vēī-sele	perform an operaton
koti	clipped	vēī-koti	cut hair

14.4 S1 ⇢ A2

S1 verbs become A2 by adding the causative vaka- (see 15.1):

e katakata	it is hot
e vā-katakata	it heats

Vaka- also occurs with A2 verbs, but it does not change their class. In an example like

e vaka-cici basi	he runs buses

the subject expresses the actor, just as in the following form without vaka-:

e cici	he runs

However, in the vaka- form, the cast of characters (so to speak) has been realigned, even if there has not been "true" derivation.

Since the verbs of judgment discussed in 10.5 appear with -Ci or -Caki markers plus objects (as dina, dina-t-a), they can also occur with the marker alone, meaning that the subject represents the goal:

e dina-ti	he is believed
e vinaka-ti	he was wanted

In this respect, the forms are similar to those verbs in another subcategory, the process verbs:

e dola	it is open, it is opened
e dola-vi	it was opened (not by itself, but by an unexpressed actor)

But the relationships do not seem identical; for dola and dola-vi seem closer than do vinaka and vinaka-ti. Consider, for example, the context once seen (in 1961) for vinaka-ti: a "wanted" poster advertising an escaped or unapprehended criminal. Is this verb the same, then, as vinaka 'good', except that the agent has been made more explicit? Does the same relationship hold for cā 'bad' and ca-ti 'hated'? It seems unlikely. What is more likely is that vinaka-ti and vinaka-ta have developed for this set of words, the -Ci functions more to keep meanings separate than to indicate derivation.

14.5 PREFIXES THAT DELETE THE ACTOR

The derivational changes discussed so far can be divided into two types: those that change the role of subject, and those that add a referent. The derivation effected by four prefixes—ta-,[5] ca-, kar-, and ra—falls into neither of these types, for it deletes the actor. With sere, for example, the two stative forms we have discussed so far indicate two different levels of specificity (see CH 30) for the actor: In the phrase

e sere	it is untied

e, as subject, EXPRESSES the goal. The actor remains implicit, but still a participant. In the phrase

e sere-ki   it is untied

the actor is SIGNALED by the suffix -ki. Although it cannot be further specified, it is made one degree more explicit than in the preceding phrase. However, in

e ta-sere   it is untied

"it" has become untied by itself. The following example shows an actual context for the forms.[6] As a woman was stepping through a door that was swinging shut, it closed on her dress ties (rather like apron strings), untying them. Her comment was e ta-sere.

    Viewing the situation from outside the language, we might propose that the door was actually the actor, but that is not the view from within the language. For although in English we can speak of the wind closing the door, or the door pulling the ties loose, Fijian does not allow an inanimate subject for such verbs (especially, it seems, these "process" verbs), unless the item is being anthropomorphized. Thus, the following sentence

e   sere-k-a   na   i-oro   na   i-sogo ni   kātuba
3S untied-TR-3S DEF waistband DEF door   POS doorway
the door untied the waistband

is allowed only if we attribute human characteristics to the door.

    As another example, AS reported that his daughter mis-judged the weight of a cup as she put it in the sink for washing up; as a result, the handle was chipped. His comment was:

e ta-beti[7]   it's chipped

Note a (linguistically) similar situation in the following sen-tences from a written text:

e   na   gauna oqō,   sā   ladelade tiko na   bulumakāū, ka   ta-sova
ABL   DEF   time DEM:1 ASP jump   CNT DEF cow   CNJ spilled

ki-na   na   sucu   now the cow was jumping, and in its doing
ABL-3S DEF milk   so, the milk was spilled (FR3:51)

Two sentences later:

ni	ta-luva	gā	na	dali	qāī	cē-murī	Apisāī
SUB	untied	LIM	DEF	rope	SEQ	pursue	A

when the rope became untied, then it [the cow] charged A

For the states referred to in these last two sentences as well, one could (from the outside) posit an actor: the cow spilled the milk, then caused the rope to become untied by pulling on it. However, the states do not seem to be interpreted as direct or deliberate results of actions, but are incidental to them.

In other words, the actor has been eliminated, and the derived form ta-sere (for example) is an S1 verb, with only the goal indicated. Thus, similar to balavu 'long' and levu 'big', ta-sere refers to a state that was not caused by an actor.[8]

Examples of the other prefixes are[9]:

ka-basu	torn open
ka-voro	broken (something brittle)
ka-sova[10]	spilled, emptied
ka-musu	cut/broken in two
ca-bola	cleft (with axe)
ca-lidi	cracked, popped
ra-gutu	severed
ra-musu	broken in two

Of the four prefixes, ta- is the most frequent. Hazlewood's dictionary includes over 40 forms with this prefix. In Arms's (1974:269–74) useful lists,[11] we can make the following count: ta-, 101; ka-, 46; ca-, 21; ra-, 5.

Although the prefixes are not usually interchangeable, they overlap somewhat. For example, Hazlewood gave ca-bola and ka-bola as "nearly syn.". Capell added ta-bola. As another example, gutu can occur with ca- as well as ra-.[12]

Since Arms listed only 173 forms that take these prefixes, we are left with a large number of S2 verbs that do not occur with any of them. A common example is caka 'made'. Perhaps the semantics of such terms prohibit their use with a "spontaneous" prefix—one that deletes the actor.

At any rate, on the basis of inclusiveness, the prefixes are not productive, for there are too many verbs in this category that do not occur with them. Another test for productivity—use with new borrowings—does not work, for so far, there seem to be no new words that have entered the S2 category.

14.5.1 The distinction among statives. The existence of -Ci forms for nearly all S2 verbs[13] and ta- forms for many of them, produces a set of three statives that must be distinguished. For example:

bulu, bulu-ti, and ta-bulu

are all statives meaning 'buried'. The distinctions are as follows:
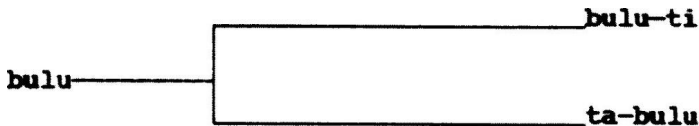
bulu: a continuing state that is uncommitted as to actor, which remains at the implicit level. This form is opposed to both of the following:

bulu-ti: a state definitely caused by someone (but who cannot be further specified), brought about at a particular time.

ta-bulu: a state without human actor; therefore interpreted grammatically as being without any actor.

In discussing these three options, TRN suggested this potential situation to show the distinctions. A body was found buried (bulu). The conditions were such that it could not be decided whether a person had done it (bulu-ti), or whether it was done by a landslide—and therefore by no one (ta-bulu).

14.6 A PREFIX THAT DELETES THE GOAL

In scanning the pages of ca-entries in the dictionary, or the appendices to Arms's treatment (1974:269–74), one finds a number of exceptions to the label "passive prefix" (Capell) or "spontaneous prefix" (Arms 1974:72) for ca-. First, it is not always clear whether ca- is actually a prefix and not part of the

base itself. But regularity of function and meaning provide evidence that in most cases it is a prefix. The regularity of function and meaning that we have noticed sets it apart quite distinctly from the ca-just discussed. Note the following examples:

cacali	to talk or sing about[14]
caqōū	make the sound of a club hitting the body
caquru	make the sound of crunching
caroba	make the sound of flapping wings
carotu	make the sound of a speared fish
caroka	make a rustling sound
carubi	make the sound of beating fans in a meke
cavo	fish with a rod
cawadru	slip through the fingers, as a line with a fish
cagutu	make a snapping sound

All these forms have one thing in common: there is no implicit goal. Thus, they are classified as A1. Next, most of them refer to sounds or special types of activities—those that concentrate on the manner of doing something, rather than on what the goal of that activity is. Finally, there are some forms that are clearly made up of two morphemes. These are the ones that demonstrate the goal-deleting function of ca-:

e gutu-v-a	he (A) cut through or snapped it (B)
e ca-gutu	it (B) made a snapping sound

Although in the second phrase, B is now the subject, it does not express the goal, but the actor. In other words, B is now doing something, not being acted on.

e roba-k-a	it flapped it (its wings)
e ca-roba	it made the sound of flapping wings
e qou-t-a	he hit it (with his knuckles)
e ca-qōū	it made the sound of hitting/being hit
e wadru-c-a	he stripped it
e ca-wadru	it slipped through the fingers
e rubi-c-a	he beat it
e ca-rubi	it made a beating sound
e bolo-g-a	he pelted it
e ca-bolo	it exploded

14.7 DISCUSSION

14.7.1 Reduplication as a means of providing contrasting forms. From a theoretical point of view, the notion that one of the functions of reduplication is simply to provide a contrasting form or fill a hole in a pattern is an interesting one, since it greatly reduces the morphological regularity of reduplication. That is, suppose a language learner knows the meaning of a root and also knows its classification. On first encountering the reduplicated form, what are the chances of his predicting its classification?

As an example, let us return to caka 'made'. If a learner knows that the verb in e caka is an S2, and that in e caka-v-a it is an A2, is there any way for him to predict the classification of the verb in e cakacaka? A prediction might be made from a statistical point of view, but not much else.

When the subject of a reduplicated form continues to refer to the goal, the reduplication generally carries an added meaning of repetition or continuation. For some verbs—vavi 'baked', tavu 'broiled', and qaqi 'crushed'—the active and stative forms are kept distinct by using partial reduplication for the actives: vāvavi, tatavu, and qāqaqi. For others—bulu, kāū, sogo, sele, kola, and moku—the reduplicated forms are an example of grammatical homophony.

This pattern points to two conclusions. First, derivation has a demarcative function that is seldom discussed. That is, some verbs have a potential for many derivatives, and sometimes affixes seem to be used not as part of a paradigm, but merely to maintain an opposition between meanings. Such is especially the case for reduplication and for the various forms of the transitive marker.

Second, it shows that a limited amount of grammatical homophony can exist in a language, so long as the hearer can disambiguate through context.

14.7.2 Discussion: ta-, ca-, etc. Although the affixes just described eventually came to be known as passive prefixes (e.g. Churchward 1941:20), they did not have that label at first. In his sketch of Lakeba grammar, Cargill stated flatly that there was

no passive ("though it is sometimes indicated by a participle or adjective", p. 46), listed no -Ci or -Caki forms, and described the following verb form as a participle (1839a:42):

sā ta-dola a kātuba   the door is opened

Hazlewood—after setting up an extensive class of passives to deal with those -Ci and -Caki forms, among others—wavered between a passive and an adjective label for the forms with prefixes. He began by showing how the more extensive class of "passives", such as rere-vaki 'fearful' could be "used as adjectives". Then he added to that class

verbs with the prefixes ka, ta, and ra, as kavoro, broken; tamusu, cut in pieces; ramusu, broken. See under Ta and Ka in the Dictionary. Perhaps these are more properly passive forms of the verb.

The last sentence underscores his indecision about the classification of ta- and other forms. If we follow his instructions and look under Ta in his dictionary, we find the following:

Ta, like Ka, is prefixed to the intr. or pass. forms of many verbs, and change. them into adj. or pass. part. as, Tadola, open, from Dola-va, to open. Words thus formed differ from adj. and pass. verb generally in this respect, that they imply that the thing has become so of itself. But it appears to be used also when they do not wish to mention, or when they do not know the agent by whom the thing has come into the state expressed by this form of the verb, or by this kind of adj. They might be called impersonal passive verbs, as they are never used but in third pers. sing.[15] I have generally called them a. or v. pass. The prefixes ka and ra appear to be used in the same manner.

Hazlewood's label for "impersonal" is open to question. "Impersonal" we interpret as not relating to human referents. The statement holds for such verbs as dola 'open', or cavu 'pulled up', for in normal discourse, a human would not serve as the goal. And it follows, then, that first and second person subjects (representing the goal) would not normally be used:

*kēīrāū ta-dola   *we (dual exclusive) are open

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But what of lāū-rāī 'visible', lāū-coka 'pierced', or ka-love 'bent'? These statives, as well as many others, could apply to human goals. It appears that Hazlewood's restriction was a semantic one, not a grammatical one, and a generalization too hastily formed.

However, Hazlewood's grammatical explanations in the dictionary differ somewhat from those in the grammar (later scholars have tended to use only the latter; using both sources gives a fuller picture). Whereas these derivatives hover between passive and adjective in the dictionary explanation, they seem to have fallen toward "passive" in the grammar (1872:44):

> Passives of some verbs are formed by prefixes, or by the passive form of some other verb, as by lau, ka, ra, ta, and perhaps some other particles. They are all prefixed to the short passive form of the verb.

(By "the passive form of some other verb", he meant lāū, which he considered to stem from lāū 'hurt, injured'. Accordingly, his examples all convey this "afflictive" sense, and he omitted the examples that do not fit this hypothesis, such as lāū-rāī 'visible', lāū-kana 'edible', lāū-koda ('capable of being) eaten raw', or lāū-gunu 'drinkable, drunk'.)

Churchward (1941:20) clearly labeled the ta-(and other) forms as passive rather than as adjective. He also discussed the lāū- forms, and was careful to indicate some doubt about the relationship of the prefix to the verb lāū, including such apparent anomalies as those examples given above.

Milner also labeled this set of affixes as "passive prefixes", but did not distinguish the meaning of the forms from that of the other "passives", except by claiming that "the majority denote violent and/or disruptive processes" (1972:113). We might point out that it is probable that such a meaning is derived from the meanings of the verbs, rather than a meaning intrinsic in the prefixes.

Choosing to follow Cargill's interpretation, Schütz and Nawadra (1972:105–6), in their argument against passives of any sort in Fijian, classified the forms in question as participial prefixes.

Through all the treatments just discussed (with the exception of Milner's) run two common themes: (1) that the states indicated by the derived forms do not have an external cause, and (2) that the verb roots appearing with these prefixes (except lāū-) are themselves stative[16] or —in the earlier terms—passive. For example, Hazlewood pointed out both in the dictionary entry for ta- and in his more general discussion in the grammar that "the thing has come into that state of itself". Moore (1906b: 46) used terminology more familiar to modern linguists: "when the thing has happened without any direct cause or agent [emphasis mine] …" Capell, in his entry for ta-(but for none of the other prefixes), used the term "spontaneity".

It is this last term that served as a theme for Arms's careful and thorough treatment (1974:72–76, 121–23, 269–74). Calling the set "spontaneous forms", Arms developed the two themes just mentioned, especially the first: "Spontaneous forms indicate that the state or process is being viewed independent of any Agency" (p. 73). In addition, he emphasized that "states, not passive actions" were involved.

I think that the advantage of the present treatment is that it clarifies the "agentless" notion by fitting it into our more comprehensive verb classification: the two oppositions of active/stative and one-referent/two-referent. It accomplishes this by viewing such forms as ta-dola as being not merely without an actor, but as the result of a process that has operated on a verb that is classified as two-referent (here, dola 'open') and has, through derivation, deleted the actor. Thus, ta- and the other prefixes in this limited set[17] fit in with other affixes of derivation—that is, those that change a verb's classification.

15 VERB AFFIXES: *VAKA-*

In CH 14, we discussed how, as different affixes are added to a verb root, the newly derived verb functions differently, thus changing its classification. We now discuss derivation from a different point of view: the meaning and function of the most common verb affixes. These affixes are:

vaka-l, 2, 3, 4, 5

    vēī-

    via-, viavia-

    ta-, ca-, lāū-, etc.

    -tā-

    -Ca (with reduplication)

    yā-

    (reduplication)

In this chapter, we discuss the first group of these affixes—the various functions of the form vaka-.

Whether through inheritance,[1] or independent development, or both, vaka-in Standard Fijian now has several separate meanings/functions. Although the lines of distinction for some are occasionally hazy, vaka-falls into five separate categories[2]:

> 1. Causative. E.g. vaka-totolo-tak-a 'make it fast', from totolo 'fast'.

> 2. Actives that indicate frequentative/distributive/ intensive. E.g. vaka-muri-a 'follow it in detail, persistently', from muri-a 'follow it'.

> 3. Statives that indicate manner, duration, frequency. E.g. vaka-vēītālia 'haphazardly, carelessly', from vēītālia 'never mind'.

4. 'Provide(d) with, in possession of'. E.g. vaka-wati 'married', from wati 'spouse'.

5. 'Pretend, perform as a game or out of the ordinary surroundings'. E.g. vaka-lomaloma-n-a 'pretend to be sorry for her', from loma-n-a 'have compassion for her'. This function of vaka- is only cross-listed in this section; it is discussed in the section on reduplication.

15.1 CAUSATIVE

The verb classes discussed so far might be combined into a situation consisting of four different kinds of actions or states:

SITUATION
A1: X acts
A2: X acts-on Y
S1: Y is in a state
S2: Y is in a state caused by X

Translating these descriptions into real sentences produces the following:

SITUATION
A1: e gutuwā   'he fled'
A2: e kani   'he ate'
S1: e katakata   'it is hot'
S2: e bulu   'she was buried'

The causative construction introduces an actor from the outside: Z, Z CAUSES:

SITUATION
     X to act
2 CAUSES: X to act (Y cannot be expressed in the verb phrase)
     Y to be in a state

In the semantics of the causative construction, Z is now the actor, and X and Y are goals—but only one at a time. Again, translating the descriptions into sentences produces the following:

SITUATION

e vā-gutuwā[3]	he (Z) caused [ ] to flee
e vā-kani	he (Z) fed [ ]
e vaka-lāīlāī	he (Z) made [ ] small

The reason that only three situations can occur with the causative is that S2 verbs and the causative construction are incompatible, or (more accurately) redundant. This redundancy arises because S2 verbs automatically become semantically causative when the transitive marker and object are added:

e bulu	it is buried
e bulu-t-a	he buried it (that is, caused it to be in a buried state)

One can express the idea that someone causes someone else to bury something, but it has to be done outside the area of transitivity, with lexical items like "force" or "request".

The causative vaka- does not always change a stative into active, or always add a referent. But it does have the effect of bringing the actor into play or into a more prominent role.

15.1.1 S1 ⇸ S2. Note the following example:

(me)	vaka-lāīlāī	mada	na	retiō
SUB	CAU-small	INI	DEF	radio

At first, this sentence seems to be an active imperative: 'Turn the radio down!' But na retiō is not the specified object, but the specified subject instead, since there is no grammatical object and no transitive marker. Thus, a translation that is grammatically closer[4] is 'Let the radio be turned down!'—still an imperative, but in the third person rather than second person, and stative rather than active. The vaka- makes the following contrast:

lāīlāī	S1	vs.	vaka-lāīlāī	S2

For lāīlāī there is no actor at all. For vaka-lāīlāī, the actor enters the picture, but remains implicit. Still, the construction indicates that the state (decreased volume) is caused by someone.

Other examples are:

(me) vaka-levu na vaivo	let the flow (in the pipe) be increased
(me) vaka-totolo na cakacaka	let the work be speeded up
e vaka-sīnāī vēī āū	it's being filled for me[5]

The basis of the S2 classification is (as usual) the role of the subject—in these examples, a deleted e, representing the goal.

15.1.2 S2 ⇸ S2. A form more common than those above is vaka-rāū 'made ready, prepared'. Although *e rāū 'it is sufficient (?)' does not occur,[6] the form vaka-vaka-rāū 'getting ready' suggests that rāū is an S2 (PG 9/83). Moreover, the use of vaka-rāū as S2 and of rau-t-a 'suffice for it' as A2 indicate that rāū might fit with a small class of statives like oti 'finished' (made A2 in oti-v-a 'finish it') and cā 'bad' (made A2 in ca-ta 'hate it'). See 10.5 and 10.7.

As with other S2 verbs (such as caka 'made', bīū 'left', and dola 'open'), these forms become A2 with the addition of the transitive marker and object:

e vaka-lāīlāī-tak-a	she made it small
e vaka-levu-tak-a	she made it big
e vaka-totolo-tak-a	she made it fast

15.1.3 S2 ⇸ A2. This change is a common one. Examples are:

e levu	it is big
e vaka-levu	he made [ ] big
e cā	it is bad
e vaka-cācā na cagi laba	the hurricane destroyed

Note here the change in the role of the subject. With vaka-, the subject is now the actor, and the goal is neither signaled nor expressed, but is only implicit. In other words, vaka- has again brought the actor into the picture, but in these examples, it is represented by the subject, not the goal.

Although examples of verbs in this "bare" state are somewhat rare, they are more common in other constructions, such as the following. In this discussion (treated at length in 12.4.1), there is no grammatical object present, although the goal is represented by the modifier.

vaka-bula i-lavo	saving money
vaka-mate vuaka	killing pigs
vaka-oti gauna	wasting time
kua ni vaka-berabera	don't slow (things)[7]
vaka-tubu leqa	making trouble
vaka-dewa i-vola[8]	translating books
vaka-dewa vosa	translating language

Another construction in which the causative appears without a transitive marker and expressed object is in nominalizations (Milner 1972:105):

na i-vaka-yadra	awakener, alarm clock
na i-vaka-bula	savior
na i-vaka-sala	advice
na i-vaka-macala	explanation

Note that the hierarchical structure is as follows:

(na (i (vaka-bula)))

Some roots, however—for various reasons—require that the transitive marker be included in this construction. For example,

na i-vaka-nanu-mi	memorial, souvenir

There are two possible reasons for this form. First, nanu 'think' does not occur alone as a root; that is, *e nanu does not occur. Next, different transitive markers give somewhat different meanings:

nanu-m-a	remember it, think of it

vaka-nanu-tak-a   ponder on it

(In the second example, vaka- seems to indicate duration, frequency, or intensity, rather than causative.)

Thus, -mi as a transitive marker distinguishes the form from other possible meanings. Another example, with rāī 'see':

na i-vaka-rāī-taki token, exhibit (that is, something to be seen)

Here, *vaka-rāī would present the following ambiguity:

```
                    ┌──── -ci              watch over
vaka-rāī────────────┤
                    └──── -taki            cause to be seen
```
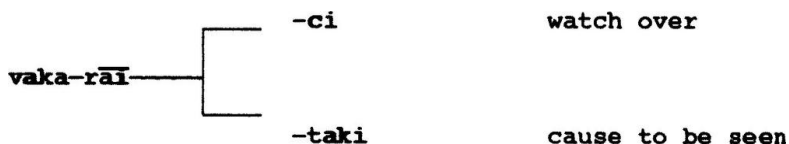
Thus, -taki adds "lexical meaning" (from an English point of view, at any rate) to the form to distinguish it from "watch over".

15.1.4 Causatives with the object signaled and expressed (S1 ⤳ A2). The following examples show a more common causative construction:

e mate   he (A) is dead
e vaka-mate-a   he (B) killed him (A)[9]

The example just given shows no consonant in the transitive marker. Further examples are:

cala	wrong	vaka-calā	deem it wrong
lialia	foolish	vaka-lialiā	make him appear foolish
bula	alive	vaka-bulā	save her
oti	finished	vaka-oti-a	finish it
yali	lost	vaka-yali-a	lose it
rere	afraid	vaka-rere-a	frighten her
bera	late	vaka-berā	delay it
gata	sharp	vā-gatā	sharpen it

However, there are also forms in which the consonant does appear:

sīnāī   full   vaka-sīnai-t-a   fill it

    yadra awake vaka-yadra-t-a   wake her

All the preceding forms are unusual in one respect: they signal the goal with a one-syllable transitive marker. Since they are all very common words, it is tempting to consider them remnants of a period when a one-syllable suffix as transitive marker was the norm. Such is no longer the case; not only newly borrowed words, but also most S1 verbs take -taki as the transitive marker in the causative construction. For example:

levu	big	vaka-levu-tak-a	make it big
mārāū	happy	vaka-mārāū-tak-a	make her happy
mamaca	dry	vaka-mamaca-tak-a	dry it
viqi	pink	vaka-viqi-tak-a	make it pink
rauni	round	vaka-rauni-tak-a	make it round

As a matter of fact, this construction is so common that vaka … taka has sometimes been analyzed as an "envelope" into which to insert statives, or—in other terms—as a discontinuous morpheme. Such an interpretation was discussed in 13.5.1.

15.1.5 A1 ⇸ A2. Verb roots that are active also enter into the causative construction. With such constructions, the new actor does not bring about a state, but he causes someone or something else to do something.

| e gutuwā | he fled |
| e vā-gutuwā | he caused [   ] to flee / he caused fleeing |

| e kedru | he snored |
| e vā-kedru | he caused [   ] to snore / he caused snoring |

With the examples above, the goal remains implicit, since it is neither signaled nor expressed. The goal can be made more specific by signaling it with -taki and expressing it with the object -a:

| e vā-gutuwā-tak-a | she caused him to flee |
| e vā-kedru-tak-a | she caused him to snore |

As with S1 verbs, the addition of vaka- to these verbs represents a change in the roles played by the referents. That is, in normal conversation, the participants would be identified as follows:

e gutuwā	he (X) fled
e vā-gutuwā-taka	she (Z) caused him (X) to flee

15.1.6 A2 remains A2, but with a change of roles. In this type of causative construction, both the underived and the derived forms belong to the A2 class, but certain roles are changed:

e kani-a	he (X) ate it (Y)
e vā-kani koya	she (Z) fed him (X) / (Z) caused (X) to eat

As indicated in the introduction to this section, (Z) is acting as an outside agent, causing the situation in the sentence e kani-a to happen:

(Z) causes ⇢	e kani-a

As another example of this construction, we use davo 'lie':

e davo	he (X) lay
e davo-r-a	he (X) lay-on it (Y)
e vaka-davo-r-a	she (Z) made him (X) lie down

Note that although in the examples above there are three referents—(X), (Y), and (Z), only two of these can be expressed in the transitive-causative construction itself. A third referent can be expressed, not by the causative-transitive construction, but as follows:

e vā-kani koya e na dalo	she fed him taro
e vaka-davo-r-a e na ibe	she (Z) made him (X) lie on the mat (Y)

In these sentences, the Fijian equivalents of 'taro' and 'mat' are each indicated by a prepositional phrase.

Another way of including a third referent in the construction is first to qualify the verb with it:

kana dalo	taro eating

and then to use this phrase as the head of the causative-transitive construction:

e vā-kana-dalo-taki koya   she taro-fed him

An example of this head-modifier construction used without the transitive marker is:

e vaka-cici-ose   he makes horses run

The hierarchical structure of the verb is:

(vaka (cici-ose))

15.1.7 Some special kinds of causatives.

1. Concerning verbs of judgment

e lasu   it is false
e vaka-lasu-y-a   she judged it to be false

e tabu   it is tabu
e vaka-tabu-y-a   he declared it tabu

e dina   it is true
e vaka-dina-t-a   she recognized it as true

For all three of these states—lasu, tabu, and dina—their existence depends upon external judgment. Therefore, judging something to be false is—in a sense—making it false. Hence, we can interpret this construction as a causative. (See also 10.5.)

2. Concerning greetings

sā yadra   good morning
e vaka-yadra-tak-a   she bade him "good morning"

sā bula   greetings
e vaka-bula-tak-a   he greeted her

Although these constructions can be translated by 'say [ ]', the meaning of 'say' seem to lie more in the root than in vaka- (see note 2 in this section).

15.1.8 Causatives: a summary. With both kinds of active verbs, the causative situation can be compared to a puppet show. When a puppet does something, he is the actor, but with respect only to the situation that the spectators see. Punch may hit Judy; hence, Punch is the actor, Judy is the goal. But behind the scenes, it is the puppeteer who is the actor, and in that larger context, the puppets are goals—no matter which one is doing what to whom.

15.2 FREQUENTIVE / DISTRIBUTIVE / INTENSIVE

Vaka-$_2$ with active verbs "modifies" the action to give the meanings above. For example:

e rai-c-a	he saw / looked-at it
e vaka-rai-c-a	he searched-for it (repeated lookings or more thorough looking)
e gunu	he drank
e vā-gunugunu	he drank repeatedly / in small sips
e muri-a	he followed it
e vaka-muri-a	he followed it in detail, persistently, more closely
e dike-v-a	he scrutinized it
e vaka-dike-v-a	he researched it
e rogo	he heard
drau vaka-rorogo vēī iratōū	you (dual) listen to the teachers

Note that the specific meaning of vaka- varies according to the semantics of the root. For example, one could not drink the same liquid repeatedly. Or, in this example:

e vaka-bete	he shattered (a number of things)

since bete refers to breaking something brittle, like glass, one does not normally break the same thing over and over. Thus, the vaka- form refers to a number of items.

Other examples are:

| e bubura | he looked for places to pierce for turtle eggs or eels |
| e vaka-bubura | he pierced repeatedly / distributively |

| e bari | he nibbled |
| e vaka-barī | he nibbled repeatedly / distributively |

| e cabe | he ascended |
| e vaka-cabe | he ascended repeatedly / distributively |

| e ceru | he sipped |
| e vaka-ceru | he sipped repeatedly / distributively |

In our sample, other verbs in this class are[10]:

caqe	kick	dara	wear	belu	bent
digo	inspect	dolo	break	dike	scrutinize
domo	desire	dia	throw	iro	peep
bili	push	bolo	pelt	bika	press down
bila	fall on	kati	bite	kara	scold
kalu	whistle	kaci	call	iri	fan
kere	beg	garo	lust for	gudu	(be) cut off
gude	shake	digi	choose	dusi	point
drami	lick	kaki	scraped	cāī	copulate with

For some verbs in this class, there is a variation of meaning of the vaka- forms that is dependent on some semantic features of the root itself. Consider, for example, the difference in the processes of dolo 'break off/in two' and bulu 'buried'. Forms with vaka- have the following meanings:

| e vaka-dolo-k-a | he broke it a number of times / he broke a number of things in two |
| e vaka-bulu-t-a | he buried it, then buried another, then another / he buried it by stages |

The first meaning of vaka-bulu-t-a matches (grammatically) that of vaka-dolo-k-a, but the other meaning—'to do something by stages'—occurs only with verbs whose "action" can be broken down that way. Note also that although one might invent a context for burying something repeatedly, such an event does not usually occur.

15.3 STATIVES INDICATING MANNER AND TIME

The statives that are formed from this prefix refer to manner, frequency, and duration—but not to absolute time. That is, such concepts as 'yesterday' and 'next month' are handled by phrases, not by forms with this prefix.

There are two main types of vaka- constructions in this category, and one of them can be further divided into two types:

FIGURE 15:1

```
                          vaka-
      ┌────────────────────┴────────────────┐
      │                                      │
  N <  vaka-N                      V <  vaka- [        ]
                                    ┌─────────┴──────────┐
                                    │                    │
                                    N                    V (stative)
```
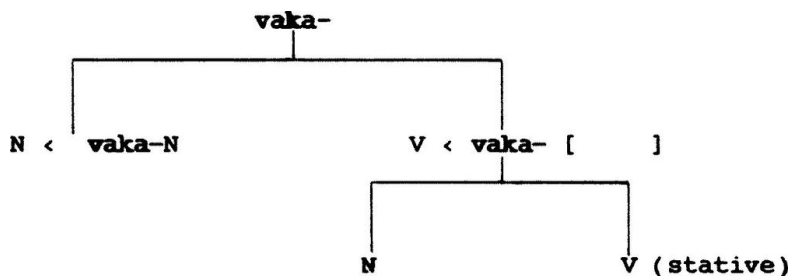
15.3.1 N < vaka-N. Vaka- shows a particular relationship between two nouns. The first noun is qualified by the vaka- form, which here means 'in the manner of', or 'X-style':

na vosa	< vaka-Viti	Fijian language
na i-tovo	< vaka-vanua	local customs
na i-sulu	< vaka-Toga	Tongan-style sarong
na cakacaka	< vaka-matanitū	government work
na yaca	< vaka-papitaiso	baptismal name
na kā	< vaka-yalo	spiritual matters
na kā	< vaka-vuravura	secular matters
na kā	< vaka-tūraga	chiefly matters
na kā	< vaka-tamata	something humanlike
na i-valavala	< vaka-Sāīmone	an act characteristic of S

15.3.2 V < vaka-N. In this construction, a verb is modified by a vaka- construction:

sā votā	< vaka-mataqali	it was shared according to the mataqali
sā kilā	< vaka-cava?	how did he know it?
sā wili	< vaka-matanivanua	he ranks as a matanivanua

e caka-va	< vā-qō[11]	he did it like this
e caka-va	< vā-qori[11]	he did it like that
e lako māī	< vā-gauna	she comes from time to time
e mārāū	< vā-gauna	she's happy from time to time

As the last two examples show, statives derived from vaka- can modify both active and stative verbs.

As a contrast with the former category, note that there is no parallel construction (V < stative) that uses underived statives.

15.3.3 V < vaka-V (stative).

sā vinaka	< vaka-levu	it was very good / thank you very much
sā lako	< vaka-dua[12]	she went once
sā vodo	< vaka-vica?	how many times did he ride?
e cici	< vaka-totolo	he ran fast
e kilāī	< vaka-levu	it's widely known
e dedē	< vaka-lāīlāī	it was for a little while
e caka-v-a	< vaka-evēī?	how did she do it?
e yaco	< vaka-saurī	it appeared suddenly
e gādē	< vaka-vēītālia	she strolled at will
e wāwā	< vaka-balavu	he waited a long time
e mavoa	< vaka-cā	it hurt badly
e cakacaka	< vaka-vinaka	she worked well
e vosa	< vaka-vuqa	he spoke many times
e sau-mi	< vaka-vula	she was paid monthly
e gādē	< vaka-yabaki	she took a holiday annually
e tiko	< vaka-vuni	he stayed secretly

In most of these examples, the head of the vaka- construction is a stative itself, but the whole construction in turn serves as a stative to modify a verb (either active or stative).

Some of these forms can be used as verbs:

rāū dāū vaka-totolo ki   vale   ni   lotu
3D HAB MAN-fast   LOC house POS religion
they always hurry to church (FR3:3)

but such a usage might be considered a short form of lako vaka-totolo 'go fast'.

For some common roots, the vaka- is omitted in this construction. Note the following examples (FR3:3):

rāū	dāū	seruseru	vinaka	they always comb (their hair) well
3D	HAB	comb	good	

rāū	dāū	vaka-i-sulu	vinaka	they are always well clothed
3D	HAB	clothe	good	

rāū	dāū	vaka-rorogo	vinaka	they always mind well
3D	HAB	listen	good	

but:

rāū	dāū	kana	vaka-mālua	they always eat slowly
3D	HAB	eat	MAN-slow	

With the addition of the transitive marker and object, these stative forms become active (like S2 roots: caka vs. caka-va) and have the meaning 'provide him/her/it with [noun]'. The following examples are from Cammack (1962:108):

i-tikotiko	place	vaka-i-tikotiko-tak-a	provide a place for him
i-cili	guest house	vaka-i-cili-tak-a	provide a guest house for her
i-sulu	clothes	vaka-i-sulu-tak-a	provide clothes for him
i-lavo	money	vaka-i-lavo-tak-a	provide money for him
i-sele	knife	vaka-i-sele-tak-a	provide a knife for her

15.4 POSSESSING N OR CHARACTERIZED BY N

Vaka- forms of this type are used as statives, both as full verbs and as modifiers:

na kove vaka-suka   coffee with sugar

Here, the coffee is "sugared", or characterized by having sugar in it. The construction is such (that is, stative) that the emphasis is not on the coffee "having" or "possessing" sugar, but being distinguished from other kinds of coffee by having that feature.

Other examples of this construction:

e vaka-wati	she's married
e vaka-sucu	it has milk in it
e vaka-i-lesilesi	he's serving in that position
e vaka-vale[13]	he has a house
e vaka-i-sulu	she's dressed
e vaka-yaca	she's named
e vaka-waqa[14]	he has (is in the state of having) a canoe
e vaka-bā / -bā ni ika	he has a fish trap
e vaka-i-voli	he has goods to sell
e vaka-cina	he has a light
e vaka-i-ubi	it has a cover
e vaka-i-cili	he lives in the guest house[15]
e vaka-taga	it has pockets
e vaka-moli ka vaka-rōkete	it has lemon and chili peppers

Because this is a stative construction, the principal function of the vaka- form is to describe the subject, not to emphasize that the subject possesses something. For example, vaka-i-sulu in

na	yalewa	vaka-i-sulu	the clothed woman
DEF	woman	MAN-clothing	

serves to describe yalewa, not to emphasize that the woman owns or has clothes.

15.5 PRETEND, PERFORM AS A GAME

This function of vaka- is discussed in CH 18.

15.6 VAKA- AND GRAMMATICAL AMBIGUITY

With at least five distinct functions of vaka-, one might well expect to find instances of grammatical ambiguity. We now examine each of the constructions with respect to its constituents and its function to see if such ambiguity exists.

Causative and frequentative both occur with a verb root, as heads of verb phrases, and in both active and stative constructions.

The manner construction usually occurs as the modifier of a noun, but seldom as the head of a verb phrase.

The provided-with construction has a noun as its head and is stative.

The pretend construction is set off from the others by the affix -tā-.

Since manner and provided-with are similar, sometimes they look similar and are paired off semantically:

na i-sulu vaka-Toga   a Tongan-style sarong
na i-sulu vaka-taga   a sarong with pockets

But the same root would rarely occur in both constructions in the same context.

There is, however, free ambiguity between causative and frequentatative. Note the following examples:

```
                          ┌─────he traveled around it, as in e vaka-
                          │     lako-v-a na vuravura 'he went all
                          │     over the world'
  e vaka-lako-v-a ────────┤
                          │     he helped it to walk / took it for a
                          │     walk, as in e vaka-lako-va na kolī
                          └─────'he walked the dog'


Another example is:


                          ┌─────he ran for it repeatedly / ran for a
                          │     number of things
  e vaka-cici-v-a ────────┤
                          │
                          └─────he made it run
```

15.7 DISCUSSION: VAKA-

Ask a student of Oceanic languages to name a prefix that typifies those languages, and chances are he'll say vaka- (or faka or fa'a or ho'o ...). In Pawley's grammatical comparison of Eastern Oceanic languages (1972:45), this verbal prefix is the first listed, and of the 31 languages compared, all but one show some reflex of the form. As an example of its visibility in the dictionaries of Oceanic languages, Churchward's Tongan dictionary (1959) has 112 pages of faka- forms.[16]

For Fijian, it is part of the first expressions an outsider learns: vaka-Viti 'Fijian'; vinaka vaka-levu 'thank you very much'. As an example of its frequency in a text, it occurs in 12 out of 73 content words in one paragraph from the text of an address (Rabukawaqa to Workshop, August 1978).[17]

Along with its widespread occurrence in most Eastern Oceanic languages is a widespread multiplicity of function. Pawley (1972:45) listed causative as a general description of the proto-form *paka-, and noted that Standard Fijian has in addition the functions of multiplicative and simulative. Grammars and dictionaries of related languages use similar terms: for Hawaiian (Pukui and Elbert 1971): "causative/simulative"; for Tongan (Churchward 1959): "likeness, causation (causing or allowing), supplying, etc."; for Samoan (Milner 1966): "1. Cause ... 2. Characteristic or, proper to belonging to ... 3. Like, in the manner of, of the same kind ... 4. Give, provide [someone or something] with ..."

15.7.1 Previous treatments. Because Cargill (1839a) concentrated on the "declension" of verbs "by numbers, persons, moods, and tenses", he gave short shrift to verb derivation and treated vaka- only as a builder of "adverbs of manner or quality". But in his examples, he included such forms as vaka-dua 'once' as "adverbs of number" and vaka-levu 'greatly' as "adverbs of quantity". Vaka- as an element of verb formation is not discussed at all; it appears only in some cited forms.

Hazlewood, on the other hand, discussed derivation at length, and accordingly devoted considerable space to vaka-. He began by noting multiple functions, but speculated on its primary form (1872:46):

> Vaka is prefixed to nouns, adjectives, and verbs, and generally implies similitude or causation. But probably similitude is its original idea, even when it is a causative; as ca, bad; vakacataka, to make a thing bad: probably the primitive idea is to like-bad-it, to make it like ca, bad. Balavu, long; vakabalavutaka, to lengthen, cause to be long—lit. like-long-it, to make like balavu, long.

He then discussed five distinct verbal functions of vaka-:[18]

> 1. To indicate possession; e.g. vakawaqataka 'provide a cover'. Note that his example is not of vaka- and a base alone, but accompanied by a suffix.

> 2. To change a stative to an active causative; e.g. vakacacana or vakacacataka 'cause something to be bad'. Once again, his examples include suffixes.

> 3. To change "neuter-intransitive verbs into active-transitive ones by making them causative"; e.g. vakabula 'save'.

> 4. To change "some two or three passive verbs in the same manner"; e.g. vakasucuma 'cause to be born'.

> 5. To intensify certain active-transitive verbs; e.g. vaka-raica 'look after'

Churchward listed the following verbal functions (1941:61):

> 1. "Together with a transitive suffix, to form causative verbs."

> 2. To form a verb indicating possession of the root. E.g. vakaiyau 'to have goods or riches'.

> 3. To denote frequency, continuance, or intensity. E.g. vakataroga 'to make inquiries about', vaka-muria 'to follow hither and thither'.

The second and third of this list are an improvement on Hazlewood's treatment. Another improvement is the germ of an idea that perhaps not all the vaka-s are the same. Churchward proposed two origins. First, the "ordinary prefix" he considered

the root of vaka 'resemble' (see Capell 1941a, vaka 3). Forms like vakavinavinaka 'to thank', he suggested, are from vaka 'to say' (Capell 1941a, vaka 2).

Milner wrote (1972:67) that "the prefix vaka- before a base fulfills several important functions". Later (p. 103) he restated this multiplicity of functions: "The prefix vaka- performs so many different functions that it is not easy to make a comprehensive statement regarding its use".

Cammack (1962:102) reiterated what was already known about vaka-: "... used with almost any base ... Before a nominal base it can be roughly translated 'in the manner of', or 'equipped with'. Before a verbal base, translations are more difficult, but the meaning is approximately causative."

16 VERB AFFIXES: *VĒĪ-/V Ī-*

The prefix vēī-[1] with verbs serves two main functions:

```
1.   Reciprocal, mutual---┌-----"Active"
                          └----- Stative

2.   General, formalized--┌---- motion (no goal, or changed goal)
                          └----- other active verbs (no goal)
```

16.1 RECIPROCAL, MUTUAL—"ACTIVE"

The verbal prefix vēī- has usually been given the general label of RECIPROCAL (e.g. Hazlewood 1872:42, Churchward 1941:20, Milner 1972:111–13). In the strictest sense, this term (as applied to verbs) implies a mutual relationship or activity among two or more parties. Such a definition carries with it certain conditions.

First, it is apparent that a true reciprocal relationship is confined to certain kinds of participants—generally to animate beings, thus allowing the actor-goal relationship to work both ways. For example, a verb commonly used as an illustration for the reciprocal is vēī-loma-ni 'love one another', as in

erāū sā vēī-loma-ni	they (dual) love each other

We can consider that each of these phrases is derived from two[2] underlying ones, identical in structure, but with the roles of the referents reversed:

e loma-ni koya	he (A) loves her (B)
e loma-ni koya	she (B) loves him (A)

Similar examples are:

erāū	vēī-tāūtau-ri	they (dual)	held on to each other
	taratara-i		got close to each other
	kaci-vi		called each other
	yalo-vi		waved at each other

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vosa-ki	spoke to each other
tau-ri liga	held hands
vuke-i	helped each other
tagi-ci	wept for each other
kida-vaki	greeted each other
vōleka-ti[3]	were near each other

It seems apparent from these examples (with the exception of the last) that the participants are human. They could also be, however, of the type of animals that Fijians tend to anthropomorphize. Actually, some such limits are built into the verbs themselves, even without a reciprocal affix. Loma-ni, for example (loma isn't used as a verb without the transitive marker), involves compassion, pity, humanity—emotions that humans feel for each other (or for a pet), but not generally for inanimate objects.[4] Certainly, when one of the referents is clearly inanimate, a reciprocal relationship cannot exist; the following sentence is most unlikely to appear in the reciprocal construction:

e dabe-c-a na vatu	he sat on a rock

for the rock cannot "sit on him".

Next, it is difficult to classify true reciprocal constructions as either active or stative. For example, in

erāū vēī-kila-i	they (dual) know each other

there is a transitive suffix, but no object expressed. We can account for this omission by proposing that each of the two semantic entities that are expressed by erāū serves as both actor and goal: A knows B; B knows A. But the scales seem to be tipped in favor of "active"; my hesitation in making a firm decision is indicated by the quotation marks around the term.

16.1.1 Types of verbs. Some verbs have a degree of reciprocity built into them. For example, vosa-k-a 'talk to him' is said to be rare; vēī-vosa-ki 'converse' is common. In other words, it is part of the nature of discourse that A speaks to B, and B speaks to A. In fact, one might consider that unless there is reciprocal action, the nature of the verb is changed. Other examples of semantically reciprocal verbs are:[5]

valu	make war	bō	take hold (as in vēī-bō 'wrestle')
cāī	copulate		
qito	play	māū	play (game)
bā	dispute, deny	regu	kiss
sāū	retaliate, exchange	vacu	punch

Because of the reciprocal nature of these verbs, for some of them, there is not much difference between the root alone and vēī + root:

1. erāū vala   they (dual) fought
2. erāū vēī-vala   they (dual) fought

Although (1) can mean that they are both engaged in fighting (on the same side), it first gives the impression that two people are fighting each other—even without the reciprocal prefix.

A different kind of example is leti 'argue'. Although the Fijian-English dictionary lists leti-tak-a 'argue about it', some speakers say that they have heard only vēī-leti-tak-a. Such a discrepancy might be due to the influence of semantics on the grammatical paradigms of some verb roots.

On the other hand, some verbs that refer to actions requiring at least two participants can occur without the reciprocal prefix:

e valu-t-a   it made war on it/he fought him
e cai-t-a   he copulated-with her
e sōlevu   it (one participant) did its part in the ceremonial exchange

Compare these with vēī-valu, vēī-cāī, and vēī-sōlevu-ti.

One verb that seems inherently reciprocal in its semantics has neither a reciprocal nor a transitive form:

lūlulu[6]   shake hands

16.1.2 Expressing an object. With vēī- forms, the goal can be made more explicit by signaling and expressing it. In the following examples (from Milner 1972:113), the general transitivizer -taki is used:

vēī-sāū   change
vēī-sāū-tak-a   change it

vēī-vosa-ki	converse
vēī-vosa-ki-tak-a	converse-about it
vēī-taqa-vi	layered
vēī-taqa-vi-tak-a	lie-on-top-of it

The vēī ... yaki forms, already including a transitive suffix, can also include an object (examples from Milner 1972:113):

vēī-rai-yak-a	look in all directions for it
vēī-soli-yak-a	distribute it

Strictly speaking, each of the forms vēī-vosa-ki-tak-a and vēī-taqa-vi-tak-a has two transitive markers—but only formally. These derived active verbs seem to treat what precedes -taki as an idiomatic unit rather than as a sum of the component parts. Vēī-vosa-ki-taki illustrates this point: vēī-vosa-ki means literally that A speaks to B and B speaks to A. But -taka (taki + a) introduces a different kind of goal, and what precedes it can be reinterpreted as 'discuss'. (I realize that we are in danger of analyzing by translation, but I suggest that the Fijian concept of vēī-vosa-ki is an idiomatic one, treating it more like one morpheme than like a derived reciprocal.)

16.2 RECIPROCAL, MUTUAL—STATIVE

16.2.1 Kin terms and other relationships. Vēī- forms are used to designate relationships, even those that seem (to the outside observer) to be unequal. To illustrate this type, we will begin with one that seems equal, and show how we can analyze it (as we did above) as the result of two underlying phrases that axe structurally similar:

erāū vēī-wati-ni	they (dual) are husband and wife

For this example, the underlying sentences are not formally transitive, but possessive:

e wati-na	he (A) is her (B's) spouse
e wati-na	she (B) is his (A's) spouse

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But most kin relationships are not so evenly balanced. Consider the following:

eraāū vēī-taci-ni	they (dual) are related in this fashion: they are siblings of the same sex

At first glance, it seems that the relationship is not mutual or balanced, since taci-na means 'his/her younger sibling of the same sex'. Therefore, A has a different relationship to B than B has to A. The same supposed inequity holds for the following examples:

erāū vēī-tama-ni	they (dual) are father-and-child
erāū vēī-vasu-ti	they (dual) have the vasu relationship to each other
erāū vēī-vaka-vuli-ci	they (dual) share a teacher-student relationship
erāū vēī-vaka-bula-i	they (dual) share a nurse-patient relationship

One way of looking at these last examples is to consider that the meaning of the root is such that a literal A-to-B, B-to-A equality is impossible. For example, with siblings, one has to be younger than the other. A similar relationship holds for the other forms above: two people cannot be father to each other, or both have the same role in the vasu relationship. With the roots vuli and bula, however, the relationship could be literally reciprocal: two people teaching each other or nursing each other.

But even with roots like tama, taci, and vasu, if we interpret these kinship and other terms as referring primarily to the sharing of a relationship, with each participant acting his role in the culturally or biologically defined way, we can look on all these vēī- forms as semantically, as well as grammatically reciprocal.

Perhaps a special subset of kin terms are those that refer to a negative relationship:

erāū vēī-bīū tū	they (dual) are separated
erāū vēī-sere tū	they (dual) are divorced

Note that with vēī-, these forms refer to states without a cause, although the roots are classified as S2. These forms are different from vēī- + kin term, which are derived from possessed nouns. The absence of the transitive markers -ti and -ki fits such an interpretation, since those affixes would signal an actor, or cause of the state.[7]

16.2.2 Spatial and distance relationships. Vēī- forms are used to indicate the position of two or more items with reference to each other:

erāū	vēī-bāsa-i[8]	they (dual) are	opposite each other
	yawa-ki		far apart
	taratara-i		adjacent
	vōleka-ti[9]		near each other
	donu-i		opposite each other

16.3 GENERAL, FORMALIZED VĒĪ- FORMS

To illustrate that many vēī- forms are not remotely reciprocal, note the contrast between the following two examples:

kakase[10]	slander
vēī-kase-ti	gossip

For this vēī- form, the action is seldom reciprocal or mutual, for the essence of the enjoyment of gossip is that it is not about mutual parties but someone else instead. Vēī-kase-ti, then, illustrates not the reciprocal, but the general use of vēī-.

For this category, the examples all appear to be active. The reason may be that S1 verbs (either simple or derived) are already general, in the sense that they refer to general states and not specific instances. To illustrate:

e levu	it is big
e kila-i	it is known

S2 verbs, on the other hand, need a means of indicating that a general action, not a state, is being referred to. Thus, although bulu on its own refers to the state of being buried, the vēī- form has the following meaning:

era vēī-bulu tiko	they were burying (general activity)

The general, formalized category is divided into two subtypes: verbs of motion, and other active verbs (including S2 verbs that have become active).

16.3.1 General, formalized—verbs of motion. Since their goal is usually location, verbs of motion do not normally enter into a true reciprocal relationship. That is, in the following sentence:

e qalo-v-a   she swam toward it

one does not expect a corresponding sentence reversing the grammatical roles of actor and goal (unless the goal happens to be human). Such verbs do, however, take the vēī- prefix, with a special suffix -yaki. They then convey a sense of motion without a goal: that is, to and fro, or random. The standard texts contain abundant examples:

e vēī-cavu-yaki   he tacked (in sailing)
e vēī-lako-yaki   he toured around
e vēī-vuki-yaki na kena i-sāū   its price fluctuated
era vēī-suka-yaki   they (plural) dispersed severally
era vēī-cici-yaki   they (plural) ran in all directions
e vēī-voce-yaki   he paddled back and forth

When these verbs do take an object, it is no longer location, for the essential meaning of this construction is that any kind of locative goal is scattered, random, or alternating. Instead, the grammatical object now refers to a different kind of goal:

era vēī-butu-yak-a   they (plural) trampled it all over
era vēī-bini-yak-a   they (plural) piled it in several places
era vēī-kāū-yak-a   they (plural) carried it to several places

One can tell from the examples above that in this construction, a singular subject is required to perform an oscillating kind of action, whereas with a plural subject, each individual can proceed in one direction, but the action as a whole has to be one of dispersal in several directions.

16.3.2 General, formalized: other active verbs. Vēī- is used with active verbs (other than verbs of motion) to refer to general, formalized action, rather than to a specific instance. Note the following contrast:

e vuke-i āū   he helped me (on a specific occasion)

| e dāū vēī-vuke | he helps |
| e sega ni vēī-kati | it doesn't bite (people) |

The last sentence was said in the context of discussing the sharks that swim up the Sigatoka River. Using kati with an object would refer to a specific instance:

| e ā kati-a | he bit it |

Note that these forms do not signal or express a goal. For example, in:

| e vēī-caqe | he's playing football / kicking a football around |

the vēī- form focuses on the activity. The only way that the semantic entity "ball" enters the picture is that it is an implicit part of the activity.

Vēī-caqe is formally classified as active because it cannot serve alone to modify a noun, but only with dāū (habitual):

| e tamata dāū vēī-caqe | he's a person who plays football |

which corresponds to:

| e tamata dāū gunu | he's a drinker |

Vēī-caqe is an example of a semantic subset with a fairly large number of members: games. Although one might suggest that games are examples of reciprocal activity, the vēī-caqe example shows that reciprocity is not essential. The common feature of the set seems instead to be formalized, ritualized activity. The following are further examples; they all refer to games, and are not easily glossed:

vēī-cīū	cat's cradle	vēī-tiqa
vēī-ladekanace	hop, skip, jump	vēī-bona
vēī-lawavuevue		vēī-moli
vēī-māū	cards	vēī-yama
vēī-tara		vēī-bō

The vēī- prefix is by no means confined to indigenous words; vēī-māpolo 'play marbles' is an instance of its use with borrowings.

Some forms are ambiguous, overlapping with reciprocal action:

```
                              ┌───── they (dual) are fighting (against
                              │       an opposing force)
  erāu vēī-vacu ──────────────┤
                              │
                              └───── they (dual) are fighting each other
```
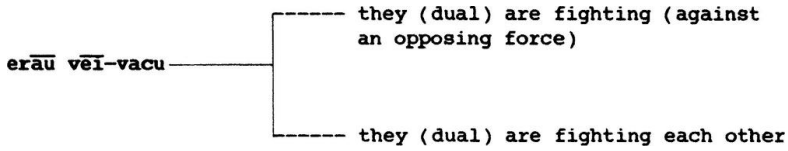
In addition to this ambiguity, there is other evidence that suggests that this formalized meaning of vēī- developed from the reciprocal meaning. For example, many ceremonies do involve reciprocity:

vēī-sōlevu-ti	fête each other with sōlevu
vēī-sāū gone	child barter

Moreover, there is one type of game, with many examples, that does not always include vēī- in its names: string figures. Although this activity certainly involves ritual, complete with meke chorus in some instances, we might conclude that vēī- is missing because the forming of the figure itself does not necessarily involve more than one participant (Hornell 1927).

PG noted (7/82) that some vēī- forms contrast with reduplicated forms (another means of focusing on the activity rather than the goal):

vēī-koti	hair-cutting
kotikoti	cutting
vēī-sele	(surgical) operation
selesele	cutting
vēī-cula	vaccination
culacula	sewing

In the examples noted so far, the vēī- forms apply to animate beings.

16.4 DISCUSSION

16.4.1 Previous treatments. The history of the description of vēī-
with verbs begins with Hale (1846:376–77), for Cargill seems
to have missed the construction. (Could the reason for the
omission be because there is no convenient slot for a reciprocal
in Latin and English grammars?)

Hale wrote (1846:396):[11]

Vei prefixed to a verb, with [-Ci, -Caki] suffixed, expresses recip-
rocal action—as vei-vukéi, to help one another, from vuke to help;
vei-tagíci, to sympathise, weep together, from tagi, to weep … The
suffixes, however, are often omitted,—as vei-vacu, to strike one
another, to box, vei-voli, to trade together, &c. This form with vei
has also, at times, the signification of united action, forming a sort
of plural,—as vei-kadavi, to run together, vei-tomani[12] to live or sit
together.

The suffixes which the verbs in this form receive, are usually
the same which they have when they precede, as transitives, a
pronoun or proper name, as will be hereafter explained. This,
however, is not always the case. Kila, to know, has for its tran-
sitive suffix i, and for its reciprocal ki.[13]

Hale went on to discuss vēī- with -yaki and with kin terms.

Hazlewood (1872:48) first related vēī- with verbs to its use
with nouns, noting that plurality (which I will argue against in
27.1) is implicit in reciprocity. He then made a comprehensive
list of the uses of vēī-:

Vei prefixed to verbs implies, 1. Reciprocity; as veilomani, to
love one another; veicati, to hate one another. 2. With verbs of
motion it frequently implies to go and come, or backwards and
forwards, which does not imply reciprocal motion; as, veilakoyaki,
veisokiyaki. 3. It sometimes implies an action, at which more than
one is present, though but one is active; as veikeve, to nurse
—where the nurse only is active, and the child passive. 4. It
also sometimes implies the habit or custom of doing a thing; as,
veimoku, or dauveimoku, ko ka [so and so regularly hits, kills].
5. It very frequently changes verbs into nouns of action; as, era
kitaka na veibulu, lit., they are doing the burial; era kitaka na vei-
vakamatei, they are doing (the work of) slaughter.

Hazlewood's index does not differ greatly from the analysis here, if we interpret his (3) as two parties participating in a relationship, and his (5) as merely the nominalization of the "general" category—that is, his (4).

Churchward's treatment of vēī- is consistent with the general organization of his grammar. He discussed only the literal reciprocal and the vēī … yaki "to-and-fro" functions in Part I ("principal features") (1941:20–21) and relegated others to Part II ("confusing details"). If one can overcome this idiosyncracy, however, one can find a nearly satisfactory treatment, surpassing Hazlewood's in abundance of examples, but falling short on organization and clarity. Churchward made some analytical improvements by noting (pp. 73–74):

> 1. that the meaning of vēī- forms "is not always reciprocal or mutual …"

> 2. that sometimes action was one-way, as in vēī-vuke 'help', or vēī-keve 'nurse' (also cited by Hazlewood).

On the other hand, Churchward misanalyzed (in my opinion) the "general" function of vēī-, implying that it involves "common or united action, similar action by several persons together". He assumed, for example, that vēī-caqe had to refer to several people playing football, whereas it can refer to only one person kicking a ball (see 16.4).

Although Milner (1972:112–13) gave the general label of reciprocal to the diverse functions of vēī-, he distinguished among them in his description. For the "true" reciprocal, he wrote:

> The particle vei- used in combination with passive suffixes indicates a two-way or reciprocal relationship:

> | keirau sā veikilai | we know each other |
> |---|---|
> | eratou veilomani | they love one another |

> These forms are called reciprocal forms to distinguish them from active forms and passive forms.

There is a minor problem with this statement. As his earlier examples shows, some verbs with vēī- do not use the transitive suffix. Note these (1972:111):

daru sā vēī-bīū e kē	let us take leave of each other here
sā vēī-sāū na draki	the weather has changed
kēīrāū ā qāī vēī-rāī e nanoa	we met (for the first time) yesterday

Why no -Ci suffix? I suggest that in most cases it is because the root is already stative. For the examples just given, bīū clearly belongs to that category. Sāū, however, poses a question, since it does not appear in the frame e [ ], and therefore cannot be classified as either active or stative in the underived form (see 8.3). But its very use here, without -Ci, could be interpreted as evidence for classifying it as S2, rather than simply a two-referent verb. Incidentally, the reciprocal nature of the sentence is obscured by the English gloss; the Fijian meaning implies an exchange of one type of weather for another. The following sentence illustrates a similar exchange:

sā vēī-sāū na mata-ni-cagi	the wind has changed

with the former direction exchanged for the present one (AS, 5/79). The third sentence presents a different problem, for vēī-rai-ci can also occur, and the difference in meaning is not clear. It may be that for some verbs, a contrast between the following:

```
vēī- + root
vēī- + root      + -Ci
```

is more idiomatic than predictable. For example, kāū 'carried', an S2 verb, can occur with vēī- both with and without a transitive marker:

erāū vēī-kāū	they (dual) carried each other (alternately)
eratōū ā vēī-kau-ti māī e na bogi	(literally) they-few mutually carried hither last night

The idiomatic meaning of the second is that someone came last night with others of his clan to rectify a misdemeanor.

In the section entitled "Functions of Reciprocal Forms", Milner listed four separate functions of vēī- forms. The first is what I would call "literally reciprocal"; however, his examples do not illustrate this type. One of the difficulties is with the definition itself, which follows:

> To denote activities, or people taking part in activities involving two sides or parties. Thus a teacher teaching his class (and the converse, a class being taught by a teacher, a court of justice trying prisoners (and the converse, prisoners being tried by a court of justice) are denoted by reciprocal forms in Fijian:

na veivakavulici	teaching, instruction
na vei veilewai	act of adjudicating

The root of the problem is that the phrase "activities involving two sides or two parties" is too broad, for it includes all pairs in the traditional sense of transitive relationships. Thus, "A saw B, and B was seen by A" would fit the definition.

Milner's type (a), then, is not the "literally reciprocal", but actually the same as his type (b):

> To denote abstractions (that is to say what is general as opposed to what is particular) especially in phrases …

Milner's types (c) and (d) are, however, distinct: "position in space or time" (as, for example, vēī-taratara-i 'adjacent') and "kinship and sundry other types of relationship".

16.4.2 Classifying reciprocals. As an example of the classificatory limbo that some reciprocals are in, note the following. Previously, we have often put a form into the frame Noun + ?] to see if it can modify the noun and thus classify as a stative. This test does not give us a clear-cut answer with respect to reciprocals. Although some forms seem clearly stative, for example:

na siga vēī-rau-ti[14]	suitable day (Milner 1972:112)

others seem both or neither, for example:

vēī-loma-ni	mutually loved/love

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Forms that are clearly active, such as gunu 'drink', can be used to modify a noun only when preceded by dāū 'habitually':

sā   tamata dāū gunu tī o   Paula P is a person who always drinks tea
ASP person HAB drink tea PRP P

Vēī-loma-ni, however, seems to fit into both constructions:[15]

erāū gone dāū vēī-loma-ni   dina o   Jone kēī Mere
3D   child HAB REC-love-TR   true PRP J   CNJ M

erāū gone vēī-loma-ni   o   Jone kēī Mere
3D   child REC-love-TR   PRP j   CNJ M
J and M are children who love each other

17 VERB AFFIXES: *VIA-*, *VIAVIA-*, *TAWA-* AND OTHERS[1]

17.1 DESIDERATIVE: VIA-

Via- is a particle that directly precedes the verb, indicating a desire for, nearness to, or attempt at the state or action represented by the verb. All these conditions are contrary to fact (in the traditional grammatical phraseology); in a via- phrase, the state or action is not yet or never achieved.

Since desire is a human (sometimes animal) condition, phrases with this meaning are confined to animate actors:

e via-gunu   she wishes to drink (i.e. is thirsty)

e via-kana na vusi   the cat wants to eat (i.e. is hungry)

Many such via- forms can be qualified:

e via-gunu-yaqona   he is thirsty for kava
e via-kana-ika   she is hungry for fish

The constituent structure of this construction is as follows:

(via (kana ika))

Another type of modifier:

e via-kana vaka-levu   she was very hungry

produces a different constituent structure:

((via-kana) vaka-levu)

The alternate structure:

(via (kana vaka-levu))

would mean, structurally, at least,[2] that she wanted to eat a large quantity.

Via- forms can also occur with the transitive suffix and object (with or without a noun phrase specifying the object):

e via-gunu-v-a (na kove)   she wanted to drink it (the coffee)
e via-kani-a (na tavioka)   she wanted to eat it (the manioc)

Fitting in with the general description of 'contrary to fact', via- also has the meaning of 'attempt to':

e via-vacu-k-a na   he tried (without success) to punch his
kena i-sā   opponent

Via- can be used with A1 verbs:

e via-cibi   he wants to do the cibi dance
e via-colovu   she nearly tripped

and with borrowings as well:

e via-dānisi   she wants to dance
o via-sunuka   do you want to play snooker?
o via-rakavī   do you want to play rugby?

The following are examples of via- with S1 verbs:

e via-balavu o koya   he'd like to be tall
e sā sau-ni ni via-rāīrāī she's made up because she wants to
vinaka   look nice

With S2 verbs, the meaning changes somewhat to indicate need. Since the subjects of most S2 verbs in their root form refer to nonhuman goals, the 'wish, desire' comes from outside. In the glosses for the following sentences, I have used an idiomatic expression,[3] which just happens to fit grammatically:

era via-kāū na i-dabedabe   these chairs want (need)
oqō   carrying
sā via-bulu na benu oqō   this garbage needs burying
sā via-loba na bulumakāū   the cow needs milking

When S2 verbs are used with a transitive suffix and an object, via- can be used, just as with A2 verbs:

e via-kau-t-a na i-dabedabe oqō he wants to carry these chairs
e via-bulu-t-a na benu oqō   he wants to bury this garbage
e via-loba-k-a na bulumakāū   she wants to milk the cow

In all the previous examples, it is difficult to decide whether the referent of the subject is acting or is in a state. Although semantically the examples appear to be more stative, they do not enter into the usual stative pattern—following a noun as an attribute. Instead, they are required to be preceded by e or dāū, after the pattern of active constructions:

na tamata dāū via-gunu-tī

                                    the person who craves tea
na tamata e via-gunu-tī

In general, with inanimate subjects, via- has the meaning of 'disposed to', 'inclined to', 'off-' (as in 'off-white'), or—as Hazlewood pointed out—'nearly', 'not quite':

e via-damudamu   it is brown (reddish, nearly red)
e via-karakarawa na   that fish is greenish
ika oyā
sā via-mate māī na   this organization is on its last legs
i-soqosoqo   (about to die)

17.2 IMPRESSION: VIAVIA-

A situation represented by a viavia- construction, while also "contrary to fact", usually involves an element of deception or pretense that is missing from via-. It means 'try to be', 'act as if', 'give the impressing that':

e viavia-vuku o   he tries to act intelligent
koya
e viavia-levu   she acts as if she's important
e viavia-tūraga   he acts like a chief (but isn't)
e viavia-yalewa   he does women's work / dresses as a
                        woman

Note that the very failure to deceive is inherent in the meaning, since viavia- calls attention to it. PG noted (10/83) that this use of viavia- is not productive. However, the form can also mean 'nearly', 'about to be', with no pejorative meaning:

sā bāū viavia-yaco-v-a toka māī   it's close to happening now

sā qāī viavia-vinaka toka māī   it's going to be better now

17.3 NEGATIVE: TAWA-, TABU-

17.3.1 Tawa- is a negative prefix that occurs before some stative verbs:[4]

tawa-yaga	useless
tawa-mudu	endless
tawa-macala	unclear
tawa-kilikili	inappropriate
tawa-kila-i	unknown

The last example above shows that tawa can be used with S2, as well as S1, forms.[5]

Cargill defined tawa thus: "a negative particle much used in composition. It is placed almost at will before adjectives & verbs; it is of [the] same signification & use as the English 'un'." Although Cargill was writing about the Lakeba language, Hazlewood repeated his statement (almost verbatim) for Standard Fijian. Milner (1972: 117, 117n), however, identifying tawa as a Lauan word, wrote that it "is only found before a limited number of bases". As examples of forms that cannot take tawa-, BK (7/82) supplied the following:

lasa	contented	levu	large
tītobu	deep	mārāū	happy

17.3.2 Tabu-. Tabu- as a prefix sometimes has a pejorative meaning:

tabu-sili	unwashed
tabu-teve	uncircumcized
tabu-lotu	irreligious

However, the pejorative meaning may be a product of the whole, rather than of the prefix. Note the following:

tabu-siga   practice of keeping betrothed women out of the sun to lighten their skin (literally, 'without sun')

tabu-magimagi kind of adze not tied with sennet (literally, 'without sennet')

In these examples, tabu- seems without any pejorative sense.

17.4 THE STATIVE PREFIXES

17.4.1 Lāū-. One common prefix not discussed earlier in the sections on the derivational effects of ta-, ca$_1$, ka-, ra-, and ca-$_2$ is lāū-. As Arms (1974:54–55) noted, it differs from the first four above in that it occurs with both actives and statives (however, with only the two-referent variety of each):[6]

e lāū-kana (from an A2 verb)   it was eaten / edible
e lāū-musu (from an S2 verb)   it was cut

Lāū- is not regular in its distribution. In a list of 728 verb stems (Nanovu 1979),[7] it occurs with 108.[8] There seems to be no pattern to its occurrence, except—as Hazlewood noticed—an attraction for verbs with the "idea of wounding or injuring". PG suggested (10/83) that lāū- is definitely adversative in meaning, giving the following contrasting pairs as evidence:

vako-ti	na	kāū	the wood was nailed
nail-TR	DEF	wood	
lāū-vako	o	Jisu	Jesus was nailed
STA-nail	PRP	J	
tā	na	buka	the firewood was cut
cut	DEF	firewood	
lāū-tā	na	liga-na	his hand was cut
STA-cut	DEF	hand-3S	

However, perhaps the adversative meaning occurs only with human referents, for not all lāū- forms have it.

Of these 108 forms mentioned above, there is a preference for A2 verbs, with a total of 67, whereas there are only 41 examples of lāū-with S2 verbs.

With active verbs, there is no problem stating the function of lāū-; it changes actives to statives. But with S2 verbs, the crucial question is this: What is the difference in meaning between the root form and the lāū- form? To complicate matters, some S2 verbs can occur with one of several stative prefixes. For example:

e musu	it is cut
e ra-musu	it is cut
e lāū-musu	it is cut

Within this trio, the ra- form is easiest to account for, since the actor has been deleted (or, in traditional terms, it is the spontaneous form).

It remains to find a difference between musu and lāū-musu, which —according to native speakers—is not a simple matter. The following analysis has been proposed:[9] the lāū- form concentrates more on the goal than does the root form alone. The actor is not eliminated altogether (as with many Ca-forms), but it is relegated more to the background. However, a more complete answer to the question awaits further research.

With one verb, lāū- forms a contrast between goals:

e sova na wāī	the water was spilled
e lāū-sova o Pita	P was spilled on

But according to TRN (11/79), this example may be the only one of its kind.

Lāū- forms are also discussed in 14.2.

17.4.2 Ma-. As the various counts (those above and those made by Arms) show, there is considerable diversity in the frequency of the different verb prefixes. For example, if there are only five examples of ra-(pending more careful examination of the dictionary in progress), should it really be discussed along with

ta- or lāū-, with some twentyfold that number? Arms grouped them together for good reason: except for lāū-, they seem to be the only prefixes with what he called the spontaneous meaning (1974:76).

If we apply the same kind of elementary statistics to another such prefix, ma-, we find that we have been led astray by previous grammatical statements. One would gather from Capell's entry for ma (1941a) that examples abound. He explained the form as "a particle compounded with many words, forming adjs of state or condition". However, combing through words beginning with ma-for possible derivatives does not give much satisfaction. For example, is macē 'having a soft husk, very ripe, of ivi' formed from ma- + cē 'weak, not able to accomplish one's purpose'? Unlikely, although greater sins of analysis have been committed. Is mākudru 'to sound as voices at a distance' from mā- + kudru 'to grunt, to groan, to grumble'?

As a matter of fact, among twelve possibilities from Capell's dictionary, only two seem clearly to reflect the defined function of ma-: ma-lele 'bending down, of the branches of a tree; stative of lele-ca' ('to bend down a long branch …') and māvuru 'crumbled' (from vuru 'crushed or crumbled in the hands').[10] PG (11/79) added matosi 'scratched' (from tosi 'score, scratch').

We must infer, then, that labeling ma-as "semi-productive", for Fijian, in spite of the relative productivity of cognate forms in other Austronesian languages, is a result of misplaced faith in the grammatical explanations that appear in the current Fijian-English dictionary.

17.5 ARTIFICIAL OR CREATED CIRCUMSTANCES: -TĀ-

As the convention of writing -tā- indicates, this affix must always be preceded as well as followed by another form: it is preceded by vaka- and followed by the verb root. It is difficult to find a common meaning for it in all its various occurrences, but perhaps the explanation above can be justified.

In its use in the causative construction, -tā- conveys the impression that a special situation has been set up to effect the result of the verb root. Note this example:

vaka-tā-vuli-c-a   teach it/her (make her learn)

Justifying the "artificial" label requires a cultural excursus of a conjectural nature. If one imagines a society without a structured segment called "teachers" (as opposed to those segments that did exist, such as the bete 'priests', mata-ni-vanua 'heralds', and others), then the principal meaning of vuli was not 'teach' but 'learn', and it was something accomplished not in a structured situation, but through observation and then participation—the method, for example, of learning the make, the traditional dance-chant. "Teaching" the meke, or the language, or any other kind of skill, involves setting up an artificial situation, indicated in the label by the -tā- affix.[11]

Milner (1972:104) gave three examples of -tā- forms that have been nominalized:[12]

na i-vaka-tā-kila-kila	sign, symbol
na i-vaka-tā-gede-gede	level, stage, grade
na i-vaka-tā-kara-kara	statue, figure

For these meanings, too, a sense of artificiality prevails—at least in the sense that these things are representations of reality.

For a discussion of -tā- with partially reduplicated forms, see 18.6.1.

17.6 MORE -TĀ- FORMS

-Tā- also occurs in a number of forms, preceded by sāū, and referring to kinds of continuing motion:

sāū-tā-gelegele	jump around, roll
sāū-tā-kurekure	vibrating
sāū-tā-legelege	kicking in pain
sāū-tā-moqemoqe	writhing in pain
sāū-tā-ninini	shivering, trembling
sāū-tā-ribariba	flopping about
sāū-tā-wiriwiri	feeling dizzy

These forms seem to mean the same as sāū- + reduplicated root (see 17.8 and CH 18).

17.7 SA-.

In a limited number of examples, sa- appears as a prefix, possibly like the set of stative prefixes:

qoqo	shrivelled	sa-qoqo	shrivelled
balibali	awkward	sa-balia	foolish, clumsy
lobi	folded	sa-lobi	folded

17.8 SĀŪ-

Sāū-, followed by tā- (17.5, 17.6), occurs in a number of forms that refer to kinds of continuing motion. See the examples in 17.6.

The following examples show sāū without -tā-:

sāūmamā	noise of chewing (from mamā 'chew')
sāūrī	suddenly (from rī 'quick')

17.9 STATIVE SUFFIX: -(C)A (WITH OR WITHOUT REDUPLICATION)

As examples of this suffix, note the following (from Ivolavosa Vaka-viti): boro-a, soro-a, tubu-a—all with the general meaning of 'crowded'. Tubu-a has the most apparent morpheme separation:

tubu	grow, spring up	tubu-a	overgrown with grass and weeds

Other examples are:

dreke	cavity	dreke-a	(liquid) nearly empty
weli	saliva	weliweli-a	smeared with saliva
voto	thorn	votovoto-a	thorny
qaro-t-a	prick it	qaroqaro-a	prickly
vere	plot	verevere-a	intricate
vuti	body hair	vutivuti-a	having much body hair

The following examples show -Ca (the Ivolavosa Vakaviti notes these possibilities for C: c, 1, n, r, s, w):

drega	gum	dregadrega-ta	sticky
cagi	wind	cagi-na	ventilated
		cagicagi-na	much blown about
qili	twist	qiliqili-ca	twisted
sosoko	thick (liquid)	sokosoko-ta	thick (liquid)
cō	grass	cōco-na	overgrown with weeds

This process is very common, particularly with -a. Many common S1 verbs have this form, even though the root may not exist on its own. Examples are:

karakara-wa	blue, green	batabatā	cold
kamikami-ca	sweet	dromodromo-a	yellow

17.10 DISTRIBUTIVE COUNTER; YĀ-

The prefix yā- before numerals indicates an even distribution. The derived form can be used as the main verb:

e yā-dua na i-vola	there was one book each
e yā-lima na dola na ke-na i-sāū	five dollars each is the price

Note that the verb has an existential meaning in these sentences, occurring after e (third person singular). With nonsingular subjects, the elements in the sentence refer to a different kind of situation: entities are apportioned in a way that is often reflected grammatically as possession:

eratōū yā-rua na vale	they have two houses each (Milner 1972:83)
e vinaka me ratōū yā-rua na i-vola	it is good that they (plural) have two books each (Churchward 1941:44)

Yā- can also be preceded by tāū- (Churchward 1941:44), which—according to Milner (1972:83)—"adds emphasis".

Yā- forms can also be used as modifiers:

na tamata yā-dua	each of the persons (Milner 1972:83)

na katu yā-lima	five fathoms each (Churchward 1941:44)
lake yā-dudua	go one at a time (Churchward 1941:45)
vēī keda yā-dua	to each of us (inclusive plural) (Churchward 1941:45)

PG noted (7/79) that yā- is in complementary distribution with another distributive marker, dui, the former occurring only with numerals, and the latter with other roots. Thus, perhaps dui should also be treated as an affix. However, because of its wider distribution, it is now treated in 21.9.

17.11 DISCUSSION

17.11.1 Via-, viavia-. Hazlewood did not treat via with the verbal prefixes (1872:40–43), or with auxiliary verbs (pp. 44–45), but his dictionary entry shows that he considered it a verb with special behavior:

> Via, v. to desire; always followed immediately by another v. generally of action, as au sa via lako, I wish to go … When via is followed by v. of sensation, it is better to unite it with the following verb, as they are but one verb in sense.

Hazlewood's explanation is somewhat misleading. His examples show via- written with verbs when the meaning of the combined form relates to a physical sensation. Listed as separate entries in the dictionary are: viagunu 'thirsty', viakana 'hungry', vialua 'to feel sick', via-moce 'sleepy', viamī 'to want to make water', viaveka 'to want to stool', viavuce 'hungry'.

Churchward and Capell wrote via consistently as a separate marker. They offered no explanation for their decision, but Capell (1941a) gave this prescription: "The word ought always to be written separately …"

Hazlewood also gave two viavia forms in his dictionary: viavialevu and viaviaturaga (in his notation).

Churchward (1941:17) classified via- as an auxiliary verb, while distinguishing it from others he classified as such (tiko, rawa, oti) by its position before the main verb and its inability to serve as the main verb. On p. 71, he discussed its use in the reduplicated form.

Milner (1972:35) classified via- as a "general particle" (meaning that it had both verbal and nominal uses), emphasizing its inability to serve as the main verb.

Cammack (1962:117) called via- a "pure attribute": a "base which never take[s] affixes of any sort".

17.11.2 Stative prefixes. It may be that what appear to be the remnants of old prefixes were actually once roots that had been compounded with other roots. (Note that this is how analysts have generally explained the lāū- prefix.) But such an explanation is more likely for forms that consist of long syllables or disyllables than for those that consist of short syllables, for at least in present-day compound or other constructions of two or more roots, vowel shortening or changes in accent do not usually occur. However, in certain forms borrowed into Standard Fijian from other Fijian languages, shortening might have occurred through analogy. Geraghty has described (1983a:68) the yara 'lengthened' phonological feature that appears in a number of western languages: in a phrase, a Ca syllable appearing in the position third from the end is lengthened. A syllable in this position already long might, through analogy with other forms, be shortened if such a form were borrowed into Standard Fijian. But this hypothetical explanation would account for only syllables with the vowel a; the others remain unaccounted for.

18 VERB REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is (1) the repetition of one syllable of a form; or (2) of two syllables; or 3) of portions of a form that are no longer phonological syllables, but which function as grammatical syllables, as it were; or (4) combinations of these types. Examples of each type follow.

levu, le-levu

> levu, levu-levu
>
> vōū, vo-vōū
>
> ta-basu, ta-ta-basu-basu

For verbs, reduplication produces grammatical variations of a form without introducing a separate new affix, or—less frequently—indicates semantic variation while keeping the same general meaning.

The following grammatical and semantic functions have been noted:

> 1. To indicate repetition, frequency, or prolongation.
>
> 2. To allow an S2 verb to be used actively, but still without signaling or expressing the object.
>
> 3. To form S1 verbs from a variety of roots (sometimes with -(C)a).
>
> 4. To form modifiers that can follow nouns (from verbs that would not normally do so).
>
> 5. To form collectives for S1 verbs (rare).
>
> 6. To indicate feigning, pretense (with vaka-).
>
> 7. To form modifiers that can follow verbs (from verbs that would not normally do so).
>
> 8. To indicate discontinuous or dispersive action.

9. To form S1 from S2 verbs.

10. To indicate a partitive meaning: 'nearly, partially'.

11. To indicate aimless action (perhaps related to 8).

The first two types are by far the most frequent. Semantic changes are discussed in a separate section.

18.1 TO INDICATE REPETITION, FREQUENCY, OR PROLONGATION

Some verbs are semantically more compatible than others with the meanings of repetition, frequency, and prolongation—especially so are those referring to physical actions (including verbal ones). Therefore, we find such pairs as the following in our sample:

bose-a	confer about it	bose-bose-a confer about it at length, frequently, or in groups
boso-k-a$_1$	mix it	boso-boso-k-a mix it intensely or often
boso-k-a$_1$	prick it	boso-boso-k-a prick it for a long time, often, or in a number of places
bota-n-a	patch it	bota-bota-n-a patch it often
buku-t-a	fasten it	buku-buku-t-a fasten it often
buki-a	fasten it	buki-buki-a fasten it often
bura1	oozing	bura-bura ooze often
bura2	pierced	bura-bura prolonged piercing
butā	remove it (food)	buta-butā take it (food) out often, or a number of items
butu-k-a	stamp on it	butu-butu-k-a stamp on it often, or for a long time
rove	cut into small pieces	rove-rove cut into many small pieces

These modifications may also apply to an identical operation on a number of referents of the subject.

Some other verbs in this sample that behave similarly are:

vau-c-a	tie it up	bari-a	nibble at it
bulu-t-a	bury it	bete-k-a	break it
yalo	wave	bisi-a	pitch it
bika	press down	bili	push
bā	deny	bese-tak-a	refuse it
bali-a	knead it	basi-a	spread it
basu-k-a	break it	benā	daub it
belu-k-a	bend it		

Note that this function of reduplication is similar to that of vaka-2.

With some S1 verbs, the reduplicated forms add an intensive meaning:

e sīnāī	it's full
e sī-sīnāī	it's full to the brim
e balavu	it's long
e bala-balavu	it's very long (or compared to width, as na dali bala-balavu 'long rope')

The lowest numerals (which can also be stative verbs) are reduplicated with this meaning:

dua-dua	one alone[1]
rua-rua	both
tolu-tolu	all three

These reduplicated numerals also function as post-verbal markers. See 22.7.3.

Churchward noted (1941:44) that, in the compound numerals, only these same morphemes are reduplicated; for example, tolu-tolu-sagavulu 'all thirty'.

Note the following contrasts between the simple and reduplicated forms:

e sega ni tau-vi-mate	he isn't ill
ka sega ni tāū-tau-vi-mate	and doesn't get sick very often (FR3:44)
e butako-ca	he stole it
e buta-butako-ca	he kept stealing it (FR5:7)

18.2 TO ALLOW AN S2 VERB TO BE USED ACTIVELY WITHOUT SIGNALING OR EXPRESSING THE OBJECT

As we saw in 9.2.2, S2 verbs like caka 'made' are stative in the frame e [ ]. They become active with the addition of (1) the transitive marker and object, or (2) a noun modifier. For example (as shown before), caka 'done, made' is am S2 verb in

e caka   it was made

but the following derivatives are A2:

e caka-v-a   she made it
e caka-were   she made-garden

Reduplication serves as a mechanism for allowing S2 verbs to be active but with the semantic goal implicit. In the form:

e caka-caka   she worked

the subject e now represents the actor, and the goal is implicit. As another example:

kēīmami dāū laki voli-voli ki-na

we go shopping (buying) there (FR3:6)

Table 14:1 showed a number of S2 verbs in their reduplicated form; further examples are in Table 18:1.

TABLE 18:1

e but a	it was taken out	e buta-buta	she was taking-out
e bulu	it was buried	e bulu-bulu	he was burying
e bini	it was piled	e bini-bini	he was piling
e buli	it was shaped	e buli-buli	she was shaping
e belu	it was bent	e belu-belu	he was bending
e beti	it was plucked	e beti-beti	she was plucking
e biri	it was set (snare)	e biri-biri	he was setting (snare)

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e	it was	e	he was
boko	extinguished	boko-boko	extinguishing

18.3 TO FORM S1 FROM A VARIETY OF ROOTS (WITH -(C)A)

Many statives are formed by reduplicating a root and adding -(C)a (See 17.8). For some, the roots are still identifiable. See Table 18:2.

TABLE 18:2

qili	twist, rub	qili-qili-a	rough, unkempt (hair)
cō	grass	cō-co-na	overgrown with weeds
kabu	fog, mist	kabu-kabu-a	foggy, misty
dravu	ashes	dravu-dravu-a	covered in ashes
drega	gum, sap	drega-drega-ta	sticky
kadi	biting ant	kadi-kadi-a	"pins-and-needles"
sāī	runt	sāī-sai-a	thin, lean
kāū	wooden,	kāū-kau-a	strong
tui	salt (water)	tui-tui-na	salty

For others, the root no longer occurs in its underived form. See Table 18:3.

TABLE 18:3

caba-cabā	rough, unkempt (hair)
bure-bure-a	muddy (water)
dravi-dravi-a	slippery
droga-drogā	hoarse
dromo-dromo-a	yellow
drugu-drugu-a	stinking, mouldy
dugu-dugu-a	dirty, old, smoked
saka-sakā	clumsy

18.4 TO ALLOW CERTAIN VERBS TO MODIFY NOUNS

Generally, active verbs do not modify nouns. But some can in their reduplicated forms:

rere	fear	na tamata rē-rere	fearful person
nini	tremble	na tamata nī-nini	trembling person
garo	lust-for	na tamata garo-garo	lustful person
saga	strive	na tamata sa-saga	striving person
gū	be earnest[2]	na tamata gū-gū	earnest person

18.5 TO INDICATE COLLECTIONS, GROUPS[3]

A limited number of statives (only seven in our collection so far) change their function through reduplication or through changes to forms that are already reduplicated. As Richard B. Lyth stated (Hazlewood 1872:25), most of them are "adjectives of size" (and as such, seem to arrange themselves into semantic oppositions). In the following examples, the forms on the right are used to indicate collections of items:

lāī-lāī	small	la-lāī
levu	large	le-levu
leka-leka	short	le-leka
balavu	long	ba-balavu

For example:

gone lāī-lāī	small child	gone la-lāī	small children

There is one pair that shows opposition of "quality":

vinaka	good	vi-vinaka[4]
cā	bad	ca-cā

and one form with no semantically opposing form in the paradigm:

vōū	new	vo-vōū

PG noted (10/83) that the reduplication of vinaka, cā, and vōū with nonsingular referents is not obligatory.

These derived forms are used only as noun modifiers, as in the following construction:

na vale le-levu	lots of big buildings

That is, they do not occur in the following construction:

*e le-levu na gone   *there are a lot of children

Nor do they indicate plural, in the sense of 'two or more'; when low numbers are specifically stated, the forms in question are seldom used:

e rua na gone levu   two large children

Five of the seven forms are reduplicated one step further to indicate 'extremely'; the construction is not common:

la-la-lāī	extremely small
le-le-levu	a very great number
le-le-leka	extremely short
ba-ba-balavu	extremely long
vi-vi-vinaka	extremely good

18.6 PRETENSE, AIMLESSNESS (WITH VAKA-)

Full reduplication, preceded by vaka-, conveys the notion of pretending to do something, or feigning. Examples are:[5]

vaka-moku-moku-t-a	pretend to kill him
vaka-mate-mate-a	pretend to die
vaka-loma-loma-n-a	pretend to be sorry
vaka-lati-lati-a	pretend to stop him
vaka-davo-davo-r-a	pretend to lay it down
vaka-soli-soli-a	pretend to give it
vaka-lade-lade-v-a	pretend to jump up
vaka-rika-rika-t-a	pretend to jump down
vaka-leve-leve-a	pretend to hit him
vaka-tosi-tosi-a	pretend to scratch it

Other examples can be formed from the following:

teke	kick	lave	lift		muri	follow	musu	broken
keve	carry	qiri	ring		kari	scraped	galu	silent
gunu	drink	kabe	support		kove	grapple	with	

This construction can be used with a modifier:

| e vaka-belu-belu kava | he's pretending to bend metal / he's bending metal aimlessly |

With the partially reduplicated form, a slightly different meaning is conveyed (according to TRN):

| e vaka-be-belu kava | he appears to be bending metal (but since he's taking so long, he must be fooling around) |

PG (2/82) questioned this interpretation, suggesting that the principal semantic feature in a number of examples found so far seemed to be "slow, deliberate action".

18.6.1 Vaka-, -tā-, and partial reduplication. The partially reduplicated form of the verb, preceded by vaka- and followed by -tā-, is used to refer to an action performed in an artificial situation—that is, away from the usual environment, using something different from the usual components, or because of different stimuli. Examples are:

| kana vaka-tā-ka-kana | eat have a picnic (that is, eat away from the usual environment) |

| lovo vaka-tā-lo-lovo, vaka-tā-lovolovo | make an oven make a small lovo, as children would do, with small bits of food to bake |

| riri vaka-tā-ri-riri | cook by boiling cook small things in small pans, as children do in play |

| vuli vaka-tā-vu-vuli | learn practice |

| qalo vaka-tā-qa-qalo | swim (in a direction) swim around for fun |

Since it is difficult to tell whether the meaning of pretense is conveyed by reduplication, by vaka-, or by both, this construction is cross-listed in the section on vaka-.

18.7 VERB MODIFICATION THROUGH REDUPLICATION

Another function of reduplication is to allow one verb to modify another. As we have seen in the section on vaka-, one use of that prefix is to allow one verb to modify another, as in cici vaka-totolo 'run fast'. Another is to use the full reduplicated form of certain verbs. Examples are:

bati	tooth
digi	choose
bati-digi-digi	eat discriminately, choosing carefully
bati calu-calu	eat hurriedly (no *calu; said to occur only in compounds)
siwa	fish with line
siwa cavo-cavo	fish with rod (cavo is not used alone as a verb)
kolo	throw
siwa kolo-kolo	fish with thrown line
lako-v-a	fetch it
qasi	crawl
lako-v-a qasiqasi	fetch it crawling
meke	dance
yā	move about, be agitated
meke-meke	
vuka	fly
yā vuka-vuka	move idly, be unsteady
bōī	smell
beta	be ripe
bōī beta-beta	smell of ripe fruit

Not all modification using two verbs follows this pattern. Some seem constructed in order to provide semantic variation. Note the following:

yā	be in motion (a group of things)

yā vala	moving
yā va-vala	unsteady
yā vala-vala	fidgety, nervous

These forms are interesting because vala exists in Standard Fijian only in such constructions and in i-vala-vala 'habitual act, conduct', which may be a loan from Lauan (PG, 10/83). Lauan Fijian still has, however, vala-t-a 'do it, make it' (TRN, and Hale 1846:419).

18.8 PARTIAL REDUPLICATION: DISCONTINUOUS, DISPERSIVE

For some verbs, the partially reduplicated form indicates that the action is performed a bit at a time, or here and there. Examples are:

ka-kana	peck at food, eat small bits
cī-cici	run in short bursts, chase and spear fish on reef
ba-bari	nibble a bit at a time
ko-koda	eat raw[6]
cu-cumu	root about (like a pig)
ba-bale	fall down here and there
bu-buta	scald in various places
du-duri	rise up here and there
to-toki	peck here and there
qe-qera	fall down (fruit+) here and there

18.9 TO FORM S1 VERBS FROM S2 VERBS

S2 verbs contain in their meaning a cause of the state (an actor). We have seen elsewhere (14.5) that certain prefixes, such as ta-, can suggest that the state has been achieved by itself. Some verbs attain a similar meaning through reduplication. Bī, for example, means 'heavily laden' (by something); the actor comes into play in the form:

bi-ta	press down on it (with weight)

However, the reduplicated form bī-bī 'heavy, important' seems to indicate a state without an actor at all, not one that has "come about" (even by itself), but one like levu 'large' or balavu 'long'.

18.10 TO INDICATE A PARTITIVE SENSE

Reduplication can convey a partitive or inchoative sense:

bota	ripe
bo-bota	beginning to be ripe

18.11 TO INDICATE AIMLESS ACTION[7]

A reduplicated verb can show that an action was performed aimlessly, without purpose or goal:

e dabe	he sat
e dā-dabe	he sat here and there

e kaba	he climbed
e kā-kaba	he climbed without purpose

18.12 MISCELLANEOUS CHANGES THROUGH REDUPLICATION

This section treats changes brought about by reduplication, but not easily classified into the categories discussed in the previous chapter. Generally, these changes are semantic ones.

18.12.1 Semantic changes. Semantic changes are sometimes difficult to distinguish from grammatical ones. Rāī and rāī-rāī constitute a case in point. The former is usually glossed as 'see', the latter as 'appear':

e rāī	he looks/sees
e rāī-rāī [ ]	he looks/appears [ ]

Thus, grammatically, the subject of rāī represents the actor; that of rāīrāī, a goal. One might interpret the difference this way: one's appearance is how others see him. But this interpretation poses the question: Is the difference between rāī and rāīrāī semantic or grammatical? Here, it seems to be both.

In general, I use the following criteria to distinguish between the two types. A grammatical change has an effect on the classification of a verb—with respect to the active-stative opposition, or to the roles played by topics. Such a change can also be connected with other grammatical categories—such as tense, aspect, person, or number—that are generally manifested by markers less closely connected with the verb than those we consider affixes.

A semantic change, then, can be defined negatively: a change in meaning not included in the various types of grammatical change. For example, some reduplicated forms of verbs do not seem related to the root in any grammatical way so far described, but still the two forms seem related in meaning:

e kilā	she knows, thinks, believes it
e kila-kilā	she guesses it
e drē	it is pulled
e dre-t-a	he pulled it
e drē-drē	it is difficult
e drē-dre-t-a	she considered it difficult

To show that there is no grammatical difference between the members of the following pair, note that each can modify a noun. The difference seems to lie in the lexical meaning:

na tamata oga	a man with many appointments, commitments, or duties
na tamata oga-oga	a busy man (perhaps just for the time being)

Other miscellaneous pairs are:

sama-k-a	rub it (with hands)	sa-sama-k-a	sweep, clean it
sā bera	he's late	sā bera-bera	he's slow

e levu	there are many chickens /	e levu-levu	the
nat oa	the chicken's big	na toa	chicken is fat
bula	alive	bula-bula	healthy
droka	uncooked	droka-droka	green (leaf, wood)
liwa	(wind) blow	li-liwa, liwa-1iwa	cold
qase	old person	qase-qase	cunning
vula	moon	vula-vula	white
donu	straight, level	do-donu	correct

18.12.2 Ambiguity, and some efforts to avoid it. It may have been noticed that there are more functions than there are formal types of reduplication. For some of the functions, there is no chance of ambiguity, for they are manifested in different grammatical constructions. But the two most common functions—frequentative, and stative-to-active—could be confused, for both forms occur as the head of a verb phrase. For example, once an S2 verb is reduplicated (so that the subject now represents the actor), as in:

| e bulu | it's buried |
| e bulu-bulu | he's burying |

how is this construction kept distinct from frequentative? In this instance, it isn't; e bulu-bulu is ambiguous, for it means as well, 'It's been repeatedly buried'.

However, some of the forms are kept distinct by using partial reduplication as a contrast:

e vavi	it's baked
e vavi-vavi	it's baked for a long time
e vā-vavi	she's baking

18.13 THE FORMAL MANIFESTATIONS OF REDUPLICATION

18.13.1 Restrictions. Krupa (1966), Geraghty (1973a), Arms 1974; 130–36), and Milner (1982) have discussed various associative and dissociative characteristics of the consonants in

CVCV roots. Such forms as *babe, *biba, *beba, *biba, and *buba[8] are disallowed, while baba, bebe, bibi, bobo, and bubu are allowed.

However, even these allowed forms cannot be fully reduplicated; only partial reduplication is allowed. Thus, one does not find such forms as

 *baba-baba   *bebe-bebe, etc.

Following are examples of C V C V verbs with only one syllable reduplicated.[9] In some cases, the first syllable is lengthened,[10] although vowel length in that position is suspicious; there is much variation among speakers.

| dede | opened (hand) | dē-dede | open continually |
| drudru | skinned | dru-drudru | skin continually |

The restriction also holds in forms that are first derived, then reduplicated:

 ta-cece separated (layers) ta-ta-ce-cece shivering, trembling

When trisyllables consisting of only one morpheme are reduplicated, only the first, or first two syllables are repeated:

| bolomo | steeped (food) | bo-bolomo | steep continually |
| cobutu | covered (with hand or under a pot) | co-cobutu | cover continually |

Some forms have more than one option:

 cēmurī   drive away, pursue   cemu-cēmurī cē-cēmurī[11]

Since most roots are made up of two syllables (which we can symbolize as CVCV, CVV,[12] or VCV), most of the examples of reduplication dealt with so far involve the repetition of one or both of these syllables. However, there is another type of root that can be reduplicated: that which consists of a long syllable, either simple or complex. An examination of how these syllables are reduplicated leads one to suspect that the grammatical behavior of such forms points toward a different analysis than does their phonological behavior.

In the first of these subtypes (CV), there are 74 potential forms: 14 x 5 for the "normal" consonants, plus 3 w syllables, plus 1 y syllable. Of these potential forms, only 5 are reduplicated:[13]

ca-cā	bad (collective)
dra-drā	spotted with blood
dri-drī	flying off (chips)
so-sō	assemble (for a meeting)
wa-wā	tired out

Complex long syllables (those consisting of an optional consonant plus one of the vowel sequences āī āū ōī ōū ēī ēū īū) bring the total to 115: 14 x 7, plus 5 w syllables, plus 2 y syllables. From these, we find the following reduplicated forms:

ra-rāī	(in vaka-ra-rāī 'watch')
la-lāū	pricked (many places or many goals)
sa-sāī	skinny (from sāī 'runt')
va-vāū	bundled (many items or bundles)
bo-bōī	smelled (many items or people)
ce-cēū	carved (many items)
dre-drēū	ripened (many fruit)
se-sēū	scratched (as a hen)
vo-vōū	new (collective)

Although the vowels in these long syllables now operate phonologically as units, it seems more convenient to consider them as vowel sequences—indeed, as separate syllables—when we are describing reduplication. From this point of view, lāī and cā (for example) could be considered two "grammatical" syllables. Thus, lāī-lāī and cā-cā could be classified as examples of full reduplication; la-lāī and ca-cā partial reduplication.

18.13.2 Derived forms. When verbs derived with prefixes that consist of one short syllable are reduplicated, they take the following form:

CV + root → CV + CV + root + root[14]

The following examples show three common prefixes: ta-, ca-, and ka-. With each of the reduplicated forms, the meaning is 'frequentative':

ta-basu	broken (by itself)	ta-ta-basu-basu	frequentative
ta-bili	go in (great no.)	ta-ta-bili-bili	freq.
ta-bola	split in two	ta-ta-bola-bola	freq.
ta-buki	knotted	ta-ta-buki-buki	freq.
ta-cavu	uprooted	ta-ta-cavu-cavu	freq.
ca-bura	(boil+) burst	ca-ca-bura-bura	freq.
ca-druti	broken (rope+)	ca-ca-druti-druti	freq.
ca-gutu	broken (rope+)	ca-ca-gutu-gutu	freq.
ca-kuvu	explode	ca-ca-kuvu-kuvu	freq.
ka-belu	bent, folded	ka-ka-belu-belu	freq.
ka-bibi	crushed down by weight of hard things	ka-ka-bī-bibi[15]	freq.
ka-bola	split in two	ka-ka-bola-bola	freq.
ka-dala	opened	ka-ka-dala-dala or kada-kadala[16]	freq.

These three prefixes frequently co-occur with reduplication. More examples follow.

ka-dolo,	ka-ka-dolo-dolo	ta-cece
ta-ta-ce-cece	ta-cega	ta-ta-cega-cega
ta-cere	ta-ta-cere-cere	ta-cila
ta-ta-cila-cila	ta-coca	ta-ta-coca-coca
ca-lidi	ca-ca-lidi-lidi (also cali-calidi)	ca-qōū
		ca-ca-qōū-qōū
ca-riba	ca-ca-riba-riba	ca-roba
ca-ca-roba-roba	ca-drī	ca-ca-drī-drī
ka-bete	ka-ka-bete-bete.	

Less common than the affixes above are the following, no longer productive:

1. So-

kidi	crinkled, creased		
so-kidi	crinkled, water-dappled	so-so-kidi-kidi (intensive) cf. so-ro-kidi-kidi light	playing on surface

2. Kaca (see Capell 1941a:76–7) kaca-roka-roka burst of thunder

3. Sa-. The status of sa- as a prefix is uncertain. Since it is a short syllable, it has the form of a particle, but it is difficult to attach a meaning to it. The following forms use sa-+ reduplication:

sa-sa-kure-kure	vibrating
sa-sa-lobi-lobi	wrinkled
sa-sa-loki-loki	crippled
sa-sa-nuki-nuki	wrinkled
sa-sa-bila-bila	moving up and down

4. Ma-

ma-ma-cedru-cedru	hiccough continually

5. Ka-

ka-dresu	rent, torn (clothes)	ka-ka-dresu-dresu	frequentative
ka-drē	shoot out, sprout	ka-ka-drē-drē	freq.
ka-droso	producing hollow sound	ka-ka-droso	freq.
ka-isi	torn (cloth), split (wood)	ka-ka-isi-isi	freq.

6. Tava-. In some examples, the tava- derivatives have the same meaning as those with ta-ta-:

tava-liso-liso (S1) ta-ta-liso-liso	black and shiny

tava-yā-yā (S1) ta-ta-yā-yā	unsteady, undecided, worried

tava-duki-duki (A1) ta-ta-duki-duki	make sound of beating (waves, heart+)

tava-qasi-qasi   not keeping still, esp. making sound of things
(A1)   creeping on dry leaves
ta-ta-qasi-qasi

tava-yalu-yalu   emotionally unstable
(S1)
ta-ta-yalu-yalu

Other examples of tava- forms, with a meaning different from
ta-ta- forms, are:

tava-kere-kere make the sound of boiling water
(A1)
tava-reki-reki   joyful
(S1)
tava-laqu-laqu undecided
(S1)
tava-qisi-qisi   not keeping still, making shuffling sound like
(S1), (A1)   sound of walking on dry leaves

18.13.3 Compounds. As opposed to derivatives, compounds
reduplicate only the first element:

$$\text{ROOT}_1 + \text{ROOT}_2 \rightarrow \text{ROOT}_1 + \text{ROOT}_2 + \text{ROOT}_2$$

tā-bisa	cut branches and block roadway	tā-tā-bisa	frequentative
tabu-siga	keep out of sun	tabu-tabu-siga	freq.
tā-caqe	stumble	tā-tā-caqe	freq.
tā-cagu-cagu	go quickly	tā-tā-cagu-cagu[17]	freq.
taba-tū	sit with hand support	taba-taba-tū	freq.
tā-cori	entangled	tā-tā-cori (also ta-to-)	freq.
		cori-cori	freq.
kaca-bote	burst (gun, balloon+)	kaca-kaca-bote	freq.
laga-sere	sing	laga-laga-sere	freq.

Forms with the stative prefix lāū- behave as compounds:

lāū-caqe	lāū-lāū-caqe
lāū-vacu	lāū-lāū-vacu[18]

as do some with vaka-:

vaka-sobu	vaka-vaka-sobu	many disembarking
vaka-drē	vaka-vaka-drē	tighten very firmly[19]

Note that these are forms that are first compounded, then reduplicated. They differ from compounds like

yā-kure-kure	move in shaking fashion

In this form, kure 'shake' is reduplicated to modify yā 'move' (see 18.4).

The reason for this particular pattern of reduplication may be that lāū-, as a long syllable, and vaka-, as a disyllable, are phonologically more like roots than like markers. On the other hand, these forms may serve as evidence that the lāū- forms are compounds, rather than derivatives.

Note that these compounds reduplicate differently from modified forms.

18.14 REDUPLICATION OF MARKERS

Although reduplication is a process generally confined to roots,[20] some markers are also reduplicated. The process can be divided into two types: (1) reduplication of an affix, usually with the root reduplicated as well; and (2) reduplication of a separate marker independent of the root.

In the previous section on formal manifestations, there are many examples of the first type:

ta-basu	ta-ta-basu-basu
ta-bili	ta-ta-bili-bili
etc.	

Some forms reduplicate one syllable of the root along with the affix:

lidi   burst or strike, as sound of explosion
ca-lidi   burst or strike, but with no sparks
cali-calidi

Other forms reduplicate only the affix:

caqe   kick
lāū-caqe   kicked (stative)
lāū-lāū-caqe   freq.

An extreme example of reduplication combined with other types of affixation is:

vēī-vaka-ta-ta-cavu-cavu-taki caused to be pulled up
                                          repeatedly

Although such a pattern of reduplication is very productive, its productivity is mainly confined to a special set of words—those that take the prefixes ta-, ca-, ka-(and some others less frequent), and that belong to a rather specialized semantic set: sounds, bursting—like actions, and special types of movement (see Arms's discussion of such types, 1974:72–76). For some very common prefixes, such as vēī-, reduplication in rare but possible:

sā   dāū vēī-vēī-sāū   vaka-totolo na   no-na   nanu-m-a
ASP HAB REC-REC-change MAN-fast   DEF POS-3S think-TR-3S
her thoughts always change rapidly (T74:42)

e   vēī-vēī-gauna   at different times

a   mate vēī-vēī-tau-vi   a very infectuous disease, a disease
                                     with which many are afflicted
                                     (Hazlewood 1872:48)

Vaka- can be reduplicated as well:

era vaka-vaka-tawa gā   they kept continuous watch (FR5:7)

i-vaka-vaka-cāū   solicitation from a kalou

For a few verbs, a different type of reduplication includes the object as well as the verb:

se-a   split it

sea-sea	tear many things in two
dre-t-a	pull it
dreta-dre-t-a	pull it continuously

The reduplication of via to via-via indicates more of a semantic change than a grammatical one, for these two forms could well be interpreted as different prefixes. However, even though there are a number of differences in their meanings, the two forms do share a common meaning: 'contrary to fact, not quite achieved'.

A reduplication of a different kind of marker is shown by Churchward (1941:45). The distributive counter yā-, discussed in 17.10, is reduplicated in the examples

lake yā-yā-rua	go two at a time
lako yā-yā-drāū	go a hundred at a time

In each instance, the form is an alternate of that with the main verb reduplicated.

18.15 REDUPLICATION OF PERSON-NUMBER MARKERS, INCLUDING POSSESSIVES[21]

The following person-number markers can be reduplicated. In the list, the markers are mixed: some are subjects, some are possessives, others are proper noun phrases.

nō-nōdrāū	always theirs (dual)
kē-kēdrāū	always theirs (dual, edible)
sā nomu-nomu tū	it's always yours (singular)
sā noqu-noqu tū	it's always mine
sā koya-koya	it's always like that
yāū-yāū	it's always me
sā nona-nona tū gā	it's still in his possession (Capell 1941a)

18.16 REDUPLICATION OF BORROWED WORDS

Borrowed words can be reduplicated, showing that the process is an active one:

tera	formidable (from 'terror')
vaka-tera-tera	trying to look tough
sovu	soap
sovu-sovu-t-a	apply soap thoroughly to it[22]
boela	boil
boe-boela	boil for a long time (VV)

18.17 DISCUSSION

18.17.1 Reduplication in general. In his History of Language (1900:47), Henry Sweet wrote:

> One of the most primitive and natural ways of strengthening, emphasizing, or otherwise modifying the meaning of a word is to repeat it ... Such repetition-groups are very common in many languages, such as those belonging to the Malay group. They are used to express a great variety of meanings and grammatical functions ...

Sweet went on to point out that such repetitions were often disguised by two kinds of changes: phonetic change of one of the elements, and (shortening, Thus, he considered partial reduplication to be a "worn-down full-word".

Even though Hazlewood's work preceded Sweet's by fifty years, and was not nearly so well known, it is free from such terms as "primitive". Hazlewood simply noted the grammatical function of reduplication: to show the "active-intransitive" form of the verb (1872:36).

Churchward's treatment of reduplication appears in Part II, therefore relegated to "details as might tend to confuse, rather than to guide, the average beginner". He discussed the following functions of reduplication (1941:81), as applied to verbs:[23]

1. To denote repetition, frequency, or plurality.

2. To "denote differentiation or division into units or groups". This category is exemplified by lako yā-yā-drāū 'go a hundred at a time' (P. 45).

3. To express a "comprehensive or all-inclusive sense". E.g. rua-rua 'both', tolu-tolu 'all three'.

4. To form adjectives from nouns or verbs.

5. To form intransitive verbs.

6. To indicate "something similar, but inferior, diminutive, counterfeit, or otherwise different from the genuine thing". E.g. qase 'old person', qase-qase 'cunning'; drō 'flee', drō-drō 'flow'.

Cammack (1962:103–4) treated reduplication not as a process, but as a "chameleon" form. "Reduplication of the first syllable of the base … denotes multiple, or repetitive action." Reduplication of two syllables, he said, means "essentially the same". Reduplication in combination with other affixes appears in some of his formal categories (pp. 105–10), but the meaning must be inferred from the glosses.

Milner (1972:135) defined reduplication as follows; "a feature of Fijian grammar consisting in doubling the base either partially or fully, e.g., base: levu; partial reduplication: lelevu; full reduplication: levulevu."

He treated the process at length on pp. 47–49. About half of his discussion concerns form. As for function, he first gave the most general description: "an extension of the base, that is to say its function is to form words with a meaning associated with that of the base." Then be narrowed down this broad category into five separate functions, the following of which are associated with verbs:

1. "common plural … or a total without exception". E.g., le-levu 'large', vā-vā 'all four'.

2. "superlative or excessive". E.g. ba-ba-balavu 'very long'.

3. "qualify other bases". E.g. cē-cere 'tall'.

4. "frequentative … repetition, duration, or frequent occurrence". E.g. tuku-tuku 'report' (from tuku 'tell').[24]

In this last category, Milner included caka-caka 'work'. We differ here; this type of reduplication is interpreted as a means of allowing an S2 root to be used actively without expressing an object.

18.17.2 S1 verbs formed from reduplication +(C)a. This class was first noticed by Hazlewood (1872:20–21), who gave the examples qeleqelea 'dirty', dukadukali 'dirty', soqosoqoa 'covered with rubbish', ulouloa 'maggoty', and dregadregata 'sticky'. Note that one of his examples, dukadukali, has -li as its suffix rather than one of the shape -Ca.[25]

Churchward (1941:45–46) gave some of the same examples, adding sava-savā 'clean', vereverea 'tangled', batabatā 'cold', sokosokota 'thick', and kamikamica 'sweet'. He added to the analysis by noting unreduplicated forms ending in -a (luvea 'having offspring', from luve 'offspring') and by analyzing -ā as -a + a (savasavā, he noted, could be analyzed as sava-sava-a.

19 COMPOUND VERBS

A compound verb is a sequence of two verb roots, each of which has the same relationship to the subject and to the object (if any). In other words, in a VP of the shape e X Y, the roots could also be joined by a conjunction; e X ka Y. In the following examples the roots are in uppercase.

```
ā   SIKA-BOTE-a         tale  māī  ki-na
PT  appear-break-into   ITR   DIR  ABL-3S
there appeared again there (SR 20/4/82)
```

If the compound verb is divided into two VPs, we get the following:

```
ā   SIKA    ka    BOTE-a         it appeared and broke into it
PT  appear  CNJ   break-into-it
```

However, the two verbs are not quite parallel, for the transitive suffix has to serve for the whole compound. The immediate constituent structure is as follows:

ā (SIKA ka BOTE) -a

```
era sā    māī SUKA-LESU       tale they dispersed-returned
                                        (FR5:27)
3P  ASP DIR disperse-return ITR
```

As examples of sequences of roots that do not satisfy the condition above, note the following:

```
e   sā    veve makawa tū     gā   it was bent from of old
                                        (FR5:27)
3S ASP bent  old        CNT LIM
```

If we insert ka:

```
e   sā    veve ka    makawa    tū    gā
3S ASP bent  CNJ  old        CNT   LIM
```

the meaning changes, for in the basic underlying phrases

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e sā veve   it was bent
e sā makawa   it was old

the subjects do not refer to the same entity: it is the state of being bent that is old. Thus, this sequence of roots is not a compound, but instead a verb + underived adverb (see 31.1.1). The same relationship holds for the following:

e   cagi donu   na   no-dra soko   (literally) their
3S wind straight DEF POS-3P sail   sailing blew
                                            straight (FR5:26)

Here, the subjects in

e cagi   it is a wind
e donu   it is straight

refer to different entities. Thus, the sequence is verb + underived adverb.

The following examples, also of verb + adverb, show not only these different semantic relationships, but also a formal reason for not interpreting the sequence as a compound: the markers of transitivity come between the roots:

ka   na qāī laki tuku-n-a   mālua na   kā   e vinaka-t-a
CNJ FT SEQ DIR tell-TR-3S   slow   DEF thing 3S want-TR-3S
and will then go tell later the thing he wants (FR5:20)

ka   vaka-rai-ci   koya matua   and stare at him (FR5:12)
CNJ CAU-see-TR 3S   firm

The following sections show compound verbs in various constructions.

19.1 FORMAL CLASSIFICATION

19.1.1 Markers of transitivity following the construction

ROGO-KIVI-t-a   hear it inaccurately

In this construction, the verbs are:

rogo   heard
kivi   turn head
         suddenly

e ā KILA-KĀSA-mi-tak-a   sara ni   butako-ci
3S PT know-consider-TR-TR-3S INT SUB steal-TR
he strongly suspected that they were stolen
(FR5:11)

The compound in this example is from the verbs:

kila   know
kā-sami   suspect

Further examples are:

SELE-DRUTI-a   cut it off
sele   cut
druti   torn off

CULA-BĀSIKA-t-a   pierce through it
cula   pierced
bāsika   passed through it

SOGO-BUTU-n-a   lock it (house) up entirely
sogo   closed
butu   enclosed, netted

BUTD-VORO-k-a   tread on it and break it
butu   tread
voro   break

19.1.2 Markers of transitivity after each root

KATI-a CAVU-k-a   bite it off (thread)
kati   bite
cavu   (string+) snapped

me rawa ni   dāū KATI-a VORO-k-   ki-na   na   ke-na   vua-ni-kā
SUB able SUB HAB bite-3S smash-TR-3S LOC-3S DEF POS-3S fruit
to make it possible for it to bite-break its fruit with it (NV3:21)

kati   bite
voro   smashed

ā   VOSA-k-a   vaka-MACALA-tak-a   tāūmada
PT talk-TR-3S CAU-clear-TR-3S   INC
first of all, he talk-explained it

vosa	talk
vaka-macala-tak-a	explain it

e kani-a oti-v-a	e dua na lovo	he ate-finished
3S eat-3S finish-TR-3S	3S one DEF oven	one oven
		(FR5:16)

kani	eaten
oti	finished

19.1.3 Markers of transitivity and other markers

vaka-lutulutu-dromu-taki koya	drown him (FR5:16)

Here, the roots are lutu 'fall' and dromu 'sink'; they are preceded by the causative prefix and followed by a transitive suffix and object.

19.2 THE SEMANTICS OF COMPOUND VERBS

One of the problems with considering the grammatical relationship between the constituents of a compound verb is that the language has another common mechanism for indicating serial actions: to join two VPs together with the conjunction ka. Thus one is led to suggest that verb compounding is a lexical matter—a means of forming a new verb of a type similar to a kenning in Old English, but somewhat less metaphoric.

From such a point of view, some of the compounds above are clarified:

kani-a oti-v-a	finish it, consume it by eating

Here, explaining the form by calling it a "serial verb" ('eat' and 'finish') seems less appropriate than considering the action referred to by kania otiva to be one continuous process, and the verb itself a separate lexical item.

Similarly, does katia votoka 'bite-smash it' in the sentence above refer to a serial action? It seems closer to the semantics of the situation to consider the whole compound a new lexical item, and thus, compounding a means of enlarging the lexicon.

19.3 DISCUSSION

Verb compounding made an early appearance in Fijian grammatical descriptions. In the preface to his dictionary (1872:5), Hazlewood wrote:

> The natives frequently, by compounding verbs, express themselves with astonishing clearness, brevity, and force; which cannot be imitated in English. We have generally to express the sense by two verbs with a preposition or conjunction between them, or by a verb and an adverb, as, sa qasilutu ki nai keli na gone, the child has crept and fallen into the pit; me varomusuka, to saw in pieces, or asunder; me tamusuka, to chop asunder; me vosacudrucudruya, to speak angrily; me sovabiuta, to pour out and throw away; me taya-biuta, to chop off and throw away: but the English does not well express the native idea ...

This present study of compounding is far from complete. A more detailed description awaits the completion of the monolingual dictionary, which should provide more examples to draw from.

20 SUBJECTS AND OBJECTS

In this chapter, we examine two elements—subjects and objects—that combine with verbs to make up the essential structure of the VP. Subjects and objects are morphologically complex forms that indicate the grammatical categories of PERSON, NUMBER, and the INCLUSIVE-EXCLUSIVE distinction. Their semantic referents are actor and goal.

Table 20:1 repeats the set of subjects, introduced in CH 6.

TABLE 20:1

	First person exclusive	inclusive	Second person	Third person
Singular	āū	-----	o	e
Dual	kēīrāū	(e)daru	(o)drāū	(e)rāū
Paucal	kēītōū	((e)da)tōū	(o)dōū	(e)ratōū
Plural	kēīmami	(e)da	(o)nī	(e)ra

With the exception of third person singular,[1] which may be deleted in many cases, a subject is present in each VP, except in imperatives, in which it is optional.

Table 20:2 shows the set of objects.

TABLE 20:2

	First person exclusive	inclusive	Second person	Third person
Singular	āū	-----	iko	a
Dual	kēīrāū	kēdaru	kemudrāū	rāū
Paucal	kēītōū	kedatōū	kemudōū	iratōū
Plural	kēīmami	keda	kemunī	ira

Objects occur under the conditions described in the chapters on verb classification (8–11), transitivity (12–13), and specification (30). In summary: objects occur with two-referent verbs when the goal is specified to a degree beyond implicit and signaled—in other words, at the "expressed" level of specificity (see 30.1.2).

In the following discussion, sections 20.1–6 apply to both subjects and objects; 20.7–9 to subjects, and 20.10–12 to objects. Many of the topics refer as well to the other sets in which person and number are distinguished, such as possessive and personal noun phrases.

20.1 PERSON

The category of person deals with the relationship among three entities: SPEAKER (1st person), ADDRESSEE (2nd person), and SPOKEN-ABOUT (3rd person). However, person can be described by referring to only the first two components. Thus, the components of first and second person are obvious; third person can be described as [-speaker, -addressee].

20.2 NUMBER

Fijian distinguishes among four numbers: singular, dual, paucal, and plural. Only the singular and dual are as straightforward as the labels suggest. For example, a simple experiment[2] showed that even in a contrastive situation, a group of three and a group of twelve could both be referred to by eratōū, traditionally called trial. Some consultants suggested that groups as large as fifteen could still be referred to with the paucal form; others thought that the upper limit could be much larger. Thus, there is no explicit dividing line between paucal and plural; contrast seems to be the key.[3]

20.3 INCLUSIVE-EXCLUSIVE

For first person, numbers higher than singular are different than those for second and third person (Lyons 1968:277). Using English examples: we does not equal two or more I's. Thus, first person dual, paucal, and plural can consist of different combinations: [+1, +2, +3], [+1, +2, -3], or [+1, -2, +3]. The inclusive-exclusive distinction hinges on whether [2] is included.

This system is not quite as orderly as it appears. The componential treatment just given shows two possibilities for [+2]: one with and one without [3]. Fijian does not distinguish between these two situations; the exact arrangement either

doesn't matter, or must be ascertained through context. However, all second person forms greater than singular show the same ambiguity. For example:

onī   (second person plural)

can refer literally to a group of addressees, or any combination of addressees and entities other than speaker and addressee.

20.4 FORMS OF RESPECT

Like many other Pacific languages, Fijian uses the number distinction within the set of subjects and objects to show respect.

In Standard Fijian, terms of respect are principally second person forms—that is, terms of address. Thus, the respectful address is confined to the set of subjects, and is specifically onī, literally second person plural.

Within first person, the number does not change to show respect; e.g., a speaker referring to a chief and himself would use kēīrāū, not kēīmami. Nor does second person, when one is not directly addressing a person of rank, reflect such respect: e.g., 'you (singular) and the chief' would be referred to as odrāū, not onī.

PG has noted (10/83), however, that first person dual inclusive can be used in a deferential way, when actually first person singular exclusive is meant. And to achieve the opposite effect, second person dual is used (when actually referring to third person singular) when making disparaging comments. David Arms added (10/84) that the dual also seems to be used in place of the singular when addressing a person who is in a certain relationship to the speaker.

Third person forms present some variation. TRN (7/81) reported that Standard Fijian does not usually use era (3rd person plural) to refer to a chief. However, influence from other areas—principally Bua and Lakeba, but also others—has resulted in instances of era being used in that way. But ceremonial Bauan, more conservative, still uses the singular: e.g. vuā na tūraga 'to the chief', not vēī ira na tūraga. Where era is used for respect (PG 10/83), it is only for very high chiefs.

In more "traditional" Fijian culture, it is likely that the sole recipients of such a sign of respect were persons of hereditary rank. This system remains: hereditary chiefs are still accorded such respect.

But as new institutions with their own hierarchical structures have been introduced, the domain of the system has expanded. Now people with nonhereditary status—e.g. a prime minister, director, chairman, bishop, teacher, principal, spouse of an important person, etc.—are often addressed in the plural (LT 7/81). One might suggest that people in these positions, along with visitors, are automatically accorded honorary status.

All in all, the system is very complex—depending on a number of variables. Among them are age, rank, chieftainship, status, familiarity, kin, clan, occupation, and political position.

20.5 REFERENTS: HUMAN OR NONHUMAN?

It has been suggested in a number of sources that the nonsingular third person subjects and objects refer only (or nearly so) to humans (see 20.13). Data do not support this observation. The criterion for nonsingular subjects is not humanness, but individuality. Entities that are treated as individuals are countable. Note the following examples (VPs—without modifiers—are enclosed in brackets, subjects in uppercase letters). Here, eratōū refers to the types of masi 'tapa' named in the preceding sentence.

```
o      iratōū oqori,  [ERATŌŪ  raba-i-lelevu]   [ka   bababalavu]
PRP 3T      DEM:2  3T          width-POS-big   CNJ  long
Those (just named)—they are wide and long (NV2:71)
```

In the following sentence, era refers to soqe 'pigeons':

```
[ERA   dāū    kune   gā]  vaka-levu   e     na    vēī-kāū loa
3P     HAB    found  INT  MAN-big     ABL   DEF   dense-forest
they're found in quantity in the dense forest (NV2:63)
```

In the next sentence, the nonsingular form refers to 'customs':

```
[ERĀŪ  i-tovo         vinaka]  na    vaka-bula kēī  na    vaka-yadra
3D     NOM-custom  good     DEF   say-hello  CNJ  DEF   say-good-morning
saying hello and good morning are two good customs (NV3:1)
```

In the following example, the dual subject refers to 'beauty' and 'excellence':

oqō	e	dua	na	salusalu	totoka	[ni	RĀŪ		lako	vata]	na
DEM:1	3S	one	DEF	lei	beauty	SUB	3D		go	CNC	DEF

	totoka	ni	ke-na	i-rāīrāī	kēī	na	dāūmaka	ni	ke-na	i-bōī
	beauty	POS	POS-3S	NOM-see	CNJ	DEF	excellent	POS	POS-3S	NOM-smell

this is a beautiful lei because these things go together: the beauty of its appearance and the excellence of its fragrance (NV3:29)

Note that nonparallel constructions (with respect to the subject's number) seem to be permitted:

[e	sō]	na	bānuve	[ERA	drokadroka],	[e	sō	dravu]
3S	some	DEF	catepillar	3P	green	3S	some	grey

some catepillars are green, some are grey (NV2:47)

The grammatical mismatch in the sentence is era vs. e—that is, plural vs. singular. Although the sentence makes sense semantically, it seems to be from an English, not a Fijian, point of view.[4]

The following sentence refers to three entities that are definitely nonhuman: the Lakeba, Bau, and Rewa languages:

[ni	RATŌŪ	rogo-ci	vata]	na	vosa	ni	vanua	e	tolu,
SUB	3T	hear-TR	CNC	DEF	language	POS	land	3S	three

	[ERATŌŪ	duidui	sara]
	3T	different	INT

when the languages from these three places were compared, they were very different (SR 20/4/82)

In summary: the nonsingular forms are used when entities are being treated as individuals.

20.6 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Earlier, it was indicated that subjects and objects have the components of person and number. It follows, then, that each subject can be divided into at least two morphemes. Geraghty

(1977:5–6) has suggested that for subjects, e (1st person inclusive), o (2nd person), and e (3rd person) be considered person markers, even though they are "redundant as such".[5]

If so, the residue in each subject can be considered a number marker. Thus, the person-number morphemes are:

Singular: zero

Dual: Three allomorphs, daru, drāū and rāū

Paucal: Four allomorphs, datōū, dōū, ratōū

Plural: Four allomorphs, mami,[6] da, nī, ra

These allomorphs are morphologically conditioned.

One can notice immediately that in this set are a number of forms that recur, but not in an orderly pattern. But one reaches a point of diminishing returns, and the morphological solution becomes more complicated than the problem.

The one remaining recurring form is kēī-, which can be called a marker of exclusiveness. If so, the inclusive forms present a problem. Either we consider them base forms, with kēī- added to form the exclusive; or we propose a zero morpheme for inclusiveness.

In addition to the general distinctions just discussed, we need to deal with the following matters. The first are concerned only with the set of subjects.

20.7 (K)O-

For a discussion of the supposed alternation between ko- and o-, see 4.3.2. Second person subjects do alternate, however, between o- and ø. In informal speech, o-forms are seldom heard.

20.8 MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES

The subjects that appear in Table 20:I represent base forms that occur in indicative[7] constructions. Certain morphophonemic changes take place in subordinate and imperative constructions. These changes are treated in the appropriate sections under OPERATIONS.

20.9 PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION[8]

The use of parentheses around e in Table 20:1 represents not only morphophonemic deletion, but also phonological variation. Milner (1972: 17) noted:

> e is always written and in a formal style of speech it is pronounced, but with the exception of the singular, in colloquial speech it is hardly ever heard, there being at most only a suggestion of it.

A more colloquial writing style, however, often omits e. Note the following sentences:

[bāravi	totoka],	ni	nuku	vulavula
beach	beautiful	POS	sand	white

it was a beautiful beach, because of the white sand (Nawadra 82:1)

And note the contrast in form, but not function, in the following two sentences from the same text:

[ERĀŪ	dāū	qoli]	e	na	nō-drāū	tolo	ni	bāravi
3D	HAB	fish		ABL	DEF	POS-3D	middle	POS	beach

they (dual) always fish in their stretch of beach (Nawadra 82:1)

[RĀŪ	dāū	segasega	sara]	ni	bāū	qoli	tani
3D	HAB	not		INT	SUB	TEN	fish	DIR

they (dual) never fish away from there

Other writers vary their practice as well. For example, the writer of a newspaper story (SR 20/4/82) used era exclusively, but preferred rāū and ratōū to erāū and eratōū.

There are a number of factors that might figure in the variation:

1. E serves no function; as Geraghty pointed out (1977b:6), "every pronoun form uniquely specifies its person." Thus, zero could represent third person—a common phenomenon among languages.

2. Since e is dropped in many other constructions, analogy might encourage its omission here.

3. In all the forms, e constitutes a syllable on its own, unsupported by a consonant. Such syllables are, under certain conditions, unstable. See 41.3.

4. In edaru and erāū, e is unaccented, a feature that works with factor (3) to produce instability.

5. The loss of e in edatōū and eratōū allows these two-measure forms to shorten to one-measure forms. See 36.1, 41.1.

6. If e drops in eda and era, the resultant da and ra can combine with following even bases (see 36.4), again reducing the number of measures.

7. Before [n] forms (daru, datōū, da), e is phonetically less distinct that it would be before other consonants. That is, in faster speech, [e] is indistinguishable from an early onset of voicing before apico-alveolar contact is made for [n].

20.10 PERSON-NUMBER MARKERS AND NAMES

Besides the objects in Table 20:2 above, there is another type. This second type is used to represent a single entity with a name, such as a person or place. Such forms often occur outside the VP, introduced by the proper marker o. Examples are:

o Tēvita	T
o Eta	E
o Verata	V
o koya	he, she, it

These constructions are independent proper NPs, and their function is to specify a grammatical marker, such as subject, object, or possessor.

But when such a noun occurs in the VP,[9] the proper marker does not occur:

rai-ci Tēvita mada   look at T (if you will)

This set consists of koya (third person singular) and all names.

20.11 CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO PERSON

Another way of classifying objects is as follows:

20.11.1 First person, second person, and proper noun. E.g.:

e ā rai-ci āū   he saw me
e ā rai-ci iko   he saw you
e ā rai-ci Lala   he saw L

In these phrases, the referent is automatically clear. Therefore, it need not be specified. When it is specified, it seems to be for emphasis, or to clarify unknown participants in the nonsingulars. For example, kēīrāū, kēītōū, and kēīmami (first person exclusive dual, paucal, and plural) may include entities that the hearer has not identified.

20.11.2 Third person. E.g.:

e ā rai-c-a   he saw it
e ā rai-ci irāū   he saw the two of them
e ā rai-ci iratōū   he saw the few of them
e ā rai-ci koya   he saw her/him

In these examples, the referent is not automatically clear. Therefore, it must either have been explained in the context, or apparent through gesture, etc.

20.12 DISCUSSION: UNDERLYING I OBJECT MARKER?

There are a number of reasons to suggest an underlying i that marks objects:

1. The occasionally heard proper accusative marker i₂ (see 25.3).

2. The influence of independent personal NPs on grammatical objects (Geraghty 1977b).

3. The existence of an optional i before a number of personal nouns (CH 24, note 2).

4. The current forms of both sets—grammatical objects and personal nouns.

It is interesting to examine the set of personal nouns with respect to the occurrence of the so-called optional i. Although Milner's statement (1972:100) gives the impression that i is optional in all the forms, it is not. Instead, some forms always occur with i: iāū, (which takes the form yāū), iko, and ira; some forms often do: irāū and iratōū; and the remaining forms never do.[10]

The basic principles of morphological analysis suggest this hypothesis: that i is a separate morpheme. What, then, might be the conditions that make it obligatory in some forms and optional in others? The phonology suggests some answers.

1. Content[11] forms beginning with /a-/ are rare. Some forms that have /a-/ historically have added a nonphonemic glide, now written as y.

2. Content morphemes are never less than a measure in length. Thus, *o ko and *o ra are prohibited, since the accent would be on the proper marker o and not the person-number form. Keeping the i in these forms might be a means of making a new form that can be accented. Note that o-ratōū (.ora.tōū.) is permitted (TRN 6/82). Here, although one accent is on /o/, the major phrase accent is on /tōū/. Thus, some part of the content form is accented.

The suggestion of an i object marker is made tentatively, for the analysis is clouded by an extremely complex history of development for these forms (Geraghty 1977b), including the influence on Standard Fijian from the other Fijian languages.

20.13 DISCUSSION: HUMAN VS. NONHUMAN REFERENTS

Although Hazlewood (under Ta in the dictionary) hinted at a connection between third person singular forms and the term "impersonal" (see see 14.7.2 and note 16), the linking of erāū, eratōū, and era, and irāū, iratōū, and ira to human entities only seems to have originated with Milner's grammar. Churchward (1941:26) included non-human entities in his explanation of these forms; he explained third person as "referring only to some person or persons (or thing or things) other than [1st and 2nd]". Milner, on the other hand, implicitly restricted the references by his translations. Note the following table (1972:17; truncated for the sake of illustration):

Singular	. . .	he, she it
Dual	. . .	they (two people)
Trial [Paucal]	. . .	they (three or a few people)
Plural	. . .	they (many people)

Pawley (1977:notes for 4/8) elaborated on this overgeneralization with the following statement, apparently the result of direct questioning:

> However, a distinction between singular and non-singular number is obligatory only for nouns that refer to humans and perhaps animals with human-like properties (pets, animals with personal names, etc.). The lower down on the scale of animateness a thing is, the less likely it is that a non-singular person-marker will be used with the noun which names it. Thus, it is common but not obligatory for non-singular markers to occur with nouns like vuaka 'pig', kolī 'dog', less common with nouns denoting fish, mosquitoes or frogs, and unusual with nouns denoting trees, clouds, waves, etc.

21 VERB PHRASE MARKERS PRECEDING THE HEAD

This section is organized as follows: we divide the position before the head into slots that are arranged according to the order in which the markers occur.[1] Thus, two (or more) markers that are mutually exclusive fit into the same slot.

The general outline is as follows:

1. Subjects
2. Tense: ā, na
3. Aspect: sā, se
4. Sequence: qāī, mani
5. Iteration: baci
6. Habitual: dāū
7. Initiation: tēī
8. Tentative: bāū
9. Individuality: dui, yā-
10. Extreme: rui
11. Habitual: dāū
12. Proximity: vaka-rāū
13. Limitation: tekivū, tini
14. Directional māī, lāī
15. Appearance: rāīrāī

In the citations, the particular marker being described is in uppercase letters, and square brackets enclose the VP in question. In the remaining part of the citation, the interlinear gloss may be simplified somewhat.

21.1 SUBJECTS

Subjects are treated in CH 8 and CH 20.

21.2 TENSE

There are two tense markers: ā past and na future. Since past and future cannot (under normal conditions) be associated with the same event, we place them in mutually exclusive categories. However, the past tense marker precedes the aspect markers, and the future tense markeru follows them.

21.2.1 Past tense (PT): ā.

[erāū	Ā	vēī-talanoa	toka]	ko	Pita	S.	kēī	Meke	R.
3D	PT	REC-tell	ASP	PRP	PS		CNJ	MR	

PS and MR were telling stories (T74:1)

[Ā	māī	ravi	tū	gā]	e	tāū-tuba		ko	Jone
PT	DIR	lean	ASP	LIM	ABL	outside		PRP	J

J came and leaned outside (T74:1)

The past tense marker is optional; once the time[2] has been established by such phrases as

e	nanoa				yesterday
ABL	yesterday				

e	na	vula	sā	oti	last month
ABL	DEF	month	ASP	finished	

it need not be indicated grammatically.

As an example of a sentence that refers to time, but is not marked for tense, note the following. Because the time has been established by the phrase e līū, it is not necessary to include the past tense marker:

e	līū,	[era	sega	ni	dāū	vēī-voli]	na	no-da	qase,
ABL	ahead	3P	not	SUB	HAB	GEN-buy	DEF	POS-1PI	elder

	[era	dāū	vulagi	gā]	before, our elders didn't engage in business/trade, they
	3P	HAB	visit	INT	practiced visit-gift-exchange (NV4:11)

PG pointed out (10/83) that both ā and time phrases may be omitted; speakers may choose not to specify tense or time.

Bible translations provide a stylistic contrast to this system of optional tense marking. They show that the translators must have applied to Fijian the English system of obligatory tense marking. For example, of the thirty-one verses in the first chapter of Genesis, twenty-three begin with ā, regularly followed by sā (aspect).

However, ā does occur in spontaneous, untranslated material, both with and without a phrase referring to time:

na	gauna	ni	i-valu	levu	sā	oti[3]	[era	Ā	kaci-vi	kece	ki-na]
DEF	time	POS	fight	big	ASP	finished	3P	PT	call-TR	INC	ABL-3S

na	cauravōū	ni	Merekē	me	ra	curu	ki	na	mata-i-valu
DEF	youth	POS	America	SUB	3P	enter	ABL	DEF	center-POS-war

(at) the time of the past great war, all the young men of America were called to enlist in the Army (FMC 61)

[rāū	Ā	la-ki	sota	sara	ki-na]	o	rāū	na	lewe	rua	oqō
3D	PT	go-ABL	meet	INT	ABL-3S	PRP	3D	DEF	people	two	DEM:1

these two people went to join (FMC 61)

21.2.2 Future tense (FT): na. Like ā, na (future) is optional, but somewhat less so. A sentence representing a proposed situation is often but not always marked for future tense by na. If the time is indicated, tense marking is not essential. For example:

[āū	lako	nimataka]	I'll go tomorrow
1S	go	tomorrow	

However, the following is also common:

[āū	NA	lako	nimataka]	I'll go tomorrow
1S	FT	go	tomorrow	

The following examples include na:

[NA	sega]	ni	rawa	ni	vaka-tara-i[4]	[m-odou	NA	lako	tāūcoko]
FT	not	SUB	able	SUB	CAU-get-TR	SUB-2T	FT	go	INC

it cannot be permitted for all of you to go (FMC 61)

ia	[me-u	NA	lāī	tuku-n-a]	vaka-cava
CHJ	SUB-1S	FT	PUR	tell-TR-3S	MAN-what

but how should I tell it? (FMC61)

Na also marks an action/state that the speaker thinks should or must happen (PG 7/82):

[o	sā	NA	kana	oti]	you should have finished eating by then/ I
2S	ASP	FT	eat	ASP	presume you've al ready eaten

[e	NA	tiko	beka]	māī	Nāūsori	oqō	it should be at N now
3S	FT	stay	TEN	ABL	N	DEM:1	

21.3 ASPECT (ASP)

21.3.1 Contrast (past): sā. The marker sā indicates that an action /state contrasts with a previous one. The effect of this contrast is to focus attention on the action/state marked by sā. For example, the following sentence

[SĀ	o	cēī	beka]	o	koya	who's that now?
ASP	PRP	who	TEN	PRP	3S	

is appropriate only if it applies to a newborn child who has just been named or to a person who changes his name frequently (PG 7/82).

Contrast is especially apparent in the use of sā with statives that indicate a nonpermanent state:

[SĀ	bula	vinaka]	o	Tē	T's well (now)
ASP	health	good	PRP	T	

This statement implies that T had been ill, but is no longer.

The following two statements occur in a recorded conversation (Cammack 1962:197), just after a stretch of bawdy talk. The speakers, reflecting on what they have just said, say:

[āū	SĀ	galu	tū	gā]	I'm keeping quiet (now)
1S	ASP	dumb	CNT	INT	

[SĀ	qāī	dua	na	niusi	rere-vaki]	This is a more dangerous report than any before
ASP	SEQ	one	DEF	news	fear-TR	

Some expressions seem to include sā automatically. For example, in

[SĀ	oti]	it's finished
ASP	finished	

the state oti 'finished' is always in contrast to an opposing state. Thus, the meanings of the verb and the aspect marker seem to reinforce each other, and e oti is seldom heard. However, after subordinate markers (such as ni 'when, because'), oti occurs without sā (PG).

Similarly, in

[SĀ	vinaka]	very well
ASP	good	

one has the impression that this expression of approval natu-
rally contrasts with an implicit opposing state. Other verbs, as
well, give that impression:

madū	(coconut) ripe
matua	ready for harvesting
qase	old

Sā occurs almost redundantly with certain markers as well as
verbs. When oti 'finished' is used as a marker after the verb, sā
is likely to occur in the same VP. See the examples in 22.4.

21.3.2 Contrast (future): se. Se contrasts directly with sā: the
action/state in question is contrasted with one that will or may
happen: that is, it is the same as the previous state, For ex-
ample, in

[SE	bera	ni	lako	māī]	o	Tāī	T hasn't come yet
ASP	late	SUB	go	DIR	PRP	T	

it is expected that T will eventually arrive.

With statives, se indicates that the state may possibly end
(thus contrasting it with a future state):

[SE	koto	gā]	na	yago-ni-mate	qō
ASP	lie	INT	DEF	body-POS-dead	DEM: 1S

while the corpse was still there (Cammack 1962:192)

[SE	davo	koto	qō]	still lying there (Cammack 1962:192)
ASP	lie	CNT	DEM:1S	

e	na	gauna	[ā	SE	bera]	ni	tekivū	ki-na	na	i-valu
ABL	DEF	time	PT	ASP	late	SUB	begin	ABL-3S	DEF	NOM-fight

at the time before the war began (FMC 61:1)

Se followed by qāī has the meaning of 'just, as soon as' (see
Milner 1972:93):

[ni	SE	qāī	kana	oti]	o	Bera...	as soon as B had eaten...
SUB	ASP	SEQ	eat	ASP	PRP	B	

21.3.3 Order change. Milner (1972:17) noted that sā could occur before subjects, giving the set of third person subjects as an example. He explained the difference between, for example, erāū sā and sā rāū as follows:

> ... in e ratou sā lako ... it may be assumed that they have gone some time ago while in sā ratou lako ... that they have just gone.

In his discussion of the past tense marker (p. 33), Milner gave the same set, showing that both ā and sā could occur before the subject.

Arms (1978:1270) could find no difference in meaning[5] in such forms:

> This inversion does not correlate with any real semantic difference, but is a matter of style, and occurs much more frequently in informal than in formal contexts.

He also gave the extent of the change in order:

> All the subject pronouns can invert in this way around sā and se; also around the past-tense marker ā. Where a tense marker and a tense-aspect marker occur together (that is, where ā sā, ā se, sā na, and se na occur), the pronouns invert around the first element only (e.g. ā ra se lako, se ra na lako). The first person exclusive pronouns, however, prefer to come after the second element (e.g. ā se keimami lako, sā na keimami lako).

Finally, we can note that when sā, se, or ā comes before the subject, the shorter subject forms are used (see the list of subjects in 6.3 and CH 20).

21.3.4 Discussion. This analysis is based largely on Arms's thorough treatment (1978), the first to point out explicitly the formal and functional differences between the two aspect markers. Note his opening explanation of the markers (p. 1246):

> Sā and se are particles of tense-aspect. Both of them indicate that a certain state or event has particular relevance to the contemporaneous moment ... The difference is that sā contrasts this moment with a previous one, and se with a later one.

The effect of this contrast to draw attention to the action/state indicated by the verb was first noted by Nawadra (Schütz and Nawadra 1972:102).

As Arms pointed out (p. 1245), one of the problems in distinguishing between sā and se has been the insistence that sa (note the short syllable), not se, was "proper Bauan". However, he noted that both observation and recorded texts show that se is spoken on Bau. Injunctions against using se are a combination of two elements: a confusion between Bauan and Standard Fijian, and an inability to recognize what is actually said. Sa (short) turns out to be Lauan, which was incorporated into the somewhat artificial language used for Bible translation.

The problem has been compounded by the writing system, which does not indicate vowel length. Thus, if the opposing pair is sā and sa, the distinction vanishes in written Fijian.

When sa, and not se, is actually spoken, a further complication results from the pattern of vowel shortening (41.6). Arms mentioned the process briefly (p. 1269–70), but he was not aware of its finer details. Note one of his examples:

sā butako   he's stealing

Here, sā has the option of shortening, and usually does so in normal speech. Thus, the measure division approaches the following:

.sabu.tako.

The notation does not distinguish between sā and sa in this position. However, there is a fine phonetic distinction. Sā, as a base (a form that is at least a long syllable in length), always receives more stress than sa, which is a particle (a short syllable). Thus, the vowel in the former is not centralized as much as that in the latter, even though the length distinction may have been neutralized. In other words, there is a difference between "shortened" sā and "short" sa. (See 41.6 and 41.7 for a more detailed discussion of vowel shortening.)

21.4 SEQUENCE

21.4.1 Unmarked sequence: qāī. Qāī indicates that the VP in which it appears refers to a situation that is part of a sequence of two or more. A VP with qāī is not overtly labeled as the effect of an earlier cause, but merely as a situation that follows an earlier one.

One of the most common contexts for qāī is a description of a process. The following excerpt is from a story about washing clothes (NV4: 2–3):

ni	sā	oti	oyā,	[sā	QĀĪ	tuvu-laki	kece	sara]	na	i-sulu
SUB	ASP	finish	DEM:3	ASP	SEQ	beat-TR	INC	INT	DEF	NOM-clothe

	ka	ra	vuso-laki	yani
	CNJ	3P	foam-TR	DIR

after that was finished, she then beat the clothes thoroughly until they were sudsy

[sā	QĀT	vaka-wāī-vinaka-tak-a		kece	sara]	na	i-sulu	ko
ASP	SEQ	CAU-water-good-TR-3S		INC	INT	DEF	NOM-clothe	PRP

	māū	ka	loba-ki		ira	sara	vaka-vinaka
	N	CNJ	squeeze-TR		3P	INT	MAN-good

then N soaked the clothes thoroughly and wrung them well

[sā	QĀĪ	tau-r-a	māī]	na	bēseni	ka	vaka-tawa-n-a
ASP	SEQ	take-TR-3S	DIR	DEF	basin	CNJ	CAU-filled-TR-3S

	vaka-vēī-māmā	e	na	wāī	ka	uli-a	ki-na	na	wāī-loaloa
	MAN-REC-half	ABL	DEF	water	CNJ	mix-3S	ABL-3S	DEF	bluing

then she brought the basin, and filled it half full of water and poured bluing into it

The first example above shows a common sequence of constructions: a ni 'when' phrase (especially with oti 'finished') followed by a qāī phrase. The meaning is 'when … then'. Another example:

ni	sā	sevu	oti	gā	na		duruka	ki	vuā	na	tūraga,
SUB	ASP	given	ASP	INT	DEF		duruka	ABL	ABL-3S	DEF	chief

[sā	QĀĪ	rawa]	me	se-vi	me	lāū-kana
ASP	SEQ	able	SUB	pick-TR	SUB	STA-eat

after the duruka has been presented to the chief in the first-fruits ceremony, then it can be picked for eating (NV4:9)

PG noted (10/83) that qāī can be used with the sequence implied, as in the following example:

qāī	boko-c-a		na	cina	turn the light off (after you've finished what you're doing
SEQ	extinguish-TR-3S		DEF	light	

21.4.1.1 Order of markers. The order of subject + qāī can be reversed: qāī + subject + verb.

21.4.2 Marked sequence: mani. Mani, like qāī, is a marker that relates the situation of the VP in which it occurs to a previous situation. Unlike qāī, however, it indicates more than a sequential relationship between the situations. Moreover, it seems confined to two situations: that indicated by the mani VP is compared to another broad situation. Finally, it usually refers to a situation that is the unexpected result of the preceding one—something unusual or the opposite of what might naturally have followed.

ni	lako	voli	yani,	[e	ā	MANI	kune-a]	e	dua	na	loga	ni
SUB	go	DIR	DIR	3S	PT	SEQ	found-3S	3S	one	DEF	plot	POS

	tēītēī	levu		when he was wandering around, he found (unexpectedly) a large garden plot (FR5:10)
	garden	big		

ni	sā	kana	oti,	[sā	MANI	yaco	sara]	me	bukete
SUB	ASP	eat	ASP	ASP	SEQ	arrive	INT	SUB	pregnant

after eating, it unexpectedly happened that she was pregnant (FR5:11)

In addition to these definitely unexpected situations, mani can also indicate a situation that occurs by chance:

era	vulagi-taki	wāīwāī,	na	ibe,	na	uvi	sē	dalo	sē	ika;
3P	visit-TR	oil	DEF	mat	DEF	yam	CNJ	taro	CNJ	fish

ia	[kē	MANI	vula	i	vuata],	era	na	vulagi-tak-a
CNJ	SUB	SEQ	month	POS	fruit	3P	FT	visit-TR-3S

they take (for ritual visiting) oil, mats, yams or taro or fish, and if it should happen to be the season for fruit, they take it (NV4:11)

Note that in the following examples, mani is frequently used when things are found:

ia	[kē	MANI	bera]	na	ua,	me	ratōū	bāū	tibi	kāīkuku	māī
CNJ	SUB	SEQ	late	DEF	tide	SUB	3T	TEN	pick	shellfish	DIR

	me	i-cōī	ni	vaka-yakavi
	SUB	i-cōī	POS	supper

since the tide was still coming in, they might pick mussels for the evening meal's icōī (NV4:12)

ka	ni	sā	dī	levu	tū	gā	na	mati,
CNJ	SUB	ASP	dry	big	CNT	INT	DEF	tide

	[eratōū	MANI	canu	dairo		tale	gā	māī]
	3T	SEQ	gather	sea-slug		ITR	LIM	DIR

and if the tide is very low, they (paucal) can then gather sea slugs as well

21.5 ITERATION: BACI

Baci indicates that the situation represented by the VP has occurred a number of times before, and that the present situation is merely one more instance:

oti	na	katalāū,	[sā	BACI	kau-t-a		tū]	ko	Vilive
finish	DEF	breakfast	ASP	ITR	carried-TR-3S		ASP	PRP	V

	na	ke-na	i-vaka-siga-levu		ki	vale	ni	vuli
	DEF	POS-3S	NOM-MAN-day-big		ABL	house	POS	learn

after breakfast V once more carried his lunch to school (FR3:44)

[sā	BACI	vōleka	tale	tiko	gā	māī]	na	gauna	ni	tā	dovu
ASP	ITR	near	ITR	CNT	LIM	DIR	DEF	time	POS	cut	sugarcane

once again cane cutting time is drawing near (FR3:57)

Baci often has a mildly afflictive (and noniterative) sense:

sega	ni	dedē,	[sā		BACI	basi-k-a	māī]	na	vucesā	oyā
not	SUB	long	ASP		ITR	appear-TR-3S	DIR	DEF	lazy	DEM:3

before long that lazy person will appear again (VV)

kua	[ni	baci	lasu-taki	āū]
don't	SUB	ITR	lie-TR	1S

don't lie to me (VV)

[āū	na	BACI	saba-k-a	na	mata-mu]
1S	FT	ITR	slap-TR-3S	DEF	face-2S

I'll slap your face (VV)

[o	na	BACI	kana	kuita]
2S	FT	ITR	undergo	whip

you'll be whipped (VV)

21.6 HABITUAL: DĀŪ[6]

This marker also occurs in slot 21.11.

Dāū indicates that a situation occurs regularly. For example, it is used to indicate the regularity of seasonal occurrences:

na	ivi	e	vua-t-a	ni	yabaki	[ka	ni	DĀŪ	vua	gā]	vaka-dua
DEF	ivi	3S	bear-TR-3S	POS	year	CNJ	SUB	HAB	bear	LIM	MAN-one

e	vēi-yabaki	the ivi is an annual fruit because it bears fruit just once each year
ABL	DIS-year	

[e	DĀŪ	belebele]		na	kāū	oqō	e	na	vula	i	balolo
3S	HAB	sprout-leaves		DEF	tree	DEM:1	ABL	DEF	month	POS	balolo

lāīlāī,	sē	ka	vua	sara
small	flower	CNJ	fruit	INT

this tree always sends out new leaves at the end of October, flowers, and immediately bears fruit

[e	DĀŪ	qāī	matua]	na	ivi	e		na	vula	i	nuqa	lāīlāī

3S	HAB	SEQ		mature	DEF	ivi	ABL		DEF	month	POS		nuqa	small

then the ivi (fruit) matures in December (NV4:15)

Or it indicates that something is done through custom or convention:

e	na	ke-na	i-valavala		dina	vaka-vanua,	[e	DĀŪ	sevu	na	ivi]
ABL	DEF	POS-3S	NOM-custom		true	MAN-land		3S	HAB	offer	DEF	ivi

in true Fijian custom, the ivi is always presented as an offering (NV4; 15)

PG (10/83) added the idiom ni ... dāū 'whenever':

ni-u	dāū	rai-ci	koya,	au	tagi	I cry whenever I see her
SUB-1S	HAB	see-TR	3S	1S	cry	

21.7 INITIATION (INI): TĒĪ

Tēī preceding a verb indicates that the action/state represented is the first of a series. When tēī occurs, the verb is often followed by mada (see 22.12).

[tōū	TĒĪ	sili	mada],	qāī	kana	let's (paucal) bathe first, then eat (vv)
1TI	INI	bathe	INI	SEQ	eat	

[me	sā	TĒĪ	rau-t-a	mada]	me	yaco-v-a		ni	da	māī	sota
SUB	ASP	INI	fit-TR-3S	POL	SUB	arrive-TR-3S		SUB	1PI	DIR	meet

	e	na	Julāī	let this be enough for now until we meet in July (TRN 4/81)
	ABL	DEF	July	

[āū	TĒĪ	kana	mada],	āū	qūī		lako	let me eat first, and I'll go (Capell 1941:41)
1S	INI	eat	INI	1S	SEQ		go	

[me-u	TĒĪ	vaka-macala-tak-a		mada]	na	vu-na
SUB-1S	INI	CAU-clear-TR-3S		INI	DEF	reason-3S

let me first explain the reason (Milner 1972:107)

In his dictionary, Hazlewood suggested that tēī might be an intensive.

Milner (1972:107) defined the sequence tēī ... mada (as well as tāū-mada) as 'first of all', 'beforehand'.

Tēī also means 'quickly, first', and can occur without mada (PG 82):

[āū sā TĒĪ lako]   first of all, I'll go
1S ASP INI go

21.8 TENTATIVE (TEN): BĀŪ

The marker bāū makes the stance of the speaker (or actor) less assertive, determined, or purposeful.[7]

[e   BĀŪ   coko   tale   gā] ki-na   e   dua   na   qiō
3S   TEN   caught   ITR   LIM ABL-3S   3S   one   DEF   shark
even a shark as well was caught in it (NV2:11)

ka   [me BĀŪ   vavi   vata   tale gā] kēī   na   dua   na   dalo
CNJ SUB TEN   baked CNC   ITR LIM CNJ   DEF   one   DEF   taro

     me   i-kuri   ni   ke-na   and—to be baked along with it (perhaps)—a
     SUB NOM-add   POS   POS-3S   taro for its accompaniment (NV4:70)

[ni   sā   bāū   mate   sara]   e   na   liliwa   e   na   bogi
SUB   ASP   TEN   die   INT   ABL   DEF   cold   ABL   DEF   night
that he suffered extremely from the cold during the night (FR5:18)

[BĀŪ   dua mada   gā]   na   luvē-daru   me   daru dāū   lasa   voli   ki-na
TEN   one INI   LIM   DEF   Child-1DI   SUB   1DI   HAB   happy   DIR   ABL-3S
just one child would make us happy (FR5:15)

Without bāū, each of these statements would be too definite.

Bāū is used in questions and imperatives for the same reason—to make them less assertive:

[e   BĀŪ   i-vola   vinaka]   ko   wili-k-a   tiko   oqori?
3S   TEN   NOM-write   good   2S   read-TR-3S   CNT   DEM:2
is that book you're reading any good? (FR3:43)

[qāī   BĀŪ wili-k-a   tale gā]   then perhaps you should read it, too (FR3:43)
SEQ   TEN   read-TR-3S   ITR   LIM

e   rawa   [ni-u   BĀŪ toma-ni   kemudōū   tu   yani?]
3S   possible SUB-1S TEN   accompany-TR   2T   CNT   DIR

may I accompany you in that? (NV3:15)

yalo	vinaka	sara,	[m-o	BĀŪ	gādē	māi]	ki	kē		e	na
spirit	good	INT	SUB-2S	TEN	stroll	DIR	ABL	DEM:1		ABL	DEF

gauna	ni	no-mu	gādē
time	POS	POS-2S	stroll

please, if you would come here at the time of your holiday (T74:41)

[sā	BĀŪ	vaka-cava	tū]	o	Alisi? How is A? (T74:42)
ASP	TEN	MAN-what	CNT	PRP	A

a	cava	[e	sā	BĀŪ	tuku-n-a]	na	no-na	vū-ni-wāi?
DEF	what	3S	ASP	TEN	tell-TR-3S	DEF	POS-3S	Source-POS-water

what does her doctor say? (T74:41)

The Ivolavosa Vakaviti adds a meaning of 'ever, once':

o	sā	BĀŪ	kana	gata?	have you ever eaten snake?
2S	ASP	TEN	eat	snake	

āū	sega	ni	BĀŪ	rogo-c-a	na	yaca-na	I've never heard his name
1S	not	SUB	TEN	hear-TR-3S	DEF	name-3S	

21.9 INDIVIDUALITY (IND): DUI, YĀ-

21.9.1 Dui. Dui, which occurs with subjects greater them singular, refers to actions performed or states maintained individually.

e	duidui	na	tiki	ni	sere	[eratōū	DUI	laga-t-a]		na	domo-vā
3S	differ	DEF	part	POS	sing	3T	IND	sing-TR-3S		DEF	voice-four

they are all different—the parts that a quartet sings

o	rāū	na	DUI	tina	ruarua,	[rāū	sā	na	DUI	vaka-rāū-tak-a
PRP	3D	DEF	IND	mother	both	3D	ASP	FT	IND	CAU-fit-TR-3S

tiko]	na	vēī-kā	[me	DUI	bale-ti	rāū	ruarua]
CNT	DEF	DIS-thing	SUB	IND	for-TR	3D	INC

na	vaka-māū	ni	sā	caka	na	ke-na	sō-levu
DEF	MAN-marriage	SUB	ASP	done	DEF	POS-3S	assembly-big

the two mothers prepare everything (i.e. each for her own offspring) for the marrying couple when the sōlevu is done (vv text)

In the examples above, the domain of dui is the VP itself: it refers to (and names) the individual situations. (Note that it can also occur in the NP: na dui tina ruarua.)

The following extended example comes from a passage explaining that a number of missionaries were engaged in translating the gospels into the languages of their respective areas. The repeated use of dui makes it clear that each operation was a separate one. The passage also uses dui in an NP, and duidui as the verb.

[Ratōū	sā	DUI	volavola]	ka	taba	i-vola		na	i-talatala	e
3T	ASP	IND	write	CNJ	print	NOM-write		DEF	NOM-tell	ABL

na	vēī-vanua	[eratōū	a	DUI	tū]	ki-na	e	na	ke-na	vosa
DEF	DIS-land	3T	PT	IND	CNT	ABL-3S	ABL	DEF	POS-3S	talk

[gā.	Era	sā	DUI	vuli	volavola]	kēī	na	wili-i-vola		na
LIM	3P	ASP	IND	learn	write	CNJ	DEF	read-NOM-write		DEF

Lotu	ena	no-dra		dui	vosa	gā,	la	sā	tekivū	votu	ka
religion	ABL	DEF	POS-3P	IND	talk	LIM	CNJ	ASP	begin	appear	CNJ

vā-kila-i		māīe	dua	tale	na	leqa,	oyā	ni	sega	ni
CAU-know-TR		DIR	3S	one	ITR	DEF	trouble	DEM; 3	SUB	not	SUB

ra	mani	duidui	sara	na	vosa	ni	vēī-vanua,	ka	sā
3P	SEQ	different	INT	DEF	talk	POS	DIS-land	CNJ	ASP

vaka-levu	cakacaka	gā	[ke	ra	DUI	taba-ki.]	Na	cava	na
MAN-big	work	LIM	CNJ	3P	IND	print-TR	DEF	what	DEF

i-wali	ni	leqa?
NOM-salve	POS	trouble

The clergymen (individually) wrote and printed books in the various places where they stayed (individually) in the language (that is, of each place). They (those who had professed Christianity) studied (individually) writing and reading in their respective languages, but there began to appear and become known another problem—that the languages of the various places weren't after all very different, it would increase work if they were each printed. What was the solution to the problem? (SR/20/4/82)

21.9.2 Yā-. This marker is treated as an affix in 17.10. As noted there, however, it is in complementary distribution with dui, which has prompted its inclusion here.

21.10 EXTREME, EXCESS (EXT): RUI

The marker rui indicates an extreme or excess quality or quantity. It usually occurs with S1 verbs:

[sā	RUI	levu]	it was very/too big there were very/too many
ASP	EXT	big	

[sā	RUI	drēdrē]	it was very/too difficult
ASP	EXT	hard	

But it can be used with other types of verbs as well:

[āū	sā	RUI	dāū	luluvu]	vaka-levu	ni-u	vaka-nanu-m-a
1S	ASP	EXT	HAB	depressed	MAN-big	SUB-1S	CAU-think-TR-3S

	na	yali	ni	luve-qu	I get depressed when I think about the loss of my child
	DEF	loss	POS	child-1S	(T74:41)

[āū	sā	RUI	loma-leqe-taki	Ālisi]	vaka-levu
1S	ASP	EXT	worry-TR	A	MAN-big

I'm very worried about A (T74:41)

[āū	sā	rui	loma-ni	koya]	vaka-levu	I care for her very much (T74:41)
1S	ASP	EXT	inside-TR	3S	MAN-big	

21.11 (21.6) DĀŪ

21.12 PROXIMITY, READINESS (PRX): VAKARĀŪ

Vakarāū, used as the main verb, means 'ready':

sā	vakarāū	na	kākana	the food is ready
ASP	ready	DEF	food	

As an auxiliary, it means 'near, ready to be, about to be':

[eda	sā	na	VAKARĀŪ	galala]	we'll soon be free
1PI	ASP	FT	PRX	free	

[ni	VAKARĀŪ	yaco	tiko]	na	no-dra	bose	na	tūxaga	ke-i	Ogea
SUB	PRX		arrive	CNT	DEF	POS-3P	meeting	DEF	chief	POS	o

when the Council of Chiefs of O was preparing to meet (FR5:30)

ia,	[ni	kēīmami	sā	VAKARĀŪ	kana	tiko]	e	na	nēī-mami	dreke
CNJ	SUB	1PX	ASP	PRX	eat	CNT	ABL	DEF	POS-1PX	hold

but when we were about to eat in the hold... (FR6:6)

e	na	bati	ni	toba	[kēīmami	VAKARĀŪ	curu-m-a]
ABL	DEF	edge	POS	bay	1PX	PRX	enter-TR-3S

at the edge of the bay we were beginning to enter (FR6:7)

To show the order of vakarāū and the markers closest to it, TRN supplied the following examples:

[e	VAKARĀŪ	tekivū	kana]	he was ready to begin to eat
3S	PRX	ORG	eat	

[e	VAKARĀŪ	lāī	kana]	he was ready to go eat
3S	PRX	DIR	eat	

[e	VAKARĀŪ	via-kana]	he was ready to feel hungry
3S	PRX	DES-eat	

The order of vakarāū and lāī is somewhat flexible: as a variation of the third sentence above, TRN accepted e lāī vaka-rāū kana, but he preferred the original order.

21.13 LIMITS OF AN ACTION/STATE

Two markers—tekivū and tini—are used to set the limits of an action/state.

21.13.1 Origin (ORG): tekivū. Tekivū, used as the head of a VP, means 'begin':

tekivū	mada	please begin
begin	INT	

Preceding another verb, it serves as a marker:

[sā	TEKIVŪ	taba-ki]	na	i-Vola	Tabu	e	na	vosa	vaka-Lakeba
ASP	ORG	print-TR	DEF	NOM-write	sacred	ABL	DEF	talk	MAN-L

the Bible was begun to be printed in the L language (SR 20/4/82)

[ā	TEKIVŪ	vola-i]	ki-na	na	i-Tukutuku	Vinaka	me	bale-ti
PT	ORG	write-TR	ABL-3S	DEF	NOM-tell	good	SUB	concern-TR

Bāū   the Gospel was begun to be written for Bau (SR 20/4/82)
B

sava	oti,	[sā	TEKIVŪ	lobaloba	sara]
wash	ASP	ASP	ORG	squeeze	INT

after washing, he immediately began milking (FR3:51)

[me	tōū	sā	na	TEKIVŪ	tau-ri-vak-a]	na	i-vaka-rāū	oqō
SUB	1TI	ASP	FT	ORG	take-TR-TR-3S	DEF	NOM-CAU-fit	DEM:1

let us begin to use these instructions (FDP)

When tekivū is used as a verb, the prefix vaka- adds a causative meaning. But with tekivū as a marker, vaka- does not seem to change the meaning. Note the following:

[sā	qāī	vaka-TEKIVŪ	soko	lesu	tale	māī]	ki	Rewa
ASP	SEQ	CAU-ORG	sail	return	ITR	DIR	ABL	R

then she started sailing back to R (FR5:11)

[sā	vaka-TEKIVŪ	kani-a	sara]	na	ke-na	vudi
ASP	CAU-ORG	eat-3S	INT	DEF	POS-3S	banana

immediately she started eating her banana (FR5:11)

21.13.2 Completion (ULT): tini. Tini, used as the head of a VP, means 'to conclude':

e	tini-a	na	i-tukutuku	he finished the story (Capell 1941a)
3S	finish-3S	DEF	NOM-tell	

As a marker, tini indicates that the action/state referred to by the main verb is the final one in a series, or otherwise completes a cycle.[8]

na	no-mu	vaka-welewele,	[e	na	TINI	druka]	ki-na	na	no-nu	timi
DEF	POS-2S	MAN-careless	3S	FT	ULT	lose	ABL-3S	DEF	POS-2S	team

through your carelessness, your team will end up losing

[era	sā	qāī	TINI	toki	kece]	ni	ra	mārāū-tak-a
3P	ASP	SEQ	ULT	move	INC	SUB	3P	happy-TR-3S

	na	no-dra	koro	vōū		They ended up all moving because they are
	DEF	POS-3P	village	new		happy with their new village

na	no-na	vaka-sausa,	[e	na	TINI	vesu]	ki-na
DEF	POS-3S	CAU-disturb	3S	fut	ULT	bound	ABL-3S

his disturbance—he will end up in prison for it

e	na	totoka	ni	cila	ni	vula,	[āū	ā	TINI	vaka-muri	sala]
3S	DEF	beauty	POS	shine	POS	moon	1S	PT	ULT	CAU-follow	path

	ki-na		with the beauty of the shining of the moon, I was finally
	ABL-3S		able to follow the path because of it

21.14 DIRECTIONAL (DIR)

There are two directional markers, māī and lāī. The term "directional" applies loosely here; each marker indicates both literal and metaphorical direction.

21.14.1 Preverbal māī. One common meaning of māī before a verb is to indicate literal motion toward a reference point. For example:

[e	MĀĪ	soko-tak-a]	na	no-na	waqa	he came to sail his boat
3S	DIR	sail-TR-3S	DEF	POS-3S	canoe	

Note that the motion is independent of the meaning of the verb. This use of māī contrasts with its use after the verb:

[e	soko-tak-a	māī]	na	no-na	waqa	he sailed his boat here
3S	sail-TR-3S	DIR	DEF	POS-3S	canoe	

In this sentence, the idea of motion is contained in the verb itself, and māī serves to indicate direction only.

Māī also has a less literal use.[9] It shows that the action/state is a consequence of another action/state and that the actor is not in control—even though the grammatical form of the VP may be subject (representing the actor) + active verb. Examples require an explanation of the context:

[m-odōū	MĀĪ	rogo-c-a	mada]	you (paucal) please hear it (Milner 1972:93)
SUB-2T	DIR	hear-TR-3S	INI	

Here, the volition is not on the part of the actor, but the one who tendered the invitation. Another example is similar in that the māī phrase is also an imperative—and thus contrary to fact:

m-o	la-ki	kaci-vi	koya	mada	[me	MĀĪ	vuke-i	iko]
SUB-2S	DIR	call-TR	3S	INI	SUB	DIR	help-TR	2S

please go and call him that he might help you (Milner 1972:93)

Here, helping would be an act performed because of an influence outside the control of the actor.

Another example, with context supplied (TRN 4/82): T skips breakfast; later in the day he feels faint and says:

[āū	sā	MĀĪ	ciba]	I have fainted
1S	ASP	DIR	faint	

Although the subject āū represents the actor, the actor is not responsible for the condition. Instead, it is the consequence of an external factor.

More examples showing māī with little to do with literal direction or motion:

e	dina	[ni	ra	sā	MĀĪ	volā]	na	vosa	era	rogo-c-a
3S	true	SUB	3P	ASP	DIR	write-3S	DEF	talk	3P	hear-TR-3S

it is true that when they came to write the words they heard (SR 20/4/82)

ā	wili-k-a	tale	vaka-vica	na	talikaramu	ko	Mārica
PT	read-TR-3S	ITR	MAN-how-many	DEF	telegram	PRP	M

	ka	[MĀĪ	wānono	balavu	toka	yani]
	CNJ	DIR	stare	long	CNT	DIR

M read the telegram again for the nth time and was drawn to stare at it for a long time (T74:41)

The last example (Nawadra 1981) is an extended one. It contains four examples of preverbal māī. Since it is more important to understand the total context than the individual words, the text has no interlinear gloss, but the appropriate VPs are numbered.

> Na kā gā e toro sobu ka vorovoro-yate ni ā vaka-curu vosa na vūlagi vuā na i-Tāūkēī me kilā na vosa ni tani, ia o i-Tāū-kēī (1) [sā MĀĪ leca-vi koya ki-na] ka māī vaka-bō-bula-taki e na kā e sega ni no-na; ia na vuli kēī na ke-na taba-cakacaka e liga nivēī-vaka-bō-bula-taki, ka (2) [sā MĀĪ bō-bula tū ki-na oqōo na i-Tāūkēī e na vēī-kā tani e vuqa. Na vuli, e dodonu me sala ni vēī-sere-ki, vei-vaka-rarāma-taki, kēī na vēī-vaka-dēī-taki. Oqō (3) [sā MĀĪ vaka-sāū-rārā-tak-a] na i-Tāū-kēī me be-c-a na no-na vosa, ka (4) [sā MĀĪ rawa-i] me sā dokā duadua gā na vosa vaka-Peritania ka kāī-naki vuā ni oqō na vosa duadua gā ni kila-kā, ni vuli kēī na gauna vōū.

> The humilitating and discouraging thing about it all is that the foreigner has influenced the Fijian to acquire foreign tongues, so much so that (1) [he has come to lose his identity] and is thus being enslaved by what is totally foreign to him. Education and its relevant department have been the means of this enslavement, and the Fijian (2) [has been enslaved] in many foreign things when, in fact, they ought to be the source of freedom, enlightenment, and security in one's own standing. As it is, (3) [this has forced the Fijian to look down on] his own language, and (4) [has persuaded him] to respect the English language alone. He is being led to think that the latter is the only language of knowledge, education, and of the modern age.[10]

21.14.2 Lāī. Lāī, as well as māī, has literal and metaphorical uses. But because the meanings are more distinct, and because there is a formal difference of sorts, it is tentatively divided into two markers.

21.14.2.1 Lāī₁. In written material, this markers usually appears as laki (or la'ki. Lāī₁ preceding the verb signifies literal movement with intention or purpose:

ka	[LAKI	rai-ci	taci-na]		and went to see her sister (T74:41)
CNJ	DIR	see-TR	sibling-3S		

laki	tāvōī	gā	māī	[me	daru	LAKI	kana]		Go wash your face so we can go eat (T74;46)
DIR	wash	LIM	DIR	SUB	1DI	DIR	eat		

[me-u	LAKI	dadabe	tiko]	e	vū-ni-tavola		for me to sit down at the tavola tree (T74:48)
SUB-1S	DIR	sit		CNT	ABL	tree-POS-tavola	

[me-u	LAKI	rai-c-a	mada]	na	no-qu	cakacaka	sa	vō	tū
SUB-1S	DIR	see-TR-3S	INI	DEF	POS-1S	work	ASP	remaining	CNT

so I might go and attend to my unfinished work (T74:59)

Although lāī₁ is treated as a marker, it might be analyzed as the main verb lako 'go' plus the marker i, described principally as ablative, but also indicating purpose. For example, the first sentence above can be considered a shortened form of:

ka	lako	i	rai-ci	taci-na
CNJ	go	ABL	see-TR	sibling-3S

This i, described in 25.1.2.2.1, is used with other verbs as well. For example:

ka	yāū	yani	ki	sisili	and disperse (in numbers) to bathe (NV3:23)
CNJ	disperse	DIR	ABL	bathe	

lako	mada	i	kana	go and eat
go	INI	ABL	eat	

21.14.2.2 Lāī₂. This marker indicates that an action happened by chance, not by intention. It is not a contraction of lako i. Examples are:

[e	ā	LAKI	nanu-m-a	tale	māī]	na	kā	e	tuku-n-a	vuā
3S	PT	DIR	think-TR-3S	ITR	DIR	DEF	thing	3S	tell-TR-3S	ABL-3S

she happened to recall what he had told her (T74:49)

āū	ā	tovolea	me-u	yadra	tiko,	ia	[āū	LĀĪ	moce	gā]
1S	PT	try	SUB-1S	wake	CNT	CNJ	1S	DIR	sleep	LIM

I tried to stay awake, but I just went to sleep.

The following examples are ambiguous:

sā	qāī	LĀĪ	tuku-n-a	o	gone-tagane	vēī	tama-na	
ASP	SEQ	DIR	tell-TR-3S	PRP	child-male	ABL	father-3S	(VV text)

This sentence can mean either of the following:

then the boy went to tell his father

    then the boy happened to tell his father

e	ā	tū	cake	ka	[LAKI	iro	sara]
3S	PT	CNT	DIR	CNJ	DIR	look	INT

The VP in question here can mean either:

and she went to look

    and she happened to look (T74:44)

21.15 APPEARANCE (APR): RĀĪRĀĪ

As do many other markers described in this chapter, rāīrāī also functions as the head of a VP, with the meaning of 'look' (in a passive sense), 'appear':

e	rāīrāī	vinaka	na	no-mu	sote	your shirt looks nice
3S	appear	good	DEF	POS-2S	shirt	

e	rāīrāī	ni	vakā	ki-na	it looks that way (T74:59)
3S	appear	SUB	like-3S	ABL-3S	

As a marker, it indicates that the action/state referred to by the main verb is only probable or apparent:

sa   RĀĪRĀĪ   lako   she appears to have gone
ASP   APR   go

[e   na RĀĪRĀĪ tuku-n-a   beka] me   na   kāū   ki   vale   ni   bula
3S   FT APR   tell-TR-3S   TEN   SUB DEF carried ABL house POS health
he'd probably say that she should be taken to hospital (T74:52)

22 VERB PHRASE MARKERS AFTER THE HEAD

This chapter is organized according to the order of markers that occur after the head[1]:

1. Objects
2. Direction: cake, sobu, tani
3. Concomitant: vata
4. Aspect: oti
5. Potential: rawa
6. Limitation: wale, bāū, bulu
7. Inclusion: kece, tāūcoko, duadua, soti/sō
8. Intensive: sara
9. Iteration: tale
10. Respectful address: saka
11. Aspect: tiko, tū, toka, koto (nō), voli
12. Initiation: beka, mada, bagi, gona
13. Limitation: gā, lā
14. Direction: māī, yani

22.1 OBJECTS

Objects are treated in CH 20.

22.2 DIRECTION (DIR)

Although cake 'up' is used as the head of a locative NP, as in:

[e	tiko	e	CAKE]	it's up there
3S	stay	ABL	up	

it—along with sobu[2] 'down'—also occurs in the VP as a marker.

22.2.1 Cake 'upward'. Cake can be used to refer literally to upward direction:

[ā	tū	CAKE]	ko	Mārica,	dola-v-a	e	dua	na	droa,
PT	Stand	DIR	PRP	M	open-TR-3S	3S	one	DEF	drawer

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[ā   tau-r-a   CAKE māī] na   i-vola
PT take-TR-3S   DIR   DIR   DEF   letter

M stood up, opened a drawer, took (toward her) a letter
(T74:41)

[ā   tau-r-a   CAKE] na   talikaramu she picked up the telegram (T74:41)
PT take-TR-3S DIR   DEF   telegram

Cake cam also be used after statives:

[e   vinaka CAKE]   it's better
3S   good   DIR

[ni   vinaka CAKE]   me   ra
SUB   good   DIR   SUB   3P   that it would be better if they (FR5:35)

However, this construction may be tainted by translation.[3] Certainly, comparison is not a grammatical category for Fijian. Those grammarians who have tried to treat it as one have expended much futile effort. For example, Cargill (1839a:13–14) stated: "There are three degrees of comparison, the positive, comparative and superlative." Then he showed various lexical, not grammatical, ways of forming the latter two. Hazlewood (1872:21) made one step toward a more realistic statement: "To adjectives belong different degrees of comparison; but there are no different terminations, or forms, in the Fijian adjective itself to express comparison." Toward the end of his discussion, he quoted his fellow grammarian, Richard B. Lyth:

> In expressing comparison, whether by means of adjectives, or otherwise, the following adverbs are often employed; viz., cake, denoting more, or in a higher degree; sobu, less, or in a lower degree; vakalevu, in a great degree; vakalailai, in a small degree: vakalevu cake, in a greater degree; vakalailai sobu, in a less degree; vakalevu sara, very much indeed; vakalailai sara, in the lowest degree.

Hilner, too, discussed comparison (1972:108), not to propose it as a grammatical category for Fijian, but to anticipate his readers' need to translate the English comparative.

PG (10/83) suggested that under certain conditions, statives are inherently comparative. For example:

o	ira	na	kāī	Sāmoa	yā	era	lāīlāī	na	timi	ni	Viti
PRP	3P	DEF	native	S	DEM: 3	3P	small	DEF	team	POS	V

all the Fijian teams are smaller than the Samoans

na	no-na	cici	e	berabera	na	motovāī
DEF	POS-3S	run	3S	slow	DEF	motorbike

he runs faster than a motorbike

Note, however, that comparison is implied by context. In this respect, perhaps Fijian statives are not unusual. Implicit comparison may be a semantic feature of similar statives in any language.

22.2.2 Sobu 'downward'. This marker, like cake, has both literal and figurative uses. In the former, it refers to downward movement:

[āū	ā	mani	kau-t-a	SOBU]	na	nēī-tōū	bēseni	levu
1S	PT	SEQ	carried-TR-3S	DIR	DEF	POS-1TX	basin	big

then I carried down our (trial exclusive) big basin (NV4:2)

[e	ā	mani	dabe	SOBU]	then she sat down (FR5:10)
3S	PT	SEQ	sit	DIR	

[sā	qāī	drodro	SOBU	yani]	then it flows down there (PR5:10)
ASP	SEQ	flow	DIR	DIR	

In urban areas, sobu appears frequently in the idiom lutu sobu, literally "fall down", but now meaning a sale (it is the prices that have fallen).

As Lyth's remarks show, the figurative use of sobu is to qualify a stative. Thus, it means 'lesser':

[sega	ni	lāīlāī	SOBU]	na	nō-drāū	kidroā
not	SUB	small	DIR	DEF	POS-3D	surprise

their (dual) surprise was not any less (FR5:18)

22.2.3 Tani 'away, different'. This marker can refer to literal distant location:

e	tiko	tani	she's staying in a different place (VV)
3S	stay	DIR	

sā	vaka-wati	tani	he's married outside his area
ASP	married	DIR	

Tani also has a more figurative use as 'different'

e	dua	tani	it's a different one
3S	one	DIR	

It was PG who suggested (7/82) that although tani fits seman-tically with the directional markers māī and yani (22.14), it is structurally mutually exclusive with sobu and cake. He also noted that another marker, laivi, has the same function as tani.

Unlike yani, tani is context-oriented only in the sense that it refers to motion away from the reference point. We might construct this metaphor to compare yani with tani. Since yani refers to a place fixed by context, movement to that place is like a line with one end fixed at that point, but originating from an unspecified direction and an unspecified distance—unless the context specifies each. With tani, the line is fixed at the locus of discourse, and the movement is merely outward, with the di-rection and distance not specified.

22.3 CONCOMITANT (CNC): VATA

Vata after a verb shows that the action/state had more than one participant, and that these participants performed an action or existed in a state together. Examples are:

[kēīrāū	ā	qase-ni-vuli	VATA]	māī	Kadavu
1DX	PT	elder-POS-learn	CNC	ABL	K

we (dual exclusive) were teachers together on K (VV:ā)

[qaqi	VATA]	na	suka,	sucu,	kirimu,	&s
ground	CNC	DEF	sugar	milk	cream	etc.
sugar,	milk,	cream,	etc.	ground	together	(VV)

[eratōū	sā	lako	VATA	sara	yani]	ka	ratōū	mani	sota	kēī	Rā V
3T		ASP	go	CNC	INT	DIR	CNJ	3T		SEQ	meet	CNJ	Rā V

they (paucal) went off there together and then they met Rā V (NV3:15)

ia	[ni	ratōū	rogo-ci	VATA]	na	vosa	ni	vanua	e	tolu
CNJ	SUB	3T	hear-TR	CNC	DEF	talk	POS	land	3S	three

but when the languages from these three places were heard together (SR 20/ 4/82)

Vata is often used with the NP marker kēī to translate "with". To show that they are separate markers belonging to separate phrases, note the following (both the VP and the NP in question are bracketed). In the first example, vata and kēī are separated by gā:

```
ia    [sā   toka VATA  gā]  [KĒĪ  na    ke-na      i-colacola]
CNJ  ASP  stay CNC   LIM  CNJ  DEF  POS-3S   NOM-carry
but there's a burden that goes along with it (NV4:2)
```

In the next example, vata and kēī belong to separate phrases as well, but only the intonation contours show this separation:

```
sā   qāī  bulu   na   lovo [ka  sā   bulu   VATA] [KĒĪ Ulumalāīdua]
ASP  SEQ buried DEF oven CNJ ASP buried CNC   CNJ  U
then the oven was covered and buried along with it was U (FR5:16)
```

In some instances, however, vata kēī has been reinterpreted as a compound marker. In the following examples, all the phrases are bracketed to show that vata cannot be interpreted as part of the VP. Here, the intonation shows that vata kēī is a unit within one phonological phrase:

```
[eratōū   lako  māī] [na   tagane] [VATA  KĒĪ  iratōū] [na   yalewa]
3T          go   DIR  DEF  male      CNC   CNJ 3T       DEF  female
the men are coming together with the women (Milner 1972:82)
```

22.3.1 Koso. In his order-class analysis of verbal markers, Arms (1985) placed the marker koso 'on the way, in the course of things' in this general vicinity.

22.4 COMPLETIVE ASPECT: OTI

Oti as a root is an irregular[4] S1 verb meaning "finished". As a marker, it follows another verb to show its completion:

```
[sā   digi-taki   OTI] na   yavu me  vola-i    ki-na    na   vosa vaka-Viti
ASP  choose-TR ASP  DEF  base SUB write-TR ABL-3S  DEF  talk  MAN-Fiji
the foundation on which the Fijian language is written had already been
chosen (SR 20/4/82)
```

[sā   davo OTI] na   yavu   the foundation has been laid (SR 20/4/82)
ASP lie   ASP DEF base

na   vēī-i-vola [sā vola-i   OTI]   the books that were already written
DEF DIS-book ASP write-TR ASP   (SR 20/4/82)

[ni   sā   kana OTI] sā   mani yaco   sara me   bukete
SUB ASP eat   ASP ASP SEQ arrive INT SUB pregnant
after eating, it then happened that she was pregnant (FR5:11)

[sā   vesu-ki   rāū OTI] na   qase   oqō
ASP bound-TR   3D   ASP DEF elder   DEM:1
the old man finished tying the two of them (FR5:8)

[ni   sā   vaka-rāī-taki   OTI] vēī Jili na   wāī
SUB ASP CAU-see-TR   ASP ABL J   DEF water
after the water had been shown to J (FR5:8)

[ni   sā   cabo   OTI] na   no-na   i-kāūkāū
SUB ASP presented   ASP DEF POS-3S gifts
after his gifts had been presented (FR5:20)

22.5 POTENTIAL (POT): RAWA

Rawa following a verb indicates an ability to perform the action referred to:

[ni   ra   sā   wili-k-a   RAWA]   na   no-dra vosa
SUB 3P   ASP read-TR-3S POT   DEF   POS-3P talk
when they were able to read their language (SR 20/4/82)

ni   sā   sega [ni   sau-m-a   RAWA] no-na   dīnāū
SUV ASP not   SUB   pay-TR-3S POT   POS-3S debt
when he isn't able to repay his debt (VV)

22.5.1 The difference between rawa ni V and V rawa[5]. One difference between these two constructions is that in rawa ni V, rawa is a verb, and the next phrase is subordinate. In V rawa, rawa is a marker. At one level, the meaning of the two constructions is the same: ability to perform the action referred to by the verb. At another level, however, they are different.

E rawa ni V refers simply to the ability. It implies that such a situation has always existed; it does not contrast it with an opposing situation. For example:

e	rawa	ni	cegu	na	tamata	e	vanua,	ia	e	sega	ni	rawa
3S	able	SUB	breathe	DEF	person	ABL	land	CNJ	3S	not	SUB	able

ni	cegu	e	loma	ni	wāī
SUB	breathe	ABL	inside	POS	water

man can breathe on land, but he can't breathe in water

V rawa, however, adds something to the basic meaning: that the ability was not always present. For example:

[e	cegu	RAWA]	he's able to breathe
3S	breathe	POT	(now—perhaps after a seizure)

[āū	ā	rai-c-a	RAWA]	e	sō	na	taga
1S	PT	see-TR-1S	POT	3S	some	DEF	bag

I was able to see some bags (NV2:46)

In these two examples, the ability is not innate, but acquired—often, recently acquired.

Related to this last meaning is one added by PG (10/83): 'already':

sā	sau-mi	rawa	it's already been paid
ASP	pay-TR	POT	

yaqona	tu-ki	rawa	kava already pounded
kava	pound-TR	POT	

22.5.2 Tāūmada. Arms (1985) placed tāūmada 'first, foremost' in the position following rawa.

22.6 LIMITATION (LIM): WALE, BĀŪ, BULU

The marker wale after a verb signifies, first, a fruitless effort:

[e	oga	WALE]	na	kōmiti	the committee was busy (to no effect)

3S busy LIM   DEF committee

[e buno WALE]   he labored (sweated) with no reward
3S sweat LIM

[e oca   WALE]   he tired himself without success
3S tired LIM

Wale also means 'free, idle':

[e curu   WALE]   she entered without paying
3S enter   LIM

All these meanings seems somewhat adverbial in function[6]. Wale seems more like a marker in its use with another limiter, gā. The combination limits or restricts the meaning of the VP:

[e tolu   WALE   gā]   there were only three
3S three   LIM   LIM

Bāū (gā), less common than wale gā, seem to have the same meaning:

[e dua   BĀŪ]   there was only one
3S one   LIM

[e dua   BĀŪ   gā]   there was only one
3S one   LIM   LIM

Its use seems restricted to these expressions; the Ivolavosa Vakaviti lists dua bāū as an idiom.

Bulu has a similar meaning and distribution:

e vica   na   i-sāū [e dua BULU] na   maile?
3S how-many DEF cost   3S one LIM   DEF mile
what's the cost for just one mile?

era kilā   tale gā ni sega [ni dua BULU gā]   na   vosa
3P know-it ITR LIM SUB not   SUB one LIM   LIM DEF talk

    e   viti   they also knew that there wasn't just one
    ABL   Fiji   language in Fiji (SR 20/4/82)

22.7 INCLUSION (INC): KECE, TĀŪCOKO

The markers in this category are more closely allied semantically with entities rather than actions/states. Thus, one would expect them to occur in the NP, rather than the VP. In 22.7.5, I discuss some possible reasons that kece and other markers appear in the VP.

22.7.1 Kece 'all'. Kece indicates that all the referents of the subject or object participate in the action/state. Examples are:

ka   [cabe KECE] ki   vanua   and all go up to the shore (NV2:20)
CNJ   climb INC   ABL land

e   kāī-naki [ni   ra vakā   KECE] oqori   na   no-na   kawa
3S   say-TR   SUB 3P say-3S INC   DEM:2 DEF POS-3S offspring
it is said that all his offspring were like that (NV3:19)

ka   [ra tiko KECE] e   na   koro   na   gone
CNJ 3P stay INC   3S DEF village DEF child
and all the children were staying in the village (NV3:23)

eda sega [ni rawa-t-a   KECE] na   cakacaka
1PI not   sub able-TR-3S INC   DEF work
we can't all do the work (NL 13/5/82)

When both subject and object are included, and both are greater than singular, kece could refer to either of them. For example, the following sentence is ambiguous:

[era rai-ci   ira KECE]   they all saw them / they saw them all
3P   see-TR 3P INC

22.7.2 Tāūcoko 'wholly, completely'. Tāūcoko is similar to kece in meaning, but sometimes refers to the completeness of an entity rather than to each and every individual. For example:

[damudamu TĀŪCOKO] na   yago-na   its body is completely red
red   INC   DEF body-3S   (VV:bō)

But tāūcoko can also be used like kece:

na sega ni   rawa ni   vaka-tara-i   [m-odōū na lako TĀŪCOKO]

FT not   SUB able   SUB CAU-hold-TR   SUB-2T   FT go   INC
it won't be possible to get it unless you all go (FMC61)

Tāūcoko can also be used as a verb:

ia   ā   sega [ni   mani TĀŪCOKO sara] na   ke-na   vaka-dike-vi
CNJ PT   not   SUB SEQ   complete   INT   DEF POS-3S CAU-look-TR

    sē   vosa cava me   vola–i
    SUB   talk   what SUB   write-TR

but choosing which language was to be written wasn't completed (SR 20/4/82)

In most instances, however, tāūcoko and kece are synonyms.

22.7.3 Duadua 'alone'. This reduplicated form of dua occupies a tentative place in this section of markers, for it might be classified as an underived adverb. But it does operate like the other members of this class:

e ā lako duadua   she went alone

Other reduplicated numerals (generally up to ten) can also be used in this position: for example, ruarua 'both', etc.

    22.7.4 Tāūdua, tāūrua, etc. Arms (1985) included tāūdua, tāurua ... 'just one, just two ...' in this set of markers.

    22.7.5 Soti/sō (Intensifier). Soti and its alternate, sō), have a somewhat limited distribution among VPs: they are used mainly with negatives.[7] Examples are:

[e   sega SOTI] ni   vuli   lēsoni vaka-dedē   ko   Vilive
3S   not   INT   SUB   learn lesson MAN-long   PRP   V
Vilive didn't study his lessons long at all (FR3:42)

[āū warāī SOTI mada] ni   rai-c-a   e   Verata na   vaka-tobe
1S   not   INT   INI   SUB see-TR-3S ABL V   DEF   MAN-tobe
I've never seen many in Verata with tobe (VV text)

[e   sega SŌ]   ni   loga   ni   uvi   levu   sara
3S   not   INT   SUB   patch POS   yam   big   INT
it wasn't a particularly large yam patch (NV2:15)

[e   sega   SŌ] ni   kele yarayara   na   lori
3S   not   INT   SUB   stop drag   DEF   truck
the truck didn't make many stops (NV4:70)

The following examples show that soti can be used in other than negative sentences; note, however, that it is used in NPs:

[o   cēī   SOTI] oyā   who in the world are they over there? (FR3:55)
PRP who INT   DEM:3

[o   cēī   SOTI]   o   iko   who do you think you are?
PRP   who   INT   PRP   2S

[a   cavacava   SŌ]   what in the world is that?
DEF   what   INT

22.7.6 Discussion. In 22.7, it was suggested that in terms of semantics, the markers in this category were more closely allied with entities than with actions/states. In formal terms then, we would expect kece, for example, to occur in NPs rather than in VPs. However, since the VP contains reference to the actor and goal, often no NP occurs to specify the entity. In such sentences, if the notion of "all" is to occur, it must occur in the VP. For example, in each of the following sentences, the actor, represented by the subject, is not further specified by an NP:

ni   ra   sā   liliwa,   era   sā   qāī   vaka-tibiō   [ka   cabe   KECE]
SUB   3P   ASP cold   3P   ASP SEQ say-tibiō   CNJ   ascend   INC

   ki   vanua   when they become cold, they say "tibiō" and all
   ABL land   come ashore (NV3:23)

[era sukasuka   KECE   māī] ni   sā   yakavi   na   vanua
3P   disperse   INC   DIR   SUB   ASP evening   DEF   land
they all return home when evening comes (NV3:23)

In each of the preceding examples, the subject is in third person, but has already been specified in context. As CH 30 shows, subjects and objects in first and second person are not often specified. Thus, many examples of kece in the VP are sentences of this type:

eda   sega   [ni   rawa-t-a   KECE]   na   cakacaka
1PI   not   SUB   able-TR-3S   INC   DEF   work

we can't all do the work (NL 13/5/82)

But what of sentences that include an NP specifying the subject, but with kece in the VP, rather than in the NP with which it is more closely allied semantically? The following is an example; it is the introductory sentence in a short text (NV3:23):

e	sere-ki	tū	na	vuli	ka	[ra	tiko	KECE]
3S	loose-TR	CNT	DEF	learn	CNJ	3P	stay	INC

	e	na	koro	na	gone
	ABL	DEF	village	DEF	child

the school term has ended, and all the children are staying in the village

The following variation (with kece in an NP) is also acceptable (although disputed by some speakers):

e	sere-ki	tū	na	vuli	ka	ra	tiko	e	na	koro
3S	loose-TR	CNT	DEF	learn	CNJ	3P	stay	ABL	DEF	village

	[na	gone	KECE]
	DEF	child	INC

Why did it not occur, since it would place kece closer to the word it has a semantic relationship with? TRN (5/82) explained that such a sentence would imply that the entity 'children' had already been introduced into the discourse. The phrase—na gone kece—is an example of both grammatical and semantic definiteness, described in 24.2.1 and 24.2.2.

This particular sentence, however, involves a complication not treated in the section on definiteness. According to the argument presented in CH 24, na gone is grammatically definite because of the structure of the sentence. But because the concept of "children" is apparently being introduced into the discourse for the first time, it should have been made semantically indefinite by such a construction as e sō na gone 'some children'. However, the rules have not taken into account the semantics of the first phrase: e sere-ki tū na vuli. Because of our knowledge of the nature of vuli 'schooling', the concept of 'children' is not really new information.[8] So it can be represented by na gone.

Even so, the proposed phrase na gone kece would be seman-
tically definite as well, a condition that would require the notion
having been formally introduced earlier in the sentence or dis-
course.

In summary: when there is an option for kece to occur in the
NP, but still it occurs in the VP, it seems to do so because of dis-
course restrictions.

22.8 INTENSIVE (INT): SARA

When sara follows an S1 verb, it serves as an intensifier. Exam-
ples are:

[e   drēdrē   SARA]   it's very difficult
3S   hard   INT

With an active verb, sara conveys the sense of immediate or pur-
poseful action:

[ā   talatala   SARA   māī]   o   Tui   Cakāū
PT   send   INT   DIR   PRP   Tui   C
Tui C sent (someone) immediately (SR 4/20/82)

[e   tau-r-a   SARA]   na   no-na   i-tāūwelu   kēī   na   sovu
3S   take-TR-3S   INT   DEF   POS-3S   NOM-towel   CNJ   DEF   soap
he immediately took his towel and soap (FR3:41)

[erāū   kau-t-a   SARA]   e   dua   na   vōkete
3D   carry-TR-3S   INT   3S   one   DEF   bucket
they (dual) immediately carried a bucket (FR3:50)

[e   lako SARA yani]   ko   Vilive   ka   sere-k-a   māī   e   dua
3S   go   INT   DIR   PRP   V   CNJ   loose-TR-3S   DIR   3S   one
V came immediately and loosened one of them (FR3:51)

sava   oti   [sā   tekivū   lobaloba   SARA]
wash   ASP   ASP   LIM   squeeze   INT
after washing he immediately started milking (FR3:51)

With verbs referring to quotation, sara is used to show that the
quotation given is exact, literal:

[sā	vakā	SARA	nē]		and said exactly the following (Nawadra
ASP	say-3S	INT	EMP		1981:1)

[e	tuku-n-a	SARA]	ko	Tata	me	kēītōū	laki
3S	tell-TR-3S	INT	PRP	Father	SUB	1DX	DIR

	vaka-tā-kākana	ki	matāsawa
	picnic	ABL	beach

Father said we (dual exclusive) could go to the beach for a picnic (FR3:43)

ka	[taro	SARA]		and asked (explicitly, followed by direct
				quotation (Nawadra 1981:2)
CNJ	ask	INT		

Sara has a similar meaning when used with vēī 'where':[9]

[e	vēī	SARA?]		where, exactly?
3S	where	INT		

With vaka 'resemble', sara also has the meaning of 'exactly, very much':

na	dari	[e	vakā		SARA]	na	i-bulibuli	ni	bēseni
DEF	dari	3S	resemble-3S		INT	DEF	NOM-form	POS	basin

the dari (pot) is very much like the shape of a basin (NV3:24)

It is used similarly in the following construction, an identifying VP:

ka	[ke-na	dāū	SARA	tale	gā]
CNJ	POS-3S	Skill	INT	ITR	LIM

and he is also quite an expert at it (NV3:18)

When used with a series of verbs, the actions/states that sara refers to are not always discrete. That is, it is not clear that one is finished and another begins immediately. For example:

[sā	tubu	SARA	na	lovo]	ia	ni	sā	waqa	ka	caudre	vinaka
ASP	heated	INT	DEF	oven	CNJ	SUB	ASP	burn	CNJ	ablaze	good

	[sā	coro-gi	SARA]	na	vuaka
	ASP	singe-TR	INT	DEF	pig

The oven is being heated, and when it's burning and well ablaze, the pig is hair-singed (NV3:31)

Note that these are all, in a sense, processes. The relationship among them is different from that which would use qāī, for they are not in a sequence. Instead, the states or actions are concurrent, or at least overlapping. Another example:

ni   sā bulu   oti   na   lovo, [eratōū ā   laki vēī-sili-mi   SARA]
SUB ASP buried ASP DEF oven 3T   PT DIR GEN-bathe-TR   INT
when the lovo is covered, they go bathing (in a group) (NV3:31)

[ā   ceka-t-a   SARA] na   ke-na   o   Tui ka   [vakā   SARA]
PT untie-TR-3S   INT   DEF POS-3S   PRP T   CNJ say-3S   INT
T unwrapped his and said (NV4:71)

22.9 ITERATION (ITR): TALE

Tale following a verb indicates that the action or similar circumstances are repeated:

[e sā   curu TALE] e   rua na   mata-ni-i-vola vōū
3S ASP enter ITR   3S two DEF letter   new
two more new letters have been added (Geraghty 1982:5)

[ā   wili-k-a   TALE] vaka-vica   na   talikaramu ko   Mārica
PT read-TR-3S   ITR   MAN-how-many DEF telegram   PRP M
M read the telegram again for the nth time (T74:41)

kēītōū vaka-bau-t-a   ni   sega ni   dodonu [me vā-kurī   TALE]
1TX   CAU-believe-TR-3S   SUB not SUB right   SUB CAU-add ITR

    na   mataqali   vosa   oyā
    DEF   kind   talk   DEM: 3

we (paucal exclusive) believe that that kind of language shouldn't be continued (SR 20/4/82)

e   ā   volavola   mada   yani   m-o   lako   māī,   oti,
3S   PT   write   INI   DIR   SUB-2S   go   DIR   finish

[sā   qāī   talikaramu   TALE   yani]   [m-o   sā   kua   TALE]
ASP SEQ   telegram   ITR   DIR   SUB-2S   ASP don't   ITR

she wrote there for you to come, then, after having done that, she telegrammed there for you not (in turn) to come (T74:42)

In this last example, note that tale is referring to actions that are not—strictly speaking—repeated. Instead, the tale emphasizes the irony of the contrasting circumstances.[10] Such a use of tale for contrast is common (PG 9/82):

[sā	dranudranu	TALE]	he's being obnoxious (while intending to be funny)
ASP	insipid	ITR	

22.10 RESPECTFUL ADDRESS (RES): SAKA

Saka is a polite or chiefly vocative (direct address) not easily classified as a marker or a root, We treat it with the VP markers because principally, it functions as part of the VP. Its position within the VP is definitely after the verb, but it does not have one fixed position. Milner (1972:109) placed it "usually … after tū and tiko,[11] but before mada". The qualifier "usually" is necessary; one of the following examples shows it before tiko. Some speakers say they always put it before tū/tiko.

The two examples that follow have been selected to show its repeated use in some direct quotations.[12]

[Sā	vinaka	SAKA],	[me	ra	kau-ti	āū	SAKA]	e	sō	na	tūraga
ASP	good	RES	SUB	3P	carried-TR	1S	RES	3S	some	DEF	chief

ni	mataka.	[Āū	kune-a	SAKA	tiko]	e	dua	na	vū	ni
SUB	morning	1S	find-3S	RES	CNT	3S	one	DEF	origin	POS

vesi	levu,	[e	na	rau-t-a	vaka-vinaka	SAKA]	me	māī
vesi	big	3S	FT	suffice-TR-3S	MAN-good	RES	SUB	DIR

vatavata	vaka-tūraga.
canoe	MAN-chief

It would be good, sir[13], if some chiefs would take me tomorrow. I find, sir, a large vesi tree; it will serve well, sir, for a chiefly canoe (FR5:25)

[Āū	sa	[se]	bāū	talanoa	SAKA	mada	yani]	vēī	kemunī	Rātū
1S	ASP		TEN	tell	RES	INI	DIR	ABL	2P	Rātū

Ma Mata sā   vakā   saka oqō:— [Kēīmami tiko SAKA] oqō   e
Ma Mata ASP like-3S RES DEM:1 1PX   stay RES   DEM:1 ABL

Nīū Kini   e   na   vuku ni   lotu.   [Ia, kēīmami tiko vata
New Guinea ABL DEF sake POS worship CNJ 1PX   stay CNC

SAKA gā] kēī na   no-da   Matanitū   kāūkaua Vaka-peritania ka
RES   LIM CNJ DEF POS-1PI government strong   British   CNJ

[kēīmami sā   dui gū   SAKA gā] e   na   cakacaka kēīmami tiko
1PX   ASP IND eager RES   LIM ABL DEF work   1PX   stay

 ki-na   me   vinaka cake māīna   vanua oqō.
 ABL-3S   SUB   good   DIR   DIR DEF   land   DEM:1

I should like to tell a story, sir, to you, Rātū Na Mata (addressing the editor of the publication), to wit: We (plural exclusive) are staying, sir, here in New Guinea for the sake of Christianity. But we are staying sir, with our (plural inclusive) powerful British government, and we are all eager, sir, in the work we are doing to better this land (FR6:4).

Saka is not confined to the VP. The following example shows it in an NP + NP sentence:

[oqō   SAKA] na nīū   ni Toga   here, sir, is the Tongan coconut
DEM:1 RES   DEF coconut POS Tonga   (FR5:14)

Saka is also used in the formal salutation in a letter, preceded by i—perhaps the accusative marker:

 Isaka   Dear Sir/Madam

22.11 CONTINUATIVE ASPECT (CNT): TIKO, TU, KOTO, NŌ, TOKA, VOLI

A number of markers after the verb are aspectual, in that they indicate the duration of the action/state. The most common of these are tiko and tū; toka, koto (and its synonym nō), and voli are rare.

22.11.1 Tiko. This marker is used to indicate temporary duration (see Milner 1972:29; confirmed by TRN):

e   na   vēī-sāū   sā   na rawa [ni yaco   TIKO] e   na   vosa
ABL DEF REC-respond ASP FT able SUB happen CNT   ABL DEF talk
in the changes that will keep happening to the langugage (SR 20/4/82)

[e   lako TIKO] i   Suva   he's going to S (SR 20/4/82)
3S go   CNT   ABL   S

ka   [vinaka-ti   TIKO] me   mata-ni-i-vola   ni   gato
CNJ   want-TR   CNT   SUB   letter   POS   glottal-stop

     e   na   vosa   vaka-Viti   tale e   sō
     ABL   DEF   talk   MAN-Fiji   ITR   3S   some

 and is needed as a letter for the glottal stop in some other
Fijian languages (Geraghty 1982:5)

ni   kā   gā   [e vaka-levu-tak-a   TIKO] na   no-na   tauvi-mate
SUB thing LIM 3S CAU-big-TR-3S   CNT   DEF POS-3S   illness
that is the thing that is worsening her illness (T74:43)

[sā   vēī-vuke   sara tale TIKO gā] vaka-levu   na   matanitū
ASP REC-help   INT   ITR CNT   LIM MAN-big   DEF   government

     ki   na   rārā ni   waqa-vuka   māī Nadi
     ABL   DEF   field POS   airplane   ABL N

the government has also greatly helped (and continues to do so) the airport at
N (NL 13/5/82)

Note that none of these action/states is strictly permanent; each
is subject to change.

22.11.2 Tū. An action/state followed by the marker tū is more or
less fixed:

[sā   vaka-mata-ni-sāīsāī TŪ] na   sasaga
ASP spread   CNT DEF   strive
the efforts were spread out in too many directions (SR 20/4/82)

e   na   ke-na   qāī   māī vaka-dike-vi   oqō   na   vosa ka
ABL DEF POS-3S   SEQ   DIR CAU-choose-TR   DEM:1 DEF talk REL

[vaka-yaga-taki   TU]   e   na   i-Vola-Tabu
CAU-use-TR   CNT   ABL   DEF   Bible

now that the language used in the Bible has been studied closely (SR 20/4/82)

era dui vaka-yaga-tak-a gā na i-vola   [sā vola-i   TŪ]
3P IND CAU-use-TR-3S LIM DEF NOM-write ASP write-TR CNT
they (individually) used the books that were written (SR 20/4/82)

na   ke-na   i-matai, na   vosa e   sō   ka   [sā tau-ri-vaki rāraba TŪ]
DEF POS-3S first   DEF talk 3S some REL ASP hold-TR-TR wide   CNT
the first thing is the words that are widely used (Geraghty 1982:1)

ka   ra   [sā   curu   TŪɔ   ki-na   e   7,430
CNJ 3P ASP enter CNT ABL-3S   3S 7,430
and those that were entered in it were 7,430 (NL 13/5/82)

ka   laki rai-ci   taci-na   [ni   sā   tau-vi   mate   levu   TŪ]
CNJ DIR see-TR sibling-3S   SUB ASP infect-TR-ill   big   CNT
and go see her sister because she's very ill (T74:41)

e   na   vuku   ni   mate   [e   tau-vi   koya   TŪ]
ABL   DEF   sake   POS   ill   3S infect-TR   3S   CNT
because of the disease that has afflicted her (T74:42)

kē   ā   sega beka [ni   tau-vi-mate   bībī   TŪ]
SUB PT not   TEN   SUB ill   heavy   CNT
if perhaps she hadn't been very ill (T74:42)

Note particularly the last three examples, where the seriousness of the disease is indicated by tū: that is, there are evidently no signs of improvement. This unchanging status is underscored by a sentence later in the discourse:

a   cava [e   sā   bāū tuku-n-a   TŪ]   na   no-na   vū-ni-wāī?
DEF   what   3S ASP   TEN   tell-TR-3S   CNT   DEF   POS-3S   doctor
what does her doctor say? (T74:43)

This difference between tiko and tū can be illustrated by the following minimal pairs (supplied by PG, 7/82):

tau–vi–mate TIKO   temporary illness
tau-vi-mate TŪ   long illness

voli-taki TIKO   for sale at the moment
voli-taki TŪ   always for sale

22.11.3 Toka. Toka indicates a provisional, rather unfixed, approximate duration of an action or uncertain quality of a state. As examples of unfixed or uncertain duration:

sā	yaco	na	vēi-drē	ka	[ra	dui	de-i	TOKA	gā]
ASP	arrive	DEF	REC-pull	CNJ	3P	IND	fix-TR	CNT	LIM

e	na	no-dra	dui	ilē	me	vaka-bāū	gā	na	no-dra	vosa
ABL	DEF	POS-3P	IND	wish	SUB	CAU-confirm	LIM	DEF	POS-3S	talk

there came the disagreement, and each remained insistent that only their own language be approved (SR 20/4/82)

[ratōū	vēi-lewā-tak-a	TOKA]	ka	masumasu-tak-a	me	tāū	māī
3T	REC-discuss-TR-3S	CNT	CNJ	pray-TR-3S	SUB	fall	DIR

na	lewā	vā-kalōū
DEF	judgment	MAN-god

they "discussed around" (for an indeterminate length of time) and prayed that a heavenly decision would come (SR 20/4/82)

As an example of 'approximate':

[rau-t-a	vitu	TOKA]	about seven (NV4:69)
suffice-TR-3S	seven	CNT	

However, note that rauta also conveys that meaning.

Milner (1972:91) and Churchward (1941:70) both gave examples of toka used with statives, with toka serving in an "adverbial" sense, meaning 'fairly':

[sā vinaka TOKA]   it is fairly good

Thus, we can establish a three-way contrast among this marker and the previous two[14]:

[sā vinaka TŪ]   it's definitely good (on a permanent basis)

| [sā vinaka | it's good (for the time being, until something better comes |
| TIRO] | along) |

Toka can be used with suitable verbs of motion (PG 5/82):

| [e yabe TOKA] | she was strolling along |

| [e qiqi TOKA] | it's rolling slowly |

PG added that toka sometimes seems to imply that an action was done "easily, quietly, casually, or without strain". Because of this tone, the marker is often used in polite commands:

| kana | TOKA | carry on eating at your leisure |
| eat | CNT | |

Often, the marker toka is associated with verbs that match the meaning of the root toka: 'hunker, squat'. For example, Milner (1972:91) noted its use with verbs related to sitting, such as dabe 'sit' and kana 'eat'. The following is an example:

| (ni | ratōū | sa | katalāū | TOKA] | e | na | mataka | ni | siga |
| SUB | 3T | ASP | breakfast | CNT | ABL | DEF | morning | POS | day |

| | ka | tara-v-a | when they were having breakfast on the |
| | REL | follow-TR-3S | morning of the next day (FR3:43) |

22.11.4 Koto (nō). Koto is used (following Churchward and Milner) to indicate a continuing state that is related to the meaning of koto as a verb: "lie down". Thus, its use as a marker is "more or less coloured by [its] primary significance" (Churchward 1941:17):

| ni | dua | [e | tau-vi | mate | KOTO] | māi | na | no-na | vale |
| SUB | one | 3S | infect-TR | ill | CNT | ABL | DEF | POS-3S | house |
| when one is at home ill (NV3:13) |

Milner (1972:91) noted an additional function: to indicate that something has come to a conclusion:

| kē | vakā | [me | de-i | KOTO | gā] | na | yavu | ni | i-Taukei, |
| SUB | like-it | SUB | fix-TR | CNT | LIM | DEF | foundation | POS | owners |

| | ia | me | de-i | na | ke-na | vosa |

      CNJ   SUB   fix-TR   DEF   POS-3S   talk

if a foundation for the Fijians is to be firmly fixed, their language must be firmly fixed (SR 20/4/82)

Note here that the state itself has not come to an end, but the process of "fixing the foundation" has ended with its completion.

22.11.4.1 Nō. Nō is treated as a synonym. It is used as a marker in Standard Fijian (TRN 5/82) only after koto, when koto is used as a main verb meaning 'lie down':[15]

[e	koto	NÕ]	she was lying down
3S	lie	CNT	

PG noted (5/82) that even koto is not widely used as a marker in Colloquial Fijian, although more formal and written Fijian uses it.

22.11.5 Voli 'roundabout'.[16] The marker voli after a verb indicates that the activity was done here and there, or counter to the actor's original purpose.

[e	gādē	VOLI]	o	koya	ni	māī	cakacaka
3S	stroll	CNT	PRP	3S	SUB	DIR	work

he took a holiday when he had actually come to work

e	sō	na	gone	tagane	era	vēī-dia	[sē	vēī-tiqa	VOLI	gā]
3S	some	DEF	child	male	3P	GEN-(game)	CNJ	GEN-(game)	CNT	LIM

some of the boys play around at veidia or veitiqa (NV3:23)

[tiko	VOLI	e	vale]	staying at home (without purpose) (FR3:51)
stay	CNT	ABL	house	

sā	dedē	na	no-dratou	[tiko	VOLI]	na	vēī-luve-ni	oqō
ASP	long	DEF	POS-3T	stay	CNT	DEF	REC-offspring-TR	DEM:1

the family stayed around for a long time (FR3:55)

tovolea	m-o	kilā	kece	na	yaca	ni	vēī-manumanu	vuka
try	SUB-2S	know-3S	INC	DEF	name	POS	DIS-animal	fly

[ko	rai-c-a	ni	vēī-vuka-yaki	VOLI]	e	na	no-da	vanua
2S	see-TR-3S	SUB	DIS-fly-TR		CNT	ABL	DEF POS-1PI	land

(you) all try to know the names of the birds you see flying around in our country (NV3:21)

[e	lako	VOLI	e	Suva]	he happened to go about in S
3S	go	CNT	ABL	S	

[e	tiko	VOLI	e	vale]	she's staying about the house (going from
3S	stay	CNT	ABL	house	place to place within the house) (PG)

PG added (10/83) that a second function of voli is continuative, when the head of the VP is tiko. Thus tiko voli could also mean 'staying temporarily'.

22.12 INITIATION (INI): BEKA, MADA, BAGI

These markers are labeled "Initiation" to reflect their function of making permissible such culturally disapproved acts as initiating an action, stating a fact flatly, or making an abrupt suggestion.

22.12.1 Moderative: beka.[17] Beka is used to avoid making a flat statement of fact or asking an abrupt question. Its use changes such a statement or question into a suggestion or proposal, subject to the hearer's approval. It can also add an element of doubt. The Ivolavosa Vakaviti uses the descriptive phrases "something that is uncertain", "to lighten (soften) a question".

Examples are:

[erāū	rāīrāī	vosa	vata	BEKA	gā]	na	vosa	vaka-Bāū	kēī	na
3D	APR	talk	CNC	INI	LIM	DEF	talk	MAN-B	CNJ	DEF

	vosa	vaka-Lakeba
	talk	MAN-L

the B language and the L language seemed as though they might be the same language (SR 20/4/82)

[e	na	qāī	vā-gasagasa-taki	tale	BEKA]	na	bula	e	na	cava?
ABL	DEF	SEQ	CAU-enrich-TR	ITR	INI		DEF	life	ABL	DEF what

then what could life possibly be enriched with? (SR 20/4/82)

[a   cava BEKA] na   vu-na   what might the reason be? (NL 13/5/
DEF What INI   DEF reason-3S   82)

When used with numerals, beka makes a statement approx-
imate:

[e   na   tini   BEKA]   na   kaloko   about ten o'clock
ABL   DEF   ten   INI   DEF   Clock

[e   rua-saga-vulu   BEKA] na   yabaki   about twenty years
ABL   twenty   INI   DEF   year

[kē   ā   sega   BEKA]   ni   tauvi-mate   bībī   tū
SUB   PT   not   INI   SUB   ill   heavy   CNT

if, perhaps, she hadn't been so ill (T74:42)

22.12.2 Mada. When used with imperatives (i.e. second person),
mada adds an element of politeness, rather like the English
"please":

[m-o   kau-t-a   MADA   māī]   please bring it here
SUB-2S   carried-TR-3S INI   DIR

[sogo-t-a   MADA]   na   kātuba   please close the door
closed-TR-3S   INI   DEF   door

With first person subject, mada as a marker is closer to its use
(in some areas) as a root meaning 'precede, ahead'. Here, one
might suggest that using mada is an apology for a culturally
awkward action: setting oneself apart from the group by taking
the initiative or making the first move. Thus, mada is often used
in expressions of taking leave:

[āū se   lako   MADA]   I'm going (if you please)
1S   go   ASP   INI

[āū se   līū   MADA]   I'll go ahead (if you please)
1S   ASP   precede   INI

[āū se   vaka-cegu MADA]   I'll excuse myself (if you please)
1S   ASP   retire   INI

Use with third person is rarer because of the semantic properties just described. But it can be used with the subjunctive:

Wāwā. [Me bulu   MADA] Wait. Let it (i.e. the earth oven) be buried first
wait   SUB buried INI

ka   vaka-masu-ti   koya [me   lako   MADA   yani]
CNJ   CAU-plead-TR   3S   SUB   go   INI   DIR
and pleaded with her to go there (T74:41)

The combination of the negative existential sega and mada has the idiomatic meaning of 'not even':

ka   lē   levu [era sega MADA] ni   kilā   na   vosa vaka-Viti
CNJ   NUM   big 3P   not INI   SUB   know-3S DEF   talk MAN-Fiji
and many of them didn't even know Fijian (Geraghty 1982:4)

PG (5/82) added a further meaning for mada: that it is also used when one says something that is contrary to the hearer's expectations.

22.12.3 Expectation: bagi. Bagi, quaintly translated as 'forsooth' by Hazlewood and Capell, is used in both VPs and NPs. It reflects a desire on the part of the speaker to seek confirmation. For example, the context for the following sentence is that the addressee was expected to have gone to a wedding:

[ko   ā   sega BAGI] ni   lako   yani   e   na   nō-drāū vaka-māū
2S   PT not INI   SUB   go   DIR   ABL DEF   POS-3D wedding
so you didn't go there to their wedding (T74:62)

[eratōū a   lako BAGI] i   lotu
3T   PT go   INI   ABL   religion
they (paucal) went to church after all

[o   ā   sega BAGI] ni   tiko   ki-na
2S   PT not INI   SUB   stay   ABL-3S
you didn't stay there after all

In comparison with most other markers, bagi seems rarely used. Therefore, it is difficult to fix its position exactly. But it does seem to be mutally exclusive with beka and mada; it occurs after sara and before māī and yani.

Bagi seems to be a conversational device—a tool used to return to old information, expressing interest or mild doubt, or asking for confirmation.

22.12.4 gona 'aforementioned' (AFM). Gona is another example of a conversational device. It refers to one particular instance of the general category just mentioned, and—in that sense—functions as a type of deixis. It is found in both VPs and NPs (see 26.1).

dua	GONA	na	siga,	sā	tuku-n-a	o	koya
one	AFM	DEF	day	ASP	tell-TR-3S	PRP	3S

one (particular) day, he said (Schütz and Komaitai 1971:111)

ni	rāū	sa	kau-t-a	GONA	na	tabua	vuā	na	marama
SUB	3D	ASP	carry-TR-3S	AFM	DEF	tabua	ABL-3S	DEF	woman

qāī	kureu	GONA	na	marama	ni	rāū	tagane
SEQ	startled	AFM	DEF	woman	SUB	3D	male

when they (dual) brought the tabua to the woman, she was startled (in that previous action, which had been mentioned before) to find that they were men (VV:Verata text)

sega	tike	GONA	ni	macala	vēī	āū
not	CNT	AFM	SUB	clear	ABL	1S

it still isn't clear to me (FMC61:51)

22.13 LIMITATION (LIM): GĀ, LĀ

The function of gā is to limit the extent of a general action/state to that of the verb involved. In so doing, gā tends to focus attention on that particular action/state.

[e	vakā GĀ]	era	kaci-vi	vata	māī	na	gone	ki	rārā
3S	like-3S	LIM	3P	call-TR	CNC	DIR	DEF	child	ABL	village-green

ni	sā	oti	na	vaka-yakavi
SUB	ASP	finish	DEF	supper

it's simply as if the children were called together to the village green after the evening meal (NV3:23)

[e kalōūgata GĀ] ni   totolo na   nēī-tōū   coki   i-sulu
3S lucky   LIM SUB fast   DEF POS-1TX take-in clothes
it was just lucky that our taking the clothes in was fast (NV4:3)

[ni   oti   GĀ] na   katalāū e   na   mataka ni   siga Vakarāūwāī
SUB finish LIM DEF breakfast ABL DEF morning POS day Saturday
just after breakfast on Saturday morning… (NV4:9)

In the last example, by focusing on oti 'finished', gā has the
meaning 'just, immediately'.

ia   [e   sega GĀ] ni   o   koya   sara
CNJ 3S   not   LIM   SUB PRP 3S   INT
but it wasn't exactly that (SR 20/4/82)

Here, the gā focuses on the negative, sega.

ka   [sā   na vaka-levu   cakacaka   GĀ] kē   ra dui   taba-ki
CNJ ASP FT CAU-big   work   LIM SUB 3P IND print-TR
but it would only increase the work if they were printed individually (SR 20/4/
82)

22.13.1 Gā with other markers: tale gā, wale gā, and mada gā.
Gā in combination with the markers tale, wale, and mada forms
idioms that must be treated separately.

22.13.1.1 Tale gā 'also'. The compound marker tale gā is
not equal to the sum of its parts. Note the following change of
meaning:

e lako TALE   he went again
e lako TALE GĀ   he also went

If tale gā were not idiomatic, the gā in the second sentence
would merely emphasize lako tale, or "focus" on it.

These two markers do not have to be contiguous. In the
following examples, they are separated by another marker, tū
(continuous), but still retain the idiomatic meaning of 'also':

[ka   tau-r-a   TALE tū   GĀ] e   dua na   taga o   Pita
CNJ carry-TR-3S   ITR   CNT LIM 3S one DEF bag   PRP P
and P also carried a bag (NV4:70)

[e   ā   kau-t-a   cake TALE tiko GĀ] e   dua na   me-na

3S PT carry-TR-3S   DIR   ITR   CNT LIM 3S one DEF POS-3S

    i-olo   wāī   he was also carrying up there his parcel of water
    parcel water   (FR5:23)

22.13.1.2 Wale gā 'only'. The combination wale gā is idiomatic as well. Wale, described in 22.6, is more like an adverb than a grammatical marker. With gā, the construction functions as a limiter, translated as 'only, just':

[se qāī vula   tini WALE-GĀ]   who was just 10 months old (FR6:5)
ASP SEQ month   ten   only

[e   dua WALE-GĀ] na   kā   just one thing (T74:59)
3S   one only   DEF thing

As with tale gā, the two items need not be contiguous:

me   vakā   [ni   ra dāū   vaka-nanu-m-a   WALE   tiko   GĀ]
SUB   like-3S SUB 3P HAB CAU-tnink-TR-3S   LIM   CNT   LIM
since they are always thinking only of (NL 27/5/82)

[ni   kau-t-a   WALE   tiko   GĀ   yani]
SUB   carry-TR-3S   LIM   CNT   LIM   DIR
that he was only carrying there (FR5:20)

ka   ni   ra kurabui-tak-a   ni [cola-t-a   WALE tū   GĀ yani]
CNJ SUB 3P surprise-TR-3S   SUB carry-TR-3S LIM   CNT LIM DIR
because they were surprised that he had only carried there (FR5:21)

22.13.1.3 Mada gā 'just'

[me   tōū   sā   lako   MADA   GĀ]   let's just go
SUB   1TI   ASP   go   INI   LIM

[tuku-n-a   MADA   GĀ]   vuā   me   kākua   ni   lako
tell-TR-3S   INI   LIM   ABL-3S   SUB   not   SOB   go
just tell her not to go

[eratōū   sā   kana   oti   MADA   GĀ]
3T   ASP   eat   ASP   INI   LIM
they've just finished eating

22.13.2 Lā. This marker is an alternate to gā.

[āū	se	qāī	kana	oti	LĀ]	I've just finished eating
1S	ASP	SEQ	eat	ASP	LIM	

Speakers questioned thought lā was the same as gā; PG (7/82) agreed, but thought there were occasions on which one was more appropriate than the other. For example, he has never heard *tale lā or *wale lā (confirming, as J. Siegel (8/83) pointed out, the idiomatic status of tale gā and wale gā). Moreover, he noted that although lā is used fairly often in Bauan, it never is in Colloquial Fijian.

22.13.3 Discussion. Milner (1972:91–92) included sara gā, kece gā, and dina gā as "combinations". He did not label them as idioms, but because he gave special translations for each, one gets the impression that he considered them to be units. One must remember, however, that the work cited was designed as a primer, and as such, approached the language from the point of view of the language learner. Thus, the statements should be interpreted this way: "This is how to translate 'exactly', 'not even', 'in spite of', etc. into Fijian."

PG (5/82) questioned the existence of kece gā in untranslated material. Sara gā and dina gā seem to be be straightforward sequences of two markers each.

Tale gā and wale gā, like many other markers in this section, occur in NPs as well as VPs. See CH 26.

22.14 DIRECTION (DIR)

22.14.1 Māī (toward focal point). The marker māī indicates literal or figurative movement toward a focal point, which is established by con-text, and which often changes within a discourse. For example, the focal point of the following sentence is the speaker:

[lako	mada	MĀĪ]	please come here (i.e. toward me)
go	INI	DIR	

In many contexts, however, the reference point shifts along with the narrative, particularly in the common narrative situation that includes only third person. In such a context, māi no longer centers on the speaker, but instead, on the locus of context. Note the following examples:[18]

erāū		lako	tiko	ki	na	i-tēītēī	me		na	lāū	tale	e	sō
3D		go	CNT	ABL	DEF	garden	SUB		DEF	planted	ITR	3S	some

	na	mata	ni	dalo.	[Erāū	na		lesu	tale	MĀĪ]	ni	sā	yakavi.
	DEP	stem	POS	taro	3D	FT		return	ITR	DIR	SUB	ASP	evening

They're going to the garden so that the taro stems might be planted. They'll return in the afternoon-evening (literally, When it becomes evening) (NV2:5)

Here, the māi refers to a reference point that is vaguely established by the context: the point from which they set out. It is not connected at all with the speaker, who is entirely removed from this context.

[era	kaila-vak-a	MĀĪ]	e	na	vēī-yasa	ni	koro	ni	sā	laba
3P	shout-TR-3S	DIR	ABL	DEF	DIS-part	POS	village	SUB	ASP	strike

	na	cagi	[ka	ni	sā	toro	cake	tiko	gā	MĀĪ]	na	ke-na	kāūkaua
	DEF	wind	CNJ	SUB	ASP	move	DIR	CNT	LIM	DIR	DEF	POS-3S	strength

they shout it (hither) in all parts of the village that the storm is striking and that its strength is moving up (NV2:51)

In this context, neither māi is directed toward the narrator, but instead toward the village in general.

[ka	votu	MĀĪ]	na	yabaki	vōū	and the new year appears (NV3:37)
CNJ	appear	DIR	DEF	year	new	

In the following examples, māi represents figurative movement:

[sā	vaka-tū-loaloa	MĀĪ]	na	vanua	the land is darkening (NV3:22)
ASP	CAU-stand-dark	DIR	DEF	land	

oqō	e	dāū	caka	gā	me	bale-t-a	[ni	da	sā	galala	MĀĪ]
DEM:1	3S	HAB	done	LIM	SUB	because	SUB	1PI	ASP	free	DIR

	e	na	no-da	cakacaka	e	na	siga

        ABL DEF POS-1PI   work   ABL DEF day

this is done (visiting in the evening) because we become free from our day's work (NV3:14)

Here, māī seems to give the idea of becoming free—rather like a state that approaches gradually.

[e kāū   MĀĪ]   [na yaca-na   e   na   rorogo ni   domo
3S carried DIR   DEF name-3S ABL   DEF   sound   POS   voice

    ni   no-na   tagi it gets its name (is carried hither) from the sound of
    POS   POS-3S   cry its cry (NV3:21)

With some verbs, the motion implied by māī is not concurrent with that of the main verb, but before or after it:

[m-o   voli-a MĀĪ]   buy it (and bring it back)
SUB-2S buy-3S DIR

[e   ā   kele   MĀĪ] ki Suva e   na   mācawa sā   oti   e   dua
3S   PT   anchor   DIR ABL Suva ABL DEF week   ASP finished 3S one

       na   melisitima levu   there came to anchor at Suva last week a
       DEF   ship   big   large ocean liner (NV2:45)

With a stative, the meaning of postverbal māī is even further re-moved from the sense of literal movement:

[āū sā   oca   MĀĪ],   āū sā   via   lesu   tale ki   vale
1S   ASP tired DIR   1S ASP DES   return ITR   ABL   house
I've become tired; I want to go home (NV3:41)

Here, the sense of māī is that the state has been reached. The phrase could be translated: 'I've become tired'.

sā   urouro [ka levulevu MĀĪ] na   geti the pig has become fat and big
ASP fat   CNJ big   DIR DEF pig (NV3:37)

Māī, like other markers occurring after the verb, comes after the modifier in the gunu-yaqona construction (see 12.4):

e   ā   tala-i   āū ko Nānā   [me-u   laki cavu tavioka   MĀĪ]
3S PT send-TR   1S PRP Mother   SUB-1S DIR pull tapioka   DIR

Mother sent me to go pull up tavioka (and bring it back) (NV2:29)

and also after proper objects:

[eratōū	na	biu-ti	Ositerelia	MĀĪ]	e	na	i-ka-lima
3T	FT	left-TR	Australia	DIR	ABL	DEF	fifth

they (paucal) are leaving Australia (and coming here) on the fifth (Milner 1972 :60)

In the following sentences, note the juxtaposition of māī and ki:

ka	ra	sā	vōleka	[ni	uru	MĀĪ]	ki	vanua
CNJ	3P	ASP	near	SUB	arrive	DIR	ABL	land

and they are nearly approaching land (NV2:62)

[e	ā	kele	MĀĪ]	ki	Suva	it came to anchor at Suva (NV2:45)
3S	PT	anchor	DIR	ABL	Suva	

22.14.2 Yani (toward a point established by context). The marker yani establishes literal or figurative movement toward a point that has been mentioned, or is otherwise known to both speaker and hearer. In the following example (NV3:13–14), note how the reference point for yani (and māī as well) shifts as the locus of the story changes:

ni	dua	e	tauvi-mate	koto	māī	na	no—na	vale,	[era	dāū	kāū
SUB	one	3S	ill	CNT	ABL	DEP	POS-3S	house	3P	HAB	carried

	kākana	YANI]	ko	ira	era	laki	vēī-siko
	food	DIR	PRP	3P	3P	DIR	REC-visit

when a person is at home ill, those people who go "ritual visiting" take food there.

Here, the locus of context for yani is the place that has just been mentioned.[10]

Further examples are:

e	rawa	[ni-u	bāū	toma-ni	kemudōū	tū	YANI?]
3S	able	SUB-1S	TEN	accompany-TR	2T	CNT	DIR

may I go with the three of you there? (NV3:15)

na	no-dra	qele	na	vēī-mataqali	vakā-oqō,	[e	sā	sukā

DEF POS   land DEF DIS-(kin unit)   MAN-DEM: 1   3S ASP disperse-3S

    YANI]   me   māroro-y-a   na   matanitū
    DIR   SUB   care-TR-3S   DEP   government

the land of such a mataqali reverts to the government's keeping (NV3:22)

In its figurative use, yani is often used in the sense of "returning" answers to questions:

[erāū   sau-m-a   sara   YANI]   na   vēī-tavaleni
3D   answer-TR-3S   INT   DIR   DEF   REC-cousin
the two cousins answered back (NV3:15)

Here, the locus of yani is the previous question. In fact, yani is often used repeatedly in reporting conversations. Note the following:

"E na mārau beka o   Ālisi ni-u   sā   lako māī?" [ā taro YANI] ko
3S FT happy INI PRP A   SUB-1S ASP go   DIR   PT ask DIR   PRP

    Mārica. "o! io! Na   cava sara mada [e volā   YANI?]"
    M   oh yes DEF what INT INI   3S write-3S DIR

 [e ā   sau-m-a   YANI] ko   Leone. "o! e   ā   talikaramu   gā
 3S PT answer-TR-3S   DIR   PRP L   oh 3S PT telegram   LIM

 yani me-u   kua ni   lako māī." [ā kaya YANI] ko   Mārica
 DIR SUB-1S not SUB go   DIR   PT say DIR   PRP M

"Will A be pleased that I've come?" asked M. "Oh, yes. Just what exactly did she write you?" L answered back. "Oh, she wired me not to come," M said back (T42).

One example, however, of yani without a reference point established by context is the opening line in a story:

[Ni   drodro YANI] na   uciwāī   When the river flows forth (FR5:22)
SUB flow   DIR   DEP river

But could we not argue that the destination of all rivers is known to be the sea? This kind of reference point is one that is established by general knowledge. A sentence further on in the first paragraph strengthens such an argument:

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Ni	sā	oti	na	cegu	ni	wāī	e	na	tobu	koyā,	sā
SUB	ASP	finish	DEF	rest	POS	water	ABL	DEF	pool	DEM:3	ASP

qāī	drodro	sobu	yani	e	na	ke-na	i-drodrodro
SEQ	flow	DIR	DIR	ABL	DEF	POS-3S	course

After the water rests in that pool, it then flows down in its course (FR5:22)

22.14.3 Discussion: the reference point for VP directional markers. The directional markers māī and yani have traditionally been described as speaker-oriented.[19] One is tempted to label such a statement as translation analysis—moreover, translation out of context. In the following examples (Milner 1972:29), the translations show a simple opposition: toward the speaker and away from the speaker:

erau lako mai they (dual) come

erau lako yani they (dual) go [there]

However, the second statement makes no sense out of context, for yani—as the discussion above showed—refers to a specific place.

SECTION III

NOUN PHRASES

Nouns have three properties, viz: Gender, Number and Case ...

A Grammar of the Feejeean Language
David Cargill, 1839

Nouns, which are names of all natural objects, celestial and terrestrial, as the names of the heavenly bodies, trees, animals, and natural productions generally, are mostly primitive or underived words. As, a tamata, a man; a waqa, a canoe ...

But the verbs are the most fruitful source of nouns in the Fijian. Almost all nouns which express actions, agents, and instruments, are derived from verbs ...

To nouns belong the properties of genders, numbers, and cases.

A Compendious Grammar of the Fee-
jeean Language ...
David Hazlewood, 1850

Nouns are absolutely without inflexion (or change of any kind) for either gender, number or case; the same word is nominative and objective, singular and plural, masculine and feminine; except about a dozen which are masculine only and another dozen which are feminine only. There is no possessive case, its place being supplied by the objective and a preposition signifying "of." (The prefix vei has been said to form a plural, which is wrong; it forms nouns of

multitude only; but sometimes there is no corresponding noun of multitude in English and we have to substitute a plural.)

'The Fijian Language' G. A. F. W. Beau-clerc, 1910

23 THE NOUN PHRASE: SEMANTICS AND CLASSIFICATION

23.1 THE SEMANTIC FUNCTION OF THE NP

At the beginning of CH 6, it was pointed out that many Fijian sentences consist of a VP alone.[1] The reason they can do so is that a VP contains elements that refer not only to an action/state, but also to the actor and/or goal related to it. For example, in the VP

āū	ā	wili	i-vola	I was reading
1S	PT	read	book	

āū refers to the entity, and wili i- vola refers to the action/state. In grammatical terms, āū functions as the subject, and wili i-vola as the (modified) verb.

Note that the sentence āū ā wili i-vola is complete in itself, for it is clear that āū refers to the speaker and no one else. Therefore, no further clarification is necessary. Such is usually the case when the subject refers to the speaker or the addressee alone (grammatically: first person singular exclusive or second person singular). However, when the subject refers to an entity that is neither the speaker nor the addressee (grammatically: third person), the sentence is grammatically complete, but not semantically so—at least, not on its own. Note the following sentence, similar to the one above:

e	ā	wili	i-vola	he (or she or it) was reading
3S	PT	read	book	

Although this sentence is grammatically complete in itself, it seems to have been taken out of a context that might have clarified the referent of e. Such clarification can take place within the sentence itself with a reference to a specific entity (indicated by uppercase letters and brackets):

e ā   wili i-vola [NA GONE]   the child was
                                      reading
3S PT read book DEF child

With a particular type of verb, a simple VP can refer to an additional entity. Expanding on the original VP:

e ā   wili-k-a   he read it
3S PT read-TR-3S

Again, although this sentence is grammatically complete, it seems to have been taken out of a context that might have clarified the referent of -a. And as before, the situation can be clarified within the sentence by adding a reference to a specific entity:

e ā   wili-k-a   [NA I-VOLA] [NA GONE]   the child
3S PT read-TR-3S DEF book   DEP child   read the
                                                 book

In the examples above, the NP adds information about the referent of the object and the subject, respectively.

An NP can also clarify other grammatical markers. For example:

e   lako   ki-na   he went there
3S   go   ABL-3S

i   vēī?   where?
ABL where

i   na   Bose   ni   Yasana   to the Provincial
ABL DEF   meeting POS   province   Council

In this short discourse, -na (third person singular) and na Bose ni Yasana 'the Provincial Council' refer to the same entity.

From a semantic point of view, then, an NP adds information about such entities, and others, that are involved in the situation that is being discussed. Such entities can be classified according to how they relate to the action/state that the verb refers to. Table 23:1 shows some semantic functions that an NP can fulfill with respect to the verb.

TABLE 23:1[2]

1	ACTOR	who or what is performing the action
2	CAUSE	an actor who or which causes another actor to perform an action
3	DIRECT GOAL	the entity directly affected by the action/ state
4	INDIRECT GOAL	the recipient of an entity given, sent, etc.
5	LOCATION 1	destination for entity in motion
6	LOCATION 2	area (time or space) for action/state
7	INSTRUMENT	entity (other than actor) that facilitates an action
8	ACCOMPANIMENT	something or someone present, but not participating in the action/state
9	REASON	motivating force behind the action/ state

The following examples illustrate the types of entities listed in the table (the NPs are in uppercase and enclosed by brackets):

1. Actor

eratōū moce tiko [NA GONE]   the children were
3T   sleep CNT DEF child   sleeping (literally,
the few of them
were sleeping—the
children)

2. Cause

e vā-kani-a   [O   TĀĪ]   T fed it (literally, she
3S CAU-eat-3S PRP T   caused it to eat—T)

3. Direct goal

āū kaba-t-a   [NA VŪ-NI-NĪŪ]   I climbed the
1S climb-TR-3S DEF coconut-tree   coconut tree
                                           (literally, I
                                         climbed it—the
                                         coconut tree)

4. Indirect goal

e   soli-a   [VĒĪ PITA]   he gave it to P
3S give-3S   ABL   P

5. Location 1

erāū soko [I   CAKĀŪ]   the two of them sailed
3D   sail ABL reef   toward the reef

6. Location 2

e   tiko   [MĀĪ   BĀ]   she stays in B
3S   stay   ABL   B

7. Instrument

e   caka [E   NA   KĀŪ]   it's made of wood
3S made ABL DEF wood

8. Accompaniment

e   kaba-tak-a [NA MATĀŪ]   he climbed with the
3S climb-TR-3S DEF axe   axe

9. Reason

e   rarawa-tak-a [NA NO-NA VIA-KANA]   she's sad because
3S sad-TR-3S   DEF POS-3S DES-eat   of her hunger

Although only one example is given for each type, a particular semantic role is not always realized grammatically in the same way. For example, reason is sometimes expressed by the grammatical object, other times by an ablative NP.

23.2 NOUN AND NP CLASSIFICATION

A noun can be classified as either:

INTEGRAL or PARTITIVE

An NP can be classified according to two oppositions—as either:

COMMON or PROPER

PRIMARY or SECONDARY

23.2.1 Integral and partitive nouns. An integral noun is one whose referent does not depend on a relationship with another entity for its existence. Examples are vale 'house', tamata 'person', ika 'fish', and Seru (personal name).

In contrast, a partitive noun refers to an entity that does not exist except as part of a larger entity. For example, tina- 'mother' exists only as part of the mother-offspring relationship. Liga- 'hand' exists only as part of the body. Dela- 'top' exists only as a part of something. These three examples illustrate three major semantic categories of partitive nouns: kin terms, body parts, and parts of a whole.

Most partitive nouns take a suffixed form or i in their relational use. Thus, one would not say:

*e yaco māī na tama   the father arrived

but instead:

e yaco māī na tama-na his father arrived
e yaco māī na tama ni gone the child's father arrived
e yaco māī na tama i Seru S's father arrived

The following context (NV1:9) shows the two types of nouns referring to the same entity:

(PICTURE)

oqō na tagane this is a man

 e taci i tama-qu   he's my father's younger brother

Here, tagane 'male' is an integral noun—that is, it can stand alone. But both taci- and tama- are partitive nouns. In each case, the larger entity (here a kin relationship) must be referred to. First, taci- is related to the other participant in the younger-older brother relationship by the particle i. Next, tama- is related to the other participant in the father-offspring relationship by the possessive person-number suffix -qu.

23.2.2 Common vs. proper. A common noun is a word that refers to an entity; a proper noun is its NAME. For example, gone 'child' is usually a common noun; Apenisa, the child's name, is usually a proper noun.

     In order to examine the semantics of naming, we need to make a basic assertion: the NAME of something differs from the WORD for it. For people and places, the latter is often obscure or not specific enough. Thus, naming is a way to be specific about people and places.[3]

23.2.2.1 Place names. In Fijian, the common nouns that are used in phrases referring to location are relative, not specific. For example, with the vertical dimension, the following nouns, among others, are used:

 cake   up (from point of reference)
 rā   down (from point of reference)
 dela-na   its top
 ruku-na   space under it

Similarly, the common nouns referring to horizontal space are ranged around a reference point:

```
                     e līū 'ahead'
                          ↑
                          |
 imawī 'left' ◄---REFERENCE POINT--► imataū 'right'
                          |
                          ↓
                     e muri 'behind'
```
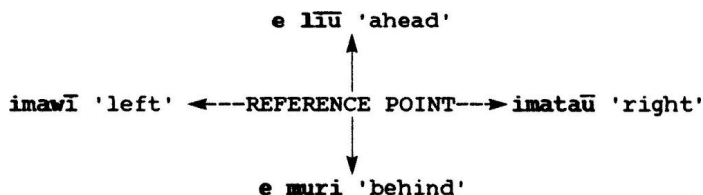
With respect to motion, māī and yani are toward and away from a reference point; cake and rā are toward generally opposite points on an island (PG, 3/82).

Points along the vertical dimension seem to have remained unnamed, but naming places positioned in a horizontal plane (usually on the earth's surface, but o Bulu is the name of a subterranean mythological location) is the most convenient way to refer to specific locations or areas on the globe's surface without using quantitative means.[4] Place names cover a range from general to specific. They can be as general as

o Viti   Fiji

moving to more specific areas, using names from the hierarchy of administrative divisions or that of kin units:[5]

o Lāū   the Lau group of islands
na yasana o Bā   Bā Province
na tikina o Tavua   Tavua Tikina

23.2.2.2 Personal names. There are two types of personal names in Fijian. The first is semantically specific only with respect to person and number, and the inclusive-exclusive distinction; the term "pronoun" is often used for this class. Examples are:

o yāū   I
o ira   they (plural)

The second type is semantically specific, at least to the extent that one's full name is usually unique in a community, even if one's given name isn't. Examples are:

o Jone   Jone
o Joeli Bulu   Joeli Bulu
o Bera   Bera

If there is still some ambiguity as to the referent, these names can be specified by giving further information—such as location, family ties, occupation, characteristic features, etc.

23.2.3 Primary vs. secondary. A primary NP is one that is not identified beyond certain functions. For example, the NP na gone may serve as one of the following:

1. A specified subject, object, or possessor (see CH 30)

sā moce NA GONE	he is asleep now—the child
e rai-c-a NA GONE	she saw him—the child
na no-dra qito NA GONE	their (plural) playing—the children

2. The interior of a secondary phrase

(māi (NA VALE))	from the house

Note that the functions of these primary NPs cannot be determined out of context.

A secondary NP is one marked for functions beyond those just listed. For example:

māi na vale (ablative)	from the house
i na koro (ablative)	to the village
kēi Jone (comitative)	with J
i Tē (vocative)	oh, T

For these NPs, the function is marked by the form of the phrase itself—specifically, by the markers that begin each phrase.

Thus, the functions of a primary NP are of two main types: to specify certain grammatical forms that are identified as to person and number, but no further, and to serve in larger constructions that are marked for oblique functions.

To show the interrelatonships between primary and secondary NPs, we move to a more complicated example. In this example, NPs are underlined, the multiple lines showing layering of NPs.

<center>eratōū ā vakatatalo tiko</center>

e na ruku ni vū ni baka	ko Wati, Marama, kēi Ratava
1 _____	5 _____
2 _____	6 _____
3 _____	
4 _____	

the three were playing in the shade of a banyan tree—Wati, Marama, and Ratava (NV2:91)

The NPs are as follows (P = primary; S = secondary):

> 1. S. An ablative phrase. its function is to modify the verb.
>
> 2. P. This phrase serves as the interior of #1.
>
> 3. S. An attributive phrase. Its function is to modify ruku.
>
> 4. S. An attributive phrase. Its function is to modify vū.
>
> 5. P. This phrase specifies the subject eratōū.
>
> 6. S. A comitative phrase. Its function is to show an accompanying entity: Ratava. PG noted (11/83) that each of these names would normally be preceded by o, and that marking the last with kēī was optional.

23.3 SEMANTIC AND GRAMMATICAL MISMATCHES

In other sections of this grammar, I have noted that semantic classes and grammatical classes do not always coincide. Proper nouns (grammatical terms) and names (semantic terms) constitute another instance of such a mismatch. The area in question is personal names vs. place names. They pattern alike in their occurrence after o; they pattern differently in how they occur after locative markers. Specifically, only common nouns or place names occur after e, māī, and i.

Note also a slight difference in "number". The nonsingular members of the set of proper nouns, such as o ira, o iratōū, etc., refer more often to people rather than places, but places are not totally excluded.

Similar semantic and grammatical mismatches hold for the integral-partitive opposition. For example, there are a number of terms for body parts that do not take suffixed possessive

markers. For example, vico-vico 'navel', itāūkuku 'fingernail'. Geraghty has noted (1983a) that such terms as itāū 'friend' as well do not take the expected suffixes.

23.4 THE STRUCTURE OF THE BASIC NP

A BASIC NP is defined in terms of three items:

> 1. An obligatory phrase head, preceded by
>
> 2. An optional function marker and/or an article
>
> 3. Grammatical modifiers, indicating limitation, exclusion, etc.

The phrase head is either a noun or a form used as a noun. The criteria used to determine such a part-of-speech classification are somewhat loose.

A noun is a form that occurs most often after an article or one of the secondary function markers, and least often in a VP. In terms of semantics, it refers to an entity rather than an action/state. In terms of form, it occurs in certain morphological environments, such as with the prefixes i-, vēī-, dui-; or before the suffixes -qu, -mu, etc.[6]

An article is a marker that simply identifies an NP as definite-common or proper. It does not designate the function of an NP. There are only two articles in Fijian; both are illustrated above: na and o.

A function marker, on the other hand, labels the syntactic function of an NP. The function markers in the phrases above are vēī, i, and māī. A complete list appears in CH 25.

A grammatical modifier limits or expands the extent of the referent. Examples are kece 'all', wale 'only', and gā (limiter).

Affixes, treated in CH 27, are treated as part of the noun itself and not as part of its periphery.

Any other element within an NP, such as an attribute, is treated as the result of an OPERATION. Therefore, it lies outside the basic phrase.

Examples of basic NPs are:

1. na waqa	the boat
2. na vale	the house
3. o Esiteri	E
4. vēī Esiteri	to E
5. i na vale	to the house
6. māī na waqa	on the boat
7. i vale	homeward
8. māī waqa	on board
9. na motokā tale gā	the car as well

The examples above illustrate the rather complex relationship between articles and function markers: one of them must be present in an NP.[7] That is, in normal speech there are no NPs like vale or waqa.

The examples also show that layering is possible. For example, na vale can serve not only as an NP itself, but also as the interior of a marked phrase: i na vale.

24 NP ARTICLES

Nouns are preceded by one (or both) of two kinds of markers: ARTICLES, which mark the distinctions PROPER and DEFINITE; and function markers. This chapter deals with only the first type: articles.

24.1 O: PROPER ARTICLE

The term PROPER forms an opposition with COMMON: all NPs are either proper or common. In the previous chapter, we discussed the semantic category called NAMES.[1] Names are represented in the grammar by PROPER NPs, which are marked by the article o. There are two classes of proper NPs:

1. The name of a specific person or place. E.g.:

o Mere	Mere (personal name)
o Semesa	Semesa (personal name)
o Suva	Suva (place name)
o Navitilevu	Navitilevu (place name)

Note that although certain nouns—such as tamata 'person', yalewa 'female', tagane 'male', and gone 'child'—refer to people, they are not names of people. Therefore, they are not proper nouns.

2. A combination of morphemes indicating person and number, and—with o—constituting a separate phrase. E.g.:

TABLE 24:1

	First person exclusive	inclusive	Second person	Third person
Singular	o yāū	----	o iko	o koya
Dual	o kēīrāū[2]	o kēdaru	o kemudrāū	o rāū
Paucal	o kēītōū	o kedatōū	o kemudōū	o iratōū

Plural	o kēīmami	o keda	o kemunī	o ira

24.1.1 O vs. ko. The history of the supposed alternation between o and ko is discussed in CH 4. As for present-day Standard Fijian, it would be inaccurate to suggest that ko is never spoken, for although it is not normally used in conversation, it appears in certain formal types of speech. And of course, it appears in written Fijian; a glance at the Fijian Bible will show that the translators have been rigorous in following Hazlewood's "rule" that o appears at the beginning of a sentence, ko elsewhere.[3] Its existence is rather like that of the "I shall, you will" distinction for English: an invention of grammarians, but believed long enough to influence some speakers.

In the present grammar, o is written, except in quotations from materials that have used ko.

24.1.2 Nouns that can take either na or o, or both. Some nouns, especially kin terms, alternate between common and proper. For example, one finds both

na	tama-qu	my father
DEF	father-1S	

o	tama-qu	my father
PRP	father-1S	

In addition, one can occasionally find the two articles used with one noun:

o na marama   the lady[4]

The following, in spite of its surface structure, is also an example of o na:

gole-vi NA MAKUBU-NA gā   o   B sā   vakā   sara nē
turn-TR DEF grandchild-3S LIM PRP B ASP say-3S INT SEN
B turned to her grandchild and said the following   (Nawadra 1981:1)

As 24.1.3 shows, the expected form of a proper after a transitive suffix would be the proper NP with no article; e.g.:

gole-vi MAKUBU-NA

And if the verb had a common object, the grammatical object -a would appear; e.g.:

     gole-v-a NA MAKUBU-NA

Thus, the form of the construction forces this interpretation: that in this instance, the full phrase is o na makubu-na.

    The next example shows o followed by something other than a kin term. Here, we find the proper marker with i-tāū 'friend', which would usually be considered common rather than proper:

kāī-nak-a   sara vā-qō   o   no-na   i-tāū
say-TR-3S INT MAN-DEM:1 PRP POS-3S friend
his friend said this ... (FMC61:2)

Cargill (1839a) noted the examples of the proper article with kin terms, assigning them a kind of reduced grammatically:

> ... in such cases the common noun seems to be raised to the rank of a proper name, and ko usurps the place of the article a, for a tamaqu and a jinamu are more consistent with the genius of the language, and are therefore more grammatical than ko tamaqu, and ko jinamu.

Hazlewood (1872:5) quoted Cargill's statement, but held the opposite point of view: he considered that the frequency of occurrence of the ko forms, as well as the "genius of the language", rendered them just as appropriate as the na forms.

    Hazlewood also mentioned the combination of ko plus na:

> Sometimes ko is prefixed with na to any common noun, apparently for the sake of greater definitiveness—a, of itself, being indefinite—as, ko na marama, the lady; ko na turaga, the gentleman (or chief), alluding to some particular one.

Churchward (1941:65–66) noted the alternation and gave examples of the principal types of nouns that could "be treated either as common or as proper": words like vuravura 'world', kin terms, and such titles as qase-ni-vuli 'teacher'.

    Milner (1972:73) wrote that the alternation is based on "the needs of the situation". Using the proper article with terms of kinship, he wrote, "implies familiarity and close acquaintance."

The evidence taken from these four sources points toward this simple interpretation: o phrases are names, not just words. With respect to a term with an inanimate referent, such as vu-ravura 'world' or lomālagi 'sky', using o makes it a place name. As for kin terms and other terms referring to humans, an o phrase is like the person's name.

24.1.3 Proper nouns as part of the VP. When a common noun specifies a grammatical object, it appears in a phrase, and its position is not fixed. For example:

āū	ā	caqe-t-a	NA	POLO	I kicked the ball
1S	PT	kick-TR-3S	DEF	ball	

NA	POLO,	āū	ā	caqe-t-a	as for the ball, I kicked it[5]
DEF	ball	1S	PT	kick-TR-3S	

A proper noun behaves differently. First, when a name referring to one entity (singular) occurs directly following the verb and its transitive suffix, it does not, strictly speaking, specify the object, but is the object. It occurs without the proper article and fits with the set of grammatical objects:

e	ā	rai-ci	ĀŪ	she saw me
3S	PT	see-TR	1S	

e	ā	rai-ci	IKO	she saw you

e	ā	rai-ci	PAULA	she saw P

Thus, -a, the usual third person singular object, does not occur in addition to the proper noun.

To show that the proper noun is an integral part of the VP, note that postverbal markers follow it:

rai-ci	JONE	tiko	keep looking at J
see-TR	J	CNT	

rai-ci	JONE	mada	look at J (please)
see-TR	J	INI	

When something disrupts this contiguous placement of verb and name, such as fronting or an intervening element, the proper article is used:

O	JONE,	āū	rai-c-a		as for J, I saw him
PRP	J	1S	see-TR-3S		

O	JONE,	āū	rai-ci	koya	as for J, I saw him
PRP	J	1S	see-TR	3S	

24.1.4 I: Proper object marker. The o phrases above appear in this general section on unmarked NPs because their function is not indicated. But related to the section immediately above is i$_2$, a proper object marker. It seems to be a relic of an earlier system. At any rate, since an i phrase is marked for function, it is treated in 25.3.

24.1.5 Proper NPs in a special use beyond personal names. As the discussion in 20.5 showed, although the person-number markers used as subject or object generally refer to persons, they sometimes refer to other entities when there is a need to treat them as individuals. The same situation holds for proper NPs. (In the following example, both the specified subject NP and the subject—in that order—appear in upper-case):

O	IRATŌŪ	oqori,	ERATŌŪ	raba-i-lelevu	those (just listed) are
PRP	3T	DEM: 2	3T	wide	wide (NV2:71)

Here, o iratōū refers to the different types of masi 'tapa' listed in the preceding sentence. Evidently, this nonhuman entity is given proper NP status here because there is a need to draw attention to a specific number of types.

24.2 NA: DEFINITE ARTICLE

In Fijian, definiteness is a grammatical category that operates on common NPs.[6] Formally, it is manifested by the article na before the noun, as na vale 'house' or na ulu ni vanua 'mountain (lit., head of land)'. Thus, the presence of na is the formal criterion for definiteness.

Semantically, it might be possible to relate the occurrence of na to the notion of old information vs. new information: that is, what the hearer knows or doesn't know about the topic of conversation.

From this point of view, there are two types of definiteness that are—in a sense—automatic, for in certain constructions, NPs are always definite. These types are based on, first, sentence structure, and next, semantics.

We now discuss the two types in detail.

24.2.1 Definiteness based on sentence structure. Although this type of definiteness depends on one of the distinguishing features of Fijian grammar, it has not been discussed before from this point of view. The analysis here depends on the reinterpretation of two elements within the VP, often called "pronouns", or "subject marker" and "object marker" (see CH 20). For example, in the following VP,

| e | rai-c-a | | | | | he sees it |
| 3S | see-TR-it | | | | | |

e is the subject and -a is the object.[7] Optional NPs added to this VP function to specify the subject and the object—that is, to narrow the semantic reference. For example:

| e | rai-c-a | na | vū-ni-kāū | na | yalewa | the woman sees the tree |
| 3S | see-TR-3S | DEF | tree | | DEF | woman |

There is no question about the interpretation of this sentence: it refers to a particular woman and a particular tree.

The present reanalysis of na rests on this premise: If we take the notions of old and new information literally, by the time a specifying NP appears, it is old information, since the subject and object (if there is one) are already expressed in the VP. Thus, in the sentence above, 'tree' and 'woman'[8] are old information, and in any sentence of that type, we consider that the NPs that "echo" the subject and the object relay old information and therefore require the definite marker.[9]

24.2.2 Definiteness based on semantics. The second type of definiteness can be further divided into two subtypes. The first is related to further specification of the referent of the noun. There are a number of kinds of modifiers that fit into this category:

> 1. Personal-spatial demonstratives. Examples are oqō 'this (near me)', oqori 'that (near you)', oyā 'that (near neither)'. In the following sentence, the use of one of these demonstratives coincides with the use of na in the NP:

> āū dāū vaka-tā-vovoce e   na   bāvelo   oyā
> 1S HAB play-paddling   ABL DEF dugout-canoe DEM:3
> I play at paddling in that dugout canoe

> Even though 'dugout canoe' has not been introduced previously, it takes on definiteness through the use of the demonstrative. Had oyā not been used, the hearer would know that 'boat' had to be referred to earlier. Moreover, it is in the nature of the demonstratives that they refer to things literally or metaphorically at hand; thus those things are immediately old information.

> 2. Possessives. A noun qualifed by a possessive is automatically definite. For example, no-qu vale 'my house' refers to a semantically definite item.[10]

> 3. Relative phrases. This method of attribution makes old information out of a referent immediately after it is introduced. Thus, the hearer knows, as it were, that the concept is going to be explained to him. As an example, note the following sentence:

> oqō   na   vale   this is the house
> DEM:1 DEF   house

> Unless one is using 'house' in a generic sense (see 24.3), the sentence above leaves the hearer dissatisfied. However, if 'house' is qualified by a relative phrase:

oqō na vale e moce tū ki-na this is the house
DEM:1 DEF house 3S sleep CNT ABL-3S he slept in

the sentence needs no further context to clarify it.

 4. Miscellaneous markers and attributes that limit. In this cate gory belong such forms as kece 'all' and yā-dua 'each'.

The second type of semantic definiteness is the GENERIC category. In this construction, the referent of the noun is not viewed as an individual member of a class (on which the opposition definite/indefinite could operate), but as a class itself. We find sentences like the following:

e kāū yaga sara na nīū   the coconut is a very useful tree
3S tree useful INT DEF coconut (NV1:66)

Here, it is not a particular coconut that is referred to, but instead, the whole class.

24.3 INDEFINITE CONSTRUCTIONS

The previous section showed constructions that are "automatically" definite. We now treat constructions that allow a contrast between definite and indefinite.[11] Note the following pairs:

e   koro-ni-vuli   in schools
ABL   school

e na koro-ni-vuli   in the school, in school
ABL DEF school

e   vale   at home, indoors
ABL   house

e na vale   in the house (a particular one)
ABL DEF house

These examples show that NPs with and without na form a grammatical opposition. Those without na are indefinite.[12]

However, in ablative phrases, a number of semantic restrictions come into play. Note that in the examples above, some of the nouns represent abstractions. Some nouns that often appear in ablative phrases without na are abstract to begin with; for example:

ruku	underneath	dela	top
rā	down	cake	up

Note two of these nouns in context:

e	dabe	e	ruku	ni	vū-ni-kāū	she sat underneath the tree
3S	sit	ABL	under	POS	tree	

e	tiko	e	dela	ni	tēveli	it's on top of the table
3S	stay	ABL	top	POS	table	

When we do find an example of one of these forms with na, close examination shows that a kind of transformation has taken place. With ruku as a sample, we note that it can appear with na:

e	na	ruku	ni	tēveli	oqō	underneath this table
ABL	DEF	under	POS	table	DEM:1	

but here, a specific part of the space beneath the table has not been singled out. Instead, na occurs before ruku to convey the notion of the definiteness of 'table'. Since the following is prohibited:

*ni	na	tēveli
POS	DEF	table

na must occur elsewhere in the phrase.

If ruku and other such nouns refer to entities that are basically general, there are even more examples of noun that are basically specific, and therefore cannot occur in the locative construction without na. Take vū-ni-kāū, for example. One can run toward a specific tree:

e	cici	i	na	vū-ni-kāū	she runs to the tree
3S	run	ABL	DEF	tree	

but not "tree" as an abstraction or generality:

> *e cici i vū-ni-kāū

Some such nouns, however, can be made general with the prefix vēī- (see 27.1), and thus can be used in an ablative phrase with or without na:

e	cici	i	vēī-kāū		he ran inland
3S	run	ABL	GEN-bush		

e	cici	i	na	vēī-kāū	he ran toward the bush
3S	run	ABL	DEF	GEN-bush	

Time phrases, as well, are definite:

e	na	mataka		in the morning
ABL	DEF	morning		

e	na	yakavi		in the evening
ABL	DEF	evening		

Such words indicating time do not occur without na:

*e	yakavi		evenings
ABL	evening		

*e	Vakarāūwāī		Saturdays

As in some previous examples, a kind of semantic generality is achieved by the use of the prefix vēī-, which refers to a collection or a group. Thus:

e	cici	i	na	vēī-kāū		he ran to the bush
3S	run	ABL	DEF	collected-tree		

e	vēī-mataka		mornings
3S	GEN-morning		

e	vēī-Vakarāūwāī		Saturdays
3S	GEN-Saturday		

In this last phrase, 'morning' can be made definite with na:

e	na	vēī-mataka		every morning
3S	DEF	GEN-morning		

e	na	vēī-Vakarāūwāī	each (and every) Saturday
3S	DEF	GEN-Saturday	

24.4 GENERALIZATION: DEALING WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF DISCOURSE

The preceding sections show that in a common sentence type in Fijian, NPs specifying the subject and the object are always definite. Moreover, certain types of modified NPs are also always definite. Finally, there are constructions that do allow a contrast between definite and indefinite. How does this complex situation relate to constructions larger than the sentence—that is, to the structure of discourse?

In a discourse, the first two types of NPs just listed remain definite, even when they are first introduced into a discourse. For example, a text might begin:

daru	lako	i	na	no-qu	koro	let's go to my village
1DI	go	ABL	DEF	POS-1S	village	

Even though 'my village' is new information, it does not have to be generalized at the beginning of a text. However, in those constructions that allow the definite-indefinite contrast, this contrast is conditioned by the old vs. new information criterion. For example, a text could begin:

e	cici	i	bāravi	o	Pita	P ran "beach-wards"
3S	run	ABL	beach	PRP	P	

and further mention of 'beach' can use na bāravi. However, as mentioned earlier, the number of nouns that can appear in such constructions is not large, and in such phrases as:

i vale	(to) home
i wāī	toward the sea
i bāravi	toward the beach
i vanua	toward land
e cakāū	toward the reef

the words seem to have taken on the properties of such locative nouns as cake 'up', rā 'down', and ruku 'under'.

However, for the NPs whose definiteness is the result of sentence structure, a very different situation exists. It is here that the language engages in a kind of tug-of-war between definite and general. If we choose to view it as a paradox, this statement might suffice:

The structure of the sentence requires NPs that specify the subject or the object to be definite. But the structure of discourse requires, for this construction, that a referent be general the first time it is introduced.

For this construction the dilemma is resolved not by removing definiteness for discourse purposes, but by adding generality.

This change is effected through numerical bases used in the existential construction. Some such bases are the following:

numerals, especially

dua	one	vica	few
sō	some	levu	many
vuqa	many		

The following examples show how a specified subject and object (respectively), definite because of sentence structure, are made contextually general:

e	yaco	māī	e	dua[13]	na	vūlagi		a visitor arrived
3S	arrive	DIR	3S	one	DEF	visitor		

Because of the sentence structure, vūlagi must be marked with na. But because this is its first appearance in the discourse, it is made general with e dua.

e	ā	māī	dola-v-a	e	dua	na	soqo		he opened a
3S	PT	DIR	open-tr-it	3S	one	DEF	meeting		meeting

In this sentence, a similar situation holds for 'meeting': it is grammatically definite, but general with respect to the discourse.

In each sentence the NP that has been more general is derived from an existential VP. Thus, embedded in the sentences above are the following:

e	dua	na	vūlagi	there was a visitor
3S	one	DEF	visitor	

e	dua	na	soqo	there was a meeting
3S	one	DEF	meeting	

When a semantic plural is called for, sō and vica perform the same function:

era	yaco	māī	e	sō	na	vūlagi	some visitors arrived
3S	arrive	DIR	3S	some	DEF	visitor	

e	ā	māī	dola-v-a	e	sō	na	soqo	he opened some
3S	PT	DIR	open-TR-3S	3S	some	DEF	meeting	meetings

Embedded in these sentences are the following existentials:

e	sō	na	vūlagi	there were some visitors
e	sō	na	soqo	there were some meetings.

To underscore the function of this construction as a discourse tool used to introduce new information, note the following opening sentences:

e	na	dua	na	siga	e	ā	vua	toka	e	na	dua	na
ABL	DEF	one	DEF	day	3S	PT	fruit	CNT	3S	DEF	one	DEF

vū-ni-nīū	e	dua	na	vua-na	one day a coconut tree bore one
coconut-tree	3S	one	DEF	fruit-3S	fruit(FR4:4)

e	dua	na	vū-ni-maqo	e	bula	voleka-t-a	toka	e	dua
3S	one	DEF	mango-tree	3S	live	near-TR-3S	CNT	3S	one

na	vū-ni-uto	a mango tree was growing near a breadfruit
DEF	breadfruit-tree	tree

24.5 The analysis of a text with respect to definiteness, indefiniteness, and generality

The following short text (NV2:87–90)[14] shows the interplay among sentence- and discourse-level definiteness, indefiniteness, and generality. All common NPs appear in brackets. Multiple bracketing indicates hierarchical structure. After each sentence in which common NPs occur, I discuss the status of the phrases.

1. Eratōū ā   vavavi   o   Seru Tui kēī Tawake
   3T   PT oven-cook   PRP S   T   CNJ T
   S, T, and T cooked-in-earth-oven.

2. Eratōū carā sara [na no-dratōū lovo] [e   [na   dua [na   ruku]
   3T   clear INT DEF POS-3T   oven ABL DEF one DEF under

      ni   vū-ni-uto]]]   They prepared the area immediately
      POS breadfruit-tree   for their oven under a breadfruit
                                                tree.

Na no-dratōū lovo. Here, the phrase is definite because it is limited by the possessive no-dratōū. Such a phrase is not generalized, even though it introduces a theme in the discourse.

Na dua na ruku ni vū-ni-uto. In this complex phrase, a number of processes are at work. With respect to the discourse, 'breadfruit tree' is being introduced. However, since ni phrases are never definite, any concessions to sentence structure or discourse will have to take place in the outer layers of the larger phrase. Thus, na, required by the ablative phrase, marks ruku rather than vū-ni-uto. On the other hand, the concept is being introduced into the discourse and thus required to be general. Therefore, it is preceded by e dua. Finally, because e 'in' and e (third person singular) are homophonous, na precedes dua to establish that the e phrase is an ablative NP, not a VP.

3. Eratōū ā   vavi-a   [e sō   na   dalo] kēī [na   tolu]
   3T   PT cook-3S   3S some   DEF taro   CNJ DEF three

     [na   kumala]   me   ke-dratōū   i-lutua.
     DEF sweet-potato   SUB   POS-3T   choice-pieces

They baked some taro and three sweet potatoes to serve as their own special portions.

E sō na dalo, na tolu, na kumala. Here, 'taro' and 'sweet potato' are preceded by the object -a; thus dalo and kumala both occur with na. However, since they are being introduced into the discourse, they are generalized by the numerals sō and tolu.

Although ke-dratōū i-lutua appears to be a NP, it occurs after the verbal particle me. Thus, it functions as a verb in this construction, and cannot be marked for definiteness.

4. E   cara   lovo   o   Seru, e   cā   buka   ka   vaka-tubu lovo
   3S   clear oven   PRP   S   3S   carry firewood   CNJ   CAU-light oven

   o   Tui   ka   tā   i-tūtū-ni-lovo   ka   sōī   dalo o   Tawake
   PRP   T   CNJ   cut   covering-leaves   CNJ   cut   taro PRP   T

S cleared the oven, T gathered firewood and lit the fire, and T cut the leaves to cover and pared the taro.

In spite of the fact that semantically the nouns lovo, buka, i-tūtū-ni-lovo, and dalo represent goals, they are used as attributes in this sentence, since this construction focuses on the activity, not the goal.[15] Thus, none of them is part of a noun phrase.

5.   Ā   vavi   kulikuli   gā   [na   kumala].
     PT   baked   skin   LIM   DEF   sweet-potato
     The sweet potato was baked with its skin on.

Na kumala. With certain tense and aspect markers, the third person singular subject e is deleted. I propose that it exists in an underlying form, still signaling the occurrence of na before kumala. Note that 'sweet potato' is now old information with respect to the discourse, and thus does not have to be generalized.

6.   Ā   tala-i   tiko   gā   o   Seru ka   ni   gone duadua
     PT   send-TR   CNT   LIM   PRP   s   CNJ   SUB   child alone
     S served as a helper because he was the youngest.

7.   Ni   sā   dravu gā   [na   lovo] sā   qiso sara,
     SUB   ASP   ash   LIM   DEF   oven   ASP   stir INT

     bīū   yani   [na   lewe   ni   lovo] kēi   [na   i-tūtū]
     placed   DIR   DEF   contents   POS   oven   CNJ   DEF   covering-leaves

ka	bulu	sara
CNJ	buried	INT

when the wood had burned to ash in the oven and the burning bits had been removed the contents of the oven and the cover put in place, then it was immediately covered.

Na lovo, na lewe ni lovo, na i-tūtū. Similarly, e drops after the subordinate marker ni, but a third person singular subject is still implied. Therefore, these NPs are all definite.

8. | Eratōū | qāī | qe-v-a | [na | no-dratōū | lovo] | ni | sā | yakavi |
   |--------|-----|--------|-----|-----------|-------|-----|-----|--------|
   | 3T | SEQ | dig-tr-3S | DEF | POS-3T | oven | SUB | ASP | evening |

   Then they dug out the contents of their oven when evening came.

Na no-dratōū lovo. Here, there are two reasons why 'oven' is definite: it is preceded by the object -a, and limited by the possessive no-dratōū.

9. | E | buta | vinaka | sara | [na | lewe | ni | lovo] |
   |---|------|--------|------|-----|------|-----|-------|
   | 3S | cooked | good | INT | DEF | contents | POS | oven |

   The contents of the oven were cooked thoroughly.

Na lewe ni lovo. This definite NP is anticipated by the subject e. It is also a repetition of an earlier phrase.

10. | E | [na | levu | ni | no-dratōū | mārāū] | e | ā | mani | loma-dratōū | tale |
    |---|-----|------|-----|-----------|--------|---|---|------|-------------|------|
    | ABL | DEF | big | POS | POS-3R | happy | 3S | PT | SEQ | desire-3T | ITR |

ki-na	me	ratōū	vavavi	e	[na	siga]	ka	tara-v-a
ABL-3S	SUB	3T	cook	ABL	DEF	day	REL	follow-TR-3S

Because they were so happy, they then decided as a consequence that they would make an oven again the next day.

Na levu, na siga. Both these NPs (constituents of larger prepositional phrases) are limited by following attributes, and therefore semantically definite.

24.6 NA VS. A

Cargill (1839a) noted a grammatical distribution for na and a in the Lakeba language:

> In the Lakeba dialect, the article na occurs only in the oblique cases of a: —or after the conjunction ka (and), when that conjunction couples nouns or the clauses of sentences. It is used in this manner both in the nominative and accusative cases; as, E vinaka a matau ka na kuro, —the axe and pot are good: and Kautamai ki ei a tagane ka na lewa, —bring hither the man and woman.

For Standard Fijian, Hazlewood (1872:5–6) described a less fixed distribution: a "generally (but not always) used at the beginning of a sentence". He noted a preference for a over na in this position, except "when the vocative case begins a sentence".

Churchward (1941:11) continued this theme:

> Sometimes, especially at the beginning of a sentence, a is used intead of na, as in a cava oqō? what is this (literally, the what is this?), which is more usual than na cava oqō?

Milner (1972:11) noted the same distribution.

In the first fifty pages of FMC61, I found a used only with the interrogative cava or in constructions linked to cava. For example:

a   cava mada a   no-mu   cakacaka?   what was your work? (p. 1)
DEF what INI   DEF POS-2S   work

a   cava mada o   dredre-vak-a tiko? what are you laughing at? (p. 19)
DEF what INI   2S laugh-TR-3S   CNT

The only example of na cava was the following:

sē   tēī   ki-na   na   āpolo sē   tēī   tale ki-na   na   cava
CNJ plant ABL-3S   DEF apple CNJ plant ITR ABL-3S   DEF what
or there were apples planted there or other things planted there (P. 4)

On the other hand, other fronted NPs used na:

na   ke-na   siro   sobu yā,   qāī sisi ki-na   na   yago ni   mate
DEF POS-3S descend DIR DEM:3 SEQ slip ABL-3S DEF body POS dead
its descent caused the dead body to slide down (p. 26)

More statistical analysis of texts is needed, but it appears that a is somewhat idiomatically fused with cava, except where it would produce an unfavored vowel sequence.

24.7 OPTIONAL OMISSION OF NA BEFORE POSSESSIVES

Because of the semantic definiteness of possessives (see 24.2.2), na might be considered redundant in possessive constructions. Thus, one can find such sentences as:

tuku-n-a	tale	no-mu	i-talanoa	ni	kāveti
tell-TR-3S	ITR	POS-2S	story	POS	cabbage

tell your cabbage story again (FMC61:1)

e	dāū	vā-kani	ira	no-na	manumanu
3S	HAB	CAU-feed	3P	POS-3S	animal

he always feeds his animals

This construction is an alternate form, not an example of a contrast between definite and indefinite.

24.8 SUMMARY

In this reanalysis of the Fijian article na, I have tried to show that the presence of na defines definiteness formally, and its absence defines indefiniteness. The construction e dua, often interpreted as indefinite, is instead a means of making a definite phrase more general when the structure of discourse demands it. In short:

1. Na is not only a common noun marker, but a definite marker as well.

2. In its function as a definite marker, na forms a grammatical opposition not to the construction e dua na, but to the absence of a marker.

3. E dua na is one of several ways of generalizing a construction[16] once it has been made grammatically definite. This process of generalization is separate from the definite-indefinite distinction, and is dependent on discourse.

24.9 DISCUSSION

The first lesson of *Fijian as it Should be Spoken* (Moore 1906b) begins by introducing the student to two very troublesome items:

Edua	a, an, one
Na	the

From the glosses, we get the impression that the Fijian words above form the grammatical opposition of indefinite vs. definite. This idea is reinforced by the exercises in the same lesson:

A boy.	The boat.	E dua na gone.	Na waqa.
A tree.	The water.	E dua na kau.	Na wai.

Although many grammarians (esp. Milner[17]) have been careful to avoid setting up such a direct correspondence between English articles and Fijian articles, it is still widely believed that Fijian has two article, na and e dua na, and that they map directly onto English "the" and "a" (TRN 78). Normally, such an opinion about the grammar would not have an effect on the language itself, but it occasionally surfaces in "radio Fijian", which is often the result of on-the-spot translations of news items from English to Fijian (PG). Under these circumstances, e dua na is sometimes used automatically to translate English "a", whereas a more normal variety of Fijian would not use it in that particular context. PG (79) reported the following examples:

o	koya	e	dua	na	vū-ni-wāī		he's a doctor
PRP	3S	3S	one	DEF	doctor		

era	vodo	e	na	dua	na	waqa	they (plural) rode in a boat
3P	ride	ABL	DEF	one	DEF	boat	

An idiomatic translation of these sentences would use an identifying construction in the first:

o	koya	e	vū-ni-wāī
PRP	3S	3S	doctor

and the definite article alone in the second:

era	vodo	e	na	waqa

  3P   ride   ABL   DEF   boat

Here, na waqa does not necessarily mean a particular boat; it refers to 'boat' in the generic sense.

More recent analyses have swung away from the definite-indefinite interpretation by labeling na simply as a "common article" (Milner 1972: 11; Cammack 1962:42). For example, Pawley (1977), discussing a particular example and its gloss, wrote:

> The literal translation here is misleading in two respects. It uses 'the' for the common article na—na does no more than indicate that the noun is common, the definiteness being marked by the person-marker.

Arms (1974:61–62) called na a marker of common nouns (as opposed to proper nouns). Na, he maintained, marks an absence of indefiniteness.

None of these analyses seems entirely satisfactory. Proposing a grammatical opposition of definite-indefinite for na and e dua na often forces an unidiomatic construction onto the language. Defining na simply as a marker of common nouns misses part of its function. Finally, the first two solutions ignore the status of nouns preceded by neither na nor e dua na. Although Arms's statement covered such constructions, his contention that na marks the absence of indefiniteness is in error.

I suggest that the pairing of na and e dua na is an example of translation analysis—that is, the English glosses have been analyzed, not the Fijian forms. Moreover, I propose that the main difficulty in analyzing na has been that we have looked at it at the sentence level only, not in a larger context.

25 NP FUNCTION MARKERS

A SECONDARY NP is a phrase whose function is indicated by its form. For example, the phrase māī Suva is marked for function; māī indicates that the phrase is ablative. The following outline shows the functions and their specific markers. It is followed by a more detailed treatment of the function markers.

1.   Ablative[1]

      Locative
      e
      māi

      Directional
      i_1

      māī

      Proper (both locative and directional)
      vēī

      Contractions
      ki-na
      vuā

2.   Comitative

      $kēī_1$

      Contraction
      kaya

3.   Proper accusative

      i_2

4.   Vocative

      i_3

5. Attributive (possessive)

ni
i₄
ne-i
me-i
ke-i₂
ke-i₃

25.1 ABLATIVE NPS

Although the main function of an ablative NP is to refer to location or direction in space and time, its additional functions require a label that is broader than locative or directional. Thus, we use the term ABLATIVE.

Ablative NPs can be classified according to their heads: whether they are common or proper. It is in common phrases that we find most of the significant differences among ablative phrases. The following section shows different types of nouns that occur in common ablative NPs and affect their function.

25.1.1 Types of nouns that occur in common ablative phrases.

25.1.1.1 Time. The following list (not exhaustive) shows nouns that are used in time phrases:

Days of the week: Siga Tabu 'Sunday', Mōniti 'Monday', etc.

Months: Janueri 'January', Feperuari 'February', etc.

Numerals (including vica 'how many'), when they refer to time of day:

e na dua na kaloko   'at one o'clock',
e na vica   'what time?', etc.

Miscellaneous:

dāīdāī[2]	today	mataka[3]	morning (approx. 6:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.)
yabaki	year	siga	day

bogi	night		vula	month
gauna	time		aua	hour
miniti	minute		sēkodi	second
mācawa	week		nanoa	yesterday
yakavi	afternoon, evening		siga-levu	(approx. 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.)
naica	when?			

25.1.1.2 Space. Most roots that refer to space are DE-ICTIC—that is, oriented relative to the place of utterance or another reference point indicated by the utterance. Examples are:

General referential directions:

dela	above	ruku	beneath
cake	up	rā	down
loma	inside	tuba, tāūtuba	outside

Referential directions on a horizontal plane:

līū	ahead	muri	behind
matāū	right	mawī	left
māliwa	between	baba	side

Nouns that can be used as generalized directions or locations:

vale	home	vanua	land
wāī	water	colo	interior, bush
bāravi	coast	matāsawa	beach
cakāū	reef	vēī-cō	uncultivated land

Fixed locations—that is, place names—also fit into this category:

i Labasa	to Labasa
i Taveuni	to Tavenui
i Nīūsiladi	to New Zealand

Note that with respect to ablative markers, place names are not proper, but common. Another interpretation (Arms 10/84) is simply that these ablative markers are not used with proper place names.

25.1.1.3 Time and space. Two roots—līū 'ahead, before' and muri 'behind'—are used for both time and space. For example,

na   tamata   [E   LĪŪ]   the person ahead
DEF   person   ABL   lead

na gauna [E LĪŪ]   the past (literally, time ahead)

It is tempting to imagine the Fijian concept of time as a straight line stretching ahead of and behind an individual. The past is the time ahead, which is visible—and hence, known. The future is the time behind, which is not visible—hence, unknown. Relative location along this line is important for both time and space. Sequence is indicated by the word tara-v-a 'be immediately next to it, follow it':

e   na   siga   ka   tara-v-a   [E   LĪŪ]   the day before
LOC   DEF   day   REL   follow-TR-3S   ABL   lead

e na siga ka tara-v-a [E MURI]   the next day

Constructions of this type can be diagrammed simply, as in Figure 25:1.

FIGURE 25:1


```
        e līu
          ↑
                e na siga ka tara-v-a e līu

                e na siga e līu

    REFERENCE POINT

                e na siga e muri

                e na siga ka tara-v-a e muri
          ↓
        e muri
```

It should be emphasized that the "reference point" is not necessarily the time that the utterance is spoken, nor does it necessarily refer to the speaker (hence, time of speaking).

Some time and space roots can be qualified with markers that occur elsewhere.[4] Note the following progression:

i muri   to the rear
i muri tale   further back
i muri sara   even further back

25.1.1.4 Means or instrument[5]

sā   oca   o   Filipe [E   NA   SĀŪSAU-MI   TARO]
ASP   tired   PRP F   ABL   DEF   answer-TR   question
F was tired of/from answering questions

āū   vana-i   koya [E   NA   DAKĀĪ]   I shot him with the gun
1S   shoot-TR   3S   ABL   DEF   gun

e   ta-y-a   na   yava-na [E   NA   I-SELE   KO   TAMA-QU]
3S   Cut-TR-3S   DEF   foot-3S   ABL   DEF   knife   PRP   father-1S
Father cut his foot with the knife (FR3:8)

ka   ra   qāī   vesuvesu   vata   kēī   na   bitu   [E   NA   WĀLĀĪ]
CNJ   3P   SEQ   bind   CNC   CNJ   DEF   bamboo   ABL   DEF   wālāī
and they're tied together with the bamboo with wālāī vine (NV2:12)

ni   sa[6]   moce   tū   o   Vilive,   e   oga   gā   [E   NA   CULACULA]
SUB   ASP   Sleep   CNT   PRP   V   3S   busy   LIM   ABL   DEF   sew

     o   tina-na   while V was asleep, his mother
     PRP   mother-3S   was busy at sewing (FR3:43)

kēīmami   sā   dāū   lasa   dina [E   NA   NĒĪ-MAMI   KORO-NI-VULI]
1PX   ASP   HAB   happy   true   ABL   DEF   POS-1PX   school
we're truly happy in/with our school (FR3:6)

sā   lade [E   NA   LEVU   NI   NO-NA   REKI]
ASP   jump   ABL   DEF   big   POS   POS-3S   joy
he jumped with great joy (lit., in the greatness of his joy)

e   sokonū   na   yago   i   Mārica [E   NA   KĀ   E   QĀĪ   ROGO-C-A]
3S   shudder   DEF   body   POS   M   ABL   DEF   thing   3S   SEQ   hear-TR-3S

M's body shuddered at the thing she heard then (T74:51)

ā	sau-m-a	yani	o	Leone	[E	NA	MATA	LULUVU]
PT	answer-TR-3S	DIR	PRP	L	ABL	DEF	face	sad

answered L with a sad face (T74:42)

e	ā	mata	sarasara	o	Mārica	[E	NA	VĒĪ-KĀ	VOVŌŪ]
3S	PT	eye	look	PRP	M		ABL	DEF	DIS-thing	new

	sā	qāī	rai-c-a		M looked excitedly at all the new things
	ASP	SEQ	see-TR-3S		she saw (T74:42)

These last sentences produced some disagreement among speakers: several thought them ungrammatical; others said "We say it". TRN (2/79) thought that the structure was limited to sentences in which the head of the dominant phrase is a word like sīnāī 'full'.

The grammatical source of the problem is that whereas an instrument[7] can be indicated by a marked phrase, an agent cannot. Most recent grammars note that a sentence like "The house was built by the carpenter" cannot be translated into Fijian using one of the stative forms of the verb and indicating the agent with a marked NP:

*e	tara-i	na	vale	[E	NA	MĀTĀĪSĀŪ]
3S	build-TR	DEF	house	ABL	DEF	carpenter

In the sentences in question, the semantic role of the referent of the noun in the marked NP comes rather close to agent. If we look at the English versions, we note that a rephrasing of "The cup is filled with tea" makes "tea" look like an agent:

the tea filled the cup

Still, semantically "tea" is not an agent; it is the material that comprises the quantity referred to, rather like the material that a house is built of:

na	bilo	tī		the cup of tea
DEF	cup	tea		

na	vale	kāū		the wooden house
DEF	house	wooden		

25.1.1.5 Material, contents[8]

e   vati   [E   NA   GASĀŪ]   it's lashed together with reeds (NV2:10)
3S   lashed ABL   DEF   reed

sā   caka   [E   NA   KĀŪ]   it's made of wood (Geraghty 1976a)
ASP   made   ABL   DEF   wood

ka   lālaga tali   [E   NA   BITU]   and walls woven of bamboo (FR3:6)
CNJ   wall   woven ABL   DEF   bamboo

sā   baci matua tū   oqō   na   dalo me   lewe   ni   lovo
ASP   SEQ   mature CNT   DEM:1 DEF   taro SUB   contents POS   oven

   ka   sīsīnāī tū   na   lololo   [E   NA   UVI] me   lewe   ni   kuro
   CNJ full   CNT DEF   yam-house ABL   DEF   yam SUB   contents POS pot

then the taro was mature—ready for baking in the oven, and the yam house
was full of yams for the pot (NV3:17)

sā   sīnāī na   bilo [E   NA   TĪ]   the cup is filled with tea
ASP   full   DEF   cup ABL   DEF   tea

e   oso   na   loma   ni   vale [E   NA   KĀŪKAMEA]
3S   crowded DEF   interior POS   house ABL   DEF   iron
the inside of the house was crowded with iron things (FR4:7)

vale   tara [E   NA   BOLA]   house built of plaited coconut
house built ABL   DEF   plaited-coconut   leaves (VV: bolabola)

25.1.1.6 Metaphorical space or time. Some e NPs refer to an activity, with a verb as the head of the phrase. We might consider that these activities represent metaphorical space or time. Examples:

e   na   vuke-i Nānā   o   tama-qu [E   NA   LOBA   NĪŪ]
3S   DEF help-TR Mother PRP father-1S ABL   DEF   squeeze coconut
Father will help Mother with the coconut-squeezing (NV2:17)

25.1.1.7 Ambiguity. With some combinations of nouns, it is difficult to decide whether the secondary NP serves an instrumental or a locative function. For example:

era sā   sala na   qā   ni   uvi, ka   ra   sā   kada [E   NA   GASĀŪ]

3P ASP climb DEF stem POS yam CNJ 3P ASP climb ABL DEF reed
he stems of the yam climb, and they climb on reeds (NV2:10)

Here, because of the nature of climbing plants and their supports, 'reeds' could serve as an instrument or location for the climbing.

25.1.2 Function of ablative NPs

25.1.2.1 Locatives

25.1.2.1.1 E. The primary function of an e phrase is to indicate a static location in time or space. There is no formal difference between time and space phrases; the meaning depends on the meaning of the root that serves as head of the phrase. For example:

āū	tau-vi-mate	[E	NA	VULA	O	TĪSEBA]		I was ill in December
1S	ill		ABL	DEF	month	PRP	December	

āū	tau-vi-mate	[E	NA	VALE-NI-KANA]
1S	ill		ABL	DEF	restaurant

I was ill in the restaurant

Most of the illustrative sentences for 25.1.1 show further examples of e.

25.1.2.1.2 Māī. In its locative use, māī refers to general or distant location:

e	tiko	[MĀĪ	VANUALEVU]		she lives on V
3S	stay	ABL	V		

In what Geraghty (1976a:507) called "the conventional analysis", contrasts with e: the former refers to a location far from the speaker, and the latter, a location close to the speaker (cf. Milner 1972:19). Geraghty gave the following contrasting pair to illustrate this conventional analysis (p. 514):

sā	tiko	[E	WAQA]	na	kato	the box is on the boat (speaker is on
ASP	stay	ABL	boat	DEF	box	the boat)

sā	tiko	[MĀĪ	WAQA]	na	kato	the box is on the boat (speaker is on
ASP	stay	ABL	boat	DEF	box	the boat)

However, he found that under certain circumstances, e is used, even though the speaker is not on board. He concluded that although the features "close" and "remote" still figure in the contrast, "precise" and "approximate" location count as well.

I think Geraghty's conclusions can be restated slightly: when used in the same context, māī refers to a general location, and e narrows it down within the area referred to. In other words, a location marked by e may not be "precise", but it is more specific than a location marked by māī. Note the following sequence, an expansion of Geraghty's examples (pp. 514–15):

1.	E tiko MĀĪ VĒĪ o Pate?	Where does P live?
2.	[MĀĪ ĀWĀĪ]	In Hawai'i
3.	[E VĒĪ MĀĪ ĀWĀĪ]?	Where (more specifically) in Hawai'i?
4.	[MĀĪ OAHU]	On 'Ō'ahu
4.	[MĀĪ OAHU]	On 'Ō' ahu
5.	[E VĒĪ? [MĀĪ OAHU] ?	Where on 'Ō' ahu?
6.	[MĀĪ ONOLULU]	In Honolulu.
7.	E VĒĪ? [MĀĪ ONOLULU] ?	Where in Honolulu?
8.	[MĀĪ NA MĀNOA VALLEY]	In Mānoa Valley
9.	[E VĒĪ MĀĪ NA MĀNOA VALLEY] ?	Where in Mānoa Valley?
10.	[MĀĪ H DRIVE]	On H Drive.
11.	[E VĒĪ? [MĀĪ NA H DRIVE] ?	Where on H Drive?
12.	[E NA (VALE) NABA XXXX]	At (house) number XXXX.

The māī in (2) establishes the location as distant, but in successive questions (3, 5, 7, 9, 11), the e—māī contrast is a matter of degree of specificity.

We might diagram this progressive interplay between māī and e as a series of boxes within boxes. Taking any box and the one next smaller in size, the larger one is comparable to a māī location, and the smaller one to an e location. Figure 25:2 shows such a relationship.

FIGURE 25:2
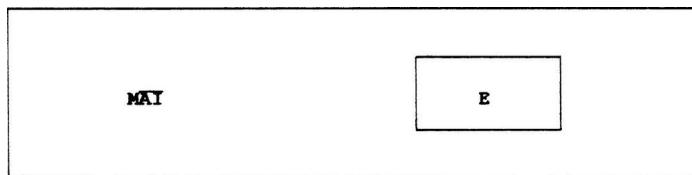
25.1.2.1.3 Locative NPs as comment. An ablative (locative) NP frequently serves as comment when the head of the phrase is vēī 'where?'. A number of examples are in the list above; further examples are:

[E	VĒĪ]	o	koya?	where is he?
ABL	where	PRP	3S	

[MĀĪ	VĒĪ]	o	Tē	where's T from?
ABL	where	PRP	T	

PG (6/82) supplied the following examples with phrase heads other than vēī:

o	yāū	[MĀĪ	LĀŪ]	I'm from Lau
PR	1	ABL	L	

PG also gave the example of a time root (always preceded by ni) that functions similarly:

[NI-MATAKA] na soqo	the assembly will be tomorrow

BK added other time phrases—e nanoa 'yesterday', nikua 'today', e na mācawa sā oti 'last week'—all of which can be used in such construc-

25.1.2.2 Directional NPs. The difference between ablative (in its locative sense) and directional has been compared by Lyons (1968:300) to that between static and dynamic. If we try to explain the difference through translation, we can say that e and māī are used with actions or states that take place in or at a place; i and vēī are used with literal or figurative movement to or toward a place or person. Thus, the principal difference between the two types of phrases lies in the types of verbs they are used with: directional NPs are used with verbs of motion (again, either literal or figurative).

25.1.2.2.1 I (ki). I marks a directional phrase that has a common noun as its head. The first examples show verbs referring to literal movement. In the examples, the marker is often written as ki; this form is explained later.

erāū lako tiko [KI NA I-TĒĪTĒĪ]   they (dual) are going to the garden
3D   go   CNT ABL DEF garden   (NV2:5)

era sā   gole sobu [KI MATĀSAWA]   they headed down to the beach
3P ASP turn DIR ABL beach   (NV2:8)

ni   ra   sā   qāī   vaka-tibiō   ka   cabe   kece [KI   VANUA]
SUB   3P ASP SEQ   say-tibiō   CNJ   climb   INC   ABL   land
when they call "tibiō" and all go up to shore (NV2:20)

ka   ra sā   la-ki qoli [KI CAKĀŪ]   and they went fishing to the reef
CNJ 3P ASP DIR fish ABL reef   (NV2:21)

An i phrase can also use a deictic marker as its head. Here, the deixis centers on person.

[I KẼ]   hither (to first person)
[I KERI]   toward you
[I KEĀ]   thither (to third person)

I is also used with locative nouns:

[I RĀ]   downward
[I CAKE]   upward

Fixed locations—that is, place names—also fit into this category:

[I LABASA]   to Labasa
[I TAVEUNI]   to Tavenui
[I NĪŪSILADI]   to New Zealand

Note that with respect to directional markers, place names pattern not with propers, but with commons.

As Geraghty noted (1976a:517), i is used with verbs that do not signify motion, but location. In such a construction, the i phrase refers to general direction, location, or nearness.

tiko gā yani [KI NA MOTOKĀ]   just stay around the car (Geraghty
stay LIM DIR ABL DEF car   1976a:517)

era dāū tuvā   toka na no-dra i-rara vakā   [KI LOQI]
3P HAB arrange CNT DEF POS-3P hearth like-3S ABL loqi
they arranged (positioned) their fireplaces toward the loqi (NV2:73)

e ā kele   māī [KI SUVA] e   na   mācawa sā   oti
3S PT anchored DIR ABL S   ABL DEF week   ASP finish

   e dua na melisitima levu   there anchored at Suva last week a
   3S one DEF ship   big   large ocean liner

In this example, one might think of kele as referring to a fixed
state, but perhaps it could also be viewed as 'coming to
anchor'—a process that was completed at Suva.

    I phrases can also be used with verbs signifying figurative,
not Literal motion.

era sā dui usu-mak-a   na   ulu-dra [KI NA I-VOLA]
3P ASP IND thrust-TR-3S DEF head-3P ABL DEF book
they each thrust their heads into books

na vēī-kā   era tūdai-tak-a, e vaka-tāū [KI NA VĒĪ-MATAQALI
DEF DIS-thing 3P trap-TR-3S   3S depend   ABL DEF DIS-type

   MANUMANU KILA] ka ra tū e   na   no-dra dui vanua
   animal   wild REL 3P Stay ABL DEF POS-3P IND land

what they trap depends on the kind of wild animals that live in their
respective areas (NV3:2)

Ia   ā se sega mada ni ciqo-m-a   na Lotu   na   tūraga
CNJ PT ASP not INI SUB accept-TR-3S DEF religion DEF chief

   na   Vūniivalu   ka vā-qole-i   [I   REWA]
   DEF high-chief   CNJ CAU-turn-TR   ABL R

but the chief, the Vuniivalu, didn't take hold of Christianity, so it was turned/
directed toward Rewa (SR 20/4/82)

era sā vaka-rāū tū   na lewe ni vanua [KI NA MĀRĀŪ
3P ASP ready   CNT DEF people POS land ABL DEF happy

NI   SIGA-NI-SUCU]   the people were ready for the joy of
POS Christmas   Christmas (NV3:37)

25.1.2.2.1.1. I vs. ki. Some grammars have treated ki as a base
form, and i as an alternate (if at all). PG has suggested (7/81)
that ki is an invention for Standard Fijian, dependent on factors
that influenced the missionaries to propose the proper noun
marker ko and second person subjects with k-, particularly the
widespread use of ki in Polynesia. His research on language
variation shows that in the area that includes Bau, Rewa,
Verata, and Gau, only Moturiki uses ki for a directional.

25.1.2.2.2 Māī. Māī indicates direction away from the focus in-
dicated by the head of the phrase, and toward another focus.

ka   sō   era tala-i   [MĀĪ NA   NO-DRA VĒĪ-VALE]
CNJ some   3P send-TR ABL DEF POS-3P   DIS-vale
and some have been sent from their homes (NV3:23)

datōū lāī   kau-t-a   [MĀĪ MOTURIKI]   nikua
1TI   DIR bring-TR-3S   ABL M   today
we (paucal) brought it from M today (FMC61:38)

o   kilā   na gauna datōū ā kele māī ki-na   [MĀĪ MOTURIKI]?
2S know-3S DEF time   1TI   PT land DIR ABL-3S ABL M
do you remember the time we landed here from M? (FMC61:39)

25.1.2.2.2.1 Ablative māī vs. postverbal māī.[9] As written, the fol-
lowing two sentences look identical in structure:

e lako māī Levuka   she comes from Levuka

e lako māī na gone   the child came

However, phonologically they are different, as the following
notation shows. (Upper-case letters indicate the syllable that
serves as phrase peak; all phrases are bracketed.)

[e   LAko]   [māī leVUka]
[e   lako   MĀĪ]   [na GOne]

In addition to the different phrase division, the intonation shows different relationships between the phrases (see CH 39).

Added to the phonological evidence, the principles of immediate constituent analysis (substitutability and freedom of occurrence) confirm that the grammatical phrase division is as follows:

e LAko : māī LeVUka[10]

e lako MĀĪ : na GOne

Another examples is:

era cavuTŪ : māī na vēī-vanua TAni
3P go-together ABL DEF DIS-land different
they have just visited different countries (NV2:45)

25.1.2.3 Vēī. 'This ablative marker, used with a proper noun as head, serves both the locative and directional functions. Here, "proper" includes:

1. Names of people, including kin terms, and other words for humans

   2. Person-number markers

Note that place names are excluded, since they occur in e, māī and i phrases.

Examples of the first type are:

ā sega gā ni rawa vēī Mārica me tuku-n-a vuā
PT not LIM SUB able ABL M SUB tell-TR-3S ABL-3S
it just wasn't possible for M to tell her (T74:42)

e ā vuki vēī tuaka-na ko Ālisi A turned to her elder sister
3S PT turn ABL sibling-3S PRP A (T74:53)

e ā vaka-tabataba gā vēī Mārica ko Leone
3S PT CAU-silence LIM ABL M PRP L
L signaled silence (to) M (T74:53)

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Examples of the second type are:

ka   na   cā   vaka-levu vēī   āū   and I dislike it very much (T74:43)
CNJ DEF bad MAN-big   ABL 1S

o   iko   m-o   tuku-n-a   vēī   ira   you (singular) tell them (plural)
PRP 2S   SUB-2S tell-TR-3S ABL 3P   (NL 10/6/82)

e   rāīrāī   vēī   āū   it seems to me (NL 10/6/82)
3S   seem   ABL   1S

sā   bāū cava mada e   tuku-n-a   vēī iko?   just what did he tell you?
ASP TEN what INI   3S tell-TR-3S ABL 2S   (T74:51)

25.1.2.3.1 Māī vēī and ki vēī. Sometimes read, but seldom heard in normal speech are the redundant constructions māī vēī and ki vēī, 'from' and 'to' respectively. For example:

e   rāī   tāū-mada   sara gā   ki   vēī   rāū   na   yanuyanu
3S   look   first   INT   LIM ABL ABL 3D   DEF   island
he looked first of all to those islands (FR5:24)

Geraghty (1976a: 518–19) suggested that māī vēī and ki vēī "are innovations coined by those non-Fijians—mostly mission-aries—who were responsible for the production of formal Fijian in the nineteenth century." He went on to show that when the sequence māī + vēī does occur in natural speech, the two markers do not belong to the same phrase. For example:

[āū tau-r-a   māī] [vēī Samu]   I took it from S
1S   take-TR-3S   DIR   ABL S

However, a sentence that has māī + vēī clearly within one phrase, such as:

* [a   cava ko tau-r-a   ki-na]   [māī vēī   Samu]
   DEF   what 2S take-TR-3S   ABL-3S ABL ABL S
why did you take it from S?

elicited the following reaction from speakers: they themselves would not say it, but it might be heard from preachers or radio announcers.

Geraghty then proposed that ki vēī for "to" was formed on the analogy of māī vēī for 'from', concluding that they "are paxt of a particular formal style of Fijian which originated among non-Fijians in their quest for one Fijian word to translate one English word."

25.1.2.4 Contractions of the ablative markers.[11] When any of the ablative markers e, māī (either locative or directional), or i is used with the third person singular rather than a noun as head of the phrase, a contraction is formed. With those markers used with common nouns, the contraction is ki-na.

e   na   gauna oyā,   sā   tekivū ki-na   na   osooso   ne-i   Nāīsulu
ABL DEF time   DEM:3 ASP begin ABL-3S DEF crowded POS-POS N
at that time, there began (in it) N's busy-ness

 sā   vaka-rāū-tak-a ki-na   na   nō-drāū i-yāyā   na   luve-na
 ASP prepare-TR-3S ABL-3S DEF POS-3D baggage DEF child-3S
 she prepared (in it) her children's baggage (FR3:57)

In this example, both instances of ki-na refer back to the secondary NP e na gauna oyā. As the translation 'then' shows, the function of ki-na is tied directly to that of the coreferential phrase preceding it.

Such fronted time NPs as that in the previous example are commonly referred to later in the sentence by ki-na:

e   na   vula   o   Nōveba,   e   dāū cabe ki-na   na   balolo
ABL DEF month PRP November 3S HAB rise ABL-3S DEF balolo
in the month of November, the balolo always rise (in it)

e   dua na   kā   e   na   i-tilotilo;   sō   e   ta-sogo   ki-na
3S one DEF thing ABL DEF throat   some 3S closed   ABL-3S

 na   i-cegu   something in the throat whereby the breath is closed
 DEF breath   off (VV:tao)

e   dāū   coko   ki-na   na   ika   lelevu
3S HAB caught ABL-3S DEF fish big
big fish are caught in it (NV2:11)

 dāū loba   ki-na   na   yaqona sē   nīū

HAB squeezed ABL-3S DEF kava   CNJ coconut
kava or coconut is squeezed with it (VV:i-bō)

sā   ladelade tiko na   bulumakau, ka ta-sova sara ki-na   na   sucu
ASP jump   CNT DEF cow   CNJ spilled INT ABL-3S DEF milk
the cow was jumping around, and because of it, the milk was spilled (FR3:51)

The functions of ki-na echo those of the underlying markers. For example, some of the sentences above show time, instrument, and reason.

Because of the position of a modifying VP relative to its head, ki-na is often used in such constructions. That is, the NP appears, and a coreferential ki-na appears in a following VP, much like the other examples of ki-na above. Examples are:

kā   vaka-loma-na e talo-ci sē gunu-vi ki-na   na wāī
thing hollow   3S pour-TR CNJ drink-TR ABL-3S DEF water
a hollow thing water is poured in or drunk from (VV:bilo)

e   na   dela ni   vatu erāū ā   dabe toka ki-na
ABL DEF top POS rock 3D   PT sit   CNT ABL-3S
on top of the rock that they (dual) were sitting on (FR5:28)

ko   ira ka ra jiko ki-na   those who stay there (Lau language)
PRP 3P REL 3P Stay ABL-3S   (FR5:9)

The proper ablative marker vēī plus third person singular takes the form vuā. It is different from ki-na in that it is not coreferential with a preceding NP, but can be specified by a following NP.

Examples without a specifying NP:

drāū via-vosa VUĀ?   do you (dual) want to talk to him? (FR3:44)
2D   DES-talk ABL-3S

drāū lako māī; tōū māī kau-t-a   VUĀ
2D   go   DIR 1TI DIR carry-TR-3S   ABL-3S
you (dual) come here; the three of us will take it to him
(FR3:44)

na   no-qu   loloma VUĀ   my love for her (T74:43)
DEF POS-1S love   ABL-3S

e	ā	tuku-n-a	tale	gā	VUĀ		she also told her (T74:43)
3S	PT	tell-TR-3S	ITR	LIM	ABL-3S		

e	na	kā	sā	yaco	tū	VUĀ	oqō	in this thing that has
ABL	DEF	thing	ASP	happen	CNT	ABL-3S	DEM:1	happened to her
								(T74:43)

e	ā	mani	tuku-n-a	vuā	ko	Leone	L then told her (T74:43)
3S	PT	SEQ	tell-TR-3S	ABL-3S	PRP	L	

tōū	māī	kau-t-a	vuā	let's (paucal) take it to her (FR3:44)
1TI	DIR	carry-TR-3S	ABL-3S	

Example with a specifiying NP:

era	ā	cabe	i	Vale	Levu	VUĀ	na	Gone	Tūraga	na	Kōvana
3P	PT	climb	ABL	house	big	ABL-3S	DEF	child	chief	DEP	governor

levu	they went up to Government House to him—the chief, the
big	Governor General (SR 20/4/82)

This last example has been corrected to make it more idiomatic. The original used ki vuā, which is a form of kivēī, discussed in 25.1.2.3.1.

25.1.3 Discussion: ablative NPs

25.1.3.1 Are locative and directional dependent on the semantics of the verb? In the analysis here, I have chosen to separate the locative and directional functions of the markers. However, there are a number of arguments for uniting them, resulting in only two common ablative markers: māī and i. The first is the absence of a distinction between locative and directional for the proper ablative marker: vēī, whose directional or locative meaning is dependent on the meaning of the verb in the VP it is associated with.

It is possible to extend this analysis to māī by suggesting as well that location vs. direction lies in the verb. Thus, a māī phrase used with a verb of motion (such as lako 'go') refers to direction; with a static verb (such as tiko 'stay'), to location.

Geraghty's treatment (1976a) of māī lends support to this analysis, for he concluded that there is no "motion-from" māī. As evidence, he showed that in the following sentence:

e lako māī na vale ko koya   he is coming from the house

māī 'from' is actually the postverbal directional marker, not the "preposition". His argument (p. 515) for this particular sentence is that since in certain constructions, both māīs occurred:

> na siga e lako māī ki-na māī na vale the day he came from the house

the first sentence has an underlying preposition māī in addition to the directional. This second māī, one assumes, is his "remote locative", and the directional sense is from the VP: lako māī 'come'.

However, as the second example shows, that second māī has to be accounted for. I have shown (25.1.2.2.2.1) that in terms of the intonation, in the sentence

e lako māī na vale   he is coming from the house

māī na vale constitutes one phrase. Thus, the phonological evidence suggests that in this instance, māī does refer to "direction from", not "remote location". If one chooses a noun whose referent can be either static or moveable, it is possible to make a minimal pair, separated only by the intonational clues that mark phrase boundaries:

[e lako   māī] [na basi]   the bus is coming
[e lako] [māī na   basi]   he's coming from the bus

Thus, the question remains: is there one māī or two?

The hazy borders between different styles of Fijian produce a similar situation for i, although for different reasons. Geraghty (1984: 36 gave locative i vs. e as one of the distinguishing criteria between Colloquial and Standard Fijian. If ki (directional marker) is indeed mainly a feature of formal Literary Fijian, then the locative and directional fall together. Thus, what is usually written as

e Suva   at Suva
ki Suva   to Suva

is spoken as

i Suva   at Suva, to Suva

Here again, the distinction between locative and directional would depend on the type of verb used.

25.1.3.2 The function of ablative NPs. Are ablative phrases always adverbial? In most of the examples encountered so far, ablative NPs are more closely related to a verb than to a noun. (See 31.3.) Of course, their basic reference to location and direction is usually associated with an action/state. However, there are some examples of an ablative NP attributive to a noun. Note the following:

era dāū vaka-yaga-tak-a na   bilibili ko   ira māī na   ulu-ni-wāī
3P HAB CAU-use-TR-3S DEF raft   PRP 3P ABL DEF head-POS-water
those up-river always use bamboo rafts

One might propose that such an example of attribution is derived from an underlying existential—e.g. 'those who stay up-river', and thus confine ablative NPs to adverbial usage.

25.2 COMITATIVE[12] NPS

A comitative NP is marked by kēī$_1$, which has two similar functions. The first is to link NPs. E.g.:

erāū ā   lako voli yani ko   Rā Kadi [KĒĪ   Rā Qasikālōlō]
3D   PT go   ASP DIR PRP Rā K   CNC   Rā Q
they (dual) went around—Rā K & Rā Q (NV3:14)

Note that in this example, the two NPs specify the subject erāū.

In its second function, a kēī$_1$ phrase immediately follows the VP and is attributive to it:

erāū mani sota [KĒĪ Rā I-Sua]   they (dual) met with RIS (NV3:14)
3D   SEQ meet CNC Rā I-S

25.2.1 Discussion: how many entities involved? The construction just described is ambiguous as to the number of entities referred to. For example,

drāū lako kēī Samu

literally, you (dual) go with S, could involve either two or three persons.

25.2.2 Contraction of kēī + third person singular: kaya. This form is a contraction of kēī₁ + third person singular. For example:

āū	ā	sota	[KAYA	I met with him
1S	PT	meet	CNC-3S	

āū	ā	vēī-vosa-ki	[KAYA]	I talked with him
1S	PT	DIS-talk-TR	CNC-3S	

25.2.3 Discussion. The phrases immediately above, together with their translations, would not likely be questioned by native speakers. But one particular use of kaya—with nonsingular subjects—does cause disagreement among speakers. Churchward (1941:42) gave the following phrase and its translation:

kēīrāū	ā	vēī-vosa-ki	[KAYA]	I had a talk with him
1D	PT	DIS-talk-TR	CNC-3S	

echoed by Milner (1972:68):

kēīrāū	na	lako	[KAYA]	ni-mataka	he and I will go tomorrow
1D	FT	go	CNC-3S	tomorrow	

The bone of contention here is the number of people involved. Some speakers accept the translation; others do not. The source of the disagreement (PG 6/82) is a confusion between kaya and vata (22.3), for the opinion was expressed by some speakers that the two markers meant the same thing. Careful speakers, however, keep them separate (TRN 6/82), and maintain the following distinction:

kēīrāū ā lako [KAYA]   we (dual exclusive) went with him
(three people involved)

kēīrāū ā lako vata   we (dual exclusive) went together
(two people involved)

PG added that sota kaya 'meet with him' functioned idiomatically, rather like a verb and its object.

25.3 PROPER ACCUSATIVE NPS[13]

The proper accusative marker i may be underlying a number of constructions involving objects,[14] but it is heard only under special circumstances. The following two segments of discourse were reported by PG (10/80); note that i occurs when the phrase specifying the object occurs in isolation:

I. āū   rai-ci   Jone   I saw J
    1S   see-TR J

    I   cēī?   who?
    PRP who

    I   Jone   J
    PRP J

II. āū   rai-c-a   I saw
                                       him
    1S   see-TR-3S

    I   cēī   mada yā   who
                                       was
                                       it?
    PRP who   INI   DEM:3

    I   Jone   J
    PRP J

Still, this construction is fairly rare: some speakers would not say i cēī, but o cēī instead.

25.4 VOCATIVE: I₃ [15]

The vocative marker i precedes a personal name, and is used in a phrase set off intonationally from and preceding the main part of the sentence. (A vocative is unmarked when it appears at the end of a sentence.) In each of the following examples, this intonational pattern is indicated by a comma:

[I	FILIPE],	na	vēī-vale	cava	gā	oh, F, which houses?
VOC	F	DEF	DIS-house	what	LIM	(FR2:11)

[I	TAMA-QU]	oh, Father (FR5:15)
VOC	father-1S	

[I	ULUMALĀĪDUA]	oh, U (FR5:16)
VOC	U	

A vocative phrase can also be used alone to get the addressee's attention:

I SĀĪ!	oh, S!

I regularly occurs with saka (polite address) as the salutation in a formal letter:

I SAKA,	dear sir, dear madam

I, like some other markers, may be stylistically lengthened, but the length is not phonemic; it remains unaccented.

25.5 ATTRIBUTIVE POSSESSIVE

The form and function of attributive possessive NPs are treated in CH 34.

26 NP GRAMMATICAL MODIFIERS

This chapter deals with markers other than articles and function markers. They are referred to as "grammatical modifiers" to distinguish them from those other markers and from modifying elements that come from outside the phrase (adjectives).

26.1 DISCOURSE MARKER: GONA 'AFOREMENTIONED'

Gona (AFM) is used principally in NPs (but also in VPs; see 22.12.4), singling out a particular entity that has already been mentioned, and directing the line of discourse toward this entity. Because gona can be explained only in this larger context, most of the examples below consist of more than one sentence.

E   dāū siga ni   savasava ne-i Nāū   na   siga Vakarāūwāī.
3S HAB day POS clean   POS Mother DEF day Saturday

   E   na   siga Vakarāūwāī GONA sā   oti
   ABL DEF day Saturday   AFM   ASP finish

Saturday is always Mother's washing day. Last Saturday (on a particular Saturday—the one past) (NV4:2)

Era dāū rarawa-tak-a sara na   tina-da   na   duka-veluvelu ni
3P HAB sad-TR-3S   INT DEF mother-1PI DEF dirty   POS

   no-da   i-sulu ka ni   dāū drēdrē na   ke-na   sava. O   koya
   POS-1PI clothes CNJ SUB HAB difficult DEF POS-3S clean PRP 3S

   GONA, sā   dodonu ki-na   me   da dāū qarau-n-a   ki-na   na
   AFM   ASP right   ABL-3S SUB 1PI HAB care-TR-3S   ABL-3S DEF

   vēī-vanua   eda dāū dabe-c-a   sē   ravi-t-a.
   DIS-place   1P   HAB sit-TR-3S   CNJ lean-TR-3S

Our mothers are always saddened by our dirty clothes because washing them is difficult. Because of that (aforementioned), we should always be careful about the places we sit or lean against. (NV4:2)

E	kākana	ni	yabaki	na	duruka	ka	sā	i	koya	GONA	oqō	e	sā
3S	food	POS	year	DEF	duruka	CNJ	ASP	PRP	3S	AFM	DEM:1	3S	ASP

dāū	nama-ki	ki-na	ni	sā	roro	tiko	māī	na	ke-na	gauna.
HAB	think-TR	ABL-3S	SUB	ASP	approach	CNT	DIR	DEF	POS-3S	time

Duruka is an annual food product, and because of that (aforementioned), it is always kept in mind when its time is approaching. (NV4:8)

As evidence for this explanation of gona, note the following example (the coreferential portions appear in uppercase):

Na	SIGA	VAKARĀŪBUKA,	na	siga	e	dāū	vaka-rāū-taki	ki-na
DEF	day	Friday	DEF	day	3S	HAB	ready-TR	ABL-3S

na	i-voli.	Erāū	sā	loma-leqa	sara	o	Tuilase	kēī	Marama	na
DEF	trade	3D	ASP	anxious	INT	PRP	t	CNJ	m	DEF

wati-na	ka	ni	sā	roro	tiko	māī	na	Siga-ni-Mate.	"sā
spouse-3S	CNJ	SUB	ASP	approach	CNT	DIR	DEF	Good Friday	ASP

mācawa	lā	māī	qō,	sā	SIGA-NI-MATE."	ā	ka-y-a	o	Marama	vēī	na
week	LIM	DIR	DEM:1	ASP	Good-Friday	PT	say-TR-3S	PRP	m	ABL	DEF

wati-na.	E	na	MATAKA	GONA	ni	siga	Vakarāūbuka	oyā,	eratōū
spouse-3S	3S	DEF	morning	AFM	POS	day	Friday	DEM:3	3T

sā	māqusa	sara	na	vū-vale	oyā	na	vaka-rāū	i	voli[1]
ASP	busy	INT	DEF	family	DEM:3	DEF	prepare	POS	sell

Friday is the day on which goods for sale are prepared. T & M, his wife, were very anxious because Good Friday was approaching. "Next week is Good Friday," M said to her husband. On the morning of that Friday (aforementioned), the family were very busy preparing their goods (NV4:12)

Note that although the text places gona after mataka 'morning', that entity has not appeared before in the discourse. TRN and BK thought it more appropriate to rewrite the phrase as follows:[2]

e	na	mataka	ni	siga	Vakarāūbuka	GONA	oyā
ABL	DEF	morning	POS	day	Friday	AFM	DEM:3

26.2 LIMITATION: WALE GĀ

The marker wale, in combination with gā, limits the semantic field to the entity referred to by the noun. Examples are:

e	kilā	na	vosa	vaka-Nadrogā	WALE	GĀ
3S	know-3S	DEF	talk	MAN-N	LIM	LIM

she knows only the Nadrogā language

m-o	tau-r-a	mada	na	suka	WALE	GĀ
SUB-2S	take-TR-3S	INI	DEF	sugar	LIM	LIM

please take only the sugar

sā	gunu-v-a	na	yaqona	ni	Viti	WALE	GĀ
ASP	drink-TR-3S	DEF	kava	POS	Fiji	LIM	LIM

he drank only kava

As in a VP, the markers wale and gā in an NP need not be contiguous:

o	koya	WALE	sara	GĀ	oqori
PRP	3S	LIM	INT	LIM	DEM:2

that's certainly only him there (VV)

26.3 INCLUSION

26.3.1 Kece 'all'. Kece (INC) indicates that the noun it is associated with refers to all the entities involved. Examples are:

me	vola-i	na	vēī-i-vola	KECE	sara	vaka-Viti
SUB	write-TR	DEF	DIS-book	INC	INT	MAN-Fiji

that all the books be written in Fijian (SR 20/4/82).

Note that KECE and sara appear before the modifier.

e	na	vēī-gauna	KECE		at all times (SR 20/4/82)
ABL	DEF	DIS-time	INC		

ia	na	vēī-kā	KECE	oqori	but all those things (NL 13/5/82)

CNJ DEF DIS-thing INC   DEM:2

na   vēī-kā   KECE kēītōū vinaka-t-a   sā   tū   e   keri
DEF   DIS-thing   INC   1TX   want-TR-3S ASP exist ABL LOC:2
all the things we (paucal exclusive) need are there (T74:42)

ni   sā   oti-vi   ira KECE
SUB ASP finish-TR   3P   INC
when they had gone through all of them (T74:43)

ka   laki kani-a na   dawa KECE and went to eat all the dawa (FR5:7)
CNJ DIR eat-3S DEF dawa INC

26.3.2 Tāūcoko 'all, wholly, completely'. In some instances, tāū-coko seems to contrast somewhat with kece, meaning 'all of an entity' rather than 'all the entities':

a   ke-dra   i-wiliwili TĀŪCOKO   their total count (NL 13/5/82)
DEF POS-3P   count   INC

e   na   bāravi   TĀŪCOKO   on the entire beach (FR5:22)
ABL DEF   beach   INC

However, it is also used as a synonym for kece:

na   vosa vaka-Viti TĀŪCOKO sara   all the Fijian languages
DEF talk MAN-Fiji INC   INT   (SR 20/4/82)

e   na   vēī-yasa i   Viti   TĀŪCOKO   in all parts of Fiji (NL
ABL DEF DIS-part POS Fiji   INC   13/5/82)

26.3.3 Soti (sō).[3] Soti (sō) are used as markers of inclusion with cēī and cava. Kece is not used with these roots.[4]

o   cēī   SOTI na   nasi?   who are all the nurses?
PRP who INC DEF nurse

a   cava SOTI na   leqa?   what are all the troubles?
DEF what INC DEF trouble

o   cēī   SOTI oyā?   who's that (FR3:55)
PRP who INC DEM:3

26.4 INTENSIFIER: SARA

The marker sara (INT), used in the VP as well (22.8), draws attention to or emphasizes an entity. Examples are:

i	matāsawa	SARA				to the beach itself (FR5:21)
ABL	beach	INT				

na	kā	SARA	gā	āū	nanu-m-a	the very thing I thought (T74:52)
DEF	thing	INT	LIM	1S	think-TR-3S	

ka	ke-na	dāū	SARA	tale	gā	and another of his skills indeed (NV3:18)
CNJ	POS-3S	Skill	INT	ITR	LIM	

In the last example, it is difficult to decide whether sara is used with the noun or with the VP in which the noun serves.

26.5 ITERATION: TALE, TALE GĀ

The marker tale (ITR), which occurs in the VP as well (22.9), has the sense of 'other' in an NP. Examples are:

ka	ke-na	i-kuri	na	vosa	vaka-Viti	TALE	e	sō
CNJ	POS-3S	supplement	DEF	talk	MAN-Fiji	ITR	3S	some

kēī	na	vosa	vaka-Vāvālagi
CNJ	DEF	talk	MAN-European

and its supplement, some other Fijian languages and English (SR 20/4/82)

ka	vinaka-ti	tiko	me	mata-ni-i-vola	ni	gato	e	na
CNJ	want-TR	CNT	SUB	letter	POS	glottal-stop	ABL	DEF

	vosa	vaka-Viti	TALE	e	sō
	talk	MAN-Fiji	ITR	3S	some

and is needed as a letter for the glottal stop in some other Fijian languages (Geraghty 1982:5)

Tale occurs with the marker gā (not necessarily contiguously): the combination means 'also':

na   "ko i" TALE GĀ e   dodonu me "o"   also, ko i should be o
DEF   ko i ITR   LIM 3S right   SUB o   (Geraghty 1982:2)

26.6 MODERATIVE, DUBITATIVE: BEKA

The marker beka (TEN) indicates a tentative status, or a suggestion. As with VPs (22.12), it is often used in questions or commands to avoid being abrupt. For example:

a   cava BEKA na   vu-na?   what (perhaps) is the reason? (NL 13/5/82)
DEF what TEN   DEF reason-3S

na tī BEKA?   tea, perhaps?

26.7 LIMITATION: GĀ

Gā (LIM) after a noun has very much the same function as it has after a verb (see 22.13): it focuses the attention on the noun. In the following sentence, note that the common translations of 'just' or 'only' cannot be used:

ratōū sā   dui volavola ka   taba i-vola na   i-talatala e   na
3T   ASP IND write   CNJ print book DEF minister   ABL DEF

    vēī-vanua eratōū ā dui tū ki-na   e   na   ke-na   vosa GĀ
    DIS-place 3T   PT IND stay ABL-3S ABL DEF POS-3S   talk LIM

the ministers (individually) wrote and printed books in the places where they (individually) stayed in each language (SR 20/4/82)

Here, the gā draws attention to the fact that each language had its own translation and printing.

na   taci   i   Leone GĀ   it's L's brother, in fact (T74:51)
DEF   sibling POS L   LIM

sega, o   Jona GĀ   no, just J (T74:51)
no   PRP J   LIM

na   kā   sara GĀ   āū   nanu-m-a   just what I thought (T74:52)
DEF   thing INT LIM 1S   think-TR-3S

27 NOUN AFFIXATION

27.1 COLLECTIVE, DISTRIBUTIVE: VĒĪ-

The construction vēī- (DIS) + N is used for a collection of entities, or each entity treated individually:

na   vēī-bogi   every night
DEF   DIS-night

taba-ki   e   na   vēī-siga   Tūsiti   kēī   na   Vakarāūbuka
print-TR   ABL   DEF   DIS-day   Tuesday   CNJ   DEF   Friday
printed every Tuesday and Friday (VG calendar, 1961)

With respect to discourse, vēī- on a noun has the effect of generalizing it—removing its definiteness, although the definite marker often remains. In the following examples, some of the NPs with vēī- are grammatically definite, some indefinite. But they are all general.

e   dāū   vuka e   vēī-cō   it always flies in the grassy areas
3S   HAB   fly   ABL   DIS-grass   (NV1:28)

e   dāū   vuka e   vēī-taba-ni-kāū   it always flies in tree branches
3S   HAB   fly   ABL   DIS-branch-POS-tree   (NV1:29)

e   tū   na   lali   e   na   no-da   vēī-koro   kece
3S   exist DEF   drum   ABL   DEF   POS-1PI DIS-village INC
there's a lali in all our (plural inclusive) villages (NV2:37)

ka   tiko   e   na   dreke   ni   vēī-dalo   ne-i   tama-qu
REL   exist ABL   DEF   bottom POS   DIS-taro   POS   father-1S
that stands in the bottom of my father's taro patch (NV2:39)

era cavutū māī na   vēī-vanua tani   they (plural) come from
3P   stem   ABL DEF   DIS-land   different   foreign lands (NV2:45)

e   serāū vinaka tale gā   na   vēī-kalokalo   the stars also shine nicely
3S   shine good   ITR   LIM   DEF   DIS-star   (NV2:58)

The function of generalizing is particularly apparent in the last example. Since "stars" are not the type of entity normally to be treated as individuals, the subject is singular (see 20.5). Thus, generalizing with vēī- is one way to show that the topic is not a particular star. Note a similar function of vēī- in the next sentence (from the same context). Here, the previous sentence referred to counting stars, so the subject is plural. But the concept of "evening" is kept general; it is not a particular evening that the stars appear:

e   na   gauna era sā   qāī vovotu māī ki-na   e   na   vēī-yakavi
ABL DEF time   3P ASP SEQ appear DIR ABL-3S ABL DEF DIS-evening
at the time they appear in the evening

In all these examples of generalization, note the similarity in function of NP vēī- to one of the functions of VP vēī- (16.3).

27.1.1 Discussion: vēī- as "plural". In his grammatical sketch, Hale (1846:369) showed unusual insight into the workings of the language in his treatment of vēī-:

> Vei... has, when joined with nouns, a collective signification, —as nondra vale, their house, nondra vei-vale, their houses, their village; vei-kau (R[ewa]), a clump of trees; vei-utu [uto], a grove of bread-fruit trees, &c.

Note that the word "plural" was not mentioned at all. However, the word crept into later descriptions, as the following passage (Hazlewood 1872:10) Shows:

> Vei. This word prefixed to nouns indicates a plural, or collective number, and is therefore very useful, as showing that many, not one, nor seldom a few things, are implied; whereas when no sign precedes a noun it may imply one, or a thousand.

The last point in the quotation shows that Hazlewood realized the difference between this system and English number: a Fijian noun with no affixation is unspecified as to literal (not grammatical) number.

Churchward (1941:15) continued this analysis, but was less careful in his description. He wrote:

Some nouns—not a great many—have a special plural formed by prefixing vei-. Common examples are gauna, time; yabaki, year; vula, month.

The problem with his examples is that the vēī- forms do not really refer to "times", "years", "months", etc., but are more accurately translated as "all the time", "every year", "every month", etc. Churchward added, rather as an afterthought, that "in some cases at least, this prefix makes the noun collective rather than strictly plural."

Milner (1972:16) phrased the plural analysis in even more certain terms:

Common number is carried by certain bases and has two classes: singular and plural. The plural is indicated as follows:

(i) In phrases by prefixing the particle vei- to the base:

SINGULAR	na	siga	the day, a day
	na	bogi	the night, a night
PLURAL	na	veisiga	the days
	na	veibogi	the nights

Later (p. 111) he listed the other functions of vēī-: to indicate

(i)   A whole or an aggregate
(ii)   Variety, difference
(iii) Each or every
(iv)   The relationship of individual units to one another

27.2 INDIVIDUALITY: DUI-

A noun prefixed by dui-(IND) refers to entities treated as individuals:

ka   ratōū dui-vodo   sara e   na   no-dratōū   DUI-lori
CNJ   3T   IND board   INT   ABL DEP   POS-3T   IND bus
and they immediately boarded (individually) their respective buses (NV4:69)[1]

Note that in the sentence above, dui—appears in both the VP and the NP.

27.3 REDUPLICATION OF NOUN ROOTS

The process of reduplication as applied to nouns seems as varied and unpredictable as it does with verbs (CH 18). The following discussion shows general tendencies; the list of meanings is open-ended.

27.3.1 Form. Formally, reduplication can be divided into the usual types of full and partial (see 18.13; Milner 1972:47). There seem to be more examples of the former than the latter, as most of the illustrations show. However, these zoological names may illustrate partial reduplication:

dā-dakulaci	striped water snake
dā-dakuvonu	beetle with wings like back of turtle
dā-darikai	freshwater eel

Semantically, reduplication is a means of narrowing the scope of a particular root, keeping a formal resemblance to mirror a semantic resemblance. For example:

beka	(general name for 'bat')
beka-beka	(specific type of beka)
wāī	water
wāī-wāī	oil
yasi	sandalwood
yasi-yasi	tree resembling yasi
via	large kind of taro
via-via	non-cultivated wild lily, inedible
tina	mother[2]
tina-tina	female animal who has given birth, esp. hen

However, many plant and animal names have the form of a reduplicated root for which no single-root counterpart exists—at least not in the same semantic range:

soki-soki	balloonfish
dabu-dabu	(kind of tree)
dobu-dabu	(kind of shellfish)
doce-doce	(kind of shrub)

Some body parts are reduplicated forms without corresponding single roots:

beka-beka ni mata	eyelashes
gale-gale	teeth (molars)
vico-vico	navel

Others have a dubious relationship to single roots:

buku	(fruit, root) pointed end; (gun) butt
buku-buku ni liga	elbow
kiri	tickle under the arms
kiri-kiriwa	armpit

27.3.2 Semantic categories.

1. Diminutive. Churchward (1941:81) discussed this class, listing some of the forms in the examples above:[3] via-via, yasi-yasi.

2. Greater numbers. Churchward (p. 81) gave two examples in this category:

vēī-vanua	'various countries';	vēī-vēī-vanua	'larger number of countries'
vēī-gauna	'times, all the time;	vēī-vēī-gauna	'times, ages'

Note that in these examples, it is the prefix—not the root—that is reduplicated.

28 NOMINALIZATION

This chapter treats two very different kinds of nominalization. The first, marked formally by the prefix i-, makes a new lexical item: a noun formed from a verb:

sele	cut
i-sele	knife

The second, with no formal change, does not create a new lexical item, but it is merely an instance of a verb being used as a noun:

e lako	she goes
na lako	going
e vinaka	it is good
na vinaka	goodness

28.1 DERIVED NOMINALIZATION: I- NOUNS

A noun derived from a verb by prefixing i-shows a formal link between the referent of an action/state and that of an entity connected with it. For example:

e culacula	she's sewing

A derived noun can be made from the root cula by prefixing i-; its meaning is not predictable except that it is related in some way to the general meaning of the root—it refers to an entity that is part of the activity or state referred to by the verb. In this case:

i-cula	needle

Here, the noun refers to an instrument that is essential for the act of sewing.

Unlike verbs used as nouns, i-nouns are somewhat more restricted. Roots are confined to A1, A2, and S2 verbs; thus, an S1 verb like totoka 'beautiful' cannot be made into a noun by prefixing i-. Moreover, even in those verb types that allow such prefixing, the process is irregular. That is, a corresponding i-noun does not exist for every verb in the allowable categories.

PG noted (12/83) that A2 roots are reduplicated in their i-derived form, whereas S2 roots are not.

There are many examples of derived nouns that refer to literal instruments for performing an action:

e seru-t-a	she combed it
na i-seru	the comb
e voce-tak-a	she paddled it
na i-voce	the paddle
e kele-a	he anchored it
na i-kelekele	the anchor
e tuki-a	he hammered it
na i-tuki, na i-tukituki	the hammer
e ubi-a	she covered it
na i-ubi	the cover
e uli-a	she stirred it
na i-uli	the stick for stirring
e kaba-t-a	he climbed it
na i-kabakaba	the ladder
e kari-a	she scraped it (coconut+)
na i-kari	the scraper
e kaki-a	she scraped the skin off it
na i-kaki	the scraper

Not all instruments are manufactured:

e taqi	he cried
na i-taqitaqi	the larynx

| e tilo-m-a | she swallowed it |
| na i-tilotilo | the throat |

Moreover, not all i-nouns are literal instruments in the sense that they are tools. Some are instruments in a metaphorical sense—entities that are either essential or an integral part of the action. For example, another meaning of i-kelekele ('anchor' above) is 'anchorage'. Interestingly, kele 'to anchor' takes two principal (one-syllable) transitive suffixes. One was given above; the other is:

| e kele-v-a | he anchored-at it |

Note the relationship of this particular VP to i-kelekele 'anchorage'; i-kelekele is what the object refers to.

More examples of metaphorical instruments are:

| e saba-k-a | she slapped him |
| na i-saba | the slap |

| e lako-v-a | he went-for, went-on it |
| na i-lakolako | the going, path, manner |

28.1.1 Reduplication of i-forms. As with most types of reduplication, its use with i- forms is irregular. Some i-vv forms seem to exist merely to provide a contrast with i-v forms. For example:

| na i-sele | the knife |
| na i-selesele | the piece cut off |

e sole-g-a	she wrapped it up
na i-sole	the wrapper, shroud
na i-solesole	the bundle

However, PG (12/83) considered such relationships to be regular, with the nonreduplicated derivatives representing S2 instruments, and the reduplicated derivatives representing S2 "results".

One use of the reduplicated i-form seems more nearly regular than the others; it indicates the manner of performing the action. Examples are:

| na i-kelekele | the manner of anchoring[1] |

e caka-v-a	he did it
na ke-na i-cakacaka	the way it was done
e buli-a	he formed it
na ke-na i-bulibuli	the way it was formed

Some forms refer to the result of the action:

e volā	he wrote it
na i-vola	the book, letter
e bini-a	she heaped it up
na i-binibini	the neap

28.1.2 I-nouns from derived verbs. The examples so far have shown nouns formed from a verb root or reduplicated root. Derived forms can also enter into this construction:

e macala	it's clear
e vaka-macala	she made (something) clear
na i-vaka-macala	the explanation
e turu	it drips
na turu	the eaves
na i-turuturu	the drop
na i-vaka-turuturu	the basin put out to catch dripping water
e tagi	it cries
e vaka-tagi-c-a	it made her cry
e vaka-tagi-tak-a	she played it (musical instrument)
na i-vaka-tagi	the musical instrument
e bula	she's alive, she lives
e vaka-bula	she's giving/saving life
na i-vaka-bula	the savior

Some forms include the transitive suffix:

e tuku-n-a	he told it
na i-tukutuku	the news, report
na i-tuku-ni	the story, tradition

What is the function of -ni in the last form? Is it merely to provide a contrasting form, or does it emphasize that the story is told?

28.1.3 I- nouns: a semantic view. Some i-nouns refer to entities that have no existence outside the action of the verb they are derived from. As an example, note the following two sentences:

e	ā	qāī	dreke-t-a	muri	yani	ko	koya	na	i-sulu	duka
3S	PT	SEQ	carry-TR-3S	back	DIR	PRP	3S	DEF	clothes	dirty

	sā	tāū	sara	na	bēseni	kēī	na	i-drekedreke
	ASP	place	INT	DEF	basin	CNJ	DEF	burden

then she carried the dirty clothes away … she put down the basin and the burden (NV4:2)

In the first sentence, the entity that is being carried (dreke) is referred to explicitly (na i-sulu duka). However, in the second sentence, it is referred to only as na i-drekedreke, which means 'a burden carried in the dreke fashion'—that is, like a back pack. Note the following i-nouns, similar in formation:

kāū	carried	i-kāūkāū	burden
cola	carried (on shoulders)	i-colacola	burden
tube	held by handle	i-tubetube	handle
qamu	held with pincers or between teeth	i-qamu	pincers
tabe	carry resting on palms	i-tabe	tray

One way of viewing the referents of i-drekedreke and these similar i-nouns is to propose that they have no existence outside the context of the particular action/state referred to by the verb.

As another example, consider i-tuki(tuki) 'hammer', from tuki-a 'hammer it'. A piece of wood (kāū) or a stone (vatu) can be used to hammer something; in that action, it is na i-tuki(tuki). Outside that context, it is simply na kāū or na vatu.

That same stone, if used as an anchor, can be referred to as na i-kelekele, from kele-a 'anchor it'.

Other examples are:

ravi-t-a	lean-on it

i-raviravi	something to lean on—a wall, a tree, etc. (Outside the context of leaning, it is no longer na i-raviravi.)
lati-a	screen it from sight
i-lati	something that separates or obstructs
sama-t-a	splice it
i-sema	piece added as a splice
seru-ta	comb it
i-seru	(a) comb, even the hands used as a comb
iri-v-a	fan it
i-iri	(a) fan; anything used to fan

In most of the preceding examples, certain entities have been referred to with i-nouns only when they are literally in the context of the action of the verb from which the noun is derived. However, the last two examples, i-seru 'comb' and i-iri 'fan' refer to entities (functionally, they are 'instruments') that are used for a specific purpose. Although traditional Fijian society certainly had such instruments with a specific purpose, many such words now refer to introduced tools. The first example is from the original text above: i-sulu 'clothing'.

I-sulu 'clothing' is derived from sulu-m-a 'clothe him'. It refers to something that is worn, or anything that covers or adorns something. Therefore, originally (one might propose) its existence depends on the act of clothing or adorning someone or something.

Now, however, i-sulu has taken on a more specific meaning, referring usually to garments made of woven cloth—articles expressly for the purpose of wearing. Other examples are:

i-seru	comb. Originally a long, knitting-needle-like instrument. Apparently the sawn wooden comb was introduced in the 1830s (Clunie 1981:18–19).
i-sele	knife. Originally, sharpened bamboo or other sharp material. Now used principally for the metal variety.
i-sala	hat. From sala-ga 'wrap it'. Ma i-sala referred to a turban-like head wrapping. (See frontispiece, Williams & Calvert 1859.)

i-koti   scissors. Originally a shell or shark's tooth to shave with (Hazlewood 1872).

i-toro   razor. See the previous explanation.

Each of these instruments, unlike the stone used variously as an anchor or a hammer (and assuming a different name in each function), has a fixed name and purpose. Morphology binds the name and purpose together.

Some i-forms derived from reduplicated roots refer to location. For example, i-kelekele 'anchorage', i-dabedabe 'place for sitting', i-sotasota 'meeting place' (PG 12/83).

28.1.3.1 Another source for i-nouns? There are many i-nouns for which no corresponding verb occurs. Some of these, such as:

i-tāū   friend

may simply be instances of a verb root ceasing to be used, while the derived noun remains. However, there is at least one more possibility. Geraghty (1979:245–46) has pointed out that "many non-instrumental i-prefixed nouns are semantically inalienable …" ("partitive", in my terminology; see 23.2.1). Some of his examples are:

i-matāū   right side
i-mawī   left side
i-cōī   (meal) meat or fish

This explanation seems to fit well with that above: that some i-nouns have no existence outside the context of the action/state they are associated with. Similarly, each of the examples above is part of a relationship.

Geraghty noted that his explanation pointed to another historical source for such i-nouns. However, one might also propose that the roots of such forms as those above were once used as verbs. Unfortunately, there seems to be little evidence to support either explanation.

28.2 DIRECT NOMINALIZATION: VERBS USED AS NOUNS[2]

As the preceding section showed, the referent of a noun derived with the prefix i- is associated in some way with the action/ state that the verb represents. When a verb is used as a noun, it refers directly to that action/state. For example,

e caka	it is done
na i-cakacaka	the manner in which it was done

vs.

na cakacaka	the work (i.e. 'the doing')

28.2.1 The function of direct nominalization. From the point of view of discourse, direct nominalization is the ultimate way to suppress the actor and/or goal. For example, note the simple discourse that follows (NV2:14):

1. e na lako māī na vū-ni-i-valu   the paramount chief will arrive

2. e tūraga bale ko koya   he's a very important chief

3. era na wā-rak-a na qase   the elders will wait for him

4. e   na caka NA GUNU YAQONA kēī NA   KANA MAGITI
    3S FT done DEF drink kava   CNJ DEF eat   feast
    kava-drinking and feasting will take place (literally, 'be done')

There are a number of ways that the ideas contained in sentence (4) could have been expressed, but in the one chosen, it is the activities of kava-drinking and feasting that are important, not the performers of these actions. Incidentally, note that in this example, the nominalization takes place not on simple verbs, but on the modified forms gunu yaqona and kana magiti.

    Further examples are:

e   na vuke-i Nana   ko   tana-qu   e   NA LOBA   NĪŪ
3S FT help-TR Mother PRP father-1S ABL DEF squeeze coconut
Father will help Mother in squeezing coconut milk (NV2:17)

e   levu sara NA   KATAKATA   there was a lot of heat (NV2:24)
3S   big   INT DEF hot

ni   sā   suka   NA   VULI   when school let out (NV2:39)
SUB ASP   disperse DEF learn

e   dāū drēdrē sara NA   VĒĪ-LAKO-YAKI   it's hard getting around
3S   HAB hard   INT DEF DIS-go-TR   (NV2:56)

ni   sā   sega ni   caka NA VULI   because there's no school
SUB ASP   not SUB   done DEF learn   (literally, 'schooling isn't
                                             done') (NV2:57)

NA   TAGI ni   vanua   (literally) crying of the
DEF cry   POS land   land (NV2:62)

e   totolo sara NA VUKA ni   manunanu oqō   this bird's flying is
3S   fast   INT DEF fly   POS bird   DEM:1   very fast (NV2:63)

me   caka e   dua NA   CAKACAKA   work to be done (NV2:61)
SUB   done 3S one DEF work

NA   WILI   KALOKALO   counting stars (NV2;59)
DEF   count star

One way to include the actor in this construction is to do so
in the form of a possessive. In the following examples, the ul-
timate referent of the possessive is the actor. In the first set of
constructions below—those with active verbs, and the actor re-
ferring to an animate being (Geraghty 1983a:246–47), the nō-
form of the possessive is used.

NA   NO-NA   CAKACAKA   his work
DEF POS-3S work

e   dāū NO-DRA CAKACAKA na   yalewa NA SAMUSAMU kēī NA   KESAKESA
3S   HAB POS-3P work   DEF woman DEF beating   CNJ DEF dyeing
Beating and dyeing are the women's work (NV2:69)

e   ā   vaka-yaco-ri   NA NO-DRA QITO COKO-VATA na   cauravōū
3S   PT   CAU-happen-TR DEF POS-3P play joined   DEF youth
(literally) it came to pass—the youths' playing together (NV2:27)

e   ā   kolo-tak-a   gā   NA   NO-NA SIWA ko   Waqa

3S PT throw-TR-3S LIM DEF POS-3S fish   PRP W
W just threw his line (NV2:43)

e   sā   dua-tani   NA NO-DRA KĀĪKĀĪLA. e   lasa   sara
3S ASP exceptional DEF POS-3P shouting   3S happy INT

    NA NO-DRA VĒĪ-TARA TIKO   their shouting was great; their
    DEF POS-3P tag-playing CNT   playing tag was fun (NV2:19)

In the example above, the second nominalized verb is modified by the possessive no-dra and the continuative marker tiko. The presence of the latter shows that not only verbs, but VPs, can be nominalized. A similar example is:

NA   NO-NA   SĀ   YADRA MĀĪ   its awakening (NV2:48)
DEF   POS-3S ASP awake DIR

Note the presence of the aspect marker sā and the directional māi. These markers show that the whole "noun" refers not to the state of being awake, but to the process of awakening.

    As a contrast, when a stative verb—simple or derived—appears in the NP, it is usually possessed by a kē- form. This behavior is consistent with the general difference between nō- and kē- forms, discussed in CH 34.

NA   KE-NA   KĀŪKAUA   its strength (NV2:50)
DEF   POS-3S   strong

NA   KE-NA LEVU   literally, its size (said to indicate the
DEF POS-3S big   end of a speech)

NA   KE-DRA KESA-VT TIKO   their being dyed (NV2:71)
DEF POS-3P dye-TR   CNT

e   NA   KE-DRA SĀ   RUI YAWA   in their great distance (NV2:58)
ABL DEF POS-3P ASP EXT far

The last example above shows the nominalized form in a secondary NP. Other examples are:

e dāū NO-DRA CAKACAKA na   gone tagane NA SIWA e   na   gauna
3S HAB POS-3P work   DEF child male   DEF fish ABL DEF time

```
     NI    SERE-KI              line fishing is always the work of boys during
     POS  disperse-TR          school holidays (NV2:42)
```

```
wā     NI    VOSAVOSA          telephone line (literally, string of talking)
string POS  talk
```

Note that in this construction, the NP need not be definite.

In the following example, both NPs use verbs as their head. It is the second that illustrates a secondary NP:

```
NA    DEDĒ  NI    MOCE  oqō              the length of this sleep
DEF   long   POS   sleep  DEM:1
```

PG noted (12/83) that a common use of such phrases was to indicate time, rather like sentence-initial adverbial phrases in English. E.g.:

```
no-na     curu     gā    yani                  just as he entered
POS-3S    enter    LIM   DIR
```

```
na       nēītōū    tiko   māī  keā            while we were there
DEF      POS-1TX   Stay   DIR   LOC:3
```

29 PERSONAL DEICTIC NOUNS

29.1 DEICTIC LOCATIVE NOUNS

Three deictic elements—kē, keri, and keā—serve as the heads of common locative NPs. They refer to locations near first, second, and third person, respectively. These nouns are introduced by the three common locative markers—e, māī, and i₁ Examples are:

```
āū  ā  rai-c-a       tale gā  māī na   dua na   sitoa e    keā
1S  PT see-TR-3S     ITR  LIM DIR DEF  one DEF  Store ABL  LOC:3
I also saw (it) in a store there (T74:58)
```

```
e   tolu  dina na   maile na   ke-na   yawa māī kē
3S  three true DEF  mile  DEF  POS-3S  far      ABL  LOC:3
the distance is actually three miles from here (T74:55)
```

```
e    keā    kēīmami sā  sotasota ki-na    kēī  na   melisitima lelevu
ABL  LOC:3 1PX      ASP meet     ABL-3S CNC DEF ship       big
there we met with the large passenger ships (FR3:1)
```

```
āū  mārau  tale gā   ni-u     māī curu  e    kē
1S  happy  ITR  LIM  SUB-1S   DIR enter ABL  LOC:1
I'm also glad I came in here (FR3:8)
```

```
e   sega ni   bula e   kē    e   dua na    manumanu ni    mate cā
3S  not  SUB live ABL LOC:1 3S  one DEF   animal        POS  sick  bad
no bad germs live here (FR3:9)
```

```
tōū  qāī   la-ki      vaka-toka  tī  gā   ki    keā
1TI  SEQ   go-ABL     put        tea LIM  ABL   LOC:3
then we'll go put the kettle on for tea there (FR3:53)
```

```
dua tale māī keri            another one over there (by you) (FMC61:9)
one ITR  ABL LOC:2
```

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29.2 PERSONAL LOCATIVES USED AS LOCATIVE PHRASES

The demonstratives (o)qō, (o)qori, (o)yā are similar to kē, keri, and keā in their reference to location near first, second, and third person. They differ, however, in a number of ways.

The main formal difference is that each of the markers oqō, oqori, and oyā functions as a complete phrase. That is, it does not occur with locative markers. Note the contrast:

e tiko e kē   it's here (by me)

e tiko oqō   it's here (by me)

The following examples show the personal locatives in their literal use:

ia, mada me kēīrau rai-c-a   na kā   e cori-vaki tū   e   na
CNJ INI   SUB 1DX   see-TR-3S DEF thing 3S tie-TR   CNT ABL DEF

    i-sū   qori   o.k., let's (dual exclusive) see the things you have

    basket DEM:2   tied up in your basket (NV4:70)

na   i-olo   madrāī vaka-uto-na qō   this sandwich (NV4:71)
DEF parcel bread   filled   DEM:1

sā   sīnāī tū   na   tamata e   na   wavu koyā
ASP full   CNT DEF person ABL DEF wharf DEM:3
the people were crowded on that wharf (FR6:3)

Note that in their literal use, the forms oqō and oqori are limited to conversations or a special kind of narrative in which first and second persons are involved.

29.2.1 Ayā. Ayā is an alternate of oyā:

ayā   ni sā   rui nanu-m-a   vaka-levu na   gone
DEM:3 SUB ASP EXT think-TR-3S MAN-big   DEF child
that is that she is thinking of her child all the time (T74:43)

e sega ni   wase na vosa-tete,   ayā,   na vosa ka   coko-vata
3S not SUB   divide DEF word-stretch DEM:3 DEF word CNJ joined

tū	ki-na	a compound is not divided, that is, a word that is
CNT	ABL-3S	joined (Geraghty 1982:8)

TRN stated (5/82) that he was not able to see any difference between oyā and ayā. Viewing substitutability from the other direction, Arms (10/84) noted that ayā also means 'namely' or 'that is' and that oyā cannot be substituted for it with this meaning.

29.3 TIME

Depending on their context, the demonstratives refer to time as well as place. For example, the sentence in 29.2:

e tiko oqō	it's here (by me)

can also mean	it's here (right now)

But the system is usually much more dependent on context than previous descriptions suggest.[1] Note the following:

Ni	da	ka-y-a	ni	da	laki	keli	daira,	eda	laki	tūdāī	vuaka	ni
SUB	1PI	say-TR-3S	SUB	1PI	DIR	dig	snare	1PI	DIR	trap	pig	POS

vēī-kāū.	Oqō	eda	na	keli-a	e	dua	na	qara	levu
DIS-tree	DEM:1	1PI	FT	dig-3S	3S	one	DEF	hole	big

when we say we're going to keli daira, we're going to trap wild pigs. Now (here), we'll dig a large pit, (FR3:3)

Obviously, oqō here does not mean the present. It refers to the context of this particular activity.

In written Fijian at least, most instances of oqō, oqori, and oyā have such contextual reference. But the relationship among the three is maintained. For example, oqō often refers to a point that is about to be brought up or one that has just been presented:

o	koya	saka	oqō	na	vu-na	kēītōū	māī	vaka-i-tavi-taki
PRP	3S	RES	DEM:1	DEF	reason-3S	1TX	DIR	engaged

ki-na	that (the explanation given in the previous
ABL-3S	sentence), sir, is the reason we have been
	engaged (SR 20/4/82)

o	ira	oqō		these (referring to the
PRP	3P	DEM:1		entities just mentioned)
				(SR 20/4/82)

For reference to entities immediately preceding the sentence in question, the distinction between oqō and oqori is not clear. Sometimes the latter is used:

o	iratōū	oqori,	eratōū	raba-i-levu
PRP	3T	DEM:2	3T	wide

as for those, they are wide (NV2:71)

Here, oqori refers to the fact that the topic (different masi types) has just been presented to the reader.

But more often, oqori refers to something in the preceding discourse, but not immediately preceding:

e	na	no-dra	vēī-vosa-ki	ka	vēī-soli	vā-kāsama	tiko	oqori
ABL	DEF	POS-3P	DIS-converse	CNJ	DIS-exchange	consider	CNT	DEM:2

in their conversation and exchange-consideration there (SR 20/4/82)

In the following example, oyā refers to the distant past (in literal time), but not in context:

sā	digi-taki	oti	na	yavu	ne	vola-i	ki-na	na	vosa	vaka-Viti,
ASP	choose-TR	ASP	DEF	base	SUB	write-TR	ABL-3S	DEF	talk	MAN-Fiji

oyā		na	vosa	vaka-Bāū
DEM:3		DEF	talk	MAN-Bau

the foundation on which the Fijian language is written has already been chosen; that is the Bauan language (SR 20/4/82)

In the following examples, oyā refers to an action that was completed in the narrative immediately preceding the sentence in question:

oti	oyā,	kēīmami	sā	qāī	lako	kece
finish	DEM:3	1PX	ASP	SEQ	go	INC

after that, we then all went (FR6:2)

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There are four examples of this construction on one page. The position of the narrator is rather removed from the events, however, for the story is in the form of a letter written some time after the events happened.

Oyā does not always refer to the past. In the right context, it can refer to the future as well:

e	na	gauna	oyā	that time
ABL	DEF	time	DEM: 3	

can refer to some time in the future that has already been referred to.

The essence, then, of the personal locatives is that they are deictic—referring not to absolute places or absolute times, but to the "situation of the utterance" (Lyons 1968:275): the speaker, the addres-see, and the context of the discourse itself.

29.4 PERSONAL LOCATIVES IN THE NP + NP CONSTRUCTION

Forms in the oqō set are often used in NP + NP sentences (see 6.6):

oyā +	na	no-qu	koro	that's my village
DEM: 3	DEF	POS-1S	village	

Here, oyā serves as a NP that is not marked for any ablative functions, such as indicating time or place. Instead, it is one of the principal constituents in the sentence.

Arms pointed out (10/84) that members of the set can also specify the subject of a VP, as in:

e vinaka oqō   this is good

In addition, these forms can serve as specified objects:

au	na	sara-v-a	oqō	I'll look at this[2]
1S	FUT	look-TR-3S	DEM:1	

These forms can also occur with other NP markers:

oqori   sara gā   na   vu-na   that (emphasis) is the reason (NV4:15)
DEN:2 INT LIM DEF base-3S

29.5 THE OPTIONAL O

In the opening sentence of this section, the three forms are written with o in parentheses. This notation indicates that the forms qō, qori, and yā are also used. In faster speech, they probably occur much more often than the longer ones. These shortened forms occur most often in speech rather than writing. Examples are:

sā   rui   mani   kāveti   levu   sara   qori
ASP EXT SEQ   cabbage   big   INT   DEM:2
that was a very large cabbage indeed there (FMC61:40)

e   na   kuro   qori   in that (by you) pot (FMC61:40)
ABL DEF pot   DEM:2

kā   qō   this thing
thing   DEM:1

e   na   dua   na   gauna   yā   one time then (long ago)
ABL DEF one   DEF time   DEM:3

The shorter forms do not usually occur in formal written Fijian, but do occur in some recent works, especially those that try to represent conversation. For example:

sega soti na   bete-na na   kā   qori[3]   that's of no use
not   INT DEF   use-3S DEF thing DEM:2   (T74:51)

e   na   vuravura qō   in this world (T74:59)
ABL DEF world   DEM:3

29.5.1 oyā vs. koyā. In previous grammars, koyā has been treated as the primary form (Churchward 1941:29), or as an alternate to oyā (Milner 1972:20). Here, we treat oyā as the primary form. The conditions for the occurrence of koyā are similar to those for ko (proper marker), discussed in 4.3.2 and 24.1.1.

SECTION IV

OPERATIONS

In the preceding sections, I have described the structure of the two principal building blocks of Fijian grammar: the VP and the NP. In addition to statements about the form of these two units, there have been repeated references to function. For example, the basic VP has been referred to as the foundation of all sentences of a particular type. This point of view has an important effect on the total grammatical description: it means that the VP and the NP are not complementary elements of a sentence as they are in some languages. Thus, the relationship of "subject" and "predicate", usually taken as axiomatic in grammatical descriptions, does not hold for Fijian.

The aim of this section is to explain Fijian syntax (that is, relationships of elements beyond the basic VP and NP) in terms of functional OPERATIONS that combine phrases or add something to their basic structure.

In semantic terms, these operations generally serve to narrow or specify reference. For example, ATTRIBUTION is a process that narrows semantic reference by adding descriptive features. POSSESSION is a special kind of attribution, indicating a particular relationship between two entities. SPECIFICATION is a process that adds information (in a manner different from that of attribution) about an actor, a goal, or a possessor. SUBORDINATION can be considered partially a type of attribution, and partially a process that shows the relationship between two action/states.

If we consider the order of these operations, specification must precede NP attribution, for it is specification that accounts for the presence of an NP in most sentences. This section treats these processes in this order: specification, attribution, subordination, possession, and conjunction. The order still involves difficulties, however; for example, one type of specification assumes the reader's knowledge of possession. Therefore, the reader must supplement the usual linear order of reading with some selective skipping and rereading.

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30 OPERATIONS: SPECIFICATION

SPECIFICATION is a grammatical category based on the relationship between person-number markers and NPs. When necessary, the reference of any person-number marker can be made more specific by adding an NP that refers to the same entity. This treatment of specification divides the category into three main types—specification related to:

1. Subject and object

    2. Person-number markers in secondary NPs

    3. Person-number markers in possessives

The following terms (some of which have already been discussed) and their relationships are important for an understanding of specificity:

THEME	Something in the external world (outside language) that people are talking about. Thus, it is an entity in a discourse, but whose role for a specific situation (i.e. actor vs. goal) cannot yet be determined. When a theme has a particular relationship to an action or a state, we call it a:
REFERENT	A theme when it is an actor or goal with respect to an action or a state.
ACTOR	The initiator of an action, the performer, the one who acts.
GOAL	The recipient of an action, the person or thing affected, described, or in a state.
ACTION/STATE	The activity or condition connected with the actor, goal, or both.

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SUBJECT   The grammatical representation within a sentence of either the actor or the goal. Formally, a morpheme (or combination of morphemes) representing person and number. It precedes the verb.

OBJECT   The representation within a sentence (with a two-referent active verb) of the goal. Formally, similar to the subject. It follows the verb.

VERB   The representation within a sentence of either the action or the state.

The relationship among the terms can be diagrammed as follows:

FIGURE 30:1
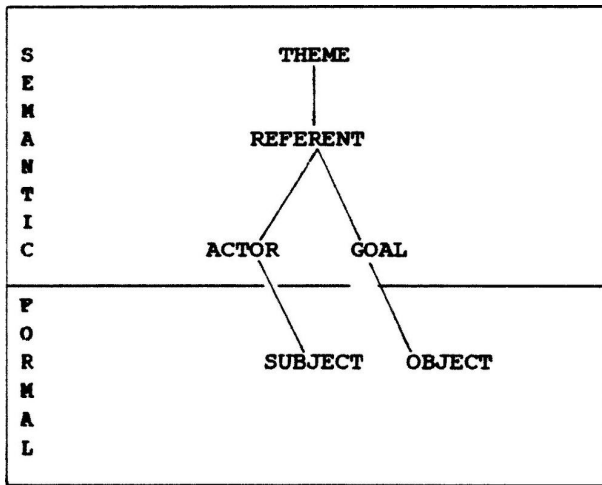
30.1 SUBJECT AND OBJECT SPECIFICATION

30.1.1 Formal manifestations. CH 12 demonstrated that the basis of transitivity is semantic, rather than formal. Therefore, the formal trappings, which were once thought to be the defining features of transitivity itself, must have some other function. In other words, we are left with a residue of formal material to explain. This formal material includes the following:

1. Subjects

    2. Objects

    3. Transitive markers

    4. Noun phrases

In short, the formal differences among the members of the following set must be accounted for:

1.   lade   jump
       jump

2.   e lade   she jumped
       3S jump

3.   e lade-v-a   she jumped-to it
       3S jump-TR-3S

4.   e lade-vi   it was jumped-to
       3S jump-TR

5.   e lade-vi   na   vatu   the rock was jumped-to
       3S jump-TR   DBF rock

6.   e lade-v-a   na   vatu   he jumped-to the rock
       3S jump-TR-3S DEF rock

7.   e lade-v-a   na   cauravōū   the youth jumped-to it / he
                                 jumped-to the youth[1]

       3S jump-TR-3S DEF youth

8.   e lade-v-a   na   vatu   na   cauravōū the youth jumped-to the
                                       rock
       3S jurap-TR-3S DEF rock   DEF youth

I suggest that since all these forms contain semantically two referents, the differences among the sentences can be explained by setting up a hierarchy of specificity.

    For example, the difference between (1) and (2) is that in (2), one of the referents has been made more specific by EXPRESSING it with the subject e.[2] In both sentences, the goal remains IMPLICIT. In (3), both the actor and the goal are made

more specific: each is expressed (the actor by the subject e and the goal by the object -a), and in addition, the goal is SIGNALED by the transitive suffix -vi (shortened to -v before the object -a).

Note the differences between (1, 2, 3) and (4):

4. e lade-vi   it was jumped-to

Here, because of the derivational effect of -vi on lade, the subject e expresses the goal. The actor is referred to more subtly in this phrase. It is SIGNALED by the transitive suffix -vi. But note that the actor is not highlighted to the extent that the goal is.

S2 verbs provide a striking example of such a subtle reference to the actor. With a verb like dola 'open', for example, both the actor and the goal are implicit in the meaning. In the text frame

e dola   it is open

the subject e refers to the goal. The actor remains at the implicit level—that is, it is not expressed in any way, but we know that dola refers to the kind of state that is different from, say, that indicated by levu 'big'. The state indicated by dola has been caused by someone or something; that indicated by levu has not.

With the transitive suffix added:

e dola-vi   it is open / it has been opened

the actor enters the picture, but not directly; it is signaled, but not expressed.[3]

We now arrange these observations into a hierarchy of specification.

30.1.2 Levels of specificity. The preceding section named three levels of specificity: IMPLICIT, SIGNALED, and EXPRESSED. Now they are explained in more detail, and the fourth level—SPECIFIED—is introduced.

30.1.2.1 Implicit. An implicit referent, as stated earlier, is one that is inherent in the meaning of the verb. Every verb must have at least one referent implicit in its meaning (which is manifested at some level by the subject); many have two.

These implicit referents, waiting as performers in the wings (so to speak), are brought on stage in the higher levels of specificity.

30.1.2.2 Signaled. A VP for which a referent is signaled is one that appears with one of the transitive suffixes mentioned above: -Ci or -Caki.

The following are examples of verb forms that signal one referent without specifying it any further:

e vinaka-ti	it was wanted
e gunu-vi	it was drunk

For each of these VPs, both actor and goal are present, but at different levels of specificity. As Table 30:2 shows, it is the actor that is both implicit and signaled:

TABLE 30:2

	Implicit	Signaled	Expressed	Specified
Actor	+	+		
Goal	+		+	

Here, we see that the goal is expressed (the next higher level of specificity; it means represented by either subject or object). The actor is less specifically identified, but indicated at more than an implicit level. As confirmation that the -Ci suffix does give this impression, note the following example:

Era	sukasuka	kece	māī	ni	sā	yakavi	na	vanua.	Era	māī
3P	disperse	INC	DIR	SUB	ASP	evening	DEF	land	3P	DIR

sosoqo-ni	vata	toka	ka	yāū	yani	ki	sisili.
assemble-TR	CNC	CNT	CNJ	disperse	DIR	ABL	bathe

They all come home when evening comes. They are assembled together and then disperse (there) to bathe (NV3:23).

The argument presented by this example is a negative one: TRN (5/82) criticized the passage, because the form of the verb used (sosoqo-ni) gives the impression that someone had assembled the people. He suggested that soqo alone (which is an S2 verb) would be better used in the phrase, giving no impression that an actor had been involved in the state.

As a matter of fact, in constructions like this, the actor cannot be made any more specific. The only way to express or specify the actor is to change the form of the VP so that the transitive suffix signals the object, and the subject represents the actor, as in:

e gunu-v-a   he drank it

One cannot translate into Fijian 'It was drunk by him' without changing from passive voice to active.

30.1.2.3 Expressed. A VP for which a referent is expressed is one that includes a person-number form as grammatical subject or grammatical object. Expanding the previous examples gives:

e vinaka-t-a   she wanted it
e gunu-v-a   she drank it

These forms produce a pattern (Table 30:3) different from the previous one:

TABLE 30:3

	Implicit	Signaled	Expressed	Specified
Actor	+		+	
Goal	+	+	+	

The difference stems from two factors. First, for the two constructions (e vinaka-ti vs. e vinaka-t-a), the relationship between actor-goal and subject-(object) is reversed. That is, the first phrase shows a stative construction in which the subject represents the goal; the second an active one in which the subject

represents the actor. Second, only one goal can ever be sig-
naled: the one that is not expressed as the subject. Thus, the
transitive suffix in

 e vinaka-ti   it was wanted
 3S want-TR

signals the actor; and in

 e vinaka-t-a   she wanted it
 3S want-TR-3S

it signals the goal.

    30.1.2.4 Specified. This level is somewhat different from the
others, because it brings in material from outside the VP to add
specific information about the actor or goal. This information is
in the form of an NP. Expanding the previous examples produces
sentences like the following:

 e   vinaka-t-a   o   Sala   Sala likes it
 3S want-TR-3S   PRP   S

 e   vinaka-t-a   na   dalo   she likes taro
 3S want-TR-3S   DEF   taro

 e   vinaka-t-a   na   dalo o   Sala   Sala likes taro
 3S want-TR-3S   DEF   taro PRP S

The last sentence above, with two NPs, produces the pattern
shown in Table 30:4.

TABLE 30:4

	Implicit	Signaled	Expressed	Specified
Actor	+		+	+
Goal	+	+	+	+

Table 30:5 shows how this system of specificity allows a precise
classification of both the semantic and the formal material con-
nected with transitivity. We will now examine each of the dif-
ferent constructions in Table 30:5.

1. Phrases like totoka! can occur as spontaneous exclamations. They are, in a sense, the stative equivalent of the active imperative construction (see 4, 7, 10, 13). Because the verb is S1, it is only the goal that plays a role. Thus it contrasts with the imperative, which must have an implicit actor (as in 4), and may also have an implicit goal (7, 10, 13), with the potential of indicating and expressing it formally. Another difference is that for imperatives, the implicit actor that would be expressed by a subject is second person; for totoka!, the implicit goal seems usually to be second person or third person, usually the latter.

2. E totoka differs from (1) in that the goal is expressed in the form of the subject e. The subject could, however, be any of the set of fifteen potential ones shown in CH 20.

3. E totoka o Mere specifies the goal to the fullest extent possible within this system by adding a noun phrasae. The goal, then, is represented on three levels: it is implicit (in the meaning of totoka), expressed (by the subject e), and specified (by the NP o Mere).

TABLE 30:5

A: Actor G: Goal I: Implicit S: Signaled E: Expressed Sp: Specified

			I	S	E	Sp	
1	totoka!	A					beautiful!
		G	+				
2	e totoka	A					it's beautiful
		G	+		+		
3	e totoka o M	A					M is beautiful
		G	+		+	+	
4	gādē!	A	+				stroll!
		G					

5	e gādē	A	+		+		he strolled
		G					
6	e gādē o S	A	+		+	+	S strolled
		G					
7	lako!	A	+				go!
		G	+				
8	e lako	A	+		+		she goes
		G	+				
9	e lako na tūraga	A	+		+	+	the chief goes
		G	+				
10	lako-v-a!	A	+				fetch it!
		G	+	+	+		
11	e lako-v-a	A	+		+		he fetches it
		G	+	+	+		
12	e lako-v-a na i-sele	A	+		+		he fetches the knife
		G	+	+	+	+	
13	lako-v-a na i-sele	A	+				fetch the knife!
		G	+	+	+	+	
14	e lako-vi	A	+	+			it is fetched
		G	+		+		
15	e lako-vi na i-sele	A	+	+			the knife is fetched
		G	+		+	+	
16	e lako-v-a o J	A	+		+	+	J fetches it
		G	+	+	+		
17	e lako-v-a na i-sele o J	A	+		+	+	J fetches the knife
		G	+	+	+	+	

4. Gādē! is an example of an A1 verb, with the actor implicit in its meaning, and no goal indicated in any way. Here, the verb is used as an imperative; the actor exists only implicitly.

5. E gādē differs from (4) in that it expresses the subject (by e). It also contrasts with (2), for in e totoka, the subject e expresses the goal. Finally, it contrasts with (8) in that e lako includes an implicit goal.

6. In this sentence, as in (3), a NP specifies the actor, Thus, the actor is represented by three degrees of specificity: implicit, expressed, and specified (3).

7. Lako! is an imperative, but unlike gādē!, involves both an implicit actor and an implicit goal. In this form, neither is specified to any higher level; when the actor is expressed by the subject, it is one of the four possible second person forms.

8. E lako expresses the actor by the third person singular e, which serves as subject. The goal remains implicit.

9. E lako na tūraga goes one step higher than (8) by specifying the actor with the NP na tūraga.

10. Lako-va! is the first imperative we have dealt with that includes a goal other than in the implicit role (as in (7)). Here, also for the first time, we note the transitive suffix -vi (which has coalesced with the object to form -v-a). Its appearance manifests the signaled degree of specificity.[4]

11. E lako-v-a adds one degree of specificity to (10) by expressing the actor as e, the subject.

12. This sentence in turn adds the highest degree of specificity to the goal in (11) by specifying it with the NP na i-sele.

13. This sentence contrasts with (11) by specifying the goal with an NP. As is often the case with imperatives, the subject remains implicit.

14. E lako-vi is the first sentence in the table to show the transitive suffix used solely to signal a level of specificity that does not refer to the goal. This construction shows that the goal, expressed by e, is in a particular state, and it suggests that the state was caused by an actor. In this construction there is no way to specify the actor further: it can be neither expressed nor specified by a NP. The only possible way to express or specify the actor is to change the construction of the sentence, so that the subject represents the actor.

15. This sentence is related to the preceding one, contrasting only by specifying the goal (expressed by the subject) with a NP, na i-sele.

16. E lako-v-a o Jone is most closely related to (11), from which it differs by specifying the subject with the NP o Jone.

17. This sentence illustrates the fullest degree of specification possible within the framework of transitivity, for both the actor and the goal are specified by NPs. The table shows one unfilled slot, since there is no signal for subjects that corresponds to the transitive suffix -Ci or -Caki.

It should be emphasized here that specification is not a derivational process, but a grammatical category. One part of the system, however, overlaps with derivation: the addition of -Ci or -Caki to both active and stative roots:

e lako	she went
e lako-vi	she was fetched
e bulu	it is buried
e bulu-t-a	he buried it

In the first pair, the vi signals a change in the role of the subject, and thus a change in the classification of the form; the verb is now an S2. In the second pair, no derivational change is effected by the addition of -ti alone, for both bulu and bulu-ti are

S2 verbs. The change is, however, brought about by the combination of- ti + -a (producing -ta), which changes the subject to the role of actor.

30.1.3 Proper NPs as objects. One common transitive construction (discussed in 20.10) is missing from Table 30:5. When a third person singular goal is specified by a proper NP, the NP is interpreted as part of the set of grammatical objects. For example:

| e rai-ci Semesa | she saw Semesa |

and the specifying proper NP is without the proper marker o. Thus, there is a formal contrast with a common NP in the same position:

| e | voleka-t-a | na | koro | it's near the village |
| 3S | near-TR-3S | DEP | village | |

| e | voleka-ti | Nukui | it's near Nukui |
| 3S | near-TR | N | |

Looking at only the surface form of these two sentences, we would expect them to represent different degrees of specificity. However, I think that the only difference lies in the opposition of na vs. o[5] and that otherwise, the constructions indicate the same degree of specificity. The following arguments contribute to that conclusion:

> 1. For the other constructions, specificity is mostly cumulative (see note 4): that is, the existence of a specified actor or goal implies the existence of the lower levels. In a sense, then, the formal manifestations of the lower levels are redundant, unless they serve a function in addition to specificity.

> 2. Limited investigation of discourse so far shows no difference in the discourse environments of the two sentences above.

3. Inserting a particle immediately after the verb produces the missing elements—the object and the proper marker:

e voleka-t-a beka o Nukui	perhaps it's near Nukui[6]

It is likely, then, that the omission of the grammatical object and proper noun marker, whatever its origin,[7] serves no function within the grammatical category of specification.

30.1.4 How many referents? In spite of the possibility of using different transitive suffixes to indicate different goals; for example:

e qalo-v-a na waqa	he swam-to the canoe
e qalo-vak-a na savumarini	he swam-with the goggles

a sentence can indicate only one goal at a time (within the area of formal transitivity). Thus, to translate 'he swam with the thing to the canoe', the locative goal has to be indicated by an ablative phrase:

e	qalo-vak-a	na	kā	i	waqa
3S	swim-TR-3S	DEP	thing	ABL	canoe

With a verb that involves what is usually called an indirect object, that type of goal is indicated by a phrase or contracted pronominal phrase (see Geraghty 1976a), such as in the following:

āū	vaka-rāī-tak-a	vuā	na	vale	I showed him the house
1S	CAU-see-TR-3S	ABL-3S	DEF	house	

30.1.5 Ambiguity? When both subject and object are in the third person and are specified by a common NP, how are they kept distinct? As it has been pointed out elsewhere, such a construction is much rarer in Fijian conversation than in teaching materials, translated materials, and examples from grammars. As an example of how we can be misled, consider the following statement from Priscillien 1950:13:

The order of construction in Fijian is normally as follows: First comes the verb, then the adverb modifying it, then the object preceded by its article and followed by its qualifying adjective, finally comes the subject preceded by its article, and followed by the adjective.

EXAMPLE: Sa vola vakaca na i vola balavu na tamata lekaleka.

Lit. Wrote badly the letter long, the man little

    The little man wrote the long letter badly.

This description gives the impression that all these elements are essential in the sentence.

Hazlewood had a better grasp of the situation. The following remarks (1872:36) are about object NPs, but could apply to subject NPs as well:

The object of a transitive verb must be expressed or clearly understood. In fact it Must be somewhere expressed in a speech, otherwise the speech will be unintelligible; but being once expressed it is seldom repeated in the same speech by good native speakers, how frequently soever the transitive forms of the same, or of other verbs referring to it, may recur. The observance of this rule is very important to the understanding of native discourse.

As statistical confirmation of Hazlewood's remarks, Geraghty (1983a: 391) found that in ninety-seven verbal sentences, only seven specified both subject and object, and more than a third specified neither.

Next, although in sentences in which the subject and object are both specified by NPs, there is a tendency for the specified object to follow the VP, with the specified subject in turn following it, it is not at all uncommon for the phrases to occur in different orders. For example, Geraghty (1983a) found the following orders (O = NP specifying the object, V = VP, S = NP specifying the subject):

SVO OVS VOS

But so far, in the noting of phrase order, little attention has been paid to the structure of discourse. For example, those who have tried to attach some typological importance to the ordering of S, V, and O have not noticed for Fijian that sometimes the specified object phrase comes first. Such an order is indeed possible (see Geraghty's observations above), and it seems likely that is it conditioned by discourse. Note how the specified object ('game') in the first sentence marks the theme of the short monologue that follows (FR3:40):

(1) ā   sau-m-a   ko   Vilive ka   ka-y-a   "Nana, e   dua
     PT answer-TR-3S PRP V   CNJ say-TR-3S Mother 3S one

     na   qito   levu kēīmami ā   kī-tak-a   (2) kēīmami ā   rakavī
     DEF game big 1PX   PT do-TR-3S   1PX   PT rugby

V answered and said, "Mother, it's a big game we played; we played rugby

Here, the NP that specifies the object—e dua na qito levu—is fronted to precede the VP kēīmami ā kī-tak-a.

In the following short discourse, the specified object phrase at the beginning of two sentences serves to highlight a theme and emphasize a contrast—'the one' and 'the other':

(1) sā   māī tali sara yani e   rua na   ketekete me   tawa   ki-na
     ASP DIR plait INT DIR 3S two DEF basket   SUB put-in ABL-3S

     na   manā   (2) e   dua e   tali-a   ko   Ateca (3) e   dua e   tali-a
     DEF crab   3S one 3S plait-3S PRP A   3S one 3S plait-3S

     ko   Mariana   Two baskets were plaited to put crab in. A plaited

Here, in sentences (2) and (3), e dua 'one' serves as a NP specifying the object.

Finally, the meanings of the phrases themselves play an important role in the hearer's ability to deduce the proper meaning. Aside from such manufactured sentences for elicitation purposes as "The bear killed the man; the man killed the bear" the proper assignment of the NPs according to the cultural or natural roles of the referents they represent is not so much of a problem. For example,

he scolded the chief

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e lesa-v-a na tūraga

the chief scolded him

is more likely to have the second meaning than the first, be-
cause lesa implies a person of authority scolding a social in-
ferior (not that the chief is always the person with the highest
authority; he just usually is). At any rate, the context is likely
to give the proper assignment of roles. A less culturally-specific
example is:

e	lako-v-a	na	buka	na	gone		the child fetched the firewood
3S	go-TR-3S	DEF	firewood	DEF	child		

since because of the inanimate nature of firewood, it is unlikely
that it could fetch a child. Therefore (and obviously) Fijian
allows permutations without basic meaning change, a feature
that is prohibited in English.

In summary, even when both subject and object are specified
with NPs (and the grammatical subject and object are of the
same person and number), ambiguity is rare.

30.2. SPECIFICATION OF PERSON-NUMBER MARKERS IN SECONDARY NPS

Just as person-number markers serve as grammatical subjects
and objects in the VP, they also serve as the heads of some sec-
ondary NPs. These markers, as well as subjects and objects, can
be specified. However, the system is not so pervasive as subject
and object specification, for only certain kinds of secondary
phrases allow specification. Because common nouns themselves
occur as the heads of secondary NPs:

i	na	sitoa		to the store
ABL	DEF	Store		

e	bāravi		at the shore
ABL	shore		

māī	vale		at home
ABL	house		

most of the secondary phrases that allow specification are proper. Thus, the marker vēī (including the contraction vuā) is most often used, along with kēī, which is used with both common and proper nouns.

Thus, because i, e, and māī phrases include the noun, they are not usually specified.[8]

However, in this area of the grammar, place names pattern with common nouns, leaving the category of proper to personal names and certain kin relationships—but referring nearly always to humans. The exceptions are nonhuman entities that need to be especially marked for number, such as the following, (Brackets enclose the specifying NP.)

vēī   ira [na   vēī-vosa vaka-Viti]
ABL 3P DEF DIS-talk MAN-Fiji
to them—the Fijian languages

Other examples of specification in secondary NPs are:

vēī   ira [na   sā   lesu   oti   yani ki-na]
ABL 3P DEF ASP return ASP DIR ABL-3S
to those who had returned there (FR5:20)

Note that in the sentence above, the NP is a nominalized VP.

vēī   ira [na   vō   ni   i-Tāūkeī rāraba] kēī   ira
ABL 3P DEF left POS Fijians   wide   CNJ 3P

    [na   no-dra tūraga]   to those—remaining of all the Fijians, and
    DEF POS-3P chief   those—their chiefs (NL 10/6/82)

In the sentence just given, two person-number markers are specified.

vuā   [na vēī-kā   vaka-polotiki]
ABL-3S DEF DIS-thing MAN-politics
to it—all political things (NL 10/6/82)

ki   vuā   [na   no-da   Gone Tūraga] [na   Kā-levu]
ABL ABL-3S DEF POS-1PI child chief   DEF thing-big
to him—our chief the K (NL 10/6/82)

This last example shows multiple specification, discussed in 30.4.

30.3 POSSESSIVE SPECIFICATION

in the treatment of possessive attribution (CH 34), it is shown that there are two major formal types of possession:

> (1) Constructions in which the possessor is a person-number marker, and

> (2) Constructions in which the possessor is a noun.

Specification applies only to the first of these.

In the following examples, the person-number marker is in uppercase, and the specifying NP is enclosed in brackets.

```
sā    dedē na    no-DRATŌŪ tiko voli [na  vēī-luve-ni      oqō]
ASP long  DEF POS-3T       CNT ASP  DEF REC-child-TR DEM;1
it was long time—their (paucal) staying around—these offspring (FR3:55)
```

As with the NPs in other types of specification, the NP here is optional; the rest of the sentence could stand alone if it were not necessary to specify the referent of -dratōū.

Note, incidentally, that the possessive itself is part of a NP (na no-dratōū tiko voli), which specifies the subject (a deleted e).

```
na    rua na    i-sulu vaka-taga    vulavula, me  no-NA [na  gone oqō]
DEF two DEF isulu MAN-pocket white       SUB POS-3S DEF child DEM:1
the two white isulu with pockets, to be his—this child's (FR3:56)
```

```
sā    vaka-rāū-tak-a      ki-na    na  nō-DRĀŪ i-yāyā   [na   luve-na]
ASP CAU-ready-TR-3S  ABL-3S DEF POS-3D    luggage DEF child-3S
she prepared then their (dual) luggage—her offspring (FR3:57)
```

```
e   no-na    cakacaka na   culā    no-DRATŌŪ i-sulu   [na   gone]
3S POS-3S work       DEF sew-3S  POS-3T       clothes DEF child
her work was sewing their (paucal) clothes—the children (FR3:57)
```

```
me sā  dāū      ni   ke-NA   vonu [ko  Cavuta]
SUB ASP occupation POS POS-3S turtle PRP C
to be the provider of his (edible) turtle—C's (FR5:33)
```

30.3.1 Limitations on specification of possessives. As Milner observed (1972:23, 23n), in a construction like the following:

na no-na vale   his/her house

the person-number marker cannot be specified by a proper noun. Hence, the other major type of possessive construction is used:

na vale ne-i Erelia   E's house

However, for the nonsingular numbers, proper noun specification is permitted.[9]

30.3.2 Contrast between two similar construction types. Note the following contrast:

na ke-dra i-taba na tūraga   the chiefs' photographs (of themselves)

na no-dra i-taba na tūraga   the chiefs' photographs (that they own)

vs.

na i-taba ni tūraga   (either of the translations above)

This contrast is one of definiteness. In the first construction, the noun specifying the possessor is definite; formally it is marked by na, and syntactically it is related to the person-number marker -dra, emphasizing its definiteness.

The construction with ni, as 34.2.1.4 shows, is indefinite, and is a way of referring to 'chief(s)' when discourse requires an indefinite construction.

30.3.3 "Translationese" and its effect on the possession specification construction. Churchward's grammar, the intent of which was to help speakers of English learn Fijian, presents a number of points from the point of view of translation. One of these, quoted in full in the next section, mentions English possessive constructions using the word 'of', Churchward did not attempt a word-for-word translation of such constructions, but not all translators have been so careful. Thus, one can oc-

casionally hear and read an odd variation on the possessive specification construction involving the marker ni, which is often used to translate English "of". The following phrase (in uppercase), found in a translation, is an example:

na   ke-na   vaka-dewa-taki   ka   taba-ki   vaka-Viti   NI   I-VOLA   OQŌ
DEF   POS-3S   translation   CNJ   printing   MAN-Fiji   POS   book   DEM:1
the Fijian translation and printing of this book

Acceptable Fijian would use na i-vola oqō, since that phrase specifies the person-number marker -na.

PG reported (6/82) that the ni construction was acceptable in a few areas of Fiji. Its existence, however limited, plus the tendency for translators (especially on the radio) to use a word-for-word approach, may have a reinforcing influence on each other.

30.3.4 Discussion: specification of possessed forms. Some previous descriptions have treated such constructions as

[na no-dratōū waqa]   [na cauravōū]   the young men's canoe

and similar ones, as a single unit, including the second NP as (apparently) obligatory. Hazlewood declined nouns through their various "cases", including as the possessive case such examples as (1872:13):

a   no-na   na   tamata   the man's
DEF   POS-3S   DEF   person

a   no-drāū   na   tamata   the two
                                       men's
DEF   POS-2D   DEF   person

Milner (1972:22) called the first construction above "the Fijian genitive".

Pawley (1972:35), for Proto Eastern Oceanic, but obviously based on the Fijian system, followed this analysis, treating this proto-form as one construction type:

*na ka	na ntalo na tamwane	the
art poss. his taro art man		man's
		taro

Churchward's approach, the one that I have adopted here, was different. In his numerous examples (1941:32–33), he included only the simple possessive phrase, and for simplicity of illustration, confined the forms to third person singular. For example, his treatment begins with:

na no-na vale	his house
na no-na vanua	his land
na no-na i-lavo	his money

As for the longer construction that specifies the possessor, he wrote the following astute description (p. 37):

> Quite frequently, where English uses either the preposition "of" or the sign of the possessive case ('s or s'), Fijian prefers to use a possessive pronoun, then the noun that is to be qualified, and then another noun explaining the possessive pronoun: e.g., na nona vale na turaga, the chief's house (literally, his house the chief), instead of na vale ni turaga.

Cammack used the same approach, beginning with constructions in which a proper noun refers to the possessor (1962:62–63):

> If the possessor is plural, and two or more names are used, the phrase contains a preposed possessive pronoun which agrees in number with the possessors, which are specified thereafter:
>
> na nodrau waqa ko Jone kei Joo[10] 'their (dual) canoe John and Joe'
>
> A similar construction occurs when the possessor is indicated by a common phrase:
>
> na nodrau waqa na cauravou 'their (dual) canoe the young men'

30.4 MULTIPLE SPECIFICATION

Up to this point, specification has been treated in a binary way: either a person-number marker was specified by an NP, or not. An extension of this type of specification is a series of NPs, each further specifying the referent for the hearer.

There are a number of common types of multiple specification:

(1) Although koya 'he, she, it' is grammatically a proper NP, semantically it refers only to person and number. Thus, it is often necessary to specify it further. In the following examples, the bracketed NPs specify the entity represented by the uppercase form:

E	na	lako	māī	[o	koya]	[na	tūraga]	he will come—he—the chief
3S	FT	go	DIR	PRP	3S	DEF	chief	

(2) Similar to koya are other proper NPs that refer only to person and number:

ERĀŪ	dāū	lako	vata	tū	gā	kēī	tama-dratōū	ki	na	i-tēītēī
3D	HAB	go	CNT	ASP	LIM	CNT	father-3T	ABL	DEF	field

[ko	irāū]	[na	tagane]
PRP	3D	DEF	male

they (dual) always go with their father to the garden plot—they (dual)—the boys (FR3:55)

So far, it is not clear just what the function of ko irāū is, unless it is to emphasize that there are two of them.

The following sentence is similar, except that it contains a total of four references to the semantic actors:

ERATŌŪ	lako	ki	cakacaka,	ki	na	no-DRATŌŪ	loga	ni	dovu,
3T		go	ABL	work	ABL	DEF	POS-3T	plot	POS	cane

[ko	iratōū]	[na	tagane]
PFP	3T	DEF	male

they (paucal) go to work, to their (paucal) sugarcane plot—they (paucal)—the boys (FR3:57)

(3) Another kind of semantic specificity is brought about by a progression from common NP to proper NP:

ni   drōdrō   yani   [na   uciwāī]   [na   Wāinimala].
SUB   flow   DIR   DEF   river   DEF   W
when it flows forth—the river—the Wainimala (FR5:10)

me   vakā   ni   da   yaco-v-a   māī   oqō   na   i-ka-24   ni   yabaki
SUB   like-3S   SUB   1PI   arrive-TR-3S   DIR   DEM:1   DEF   24th   POS   year

     ni   no-DRA   takali   [na   gone   tūraga]   [na   Tui   Lāū   sā   bale]
     POS   POS-3P   loss   DEF   Child   chief   DEF   Tui   L   ASP   die

     ko   Ratu   Sir   Lala   SUKUNA
     PRP   Ratu   Sir   L   S

because we have come to the 24th anniversary of the loss of the Chief, the Tui Lau who died, Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna (NL 27/5/82)

e   na   dua   na   gauna   makawa,   e   na   koro   [ko   Udu],
ABL   DEF   one   DEF   time   old   ABL   DEF   village   PRP   U

     e   na   yanuyanu   [ko   Kabara],   e   na   yasana   [ko   Lāū]
     ABL   DEF   island   PRP   K   ABL   DEF   province   PRP   L

once, a long time ago, in the village of Udu, on the island of Kabara, in the Province of Lau (FR5:7)

sā   qāī   tuku-n-a   na   marama   vēī   IRA
ASP   SEQ   tell-TR-3S   DEP   lady   ABL   3P

     [na   lewe   ni   yanuyanu   qō]   [o   ira]   [na   ke-na   vō]
     DEF   inhabitant   POS   island   DEM:1   PRP   3P   DEF   POS-3S   left

then she told it—the lady—to those—the inhabitants of this island —those—the remaining of it (VV: Verata texts II)

30.5 SUMMARY: SPECIFICITY

The system of specificity just described allows a more thorough identification of elements within a sentence. For example, the uppercase portions of the following sentences need no longer be confused:

E moce tiko NA GONE   the child is sleeping

In this sentence, e is now identified as the subject, and na gone as the specified subject.

āū kani-A NA TAVIOKA   I ate the tavioka

Here, a is the object, and na tavioka is the specified object.

In addition, the concept of specificity provides a way to explain the difference between the following sentences, even if the glosses are the same:

e tobo na vuaka   the pig was trapped

e tobo—ki na vuaka   the pig was trapped

The difference is that, in the second of the pair, the actor is suggested more strongly than in the first.

For such examples, it is important to remember that the distinction in meaning represents a difference in the way the actor is subtly referred to, and that although the glosses obscure this difference, it can be observed by investigating discourse. Indeed, it is in the area of discourse that the notion of specificity has its greatest potential.

For the purposes of discourse analysis, specificity can be viewed as a system that takes into account what the speaker knows about what the hearer knows. In the simplest terms, once a referent is clarified for the hearer, it need not be specified again until a potential ambiguity arises.

30.6 DISCUSSION

The idea of specificiation as a grammatical category grew out of my analysis of certain NPs in Nguna (Schütz 1969a). In that language, "subject" and "object" NPs seem to be added to the VP, which contains the grammatical subject and object. Therefore, I treated the NPs as appositives.

This analysis influenced my view of the nearly identical pattern in Fijian, and fairly early in the analysis I noted (with Nawadra [1972: 104]):

> An appositive noun phrase, corresponding to the notion of "subject" in many languages, may follow the verb phrase, but its occurrence is not obligatory, since the focus of the description is indicated by person-number markers.

Wolff (1980) proposed a similar analysis, treating the NPs as "adjuncts",

Foley's analysis (1976) presents the opposite point of view by attaching undue importance to the existence and position of NPs. His analysis is brought up here because of the importance placed on the putative fixed position of "subject" and "object" NPs for typological purposes.

The main reason that Foley's description and the present one differ so markedly is a simple one: in a sense, we have described different languages. The sources for this work are discussed in the section of the Preface on methodology. Foley's sources—other than Arms 1974—are not clear.

I have already pointed out that Fijian sentences with both the subject and the object specified by noun phrases are decidely the exception, rather than the rule. Neither discourse nor writing works that way. Yet, of Foley's 42 sentences that illustrate transitivity (according to his definition), 39 specify the goal with a NP. One other has as the object āū 'me', not usually further specified. Of those 32 sentences in which it is possible to specify the actor, 26 do so.

In addition, all these examples with NPs show the order prescribed by the casual inspection of typologists: the specified object following the VP and that followed by the specified subject.

Thus, the language that Foley and others have described is in some ways a creation of the analysts. Throughout his discussion, Foley seemed attached to a view of language that treats each sentence as an isolated whole, leading to the inevitable conclusion that the hearer must understand that sentence without recourse to context, shared cultural knowledge, or awareness of the immediate environment. Perhaps the epitome of this point of view is this statement about the Fijian "passive" (1976a: 181): "While Fijian does possess a passive construction … it cannot be used with an overt Actor/Experiencer. This seriously limits its usefulness for communicative purposes."

Such a statement suggests that the hearer has no information outside that contained in the given sentence. On the contrary: examination of the "passive" construction in context shows that it is used to concentrate on the goal. Thus, the hearer either already knows the identity of the actor, or the speaker deliberately evades giving the information (perhaps it is not pertinent to the discourse),

Foley's views on word (or phrase) order are also somewhat removed from how the language actually works. In referring to the common (seemingly interpreted as "fixed") position of the NP specifying the object, he wrote (p. 182):

> The second reason for the dominance of Position II [Object] is purely internal to Fijian. It is simply that Fijian is a verb initial language.

Foley continued, explaining that languages usually present old information in the first position, but that Fijian did this at the end of a clause. One infers from his discussion that Fijian is at some disadvantage because of this structure: "This is obviously not the best situation for a language to be in …"; "its [old information's] best position is clause initial, and its worst is clause final. This is the extra problem Fijian must deal with."

To return to the earlier sentence: it seems strange that grammarians can examine the VP, which must begin with one of a set of fifteen person-number markers (only third person singular can be deleted in some environments), and still call Fijian a verb-initial language. It may be recalled, in addition, that these person-number markers (or subjects) are not miserly

with respect to information imparted—containing, as they do, reference to three persons, four numbers, and the inclusive-exclusive distinction.

Another major fallacy in Foley's argument is that the specified NP can, and often does, occur before the VP, even if sentences elicited in isolation or culled from grammar books do not show it. Even the most rudimentary examination of discourse would have shown that the pattern VP + object NP + subject NP is rare. For example, the four texts in Milner's grammar, derived from several styles of Fijian, and definitely not translated from English, reveal a distribution of sentence types very different from Foley's prototype: sentences beginning with NPs, many sentences with subjects not specified by NPs (especially in first and second person), and none with both subject and object specified. The dialogues and stories in Spoken Fijian (Schütz and Komaitai 1971), in spite of some of their other faults, contain examples of either the specified subject or the specified object preceding the verb phrase (pp. 42–3, 74, 85, 86, 90, 103, 111, for example). In addition, one can find in the notes to the chapter on word order in Spoken Fijian a rudimentary statement on NPs at the beginning of a sentence (p. 122n):

> The order of many phrases in Fijian is not fixed, but can vary according to which phrase should be emphasized. The emphasis is produced by shifting the phrase to the beginning of the sentence.

The exercises that follow this explanation are somewhat contrived (mostly in the repetition of material in the answers to questions), but they show such sentences as this (p. 123):

```
O     Samu, e   ā   tiko māī Suva e    na   mācawa sā   oti
PRP   S        3S  PT  stay ABL S    ABL  DEF  week    ASP  finish
 as for s, he stayed in S last week
```

One would like to think that such analyses as Foley's were rare, but such is not the case. Linguists are still citing Fijian examples to prove a point, and are still making unfounded generalizations based on material not only elicited out of context, but ungrammatical as well (e.g. Carden, Gordon, and Monroe 1982).

31 VERB MODIFICATION

In this chapter, we treat four[1] different kinds of verb modification. In the examples, the modifiers are in uppercase:

1. Verb + (vaka-) stative

   e rogo VINAKA   it sounds good
   e cici VAKA-TOTOLO   she runs fast

2. Verb + noun

   e gunu YAQONA   he was kava-drinking

3. Verb + ablative NP

   e tiko MĀĪ NA KORO   she stays in the village

4. Verb + subordinate VP

   era suka NI SĀ OTI NA BOSE   they dispersed when the meeting finished

Only the first of these is described in detail; the other types are described elsewhere.

31.1 VERB + (VAKA-) STATIVE

A stative that occurs after another verb and modifies that verb is an ADVERB. There are two types of adverbs: SIMPLE (UNDERIVED) and DERIVED.

31.1.1 Simple adverbs. Adverbs without affixes are verb roots that can usually occur themselves as heads of phrases, and are usually statives.[2] For example:

āū	sā	kila-i	Leone	VINAKA	I know L well (T74:60)
1S	ASP	know-TR	L	good	

Here, vinaka, an S1 verb, serves as an adverb.

   As the example just given shows, the position of the simple adverb is directly after the VP head and any markings of transitivity that may occur. Additional VP markers follow the underived adverb:

```
ka    ni   sā   na   rogo-c-a     VINAKA sara gā
CNJ   SUB  ASP  DEF  hear-TR-3S   good       INT  LIM
because one will hear very well indeed (T74:44)
```

```
ā     vosa  DRĒDREDRE   yani              spoke thither harshly (T74:45)
PT    talk  hard        DIR
```

```
ka    ni   lala   VINAKA tū    gā      because it will be well deserted
CNJ   SUB  empty  good   CNT   LIM     (T74:60)
```

Although the combination of two verbs looks formally like a verb compound, the relationship among the elements in the phrase is different. For example, if each of the verbs in a compound is expanded into a VP, the subject refers to the same entity:

```
ka VUKA LESU tale            and fly back again (FR5:23)
```

can be considered derived from the following two VPs:

```
e VUKA                       it flies
e LESU                       it returns
```

Here, the subject e in the two sentences refers to the same entity.

   If each of the two verbs of a modified construction is expanded into a VP, the subjects refer to different entities:

```
ni    GANI-TI   iko  VINAKA              that suits you well (T74:58)
SUB   suit-TR   2S   good
```

The two expanded into VPs:

```
e     GANI-TI   iko                              it suits you
3S    suit-TR   2S
```

```
e     VINAKA                                     it is good
3S    good
```

Here, the subjects in the first and second phrase refer to different entities: in the first, to an article of clothing; in the second, to 'suiting'.[3]

The following examples show stative verbs that are often used as simple adverbs:

me	bula	TOTOLO				to get well quickly
SUB	health	fast				

ka	māī	wānono	BALAVU	toka	yani	and was staring there for a long
CNJ	DIR	stare	long		CNT	DIR	time (T74:41)

tiko	LŌ[4]		be quiet
stay	quiet		

me	laki	vaka-saqarā	MATUA	sara	that he should seek carefully
SUB	DIR	MAN-seek	firm	INT	(FR5:12)

wili	SESE	miscount (Capell 1941a)
count	wrong	

na	i-vosavosa	kila-i	LEVU	a proverb widely known (FR5:28)
DEF	proverb	know-TR	big	

ka	na	qāī	laki	tuku-n-a	MĀLUA	and will then go tell it slowly
CNJ	FT	SEQ	DIR	tell-TR-3S	slow	(FR5:20)

era	sā	tiko	MAKAWA	ki-na	they have lived there from of old
3P	ASP	stay	old		ABL-3S	(Capell 1941a)

ni	tū	DONU	na	mata-ni-siga	when the sun stood straight
SUB	stand	straight	DEF	sun	(FR5:26)

e	ā	lako	WĀSOMĀ	she went frequently
3S	PT	go	frequent	

me	kau-t-a	LAI-VI	na	manā	to take the crab away (FR3:36)
SUB	carry-TR-3S	utterly	DEF	crab	

Some of these underived adverbs are also used with the derivative prefix: vaka-totolo 'swiftly', vaka-vinaka 'well', vaka-mālua 'slowly', vaka-levu 'greatly', vaka-matua 'strongly' vaka-wāsomā 'often'.

Others are not: lō 'silently', donu 'directly', makawa 'of old'.

31.1.2 Derived adverbs. Adverbs can be derived by prefixing vaka- to one of a number of roots. In glosses below, the prefix is labeled MAN (manner):

31.1.2.1 Statives.

bāū	vosa	VAKA-VINAKA	vuā	please speak
TEN	talk	MAN-good	ABL-3S	nicely to her
				(T74:60)

me	rarawa	VAKA-LEVU	tiko	that she's very
SUB	sad	MAN-big	CNT	sad (T74:60)

ā	vaka-rai-c-a	VAKA-TOTOLO		he looked at it
PT	CAU-see-TR-3S	MAN-fast		quickly (T74:41)

e	ka-y-a	VAKA-MĀLUA	yani	she said slowly
3S	say-TR-3S	MAN-slow	DIR	(T74:43)

ka	vā-kāsama-tak-a	VAKA-BĪBĪ	and considered it
CNJ	CAU-consider-TR-3S	MAN-heavy	seriously (T74:55)

We can also include among the statives certain reciprocal relationships, derived with vēī:

ni	drāū	wase	VAKA-VĒĪ-MĀMĀ	tū	that you (dual) divide in half
SUB	2D	divide	MAN-half	CNT	(T74:47)

erāū	ā	sarasara	wāvoki	VAKA-VĒĪ-TACI-NI
3D	PT	look	around	MAN-REC-siblings

they (dual) went around sightseeing like sisters (T74:62)

31.1.2.2 Deictic locatives. The deictic nouns oqō, oqori, and oyā are also used with vaka- to form derived adverbs:

ni-u	biu-ti	iko	tū	VĀ-QŌ	that I leave you like this
SUB-1S	left-TR	2S	CNT	MAN-DEM:1	(T74:56)

e	caka-v-a	VĀ-QORI	she does it like that (by you)
3S	done-TR-3S	MAN-DEM:2	

e   na sega ni   rawa ni-u   biu-ti   iko tū   VĀ-QŌ
3S FT not   SUB able SUB-1S leave-TR 2S CNT   MAN-DEM:1
I won't be able to leave you like this (T74:56)

sā   dāū tāū VĀ-QŌ   na   uca   the rain always falls like this
ASP HAB fall MAN-DEM:1 DEF rain   (FMC61:40)

Note that in all these examples, the deictic nouns appear without o-. These forms are more indicative of conversational Fijian than the longer forms. Since the shorter forms begin with velars, the vā- alternate of the prefix is used.

31.1.2.3 Numerals (including interrogative). Numerals (including vica 'how many?') with the vaka- prefix form a derived adverb that indicates the number of times an action was performed:

e   dāū cula-i   āū VAKA-RUA e   na   dua na   mācawa
3S HAB pierce-TR 1S MAN-two   ABL DEF one DEF week
he always gives me an injection twice a week (T74:5l)

nanu-mi koya tale VAKA-VICA?   how many times has he thought that?
think-TR 3S   ITR MAN-how-many?   (T74:59)

The form vaka-dua 'once' is used in an idiomatic sense, as the following example shows:

e ā sega ni   bāū vinaka-t-a   VAKA-DUA   he's never wanted that at
3S PT not   SUB TEN want-TR-3S MAN-one   all (T74: 57)

31.1.2.4 Nouns (including interrogative). Vaka- with a noun means 'in the manner of [the noun]':

e   kana tiko   VAKA-VUAKA   he's eating like a pig
3S eat   CNT   MAN-pig

e   vala   VAKA-SĀMOA   he fights like a Samoan
3S fight   MAN-Sāmoa

e   vosa   VAKA-TŪRAGA   he speaks like a chief
3S talk   MAN-chief

The placement of a derived adverb within the VP is variable, except—as with the underived adverb—it must occur after any markers of transitivity:

e	loma-ni	Pita	VAKA-LEVU	she loves P very much
3S	love-TR	P	MAN-big	

Its relationship to other postverbal markers, however, depends on context. For example, the marker gā focuses attention on one root. The addition of an adverb to the VP gives another option for the placement of gā. In the following short discourse, there is a contrast between 'stroll' and 'play'; in the last sentence, gā emphasizes the one chosen:

o	bāū	via-gādē	sē	qito	tēnisi?	would you like to stroll or play
2S	TEN	DES-stroll	CNJ	play	tennis	tennis?

daru	qito	mada	let's play
1DI	play	INI	

erāū	ā	qito	GĀ	VAKA-LĀĪLĀĪ	they (dual) played a little bit
3D	PT	play	LIM	MAN-small	

In the next two sentences, however, a different contrast is brought out:

erāū	via-qito	VAKA-DEDĒ	they wanted to play for a long time
3D	DES-play	MAN-long	

ia,	ni	rāū	qito	VAKA-LĀĪLĀĪ	GĀ,	erāū	sā	oca	sara
CNJ	SUB	3D	play	MAN-small	LIM	3D	ASP	tired	INT

but when they had played for just a short time, they became very tired

Here, gā occurs after the adverb; its purpose is to focus on 'little' rather than on 'play'.

However, PG noted (3/83) a tendency for markers within the VP to move closer to the verb, even though the semantics of the situation might suggest a different placement. I have already discussed the placement of kece within the VP, contrary to its "logical" position in the NP (22.7.1). PG found examples pertinent to this discussion of adverbs:

caka-v-a	sara	VAKA-MĀLUA		do it very slowly
do-TR-3S	INT	MAN-Slow		

whereas we might expect:

> caka-v-a VAKA-MĀLUA sara

with sara placed in a position so that it modifies the adverb. This attraction to the verb reduces the opportunity for contrast.

The following example shows the adverb coming at the end of a fairly long VP; thus, a number of markers separate the verb and the adverb:

ka	na	draki	cā	sara	tiko	VAKA-LEVU	na	vanua
CNJ	DEF	weather	bad	INT	CNT	MAN-big	DEF	land

because there was very bad weather indeed (FR5:19)

31.2 VERB + NOUN

The common construction exemplified by gunu yaqona 'kava drinking' has long been a topic of discussion. In 12.4.1, I give reasons for following Milner's analysis of the second element as a modifier.

31.3 VERB + ABLATIVE NP

Nearly all the examples of ablative NPs given in CH 25 indicate location, time, direction, manner, and other functions that are traditionally treated as verb modification. See 25.1.3.2.

31.4 VERB + SUBORDINATE VP[5]

Often, a subordinate VP functions as a verb modifier. Because this construction consists of two VPs, the relationship between the two phrases is often sequential or cause-effect. Examples are:

āū	na	lako	KĒ	KUNE	E	SŌ	NA	BACA
1S	FT	go	SUB	found	3S	some	DEF	bait

I'll go if some bait is found

Subordination, an extensive process, is treated separately in CH 33.

32 NOUN MODIFICATION

Noun MODIFICATION is a grammatical process that reflects semantic ATTRIBUTION—the narrowing of the semantic range of an entity by referring to its ATTRIBUTES or QUALITIES. Thus, modification is an extension of specification, which also narrows or limits the range of an entity. In the following sentences, note how the goal is made progressively more explicit.

SPECIFICATION:

e	gunu			he drank	[goal implicit]
3S	drink				

e	gunu-v-a			he drank it	[goal signaled by the
3S	drink-TR-3S				transitive suffix and expressed by the object]

e	gunu-v-a	na	wāī	he drank the water [object specified by the
3S	drink-TR-3S	DEF	water	NP]

Once an NP appears in a sentence, its semantic range can be further narrowed by:

MODIFICATION

e	gunu-v-a	na	wāī	batabatā	he drank the cold water
3S	drink-TR-3S	DEP	water	cold	

Note that this discussion does not treat a construction like:

e	batabatā	na	wāī	the water is cold
3S	cold	DEF	water	

for in this sentence, batabatā is a stative verb and does not function grammatically as a modifier, in spite of the meaning of the sentence.

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32.1 TYPES OF SEMANTIC ATTRIBUTION

Semantically, entities are qualified by adding the following types of information (not an exhaustive listing):

1. Fixed qualities of an entity

vinivō	damudamu		red dress
dress	red		

vale	balavu		long house
house	long		

2. Speaker's judgment[1]

vale	vinaka		nice house
house	good		

i-valavala	dodonu		proper conduct
habit	right		

3. Materials comprising an entity

vale	vatu		stone house
house	stone		

peni	kāū		pencil (literally, wooden pen)
pen	wood		

4. Purpose

bilo	ni	tī	teacup
cup	POS	tea	

vale	ni	lotu	house of worship
house	POS	religion	

5. Entity's relationship to actions

kātuba	dola		open door
door	open		

kātuba	dola-vi		opened door
door	open-TR		

| tamata | vinaka-ti | | | wanted person (by the law) |
| person | want-TR | | | |

| vale | ka-u | sucu | ki-na | house I was born in |
| house | REL-1S | born | ABL-3S | |

6. Entity's position in discourse

| vale | oqō | | this house |
| house | DEM:1S | | |

7. Entity's relationship to persons

| no-qu | vale | | my house |
| POS-1S | house | | |

Note that in (4) and (7), ni and -qu are labeled as possessive markers. Classifying possession as a type of modification presents a problem in description, since it is an extensive enough grammatical category to treat separately (CH 34). In order to understand possession, then, the reader must refer to both its separate treatment and its treatment as a type of modification.

In the next section, we will see that some, but not all, of these types are reflected in the formal classification.

32.2 FORMAL TYPES OF MODIFICATION

In its grammatical manifestation, modification can be classified formally. This classification is based on two criteria: the type of head, and the type of modifier. The following list, divided into two main categories, shows examples of different relationships between head and modifier:

Type I

1.	vale levu	large house
2.	raba-i-levu	width
3.	tamata mata dua	one-eyed person
4.	vale raba-i-levu	wide house
5.	kā tau-ci uca	thing rained-upon
6.	qito kāūkaua ka savasavā	hard and clean game

7.	waqa vuka	airplane (literally, flying boat)
8.	tamata dāū-gunu	drunkard (literally, person always drinking)
9.	kā e rai-c-a	thing she saw

Type II

10.	vale vatu	stone house
11.	vanua qele vinaka	good-soiled land
12.	vale vaka-Viti	Fijian house
13.	vale ni kuro	cooking house (literally, house associated with pots)
14.	no-na vale	her house
15.	tama-na	her father
16.	vale oqō	this house

Although most of these constructions show the same order of constituents: HEAD + MODIFIER, the relationship between the two constituents is different in each case, either because of the class of noun serving as head, or the class of the modifier.

I have chosen the latter feature—the class of the modifier—as the basis for a classification of noun modification into two main types:

> I. Nouns modified by verbs or verb phrases. In this category, exemplified by examples 1-9 above, the referent of the noun is associated with an action, a state, or a quality that narrows its range of meaning.

> II. Nouns modified by nouns or forms related to nouns. In this category, exemplified by examples 10-16 above, the referent of the head of the construction is associated with another entity, rather than an action, state, or quality.

> In the following two sections, we discuss the formal subtypes of these two main categories.

32.3 NOUNS MODIFIED BY VERBS

The categories of noun modification by verbs follow the basic division of verbs into ACTIVE and STATIVE. Of these two, the second is far more common; most of the following patterns involve statives as modifiers.

32.3.1 Integral noun[2] < stative: vale levu 'big house' Because of the relationship between the following two constructions:

e	levu	na	vale		the house is big
3S	big	DEF	house		

vale	levu		big house

we interpret the noun-modifier construction as a transformation of the VP + NP sentence. The modifier is a simple root that is an S1 verb.

S2 verbs (both simple and derived[3]) also occur in this construction; each of the following can be related to a VP + NP sentence:

kātuba dola	open door
kātuba dola-vi	opened door
kākana vavi	oven-baked food
tamata rere-vaki	feared person
wāī lāū-gunu	potable water
i-sulu ka-dresu	torn clothes

32.3.2 Partitive noun[4] < i + stative: raba -i-levu 'wide'. Some partitive nouns are modified in a special way:

raba[5] width	width

raba-i-levu width-i-big	extensive width

raba-i-lailai width-i-small	narrowness

yava-	foot, leg

leg

yava-i-vā	four-legged
leg-i-four	

This construction is limited in three ways. First, the set of partitive nouns is a closed one. Next, not all statives can occur as the second root: all the examples found so far use statives of "extent", i.e. measurement or counting. In other words, statives of "quality", such as vinaka 'good', are not used. Finally, the i construction modifies nouns that refer to nonhuman entities. Compare the following examples with those in the next section.

domo-i-levu	loud (noise)
liga-i-balavu	long-handed (clock)
mata-i-dua	one-eyed (wink)

The following list shows some partitive nouns that are used with i and statives of extent.

loma-	'interior'	yava-	'leg'
tolo-	'trunk'	liga-	'arm'
gau-	'middle, waist'	ulu-	'head'
boto-	'bottom'	mata-	'eye, face'
gusu-	'mouth'	taba-	'arm, limb'
yasa-	'side'		

32.3.3 Noun < (partitive noun < stative): tamata mata dua 'one-eyed person'. This type of modification is similar to the preceding type, but the head of the construction refers to an entity that is human.

qase	mata	dua	one-eyed old person
elder	eye	one	

tamata	domo	levu	loud person
person	voice	big	

tagane	liga	balavu	long-armed man
man	arm	long	

32.3.4 Noun < (partitive noun + i + stative of extent): vale raba-i-levu 'wide house'. The constructions described in the previous two sections can be used as attributes themselves:

manumanu	yava-i-vā	four-legged animal
animal	leg-i-four	

kaloko	liga-i-balavu	clock with long hands
clock	hand-i-long	

with this hierarchical structure:

> (manumanu (yava (i vā)))

32.3.5 Noun < (S2 < N): kā tau-ci uca 'rained-upon thing'. This construction consists of the so-called "passive" form of the verb, plus the noun referring to the agent. For example, the common expression tauvi mate 'ill' is a construction of this type; it means literally 'infected by sickness/death'. Other examples are:

vanua	qasi-vi	kalavo	land crawled-upon by rats
land	crawl-TR	rat	

koro	cila-vi	siga	village shone-upon by the sun
village	shine-TR	sun	sun

Note that the verbs here are derived S2 verbs. For example, the root qasi 'crawl' is an A2 verb, but the form qasi-vi is S2. S2 roots as well occur in this construction:

vono	taku	inlaid with tortoise shell
joined	t.shell	

lāū	moto	spear-wounded
pierced	spear	

With the derived S2 verbs, note their relationship to these constructions:

e	tau-v-a	na	mate	sickness infected it
3S	infect-TR-3S	DEF	death	

e	tau-c-a	na	uca	rain fell-upon it
3S	fall-TR-3S	DEF	rain	

e	qasi-v-a	na	kalavo	rats crawled-on it
3S	crawl-TR-3S	DEF	rat	

e	cila-v-a	na	siga		the sun shone-on it
3S	shine-TR-3S	DEF	day		

In many of the examples above, the modifier is a construction in itself, with the whole unit modifying the head. In the following type, the constituents of the modifier have an equal relationship to the head. Thus, the hierarchical structure is different.

32.3.6 Series of modifiers: qito kāūkaua ka savasavā 'hard and clean game'. Fijian does not string modifiers together after the head. Instead, any modifier after the first is treated as a VP and connected by the marker ka. Examples from texts are rare:

qito	kāūkaua	ka	savasavā	hard and clean game
play	strong	CONJ	clean	(FR3:40)

oqō	e	dua	na	bilibili	levu	ka	balavu
DEM:1	3S	one	DEF	raft	big	CNJ	long

this is a big and long bamboo raft (NV2:13)

Note that the translation could also be 'hard game that is clean', or 'big bamboo raft that is long'. There seems to be no way to distinguish between the following hierarchical structures:

(qito (kāūkaua ka savasavā))

    (qito kāūkaua) (ka savasavā)

Thus, the construction may be analyzed as either coordinate or relative (see 32.3.10).

32.3.7 Noun < active verb: waqa vuka 'flying boat (airplane)'. Generally, active verbs do not serve as modifiers. In fact, the frame noun + modifier is one of the tests used to classify verbs. However, there are a few exceptions to this pattern:

waqa	vuka		airplane (literally, flying boat)

ika	vuka		flying fish

Some similar constructions are difficult to classify, because of the various roles that verbs can play. In the following phrase, for example, it is difficult to know how to classify kana vinaka, for although kana is primarily an A2 verb, it is descriptive in the phrase kana vinaka:

e	uvi	kana	vinaka	na	vurāī	the vurāī is a tasty yam
3S	yam	eat	good	DEF	vurāī	(NV2:15)

As the example above shows, active verbs serve as modifiers only when they are part of larger constructions. The following section shows one of these.

32.3.8 Noun < dāū-active verb: tamata dāū-gunu 'person always drinking (drunkard)'. The prefix dāū-, indicating habitual action, allows an active verb to be used as a modifier. For example:

tamata	dāū-gunu	drunkard (literally, person who habitually
person	HAB-drink	drinks)

gone	dāū-vosa	child who habitually talks
child	HAB-talk	

tagane	dāū-tēītēī	man who is a farmer
male	HAB-plant	

32.3.9 Noun < VP: kā e rai-c-a 'thing she saw'. A noun can be Modified by not only a simple verb, but also by a complete vp. in this construction, the head can include the following types of noun or form serving as a noun (the head is in uppercase, the VP in brackets). The abbreviation "REL" reflects the traditional analysis of this construction as a relative:

1.   A noun:

na	DAWA	kece	[ka	ra	dāū	e	na	bogi]
DEF	dawa	INC	REL	3P	HAB	ABL	DEF	night

all the dawa that fall at night (FR5:7)

2.   A proper noun:

kēī	IRA	[era	ā	sā	līū]	and those who had gone ahead (FR5:3
CNJ	3P	3P	PT	ASP	ahead	

3.   A possessive serving as a noun:

    na   KE-NA [era sā   drēū]   those of it that were ripe (FR5:10)
    DEF POS-3S 3S   ASP ripe

Formally, there are two kinds of modifying VPs:

> 1. Unmarked. An unmarked modifying VP is not distinguishable from a main VP, except by position. The relative VPs in examples (2) and (3) above are unmarked.

> 2. Marked. In written Fijian, a modifying VP can be marked by ka, as in example (1). Occasionally, a is heard.

As do most other modifiers, the modifying VP directly follows the phrase that contains the word it modifies.

Within each modifying VP, there is an element that corresponds to N (i.e. refers to the same entity). The following list shows various relationships among this entity, the type of VP itself, and N.

> 1. N corresponds to the subject of an active VP

SIGA [ka   tara-v-a]   day that
day   REL follow-TR-3S   follows (i.e.
                                                  next day)
                                                  (FR5:20)

ko   IRA [ka ra jiko ki-na]   those who stay
PROP 3P   REL 3P stay ABL-3S   there (FR5:9)
                                         (Lauan)

rai-ci   KOYA [ka tiko ki   līū],   ka   rai-ci   KOYA [ka   tiko
see-TR 3S   REL stay ABL ahead CNJ see-TR 3S   REL stay

   e   muri]   saw the one ahead, and saw the
   ABL behind   one behind (FR5:9)

sāī   KOYA [ka vaka-tawa-n-a   tiko na   vū-ni-nīū
ASP 3S   REL CAU-filled-TR-3S CNT DEF tree-RE-coconut
it's he who inhabits the Tongan coconut tree (FR5:12)

ni   Toga] vēī rāū na   YANUYANU [ka rāū koto e   na   tokilāū]
POS T   ABL 3D DEF island   REL 3D lie   ABL DEF northeast
to those islands that lay to the northeast (FR5:24)

2. N corresponds to the subject of a stative modifying VP

TAMATA [era mate koto e   sala]   persons who were
person   3P   dead CNT ABL road   dead on the road
                                        (FR5:36)

BĀRAVI [ka   vaka-toka-i   na   Sabata]   beach
...   that was
beach   REL CAU-proclaim-TR DEF S   called S
                                                    (FR5:20)

YAQONA e   lāū-gunu   ni   se   bera gā   na   cavu-tū
kava   3S STA-drunk SUB ASP late LIM DEF departure
kava that is drunk just before departure (VV:i bili ni mua)

na   I-VAKA-SALA [ka   tuku-ni māī vuā]   the advice
DEF advice   REL tell-TR ABL ABL-3S that was told
                                          her (FR5:12)

3. N corresponds to the object of an active modifying VP

UVI [ka   kau-t-a   tiko yani ki   Ravuka]
...
yam REL carried-TR-3S CNT DIR ABL R
yams ... that he carried there to R (FR5:21)

e   levu sara na   NĪŪ   [erāū kari-a]

3S big INT DEF coconut 3D   grate-3S
it's a lot of coconut that they're grating
(NV2:17)

muri-a   sē lako-v-a na KĀ [e boi-c-a   tiko]
follow-3S CNJ go-TR-3S DEF thing 3S smell-TR-3S CNT
follow or fetch something that is smelling (VV:boideru)

na KĀ   [ka lako-v-a tiko yani ko   Moro]
DEF thing REL go-TR-3S CNT DIR PRP M
the thing that M sought there (FR5:21)

e   na   vuku ni KĀ [ka caka-v-a   oqō   vēī rāū
ABL DEF aid   POS thing REL done-TR-3S DEM:1S ABL 3D

    na   kakā oqō]   because of the thing that
    DEF parrot DEM:1S   this parrot had done to them
                             (FR5:28)

4. N corresponds to the ablative or other such relation

VATU [erāū ā   dabe toko ki-na]
stone 3D   PT sit   CNT ABL-3S
stone they were sitting on (FR5:28)

5. N corresponds to the possessor

na   QARA [ka ke-na   i-tāū-kēī   tiko e dua na   gata levu]
DEP cave   REL POS-3S NOM-owner CNT 3S one DEF snake big
a cave, the owner-inhabitant of which is a large snake (FR5:12)

32.3.10 Discussion. Most of the earlier analysts of Fijian, with the exception of Cammack (1962), treated N < VP as RELA-TIVIZATION, Which seems an accurate analysis. But in doing so, they seem to have followed the overall theme of their respective works by looking for ways to translate English grammatical constructions into Fijian. Churchward's treatment in particular shows this frame of reference (1941:56–57):

The English pronoun, whether personal or relative, may be represented in Fijian by a cardinal pronoun.

The sense of an English pronoun, whether personal or relative, is sometimes left, in Fijian, to be inferred from the context, no word being used for it at all.

When an English pronoun of the third person singular ... is the object of a preposition ... Fijian frequently uses a prepositional adverb to include the sense of the pronoun and its preposition.

In Milner's treatment (1972:35–36), more space is devoted to an analysis of English relative pronouns than to the Fijian construction in question.

Churchward showed another example of this translation-dominated approach by including a completely different construction in his treatment of "relative pronouns" (1941:57):

> Occasionally, moreover, Fijian uses what is, in effect, a participial construction, where English prefers an adjectival clause introduced by a relative pronoun. For example:

> o i keda na lomani   we who are loved (literally, we the loved)

Although Churchward recognized na here as "the article", he did not analyze the entire construction as two juxtaposed NPs—an example of what we treat here as specification.

32.3.10.1 Whence the ka? It is difficult to trace the history of the use of ka as a relative marker. With respect to relative pronouns, Hazlewood noted (1872:26):

> There are no relative pronouns in the Fijian any farther than the personal and demonstrative pronouns are used as such. This appears to be a great defect in the language to a learner, who is frequently puzzled for want of them, and generally makes mistakes in trying to force the language to do what it will not. The want of relative pronouns to show the proper connection of words and ideas in speech, constitutes one of the real difficulties of the language.

In Hazlewood's one example of ka (p. 26):

o   koya ka   lako voli ka   dāū-caka   vinaka
PRP 3S   PEL go   DIR CNJ HAB-done   good
he who went around and always did good

his discussion shows that he considered o koya to be the relative. He did not mention the function of ka. Similarly, in the same section there are several examples of kāū. For example:

a   tamata ka-u ā   vosa ki-na   the person of whom (or,
DEF person 1S   PT speak ABL-3S   to whom) I spoke

But this form seems to be treated as an alternate of āū.

Geraghty (1980a:xxix) noted that in the Lakeba language, kāū and ka are alternate preverbal subject pronouns (here, subjects) for āū (first person singular) and e (third person singular), respectively. He stated later (6/82) that the so-called relative forms are seldom spoken, but often written—a situation that may have its origin in the fact that the early religious translations were strongly influenced by the Lakeba language.

In summary: in spite of the examples of ka and ka-u in written Fijian, the norm for the spoken language is the unmarked construction.

32.4 NOUN MODIFIED BY NOUNS OR RELATED FORMS

In this section we treat modifying constructions that reflect a relationship between two entities.

32.4.1 Noun < noun: vale vatu. This construction indicates a close relationship between head and modifier. There are many examples of the modifier referring to the material that constitutes the referent of the head:

vale bolabola	house made of plaited split coconut fronds
vale bitu	house made of plaited split bamboo
vale kāū	wooden house
vale nīū	house made of coconut trunks
mata kāū	carved wooden image (literally, wooden face)
veleti veva	paper plate
kato kāū	wooden box
lali kāūkamea	bell (literally, iron drum)
ibe kuta	mat made of sedge
i-seru balabala	roof ornament made of tree fern
bā kava	metal fence
ibe drāū-ni-nīū	mat made from sections of coconut fronds
yatu vosa	sentence (literally, row of words)

For some examples, the relationship is not quite so obvious. For the following, the modifier represents what comprises the collection, quantity, or type indicated by the head:

i-binibini dawa	heap of dawa fruit

i—vutu sē-ni-kāū	bunch of flowers
mataqali ika	kind of fish

Another example, bilo tī 'cup of tea', provides an interesting contrast with another modifying construction: bilo ni tī 'teacup'. In the former, bilo represents a quantity (in much the same fashion as i-binibini 'heap' and i-vutu 'bunch'), not a physical object, as it does in the latter.

For a few examples, this analysis does not fit very well. One of these is ibe laca[6] 'mat used as a sail'. Such a relationship between modifier and head is usually realized by modification type (4); thus, one would expect *ibe ni laca. However, laca ibe is also used, and this construction fits reasonably well into the present category, even though ibe isn't basically a material, but an object.

Some other examples that strain the analysis:

gone yalewa	girl (literally, female child)
gone tagane	boy (literally, male child)
kolī yalewa	bitch (literally, female dog)

The title Tui 'sovereign' is followed directly by the place name signifying its domain:

Tui Bāū	sovereign of Bau

But perhaps this construction is from *Tui i Bāū, with a sequence of unaccented i + i reduced to a single i. The following examples might be due to such a phonological reduction:

kāī Viti	Fijian	kāī Merekē	American
kāīsī	person without property	kāī Toga	Tongan

32.4.2 Noun < (Integral N + S1): vanua qele vinaka 'good-soiled land

vanua	qele	vinaka	good-soiled land
land	soil	good	

gone	vaka-i-sulu	vinaka	well-clothed child
child	CAU-NOM-clothe	good	

koro	vale	vinaka	village with good houses
village	house	good	

32.4.3 Noun < vaka- form: vale vaka-Viti. The vaka- form in this construction is discussed in 15.4. The modifier here means 'in the fashion of', 'concerned with'. Examples are:

vosa vaka-Peritania	English language
kā vaka-lotu	ecclesiastical matters
kā vaka-bose	matters pertaining to the council
rumu vaka-vonovono	paneled room
i-valavala vaka-Paula	act characteristic of P

32.4.4 Noun < (ni + Noun): vale ni kuro. A ni phrase (which is itself a NP) modifies a noun by indicating a relationship between the two nouns. Although a general gloss can be constructed—something on the order of ('N1 associated with N2'—there are a number of slightly different relationships. This construction is one of several that are part of the grammatical category POSSESSION. Thus, it is treated in CH 34.

32.5 DISCUSSION

Hazlewood (1872:20–21) and Churchward (1941:46) have listed a number of types of compound adjectives. The following treatment is based on theirs.

1. N + S1. Hazlewood listed a number of types (the classification and terminology are mine):

a.   Partitive N + S1:

(na tamata)	yalo-vinaka spirit-good	kind-spirited (person)
	yalo-malumalumu spirit-weak	weak-spirited
	liga-kaukaua hand-strong	strong-handed
	lomaloma-rua interior-two	undecided (literally, two feelings)

This type of compound includes that discussed in 32.3.2, in which the N and the S1 verb are linked with i:

yava-i-vā   four-legged

raba-i-levu   wide

As noted in 32.3.2, such compound adjectives modify only nouns referring to nonhuman entities, whereas those without the i modify nouns referring to human entities.

33 SUBORDINATION

A SUBORDINATE VP is one that has a special relationship with another VP, which we call here INDEPENDENT. The specific kinds of relationships—such as specification, "if-then", and "cause-effect"—are discussed individually under specific markers. As the label would suggest, a subordinate VP does not occur as an independent sentence;[1] that is, it is not a basic VP.

In terms of the semantic relationship of subordinate and independent sentences to their context, Fijian presents a situation somewhat different from some other languages. Lyons (1968:307) noted that independent sentences "express simple statements of fact, unqualified with respect to the attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying." However, in Fijian, basic VPs include those with such internal markers as mani, which do indicate the speaker's attitude towards what he is saying. Therefore, our grammatical classification of Fijian sentences cannot follow these quidelines exactly, and we must rely more on the form of such VPs for the present classification.

Formally, subordinate verb phrases are marked by one of a set of markers: ni, me, kē, sē, and dē. These markers fuse with certain subjects, and these contractions will be discussed in the treatment of individual markers.

33.1 NI

There are two types of ni phrases. First, one type specifies the subject or object. The mood is indicative, and the attitude of the speaker is neutral.

TABLE 33:1

INDEPENDENT	SUBORDINATE
āū nanu-m-a	ni sā yali
I think	that it's lost
	SPECIFIED OBJECT

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Next, ni phrases indicate TIME or REASON. The relationship between the independent and subordinate phrases is thus AT-TRIBUTIVE.

Note that in TABLE 33:2 the subordinate phrase precedes the independent one. With the attributive ni phrase, the order is optional. The order is not optional in the sentence in Table 33:1. Unlike specifying NPs, specifying ni phrases do not usually have the option of preceding the independent VP to satisfy discourse structure requirements.

TABLE 33:2

SUBORDINATE	INDEPENDENT
ni oti gā	sā lako sara
when it was finished	he left
ATTRIBUTE	HEAD

We now discuss these two types in more detail.

33.1.1 Ni phrases that specify. A ni phrase is used to show that a VP is serving to specify an object or subject within the independent VP.

33.1.1.1 Object specification

āū	nanu-m-a	ni	sā	oti		na	dalo	I think that there's no more taro
1S	think-TR-3S	SUB	ASP	finished		DEF	taro	

INDEPENDENT	VP: āū nanu-m-a	I think it
SUBORDINATE	VP: sā oti na dalo	there's no more taro

āū	kilā	ni-o	rawa	ni	vodo	ose	I know that you can ride
1S	know-3S	SUB-2S	able	SUB	ride	horse	horseback

INDEPENDENT	VP: āū kilā	I know it
SUBORDINATE	VP: o rawa ni vodo ose	you can ride horseback

āū	kilā	ni	sā	lako	I know that she went
1S	know-3S	SUB	ASP	go	

INDEPENDENT	VP: āū kilā	I know it

SUBORDINATE   VP: sā   lako   she went

There are semantic and grammatical limitations to this construction. First, since an action/state is naturally singular, inanimate, nonhuman, and non-first or non-second person, the object that represents it is confined to third person singular.

Second, the head of the independent verb phrase is usually a member of a class whose common semantic feature is perception (such as rāī 'see') or reporting (such as kāī 'say'). In translation, they are such phrases as 'I know that ...', 'I see that ...', 'I said that ...' The following verbs are a sample of those that operate similarly:

vaka-beka-taki	doubt	vaka-vuli-ci	advise
rogo-ci	hear	vā-kāsama-taki	consider
vaka-donui	permit	taro-gi	ask-about
nui-taki	hope-for	caca-vaki	express
bese-taki	refuse	caki-taki	deny
kune-i	find	cāū-raki	report
volai	write	vuli-ci	learn
bole-i	boast-about	talanoa-taki	tell
lai-vi	permit	cavu-ti	pronounce
bā-taki	deny	kere-i	request
tadrai	dream	tuku-ni	tell
reki-taki	rejoice-at	masu-laki	pray-for
tagi-ci	cry-for		

In general, whenever the semantics of a verb allows an action/state (rather than an entity) to be a goal, this action/state is represented in the sentence as a subordinate VP, and usually as a ni phrase, (A me phrase can also specify the object under these circumstances, but with an added subjunctive meaning. See 33.2.)

33.1.1.2 Subject specification. Verbs that allow the subject to be specified by a ni phrase are often verbs of judgment (dodonu 'correct'), existence (sega 'is not') or potential (rawa 'able'). For example:

e   dodonu ni   ra soro   it is fitting that they made atonement
3S right   SUB 3P attone

INDEPENDENT   VP: e dodonu   it is fitting

SUBORDINATE	VP:	era soro	they made atonement

e	dodonu	ni	lako	she should go (literally, it's right that she go)
3S	right	SUB	go	

INDEPENDENT	VP:	e dodonu	it is fitting
SUBORDINATE	VP:	e lako	she goes

In this sentence, the independent VP is e dodonu 'it is right'. The ni phrase specifies the subject e.

33.1.1.2.1 Idiomatic use of ni phrases. In some common sentences, an analysis of the relationship between independent and subordinate VPs produces unexpected results. For example, although the following sets of sentences look structually similar, they are not:

āū sega ni kilā	I don't know
āū rawa ni lako	I can go

e vinaka ni sā yaco māī	it's good that he came
e cala ni-u lako	it's wrong that I went

If, in the first set, we try to find a grammatical function for the ni VP, we fail. For example, the independent VP for the first is

   *āū sega

which—if it had meaning at all—would mean something like *'I am none'. And what function does ni kilā have? It cannot specify the subject (for it is in third person), and there is no object to specify.

A similar situation holds for the second sentence. Here, the independent sentence āū rawa is grammatical, meaning 'I am able'. But again, the ni phrase cannot specify the subject, and there is no object.

It appears, then, that the surface forms of these sentences are GRAMMATICAL IDIOMS, based on the following underlying sentences:

e saga ni-u kilā	literally, it does not exist that I know
e rawa ni-u lako	literally, it is possible that I go

both of which are grammatical possibilities, but less frequently heard than the idiomatic forms.

An oddity of another sort is the common construction:

āū bese ni [verb]   I refuse to [verb]

Here, the idiom seems unanalyzable, even in terms of an underlying sentence. Semantically, it is the first person who is the actor. What role does the ni phrase play then? In terms of meaning, it should function as a specified object. But bese has no formal signs of transitivity.

    In treating these constructions as idioms, I suggest that they are handled as whole units that are not analyzable in terms of the function of their constituents.

33.1.1.3 Layering of ni phrases. Dependent on the meaning of the individual verbs, a series of ni phrases is possible, producing a hierarchical structure. The following are examples:

āū nanu-m-a   ni   o kilā   ni   rāū butako-c-a
1S think-TR-3S SUB 2S know-3S SUB 3D steal-TR-3S
I think that you know they (dual) stole it

The hierarchical structure is as follows:

        (au nanuma (ni o kilā (ni rau butakoca)))

Another (hypothetical) example is:

āū kilā   ni   sā sega ni   rawa ni   kay-a ni   rāū kilā   ni ...
1S know-TR SUB ASP not SUB able SUB say-3S SUB 3D know-3S SUB
I know that it's not possible to say that they (dual) know that ...

33.1.2 Ni phrases that modify. In the second main type of ni phrase, the subordinate VP modifies the independent VP. For example:

INDEPENDENT VP: era suka   they disperse
SUBORDINATE VP: e oti na   the kava was
                 yaqona   finished

with ni:

ni	oti	na	yaqona,	era	suka	when the kava was finished, they
SUB	finish	DEF	kava	3P	disperse	dispersed

An alternate meaning for this sentence is:

they dispersed because the kava was finished

e	caka-v-a	ni	sā	levu	na	no-na	via-kana
3S	do-TR-3S	SUB	ASP	big	DEF	POS-3S	DES-eat

he did it because his hunger was great, or
he did it when his hunger became great

The alternate glosses for the examples above shows that the meaning of ni seems to be on a continuum from 'when' to 'because'.

On the surface, the similarity in form of the two types suggests that there must be something about the semantics of the independent VP that signals which type the ni phrase will be. However, the second type of ni phrases differ from the first in that it can be fronted (with the appropriate intonational clues):

> ni sā levu na no-na via-kana, e caka-v-a

33.1.2.1 Ni phrases that indicate cause. When added to a VP with an S1 verb, such as

e vinaka	it's good

the nominalized ni phrase refers to the agent, which can be interpreted as reason, or consequence. For example:

e	vinaka	ni	lako	māī	it's good that she came
3S	good	SUB	come	DIR	

Here, the ni phrase seems to be on the functional border between specifying the object and modifying the independent VP. That is (in terms of the meaning), the ni phrase can elaborate on the subject e, or serve in an adverbial function.

Even closer to a modifying function is a ni phrase that occurs after verbs of emotion, such as mārāū 'happy', which involve a human experiencer. Things or conditions are not mārāū

or rarawa 'sad', reki 'joyful', cudru 'angry', rere 'afraid', ninini 'excited'; however, feeling beings are. When such statives are used in the main VP, the following ni phrase indicates the reason or agent of the state.

āū	mārāū	ni	lako	o	koya	I'm glad that he went
1S	happy	SUB	go	PRP	3S	

This sentence could be interpreted as 'The reason I am glad is that he went', or 'I am glad as a consequence of the fact that he went'.

As a matter of fact, a variation on this sentence, with very little change in meaning, uses a causative construction:

e	vaka-mārāū-taki	āū	na	no-na	lako
3S	CAU-happy-TR	1S	DEF	POS-3S	go

his going made me happy

Here, the main VP is e vaka-mārāū-taki āū; na no-na lako is the specified subject.

Other examples:

e	kidacala	ni-u	lutu	he was surprised that I fell
3S	surprised	SUB-1S	fall	

For these sentences, the ni phrase cannot be considered as the specified subject, since the subject is animate and can be specified only by an NP referring to an animate being:

e kidacala ni-u lutu o Sāīmone   S was surprised that I fell

These ni phrases seem different from other modifying ni phrases in that fronting the phrase would change the meaning somewhat. Taking the example just above, for instance:

ni-u	lutu,	e	kidacala	o	Sāīmone	when I fell, S was surprised
SUB-1S	fall	3S	surprised	PRP	S	

33.1.2.2 The meaning of modifying ni phrases. When a subordinating ni phrase precedes the main phrase, it conveys the sense of both time and consequence.

ni   oti   gā,   sā   lako sara   just when it was finished, he left
SUB   finish LIM   ASP go   INT

In constructions like this, it is difficult to separate time from consequence, since the second action both follows the first chronologically, and is—in a sense—the result of the first.

ni   dua e   tau-vi-mate koto māī na   no-na   vale, era dāī
SUB   one 3S ill   CNT   DIR DEF POS-3S house 3P   HAB

    kāū   kākana   yani ko   ira era laki vēī-siko
    carry food   DIR   PRP   3P   3P   DIR   REC-visit

when/because someone is ill at home, they carry food there—those who engage in ritual visiting (NV3:6)

ni   dāū oti   gā   na   vēī-qara-vi, era sā   na tatāū   tale
SUB   HAB finish LIM   DEF reception   3P   ASP FT depart ITR

    na   māī   vēī-siko
    DEF   DIR   REC-visit

when/because the reception had finished, those who were visiting took leave again (NV3:6)

ni   sā   sivi gā   na   Siga-ni-Sucu, eda sā   na yaco-v-a   yani
SUB   ASP over LIM   DEP Christmas   1PI ASP FT arrive-TR-3S DIR

    na   Vakatawase   when/because Christmas is over, we will
    DEF   New-Year   come to New Year's (NV3:17)

ni   sā   rai-c-a   na   leqa levu oqō   ko   Rā R., sā   dua-tani
SUB   ASP see-TR-3S DEF trouble big   DEM:1 PRP Mr. R.   ASP another

    sara na   no-na   domo-bula   when/because Mr. R. saw this big
    INT DEF POS-3S fear   difficulty, his fear was extraordinary
                                     (NF5:1)

In all these sentences, the action/state indicated by the main VP could not have taken place if that in the ni phrase had not preceded it.

In the sentences in group 2, the order of the phrases may be reversed[2] with no change of meaning; there is no chance that the ni phrase might be thought to specify the object (if there is any). For instance, in the second example, there is no grammatical object, but kāū—as a two referent verb—already has a noun modifier—kākana. And even if the main VP were:

```
era  dāū  kau-t-a              they (plural) carry it
3P   HAB  carry-TR-3S
```

the nature of the verb itself precludes interpreting the ni phrase as a specified object. In other words, one might know that so-and-so happened, or tell it, but one could not carry it.

In some instances, the ni phrase could be interpreted as both indicating time and consequence, and specifying the subject:

```
e   dāū  vaka-malumu-tak-a tale gā   na   yago-dratōū ni    tunu-mak-a
3S  HAB  CAU-weak-TR-3S     ITR  LIM  DEF  body-3T      SUB  warm-TR-3S

    na    draki
    DEF   weather
```

when/because the weather is close, it also weakens their bodies/
that the weather is close also weakens their bodies

The different grammatical forms of the possible translations illustrate two separate grammatical interpretations: for the former, the ni phrase represents time and consequence: the state of the weather both precedes and causes the condition indicated by the main verb phrase. For the latter, the ni phrase is interpreted as a nominalization that functions to specify the grammatical subject e. I prefer this interpretation, because otherwise there would be nothing in the sentence or the context to explain what the subject e refers to.

33.1.3 Morphophonemic changes. There are certain changes connected with ni phrases. First, for all third person and first person inclusive subjects, the e is deleted. Thus:

```
*ni e lako → ni lako            that/when he goes
*ni eratōū lako → ni ratōū      that/when they (paucal) go
```

And so on for the remainder of these sets.

Next, when ni is used with first person singular subject, the u allomorph is used rather than āū: ni-u, phonologically nīū.[3] Table 33:3 (and subsequent tables for the other subordinate markers), shows the phonological results of different combinations of marker + subject. Portions bounded by periods indicate accent measures (see CH 41).

TABLE 33:3

ni + u	→ .nīū.				
ni + kēīrāū	→ .nikēī.rāū.	ni	+ edaru	→ .nidaru.
ni + kēītōū	→ .nikēī.tōū.	ni	+ edatōū	→ .nida.tōū.
ni + kēīmami	→ .nikēī.mami.	ni	+ eda	→ .nida.
ni + o	→ .nīō.	ni	+ e	→ ni
ni + odrāū	→ .nidrāū.	ni	+ erāū	→ .nirāū.
ni + odōū	→ .nidōū.	ni	+ eratōū	→ .nira.tōū.
ni + onī	→ .nīō.nī.	ni	+ era	→ .nira.

33.1.4 Ka ni. In the literary style of Fijian, the combination ka ni is sometimes used in the sense of 'because'. An example is:

era	dāū	rarawa-tak-a	sara	na	tina-da	na	dukaveluvelu	ni
3P	HAB	sad-TR-3S	INT	DEF	mother-1PI	DEF	dirty	POS

	no-da	i-sulu	ka	ni	dāū	drēdrē	na	ke-na	sava-ti
	POS-1PI	clothes	CNJ	SUB	HAB	hard	DEF	POS-3S	clean-TR

our mothers are always saddened by our dirty clothes because getting them clean is difficult (NV4:2)

Ka ni is also treated in 35.1.1.

33.1.5 The intonation of ni phrases. Similar to NPs that specify the subject or the object, specifying ni phrases are rather tightly phonologically bound to the preceding VP. For example, shorter sentences with verbs like sega 'no', rawa 'able', bese 'refuse' in the main VP are usually included in one phonological phrase:

āū	bese	ni	lako		I refuse to go
1S	refuse	SUB	go		

e	sega	ni	lako		she didn't go
3S	not	SUB	go		

In contrast, modifying ni phrases are less tightly bound, and the individual phrase peaks are distinctly marked.

33.1.6 Structural differences between types of ni phrases. PG (2/79) noted a structural restraint that separates specifying and modifying ni phrases: the former can begin with a fronted NP, as in:

```
āū  kilā       ni    gone oyā      e   tauvi-mate gā
1S  know-3S  SUB  child DEM:3  3S  ill         LIM
I know that that child is ill
```

This sentence is a variant of:

> āū kilā ni tauvi mate gā na gone oyā

However, one cannot front gone in a time, consequence phrase:

```
*ni   gone e   tauvi-mate,  āū  lako-v-a    na    wāī-ni-mate
SUB  child 3S  ill           1S  go-TR-3S  DEP  medicine
(when/because the child was ill, I went for some medicine)
```

33.2 ME

Me marks a VP that serves in a SUBJUNCTIVE relationship to the independent VP. Thus, the VP it is used in represents a situation that does not yet exist—in relation to the independent VP.

TABLE 33:4

INDEPENDENT	SUBORDINATE
sā rawa	me dua na magiti
it's possible	for there to be a feast

Me phrases have a wider range of functions and meanings than those for the other markers. The following examples show me phrases functioning to show purpose:

```
sā    keli-a oti  tū    ko   tama-qu  na   i-vākatā me   drōdrō ki-na
ASP  dig-3S ASP CNT PRP father-1S DEF  ditch    SUB flow     ABL-3S
```

na	wāī	ni	uca	Father has finished digging a ditch for the
DEF	water	POS	rain	rainwater to flow in (NV2:16)

erāū	lako	tiko	ki	na	i-tēītēī	me	na	lāū	tale	e	sō
3D	go	CNT	ABL	DEF	garden	SUB	FT	cut	ITR	3S	some
	na	mata	ni	dalo		they (dual) are going to the garden to cut
	DEF	stem	POS	taro		(again) taro stems (for planting) (NV2:5)

e	dāū	tā	na	bitu	ka	viri	me	bilibili
3S	HAB	cut	DEF	bamboo	CNJ	tied	SUB	raft

bamboo is cut and lashed together to serve as a raft (NV2:12)

kēīrāū	ā	lau-t-a	na	dalo	me	ke-na	i-yavōī
1DX	PT	cut-TR-3S	DEF	taro	SUB	POS-3S	i-yavoi

we (dual exclusive) cut the taro for its i-yavoi (NV2:16)

Note that in each of the last two examples above, the me phrase is an identifying VP—one that uses a noun.

Along with the sense of 'serving as' something, me is used in the sense of 'changing into' something:

ni	dua	gā	e	butu-k-a	sā	vuki	me	yalewa
SUB	one	LIM	3S	step-TR-3S	ASP	turn	SUB	woman

when one of them steps on it, he turns into a woman (VV:Verata text)

Note here that it is an identifying VP used with a subordinate marker. Another example from the same text:

ia	na	vu-na	rāū	sā	sega	ni	vuki	ki-na	me	rāū	yalewa
CNJ	DEF	cause-3S	3D	ASP	not	SUB	turn	ABL-3S	SUB	3D	woman

but the reason whereby they (dual) were not turned into women

Me is also used to propose or suggest, fitting with a notion put forth elsewhere that eloctionary acts in Fijian must be accompanied by the proper grammatical trappings. For example:

io,	me	sā	dua	na	no—qu	i-talanoa
yes	SUB	ASP	one	DEF	POS-1S	story

well, here's my story (if I may) (VV:Naweni text)

The most common use of me for this purpose is with imperatives. Imperatives can occur with both second and third person. For example:

monī lako mada   you (plural or polite) go please

The following is an example in third person:

me	vaka-lāīlāī	mada	na	retiō	(literally) let the radio be turned
SUB	CAU-small	INI	DEF	radio	down

In some uses, me seems indistinguishable from ni. Note the following:

oyā	e	qāī	i-matāī	ni	gauna	me	ra	rai-c-a	ki-na	na	tagane
DEM:3	3S	SEQ	first	POS	time	SUB	3P	see-TR-3S	ABL-3S	DEF	male
	māī	Burotukula			as for that, it was the first time that they had						
	ABL	B			seen (there) men at B (VV:Verata text)						

The important difference between me and ni is the subjunctive meaning of me: something that is definitely contrary to fact. Note the following minimal pair:

āū	nanu-m-a	ni	lako	I think he has gone
1S	think-TR-3S	SUB	go	

āū	nanu-m-a	me	lako	I think he should/might go

Milner (1972:62) illustrated the difference between the two markers with the following minimal pair:

e	rawa	ni	ran	lako	they can go (if they so wish)
e	rawa	me	rau	lako	they have permission to go

This particular contrast can be illustrated in English by the pair 'can' vs. 'may': E rawa ni means 'can'; E rawa me means 'may'.

From a list of verbs that take ni phrases, SN (2/79) suggested that the following would take me:

lewā   command   tatāū-nak-a   recommend

TABLE 33:5

me	+	u	→	.mēū.					
me	+	kēīraōū	→	.mekēī.rāū.	me	+	edaru	→	.medaru.
me	+	kēītōū	→	.mekēī.tōū.	me	+	edatōū	→	.meda.tōū.

me	+	kēīmami	→	.mekēī.mami.	me	+	eda	→ .meda.
me	+	o	→	mo	me	+	e	→ me
me	+	odrāū	→	.modrāū.	me	+	erāū	→ .merāū.
me	+	odōū	→	.modōū.	me	+	eratōū	→ .mera.tōū.
me	+	onī	→	.mōnī.	me	+	era	→ .mera.

33.2.1. Me vakā. The marker me often occurs before the verb vakā 'resemble it'. Here, the whole construction has the sense of 'such as', 'like', 'for instance':

e	dina	ni	bula	e	loma	ni	wasawasa	na	tavuto	me	vakā
3S	true	SUB	live	ABL	inside	POS	ocean		DEF	whale	SUB	like-3S

	na	ika	ia	e	sega	gā	ni	ika
	DEF	fish	CNJ	3S	not	LIM	SUB	fish

It's true that the sperm whale lives in the ocean like a fish, but it isn't a fish at all (NV5:14)

33.2.2 Morphophonemic changes. Me is somewhat different from the other subordinate markers in its morphophonemic behavior with subjects. Note, in Table 33:5, the phonological result of combining me with second person subjects.

33.3 KĒ

A kē phrase represents a potential cause, and an independent phrase the effect:

TABLE 33:6

INDEPENDENT	SUBORDINATE
āū na lako	kē kune e sō na baca
I'll go	if some bait is found
EFFECT	CAUSE

Note, in each of the following examples, that the situation referred to by the kē VP is a conditioning factor for that referred to by the independent VP.

kē	ra	kilā,	sā	vinaka	if they know it, then all is well (Milner
SUB	3P	know-3S	ASP	good	1972:68)

kēīrāū	na	lako	kē	rawa			we (dual exclusive) will go if possible (SF 67)
1DX	FT	go	SUB	able			

daru	na	laki	siwa	kē	galala	na	waqa
1DI	FT	DIR	fish	SUB	free	DEF	boat

we (dual inclusive) will go fishing if there's a boat free (SF 67)

e	vinaka	kē	daru	na	māī	sota	tale	ekē
3S	good	SUB	1DI	FT	DIR	meet	ITR	LOC:1

it would be good if we (dual inclusive) could meet here again (SF 67)

33.3.1 Relationships outside the sentence. The summary description of kē shows the potential cause-and-effect situations represented by verb phrases within the same sentence. However, the situations may also be represented, within a discourse, by different sentences:

o na lako?	are you going to go?
io, kē sā oti na no-qu cakacaka	yes, if my work is finished

o na lāī siwa?	are you going line-fishing?
io, kē rawa	yes, if it's possible

e rawa nīū lako tale gā?	may I go too?
kē galala na waqa	if there's room in the boat

In each of the pairs above, the kē phrase could be interpreted as one part of a truncated sentence. For example:

io, āū na lako kē rawa	yes, I'll go if it's possible

33.3.2 Kē marking both phrases. Grammarians have noted[4] that both verb phrases can be marked with kē:

kē	ā	kilā	na	tūraga,	kē	ā	sega	ni	lako	māī
SUB	PT	know-3S	DEP	chief	SUB	PT	not	SUB	go	DIR

had the chief known it, he would not have come (Milner 1972:68)

kē	bula	ko	koya,	kē	vinaka
SUB	live	PRP	3S	SUB	good

if he is alive, it is well (Churchward 1941:23)

One way to look at this construction is to consider that both VPs represent situations that are hypothetical. In each of these examples, since the verb phrases are not distinguished, phrase order must identify the first phrase as potential cause, and the second as potential effect. This situation is often reflected by 'if … then' in the English translation.

TABLE 33:6

kē	+	u	→	.kēū.					
kē	+	kēīraōū	→	.ke.kēī.rāū.	kē	+	edaru[5]	→	.kē.daru.
kē	+	kēītōū	→	.ke.kēī.tōū.	kē	+	edatōū	→	.keda.tōū.
kē	+	kēīmami	→	.ke.kēī.mami.	kē	+	eda	→	.keda.
kē	+	o	→	.keo.	kē	+	e	→	kē
kē	+	odrāū	→	.keo.drāū.	kē	+	erāū	→	.kē.rāū.
kē	+	odōū	→	.keo.dōū.	kē	+	eratōū	→	.kera.tōū.
kē	+	onī	→	.keo.nī.	kē	+	era	→	.kera.

33.3.3 Kevakā. The use of kē with vakā might be considered an idiomatic alternate to kē alone. However, there are some structural differences. Strictly speaking, it is a subordinate verb phrase in itself; the main verb is vakā 'be like it'. The following verb phrase specifies the object, but it itself is not marked for subordination:

ke-vakā   āū via-gunu, āū na gunu-v-a   na   wāī-ni-moli
SUB-be-like-3S 1S DES-drink 1S FT drink-TR-3S DEP lemonade
if I'm thirsty, I'll drink the lemonade

Arms (1985:15) noted an important feature of ke-vakā: that it may introduce a clause beginning with me:

ke-vakā   me   lako māī   if he should
                                  come
SUB-be-like-3S SUB go   DIR

33.3.4 Morphophonemic changes. Table 33:7 shows the rules for kē plus subject:

33.4 SĒ

Phrases marked by sē often occur in pairs, indicating different or contradictory potential situations. If only one sē phrase occurs, the opposing situation is implicit. Grammatically, the phrases specify subjects or objects.

TABLE 33:8

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                  SUBORDINATE                  │
│                                 se-u na lako                  │
│                                 whether I'll go               │
│       INDEPENDENT             ╱                               │
│       āū sega ni kilā ‹                                       │
│       I don't know            ╲                               │
│                                  SUBORDINATE                  │
│                                 sē sega                       │
│                                 or not                        │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
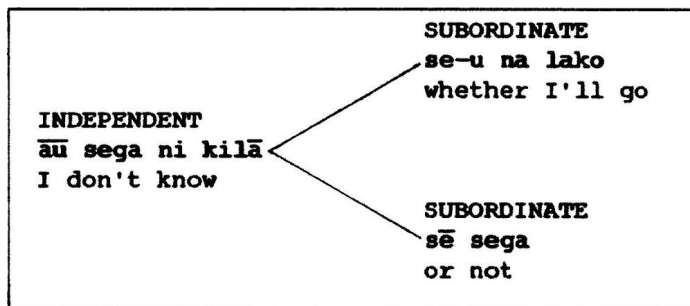
Examples are:

āū	sega	ni	kilā	se-u	na	lako	sē	sega
1S	not	SUB	know-3S	SUB-1S	FT	go	SUB	not

I don't know whether I'll go or not (SF:201)

āū	sega	ni	kilā	se-u	na	lesu	māī	ni-kua	sē	ni-mataka
1S	not	SUB	know-3S	SUB-1S	FT	return	DIR	today	SUB	tomorrow

I don't know whether I'll return today or tomorrow (SF:201)

33.4.1 Types of verbs in the independent phrase. it was noted earlier that sē phrases functioned as specified subjects or objects. We now give additional examples:

āū	sega	ni	kilā	se-u	na	lesu	māī	nikua	sē	nimataka
1S	not	SUB	know-3S	SUB-1S	FT	return	DIR	today	SUB	tomorrow

I don't know whether I'll return today or tomorrow

Note that the second phrase is truncated. The following underlying structure might be proposed:

TABLE 33:9
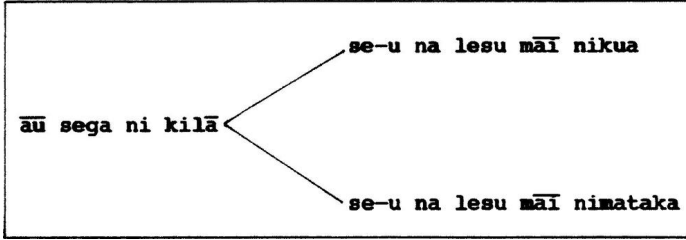
Here, both these subordinate phrases serve as the specified objects of kilā 'know it'.

Many of the examples collected are variants of this particular pattern, using as the independent phrase [ ] sega ni kilā. The contrast between two (or more) different possible situations need not be made explicit. In the following example, it is implicit.

```
āū sega ni   kilā      se-u     na lesu   māī nikua
1S  not  SUB know-3S SUB-1S FT return DIR today
I don't know if I'll return today
```

Another common example of sē phrases used as specified objects involves imperatives with speech-act implications. Note the following:

```
m-onī   tuku-n-a   mada sē   yaco māī sē    sega
SUB-2P tell-TR-3S INI   SUB arrive DIR SUB not
tell me whether he arrived or not
```

Other possible verbs in this semantic category are ka-y-a 'say it', sau-m-a 'answer it', and taro-g-a 'ask it'.

Sē marking phrases as specified subjects very often occurs in a subordinate relationship to the following dominant phrase:

```
e     sega    ni     macala     it is not clear
3S    not     SUB    clear
```

For example,

```
e   sega ni   macala se-u     na lesu   māī nikua
3S  not  SUB clear   SUB-1S FT return DIR today
```

it's not clear whether I'll return today

This construction is like the previous construction specifying an object in that it can state alternatives explicitly, or state only one, leaving the other(S) implicit.

33.4.2 Semantic relationship between sē and the independent VP. The frequency of occurrence of sē phrases with the examples above—X sega ni kilā 'X doesn't know it' and e sega ni macala 'it's not clear'—underscores an important semantic feature of sē: it refers to a situation that is, respectively, unknown or uncertain. This semantic property is highlighted even further in the use of sē phrases with two different verbs in the dominant phrase, dēī-tak-a 'confirm it' and tuku-n-a 'tell it'. Since their meanings are the antithesis of uncertainty, such verbs dominate sē phrases only when the former are set in the negative or the future. For example:

sā	na	dēī-tak-a	sē	rawa	sē	sega
ASP	FT	confirm-TR-3S	SUB	able	SUB	not

he'll confirm whether it's possible or not

sā	na	tuku-n-a	sē	dodonu	sē	cala
ASP	FT	tell-TR-3S	SUB	right	SUB	wrong

she'll tell whether it's right or wrong

If a sē construction were not set in the negative or future, it would not make sense, for without those restrictions, the uncertainty would vanish. Under such circumstances, a ni phrase is used instead:

era	sā	dēī-tak-a	ni	sega	ni	rawa
3P	ASP	confirm-TR-3S	SUB	not	SUB	able

they (plural) confirmed that it wasn't possible

33.4.3. Question words in sē phrases. Consistent with the UNKNOWN or UNCERTAIN semantic characteristics of a sē phrase is its use with the interrogative roots cēī 'who?', naica 'when?', vēī 'where?', cava 'what?', and vica 'how many'. Examples (supplied by BK) are:

āū	sega	ni	kilā	sē	o	cēī	e	tiko	ki-na
1S	not	SUB	know-3S	SUB	PRP	who	3S	stay	ABL-3S

I don't know who's staying there

```
e   sega ni   macala sē   ne-i      cēī  na   i-vola oqō
3S  not  SUB  clear  SUB  POS-POS who DEF  book  DEM:1
```
it's not clear whose book this is

```
āū  via-kilā       se-o     na   lako ki-na     ni    naica
1S  DES-know-3S  SUB-2S DEF  go    ABL-3S  SUB  when
```
I want to know when you're going to go there

```
era lia-c-a        sē   e⁶ vēī      na   no-mu   koro
3P  miss-TR-3S  SUB  3S where DEF  POS-2S village
```
they questioned where your village is

```
o    taro-gi     tiko    sē       cava    o    bera     ki-na
2S   ask-TR      CNT     SUB      what    2S   late     ABL-3S
```
you were asked why you were late

```
era via-rogo-c-a     sē   cava o ka-y-a      tiko
3P  DES-hear-TR-3S SUB  what 2S say-TR-3S CNT
```
they (plural) want to hear what you are saying

```
me   taro-gi mada sē   vica       me   lako ki-na
SUB ask-TR INI   SUB how-many SUB go   ABL-3S
```
someone please ask when (at what time) he went

```
āū  via-kilā       sē   vica       na   qāū     i-sāū
1S  DES-know-3S  SUB  how-many DEP POS-1S cost
```
I want to know what my cost is

```
e   na   gauna ka   taro-gi ki-na   sē   cava na   no-na   nanu-m-a
ABL DEF time   REL ask-TR ABL-3S SUB  what DEF  POS-3S  think-TR-3S
```
at the time at which he was asked what his thoughts were (NL 16/7/81)

33.4.4 Morphophonemic changes. The following rules hold for sē plus subjects (see Milner 1972:55):

TABLE 33:10

sē + u	→ .sēū.					
sē + kēīrāū	→ .sē.kēī.rāū.	sē	+	edaru	→	.sē.daru.
sē + kēītōū	→ .sē.kēī.tōū.	sē	+	edatōū	→	.seda.tōu.
sē + kēīmami	→ .sē.kēī.mami.	sē	+	eda	→	.seda.
sē + o	→ .seo.	sē	+	e	→	sē

sē	+	odrāū	→	.seo.drāū.	sē	+	erāū	→	.sē.rāū.
sē	+	odōū	→	.seo.dōū.	sē	+	eratōū	→	.sera.tōū.
sē	+	onī	→	.seo.nī.	sē	+	era	→	.sera.

33.5 DĒ

A Phrase market by dē represents the effect of a cause, repre-
sented A phrase marked by de represents the effect of a cause,
represented by the dominant phrase. Such a construction
differs from the one with kē in that the dē phrase reflects the
speaker's opinion that the effect would be undesirable.

TABLE 33:11

DOMINANT	SUBORDINATE
kua ni driva vaka-tololo	de-o na qāī coqa
don't drive fast	lest you run into something
CAUSE	EFFECT

33.5.1 Adversative vs. subjunctive. Many sentences with dē re-
flect the attitude of the speaker that (a) one should avoid a par-
ticular situation because the effect would be undesirable, or (b)
steps have been or should be taken to insure that the unde-
sirable effect does not come about.

The first type often involves the use of kua or kākua (prohib-
itive):

kākua	ni	lako	de-o		na oca	wale	gā
don't	SUB	go	SUB-2S		FT tired	LIM	LIM

don't go, because yo u 'll just get tired (SF)

me-u	kākua	ni	caka-v-a	de-u	na	bera	wale	gā
SUB-1S	don't	SUB	done-TR-3S	SUB-1S	FT	late	LIM	LIM

I shouldn't do that, or I'll be late (SF)

Examples of the second type:

e	sō	era	dāū	kaba-t-a	na	dela	ni	vale,	dē	butu-ki
3S	some	3P	HAB	climb-TR-3S	DEF	top	POS	house	SUB	stamp-TR

ira   na   ose   some of them would climb onto the top of the
3P   DEF horse   house so the horse wouldn't trample them
                        (FR3:34)

e sō   era dāū lade ki   wāī   dē   cumu-ti ira   na   ose
3S some 3P   HAB jump ABL water SUB butt-TR 3P   DEF horse
some of them would jump into the water lest the horse butt them (FR3:34)

In both these subtypes, the relationship between the dominant
and the subordinate phrases is roughly—in traditional
terms—ADVERBIAL. That is, the subordinate phrase serves as a
special kind of ATTRIBUTE.

However, in the second principal type of dē construction, the
subordinate clause specifies a subject or object. For example:

erāū nanu-m-a   gā   na   vēī-tina-ni,   dē   sā   vodo
3D   think-TR-3S LIM DEF REC-mother-and-child SUB ASP ride

    tiko   māī ko   Rejieli, e   na   dua vēī   ira
    CNT DIR PRP R   3S   DEF one ABL 3P

the two of them, mother and son, tho u ght that Rejieli might be riding in one
of them (FR3:47)

āū nanu-m-a   sara gā dē   ko na sega ni   māī wā-raki āū
1S think-TR-3S INT   LIM SUB 2S FT not   SUB DIR wait-TR 1S
I thought that you might not wait for me (FR3:48)

In the first of the two examples immediately above, there seems
to be no afflictive meaning to the situation represented by the
dē phrase. Instead, it seems to be merely subjunctive: the situ-
ation might occur.

Arms (10/84) pointed out that dē can also be used to in-
troduce principal clauses, with the meaning of 'perhaps'.

33.5.2. Morphophonemic changes. The combination of dē plus
subjects results in the forms shown in Table 33.12.

TABLE 33:12

dē + u   → .dēū.
dē + kēīrāū   → .dē.kēī.rāū.   dē   + edaru   → .dē.daru.

dē	+	kēītōū	→	.dē.kēī.tōū.		dē	+	edatōū	→	.deda.tōu.
dē	+	kēīmami	→	.dē.kēī.mami.		dē	+	eda	→	.deda.
dē	+	o	→	.deo.		dē	+	e	→	.dē.
dē	+	odrāū	→	.deo.drāū.		dē	+	erāōū	→	.dērāū.
dē	+	odōū	→	.deo.dōū.		dē	+	eratōū	→	.dera.tōū.
dē	+	onī	→	.deo.nī.		dē	+	era	→	.dera.

34 POSSESSION

> The disuse of that suffixing is a decline in ful[l] ness and power which Mr. Fison will no doubt tell you, begins as soon as people begin to talk to Europeans—that you know always impoverishes. ... I am persuaded that he will say that the Fiji people corrupted by Europeans will say noqu liga as miserably as a Polynesian.
>
> *Codrington 1883*

> The best way for the student to facilitate his progress through this tedious part of the grammar is, —first to make himself tolerably well acquainted with the pronouns qou and qu, —in all their numbers and cases; and then, proceed to those dual & plural pronouns which are peculiar in their signification; as kei rau, kei tou, and kei mami. When he has made himself master of these, he will be able to investigate the use of qau, kemu and memu with ease and confidence. Difficulties will vanish before the light which he has obtained, and his knowledge of this otherwise perplexing subject will be accurate and gratifying.
>
> *Cargill 1839a:30*

POSSESSION[1] is a common type of attribution, showing that two entities are related in a special way. The following phrases are examples of possessive attribution:

na   no-na   vale   his house   na ke-na dalo   her taro
DEF   POS-3S   house

na ke-na vinaka   its goodness na no-na lako   her going

na no—na tūraga   his chief na me-na moli   her citrus

| na | tama-na | | her father | na ulu-na | his head |
| DEF | father-3S | | | | |

| na | ulu | i | Jone | J's head | na vale ne-i Jone | J's house |
| DEF | head | POS | J | | | |

| na | dalo | ke-i | | B B's taro | na moli ke-i B | B's citrus |
| DEF | taro | POS-POS | B | | | |

| na | vale | ni | kana | restaurant (literally, house for eating) |
| DEF | house | POS | eat | |

In this chapter, we discuss first the semantics of possession and then the formal manifestations.

34.1 THE SEMANTICS OF POSSESSION

In this treatment, the term "possession" has a strictly grammatical use, and is not directly related to a particular kind of situation in the way that, for example, transitivity is. Likewise, the terms POSSESSOR and POSSESSED refer only to grammatical items. "Possessor" refers to that element in the sentence that is the possessive attribute; "possessed" refers to the head of the construction. To clarify these relationships, Table 34:1 shows some examples from those above that are classified according to the function of their constituents—from both an attributive and possessive point of view.

TABLE 34:1

ATTRIBUTE POSSESSOR	HEAD POSSESSED	ATTRIBUTE POSSESSOR
no-na	vale	
ke-na	vinaka	
me-na	moli	
	ulu	i Jone
	dalo	ke-i Bera
	vale	ni kana
	tama-	-na
	ulu-	-na

34.1.1 Different relationships between the referents of the possessor and the possessed. As the examples in the introduction show, there are a number of different relationships that may hold between the referents of the possessor and the possessed. It should be pointed out first that the meaning of this construction is broader than just legal ownership (Lyons 1968:296–97).

In spite of this caveat, legal ownership is not excluded. In the examples above, several phrases could imply that relationship:

na no-na vale	his house	na ke-na dalo	her taro
na me-na moli	her citrus	na vale ne-i Jone	J's house
na dalo ke-i Bera	B's taro	na moli ke-i Bera	B's citrus

However, there are other kinds of relationships between the members of the pairs of entities. The following list is not complete, but it suggests some of the major types. In this classification, A represents the possessed; B the possessor. Grammatically, the representation of A is the head of the construction.

1. A is owned by or associated with B, which is animate.

na no—na vale	his house	na no-na tūraga	his chief

Here, the second is an example of possession that is outside legal ownership. "Associated with" is an uncomfortably general term, but perhaps the term has to be that general. For example, na no—na tūraga indicates a relationship pertinent to Fijian social structure; na no—na i-tāū 'his friend' is not restricted in the same way.

2. A is the focus of a kin relationship with B. Both A and B are animate.

na tama-na	her father	na luve-na	her offspring

3. A is a part of the whole, which is B. B is animate. Thus, A represents body parts and certain personal qualifications, such as 'spirit'.

  na liga-na   his hand   na ulu-na   his head

4. A is a part of the whole, which is B. B is inanimate.

  na dela-na its top na boto—na its bottom

5. A is associated with B, which is inanimate.

  na ke-na i tukutuku   the news of it
  na ke-na i-tekivū   its beginning

The last examples above verge on a second major class of
relationships[2] that result in possessive attribution: that between
an action/ state and one of the entities involved in it. Grammat-
ically, the head of the construction is a verb used as a noun; the
possessive modifier refers to the actor or the goal. For example,
ultimately the phrases in (5) can be semantically related to the
following VPs, respectively:

  e   he told e   he began
  tuku-n-a   it   tekivū-tak-a it

However, i-tukutuku and i-tekivū are derivatives; the possessive
attributive construction often uses as its head a verb that is not
derived, but simply used as a noun.

   Table 34:3 (34.3.3.1) shows how the form of a possessed
action/state reflects different semantic relationships.

34.1.2 Alienable vs. inalienable. One major opposition that
covers all the examples in the preceding sections is ALIENABLE
vs. INALIENABLE. Some of the types alluded to above—body
parts, kin terms, and parts of a whole[3]—can be said to partic-
ipate in inalienable relationships. As Lyons (1968:301) stated
it, something that is inalienably possessed is "necessarily asso-
ciated with the 'possessor'".

   However, the terms are sometimes misunderstood. Occa-
sionally, it is assumed that if one "inalienably possesses" an
entity, one cannot cease to have it. However, it is not the entity
that is permanent; it is the relationship. For example, one can
cut one's hair and burn it, but the relationship remains. Simi-
larly, kin relationships live on, even though one or all parties of
the relationship no longer do.

The aptness of the terms, then, hinges on the relationship, not the individual entities.

Closely tied to the notion of alienable-inalienable is another feature: CONTROL (see Lynch 1973:95). In an inalienable relationship, the referent of the possessor has no control over initiating or terminating the relationship. In addition to straightforward relationships that link two entities (like tama-qu 'my father'), the concept of control is intrinsically tied to possessive constructions in which the possessed is a nominalized sentence and hence, ultimately connected with the relationship between the actor and the goal. This type of construction is discussed in 34.3.3.1.

In a general way, the semantic categories of alienable and inalienable are reflected by formal differences. Exceptions will be pointed out in the following sections.

34.1.3 Definiteness. When a broad concept (such as 'house' or 'taro') is narrowed of a to indicate a specific one (such as 'his house' or 'her taro'), it is automatically made definite (see 24.2.2). Possibly for this reason, na (definite) is sometimes omitted without any apparent change of meaning:[4]

tuku-n-a   tale no-mu   i-talanoa ni   kāveti
tell-TR-3S ITR POS-2S story   POS cabbage
tell again your story about the cabbage (FMC61:1)

e   dāū vā-kani ira no-na   manumanu
3S HAB CAU-eat 3P POS-3S animal
he always feeds his animals (FR3:50)

34.2 ALIENABLE POSSESSION

With respect to form, alienable possession can be divided into the following categories, based on the morphological arrangements of the possessor and the possessed. In the first, the possessive form is composed of two morphemes. The first indicates the type of possession; the second, the person, number, and exclusivity of the possessor. This form precedes the noun that serves as the head of the construction. Examples are:

| no-qu | vale | my |
| POS-1S | house | house |

| me-na | tī | his |
| POS-3S | tea | tea |

In these examples, nō- and mē- mark the possession type, and -qu and -na mark the person, number, and exclusivity of the possessor.

In the second type, the construction refers directly to each entity with an NP. Again, the possessive marker indicates the type of possession involved. Examples are:

| vale | ne-i | Erelia | E's |
| house | POS-POS | E | house |

| tī | me-i | Paula | P's |
| tea | POS-POS | P | tea |

In the next section, we treat the various markers of possession.

34.2.1 Alienable possessive markers. There are four alienable possessive markers, falling into three categories:

(1) Markers related to the possessed:

mē,   kē-,   nō-

(2) Markers that refer to the person, number, and exclusivity of the possessor. The set of person-number markers used in possessive constructions is shown in Table 34:2.

TABLE 34:2

1st person exclusive	1st person inclusive
1 -qu	1 --------
2 -irāū	2 -daru
3 -itōū	3 -datōū
p -imami	p -da
2nd person	3rd person
1 -mu	1 -na
2 -mudrāū	2 -drāū
3 -mudōū	3 -dratōū
p -munī	p -dra

(3) Marker related to the possessor:

   ni

First, we must note a phonological change that affects three of these markers. Note that each of the first set of markers is a long syllable. This syllable remains long when it is measure-final, but shortens under other conditions—that is, when followed by a short unaccented syllable. For example:

nō-daru   (first person dual inclusive possessive)
no–na   (third person singular possessive)

This vowel shortening, described in CH 41, is regular throughout Standard Fijian. However, among the various Fijian languages, there is some variation in the length of the antepenultimate syllable. Since a speaker's Standard Fijian is often affected by his first language, one sometimes hears a short syllable in this position (Scott 1948:745):

     no-daru

34.2.1.1 Mē-. The marker mē- indicates a special relationship between the referents of possessor and possessed: the latter is an entity that is intended to be drunk. For example:

na me-na his   na me-na   his
tī   tea   yaqona   kava

As other grammarians have noted (Hazlewood 1872:16; Milner 1972:66; Geraghty 1983a:250), the category of drinkable is culturally defined and includes some of what speakers of English would classify as soft foods as well as liquids. Thus, it is not clear whether or not the grammarian (in this instance, viewing the language from outside the culture) should provide a list of entities that take an unexpected (to us) possessive marker. For example, tavako 'tobacco' takes kē-; ota 'edible fern' and moli 'citrus' take mē-. (PG suggested that such matters should be handled in the dictionary definitions of kana 'eat' and gunu 'drink'.)

Mē- combines with i to form a marker me-i (phonologically, mēī) that allows a proper noun to serve as possessor:

na tī me-i Paula	P's tea
na ota me-i Tē	T's ota

34.2.1.2 Kē-₁. The marker kē- marks the possessed as something that is intended to be eaten. For example:

na ke-na uvi	her yam
na ke-na raisi	her rice

The same vowel shortening described above applies to kē-.

There is a different kind of change in the first person singular form of the possessive: Standard Fijian uses qāū rather than the expected *ke-qu.

Various treatments (e.g. Lynch 1973, Geraghty 1983a) have noted the similarity in form between edible possessive forms and the verb kana 'eat'.

Kē- combines with i to form ke-i (phonologically kēī), which links a common noun and a proper noun in the possessive relationship:

na dalo ke-i Tōmasi	T's taro
na uvi ke-i Mārika	M's yam

34.2.1.3 Nō-. The marker nō- can be defined in a negative way: it marks possession that refers to an entity that is intended neither to be eaten nor drunk. In Milner's terms, it is NEUTRAL.

na no-na	his	na no-na	his
waqa	canoe	motokā	car

As are the other prefixes, nō- is shortened under the conditions described above.

Another phonological change takes place as well. In the paradigm of possessive markers and person-number markers, there are three irregularities: ne- rather than the expected nō-.

First person

	Morphological division	Accent measures
Dual	ne-irāū	.nēī.rāū.
Paucal	ne-itōū	.nēī.tōū.
Plural	ne-imami	.nēī.mami.

See Geraghty (1983a:236) for a discussion of this phenomenon.

Similar to mē-, nō- combines with i to form a marker that allows a proper noun to serve as possessor. But the resultant form is ne-i (phonologically nēī:

na vale ne-i Pita	P's house

34.2.1.4 Ni. A ni phrase is itself a NP. It modifies a noun by indicating a relationship between the two nouns. Although a general gloss can be constructed—something on the order of "N1 associated with N2"—there are a number of slightly different relationships.

It should be noted here that all ni phrases are grammatically indefinite, since they do not contain the definite marker na. Here, the semantic and grammatical match is close; in the examples, for instance, in vale ni kana 'restaurant', kana does not refer to a specific act of eating, nor in vale ni lotu 'house of worship' does lotu refer to a specific act of worship.

34.2.1.4.1 Purpose or function. With some nouns, the ni phrase indicates purpose or function, qualities that are not generally conveyed by stative attributes, those that specify material, or

those that indicate style or manner (see 32.2). Using our continuing example of vale, we can indicate houses for specific purposes, as in the following:

vale ni kana	restaurant (house for eating)
vale ni lotu	church building (house for religion)
vale ni yaqona	public house (house for drinking kava or alcoholic beverages)
vale ni kula	name of a string figure (parrot house)
vale ni vēī-vesu	prison (house for imprisonment)
vale ni bula	hospital (house for health)
vale ni mate	hospital (house for sickness)
vale ni vō	toilet (house for excrement)
vale ni lialia	mental hospital (house for the insane)

Other examples are:

lotu ni kana	table grace (religion for eating)
i-cōī ni lovo	noncarbohydrate food to accompany root crops baked in the oven[5]

34.2.1.4.2 Semantic narrowing. With other nouns, the ni phrase also narrows the meaning, but with the sense of relating the head noun to a semantic field different from its usual one. The following examples show nouns that we assume to mean primarily body parts, but now used in a different sense:

ucu ni vanua	point (nose of land)
gusu ni wāī	mouth (mouth of water)
uto ni kāū	heartwood (heart of wood)
yame ni i-sele	blade (tongue of knife)
bati ni wāī	well edge (tooth of water)[6]
bati ni lovo	edge of oven (tooth of oven)
bati ni savu	precipice (tooth of waterfall)
duruduru ni liga	elbow (knee of arm)

One might also consider that the head nouns themselves, such as ucu, gusu, etc., have a broader meaning than just body parts, and that the attributive phrases merely specify or narrow that meaning.

Other examples, similar to those with body parts, are:

yaloka ni mata	eyeball (egg of the eye)
tina ni viritālawalawa	spider (mother related to web)
tina ni vuaka	sow (mother related to pig)

Most of the examples given so far show that the construction was a common way of forming new lexical items in precontact Fiji. With the coming of the Europeans, there was also a great influx of new ideas and items. In particular, those referred to in the Bible had to be translated into Fijian. For some, the English word was borrowed directly into the language, assuming the shape required by the phonological patterns of the language (see Schütz 1978d). But the Bible translators themselves preferred to use modifications of existing words when possible. Many of these modifications take the form of ni phrases:

qase ni vulu	teacher (elder for learning)
i-tūtū ni cina (Rev 1:12)	candlestick (stand for lamp)
i-keli ni waini (Rev 14:19)	winepress (hole for wine)
qiqi ni tamata (Rev 18:13)	chariot (rolling thing for persons)

At the same time, expressions for secular items were being coined, and these, too, included ni phrases:

i-vakarāū ni cagi	barometer (measurer for wind)
yaqona ni vāvālagi	alcoholic beverage (foreign kava)

One construction of this type uses a mid-nineteenth-century borrowing, and then qualifies it with a ni phrase for a later innovation:

sitima ni vanua	train (land steamer)

Some constructions switch the indigenous and borrowed elements:

vuti ni sipi	wool (body-hair of sheep)
dē ni oni	honey (bee (oni) excrement)

34.2.1.4.3 Layering of ni phrases. The following examples from the English-Fijian section of Capell's dictionary shows layers of ni phrases:

qiqi ni ose ni cakacaka	cart (rolling-thing relating to work-horse)

sala ni sitima ni vanua	railway (path of land steamer)

Such layering of ni phrases, however, is not confined to neologisms; it occurs freely with indigenous items:

na	loma	ni	mata	ni	wāī	inside the spring
DEF	inside	POS	eye	POS	water	

na	meke	ni	dola	ni	basā	ni	koro-ni-vuli
DEF	meke	POS	open	POS	bazaar	POS	village-POS-learn

meke for the opening of the school bazaar (NV2:7)

loma	ni	bāī	ni	manumanu	inside the animal pen (FR3:43)
inside	POS	fence	POS	animal	

The immediate constituent analysis is as follows:

> (loma(ni(bāī(ni manumanu)))))
>
> (meke(ni(dola(ni(basā(ni(koro(ni vuli)))))))))

The meaning of this construction seems close to that of the vaka- construction, but there are examples of contrast:

vosa vaka-Viti	Fijian language
vosa ni Viti	languages of Fiji

The former refers specifically to Standard Fijian; the latter rather loosely to languages that are associated with or spoken in Fiji, including regional variations, English, Hindi, Cantonese, and a number of other languages spoken by the heterogeneous population.

waqa vaka-Viti	Fijian-style canoe
waqa ni Viti	boat from or connected with Fiji

In this pair, the former refers to a specific style of canoe (double hulled, outrigger, etc.); the latter to any boat affiliated with Fiji, including both waqa vaka-Viti and foreign styles.

i-sulu vaka-Toga	Tongan-style sarong

i-sulu ni Toga   sarong from Tonga

Here, the former refers to a particular style of sarong: not tailored, belted, or with pockets; the latter could be either variety.[7]

Other examples are:

vuaka ni Viti	Fijian hog
ibe ni Viti	mat from Fiji
(cf. ibe vā-kula)	(mat characterized by its fringe)
tūraga ni Bolātagane	Englishman
gone ni Viti	Fijian (person)
tawala ni Toga	Tongan mat
meke ni Sāmoa	Samoan-style dance
agilosi ni Lomālagi	heavenly angels

Ni constructions also contrast with the first attributive construction discussed in Ch 32: N + Stative. Our view is that the ni phrase as an attribute keeps a proper distance, so to speak, between a head and an attribute referring to a quality that is not semantically compatible. It is often used with kā 'thing' when the meaning associated with the N + Stative construction is confined to nouns referring to humans. Thus:

tamata mārāū   happy person

but:

kā ni mārāū   thing connected with, or producing happiness

Other examples are:

kā ni kurabui	surprising thing
kā ni māduā	shameful thing
kā ni rarawa	sad thing
kā ni kidroā	exciting thing
kā ni rere	fearful thing

Because the word following ni in this last constructions is (by classification) a stative verb, one might consider analyzing the phrase as subordinate, with the subordinate ni, not the possessive one. If that were so, however, the constructions would be grammatically idiomatic, for the expressions would not

parse. Besides, it would be more appropriate to use the relative construction. It seems more accurate to analyze this ni as the possessive, and the form following the marker as a stative serving as a noun.

34.2.1.4.4 Some semantic problems. It should be emphasized here that the ni construction merely shows a relationship between two entities. The types of relationship vary. For example, note how the literal translation of the construction as 'X of Y' often assumes that anything translated by 'of' belongs to semantic possession. The following examples show a reanalysis of a number of constructions that have been thought to indicate some notion of semantic ownership:

drāū ni ulu   hair (excluding facial and body hair) (ulu 'head')
drāū ni kāū   leaf (kāū 'tree, plant')
drāū ni veva sheet of paper

(First of all, it is difficult to discuss the construction because of the impossibility of glossing drāū.) We analyze drāū ni ulu not as drāū belonging to the head, but as a special kind of drāū, this specificity indicated by the attribute ni ulu. The construction thus sets up an automatic opposition among this and all the other kinds of drāū, which are in turn indicated by other ni phrases.

    Drāū can also occur with a suffixed attribute:

drau-na   its leaf (or 'hair', etc.)

In this construction, the sort of information that ni ulu or ni kāū provides has to be gleaned from the context. For example, the following short discourse illustrates that there is no difficulty in establishing what kind of drāū is being referred to:

e yaga vaka-levu na nīū   the coconut is useful

na drau-na, e vaka-yaga-taki me we use its leaves for house
tara vale   building

In a sense, drāū represents an entity that does not have a general existence, only (or most often) one that is represented by such attributive constructions. Although not all such con-

cepts are confined to this construction, many are (mataqali, in its use as 'kind', does not often occur with a ni attribute). Often they refer to parts of a whole (including body parts), locations, and kin terms. The following are examples in these several categories:

sē	blossom
sē ni kāū	flower
sē ni bua	plumeria flower
sē ni toa	hibiscus flower (blossom of chicken; etymology uncertain)
vū	source
vū ni kāū	tree (kāū 'plant, wood')
vū ni vola	scribe
vū ni wāī	doctor (wāī here means medicine)
taba	arm, branch
taba ni kāū	branch
taba ni manumanu	foreleg, wing
vuti	body hair
vuti ni manunanu	feathers
drāū	something coming out from larger structure; leaf, hair
drāū ni ulu	hair (head)
drāū ni kāū	leaf

Kin terms share with the locatives listed earlier and body parts discussed earlier the quality of postposed possessive marking:

Locative: loma–na	its interior
Body part: ucu–na	his nose/its point (of land)
Kin: tina–na	her mother

When these roots are linked to nouns that do not refer to specific people or places (that is, common nouns), ni is used:

tina ni bulumakāū	cow (mother of cattle)
tina ni mē	nanny goat
tama ni vuaka	boar
tama ni gone	father of a child

luve ni wāī	water spirit (water child)
luve ni sala	bastard (road child)

34.2.1.4.5 Nominalization with ni phrases. One means of nominalizing a verb phrase with a specified subject is to use the verb (with no derivational changes) as a head noun and change the specified subject to a ni phrase[8]. Thus:

e balavu na dali	the rope is long
na balavu ni dali	the length of the rope
e katakata na lovo	the oven is hot
na katakata ni lovo	the heat of the oven
e mosi na bati-na	his teeth hurt
na mosi ni bati-na	the pain of his teeth
e rarawa na yalo-na	her spirit is sad
na rarawa ni yalo-na	the sadness of her spirit

The nominalized phrases have the structure:

na > (balavu < (ni dali))

One of the most common of this type is mata, which in addition to its meaning 'eye, face' also means 'source, front, center'. Many ni constructions with mata are idiomatic:

mata ni siga	sun (eye of the day)
mata ni vanua	herald (eye of the land)
mata ni sucu	nipple (center of breast)
mata ni sona	anus (center of anal region)
mata ni wāī	spring (source of water)

The spacial meaning of mata links it to a number of other nouns (here, partitive nouns) that refer to general locations. These, too, are made more specific by ni phrases:

dela	top, surface
dela ni vale	top of the house
dela ni tēveli	table top
loma	inside
loma ni koro	in the village (idiomatic?)

loma ni vale	in the house
loma ni bāī	in the enclosure
mua	front, tip
mua ni cakāū	end of the reef
tebe	edge
tebe ni gusu	lips (edge of mouth)
ruku	underneath
ruku ni kāū	under a tree

34.2.1.4.6 Attribution outside the ni phrase. In a series of ni phrases, the domain of a final modifier is uncertain. For example,

vale   ni   kana vōū
house POS eat   new

refers to a new restaurant, not to nouvelle cuisine. The structure is:

((vale < ni kana) < vōū)

However, one can find ni phrases with the modifier appearing internally:

na   sere vōū ni   Mata-ni-tū   the new national anthem
                                  (Geraghty 1976a)
DEF sing new POS government

In this example, putting vōū immediately after Mata-ni-tū would definitely change the meaning, resulting in 'song of the new government'. The same situation holds for:

waqa lāīlāī ni   vāvālagi   small introduced
                                         canoe (VV:boto)
canoe small POS European

34.2.1.4.7 Discussion: ni phrases as common. Milner noted (1972: 18): "Ni [is] only used between two bases when both are common." At first glance, this statement seems at odds with such constructions as waqa ni Viti 'Fijian boat', but Milner ex-

plained elsewhere that here, Viti is a common noun. See CH 24 for other examples of nouns that are proper in certain grammatical environments, but common in others.

34.3 INALIENABLE POSSESSION

The inalienable possession construction can be classified by focusing on the class membership of the constituents.

HEAD   POSSESSOR

partitive noun   person-number marker

      tama-qu 'my father'

partitive noun   i + proper noun

      ulu i Jone 'J's head'

stative verb   kē + person-number marker

      ke–na vinaka 'its goodness'

stative verb   kē + i + proper noun

      vinaka ke–i Jone 'J's goodness'

The illustrative forms contain examples from the markers of inalienable possession: the person-number markers that are suffixed to partitive nouns, i, and the classifier kē-.

34.3.1 Person-number markers. The person-number markers that appear as suffixes are the set listed in 34.2.1, with three exceptions. The nonsingular first person exclusive forms are (suffixed to tama 'father'):

tama-ikēīrāū   our (dual exclusive) father
tama-ikēītōū   our (trial exclusive) father
tama-ikēīmami   our (plural exclusive) father

34.3.2 I4. This marker is different from the possessive markers previously described in that:

(1) it marks the possessor, rather than the possessed; and

    (2) it marks only proper nouns.

Used alone, it links partitive nouns to a proper noun:

na	tama	i	Male	M's father
DEF	father	POS	M	

na	tina	i	Tē	T's mother
na	ulu	i	Bera	B's head

34.3.3 Kē-2. The marker kē- marks a type of possession that implies that the possessor is not in control of the situation. Examples are of two main types. First, possessed forms refer to innate qualities of the referent of the possessor:

na ke–na levu	its length
na ke–na vinaka	its goodness

As with nō- and mē-, kē- combines with i when the possessor is a proper noun. (See 30.3.1, Milner 1972:23, 23n, and Geraghty 1983a:229–34 for a discussion of the restriction against specifying the possessor in the phrases immediately above with a proper noun.) The following examples show the resultant marker kēī:

na vinaka ke-i Pita	P's goodness
na levu ke-i Pita	P's size

Kē- also marks other kinds of general relationships in which the referent of the possessor is not in control:

na ke-na i-tukutuku	his news (i.e. news about him)
na ke-na nanu-mi tiko	the child's being remembered (Milner
na gone	1971:411)

In the situations referred to above, the referent of the possessor is serving in a role other than that of actor. Thus, we assume that he is not in control of the relationship. In the second example, the underlying situation is that someone remembers the child. The surface form—with -Ci—prompted the label "passive" for this kind of possession. Churchward (1941:33) seems the first to have stated this relationship (although not explicitly):

> When speaking of certain characteristics, such as appearance, size, weight and number. E.g., na kena i rairai, his appearance; na kena levu, his size; na kena balavu, his height (lit., his length); na kena bīī, his weight; na kedra i wiliwili, their number. But when speaking of characteristics whose manifestation depends on the person's activity, the n- forms are used: e.g., na nona kaukauwa, his strength, na nona malumalumu, his weakness; na nona yaloy-aloma, his kindness of heart; na nona i tovo, his character; na nona yaga, his usefulness; na nona cā, his badness.

Analysts have usually been uncomfortable about the two kinds of kē- possession: edible, and inalienable. The former has often been related to the verb kana 'eat', Geraghty has suggested (1983a:249 that the second type may be related to another kana, with the little-known meaning of 'suffer'. Since this use of 'suffer' is somewhat archaic, I suggest 'undergo' as a more appropriate gloss. Thus, this type of kē- possession might be tied to situations in which the referent of the possessor is undergoing (or suffering) a process or action—a passive-like situation.

A related variable in the analysis of this construction is the classification of the referent of the possessor as INANIMATE (e.g. Geraghty 1983a:246). Churchward (1941:33) is the source of the inanimate label:

> When referring to inanimate things, and to plants or trees, the k- forms of the possessive pronouns are usually employed even where the n- forms would be required if the reference were to a person or an animal, etc. E.g., na kena tubu, its growth (but na nona tubu, his or her growth); na kena turaga, its chief ("its" referring to a place); na kena kaukauwa, its strength; na kena yaga, its usefulness.

Churchward also listed (p. 34) a number of parts of the whole (although he didn't label them as such): na kena lālaga, its walls; na kena duru, its posts … (and parts of a boat).

Milner (1971:410–11) emphasized the active/passive distinction: "the correlation [with Polynesian a/o] … gains additional support from the regular correspondence … with the Fijian active and passive suffixes." His examples:

na noqu nanuma tiko na gone
na kena nanumi tiko na gone

This name emphasizes the fact that the relationship between the referents of the possessor and the possessed is not an active one. Hazlewood (1872:16) wrote concerning these forms that

> They frequently do not imply possession at all, but about or concerning; as, nai rogorogo kei Cakobau, the report about or concerning Cakobau … They sometimes imply a thing employed about, or with reference to, a person; as a kena malumu, his club, not his in possession, but the club with which he is to be killed.

In the dictionary, Hazlewood gave these examples of contrast between no-na and ke-na:

a nona meke   his meke, i.e. the meke in his possession
a kena meke   the meke concerning him
a nonai wau   his club, i.e. the club which he possesses
a kenai wau   the club with which he is to be killed

With nominalizations of verbs, the choice between nō- and kē -depends on several factors, shown in Table 34:3.

34.3.3.1 Problems with the analysis. Table 34:3, adapted from Geraghty (1983a:242–49) summarizes the variables of the alienable-inalienable contrast:

TABLE 34:3

Underlying sentence. The portion representing the possessor is in uppercase	Grammatical role of possessor	Semantic role of possessor	Possessed form
E levu	subject	animate	no-na levu
he is large			his size

E levu	subject	inanimate	ke-na levu
it is large			its size
E talanoa-tak-a	subject	animate	no-na i -talanoa
he told it			his story
e talanoa-taka baleti KOYA	oblique	animate	ke-na i-talanoa
he told it about him			his story

Note that in the table, the contrast between nō- and kē- is matched to that between animate and inanimate. However, one can also find examples of such contrast in which the referents of both subjects are animate. Geraghty noted that the form ke-na levu, with an animate possessor, is also possible. He demonstrated a grammatical distinction between the two forms by showing that with nō- possessives, the head of the construction could include aspect and other VP markers. Thus, he concluded that one form is derived from the VP e levu, whereas in the other, levu is a separate lexical item, a noun meaning 'size'. Similar examples are:

ke-na vinaka	his goodness (as distinct from vinaka, an S1 verb meaning 'good')
ke-na balavu	his height (as distinct from balavu, an S1 verb meaning 'long')

The following minimal pair is from Churchward (1941:33):

na kena mate	his sickness
na nona mate	his death

However, a strictly grammatical explanation for such an opposition is rather different from the general semantic explanation for the other examples. Because of this problem, I suggest that the choice between nō- and kē- is not based on one set of criteria alone, but on a set of sometimes conflicting oppositions:

1	actor	––	goal
2	animate	––	inanimate
3	control	––	controlled

4 alienable   --   inalienable

This situation sets up a conflict with our classification of verbs according to the active/stative opposition, introducing another level that has to be observed. (In the following examples, I shall be basing the discussion on Geraghty 1983a:246–48.) This level concerns CONTROL, and sometimes coincides with, sometimes conflicts with, the active/ stative dichotomy. For example, strictly speaking, in the following sentence:

 e cici tiko na basi   the bus is running

the subject e represents the actor—'the bus'. But at some semantic level, even if 'the bus is running', it is not in control of the situation. Thus, the possessive construction reflecting this situation is:

 ke-na cici   its running

 However, in

 e cici tiko na gone   the child is running

the subject e represents 'the child', which is in control of the situation. Thus, the possessive construction of this situation is

        no-na cici

This is a slight (but important?) restatement of Geraghty's explanation. His operates on the grammatical situation alone, except for some confusing terms such as "underlying subject" and "inanimate subject".

    Now, let us see if this approach will take care of his other example —the use of nō- vs. kē- for subjects that represent the goal. A straightforward example is:

no-mu i-vacu   your punch (you give)
ke-mu i-vacu   your punch (you receive)

Here, obviously, the actor vs. goal explanation works well. But with descriptive terms, such as levu 'large' or vinaka 'good', we should then expect only kē- forms. Such is not the case. Geraghty gave the following example:

nomu sā levu tiko mai	the fact that you have been getting bigger

This example illustrates the different levels between the actor/ goal opposition, representing a situation in which the subject represents the goal, but the goal seems to be in control of the situation. For the presence of the aspect marker sā changes the state into a process.

How can we unite the grammatical and semantic statements? I suggest that we expand on the animate-versus-inanimate dichotomy to say that this opposition nearly overlaps with + or -control, but the latter opposition is the more powerful one.

34.4 SEMANTIC AND FORMAL MISMATCHES

In a discussion of Fijian possession, it is especially important to try to keep semantic and grammatical terms separate. The literature has noted, for example, that a number of irregularities—that is, mismatches between semantics and form—occur. Churchward, for example, listed the following types of "exceptions" for the semantic category of body parts (1941:33–34):

> 1. Anatomical terms that begin with an i-prefix, such as i-tilo-tilo 'gullet' and i-tagitagi 'larynx', take no-na, etc. Geraghty (1983a: 259) proposed that "many non-instrumental i- prefixed nouns are semantically inalienable, and that i- prefixation and suffixed (direct) possession are in complementary distribution".

> 2. Other anatomical terms, such as drā 'blood', mona 'brains', and ivi 'kidneys', take the nō-forms.

As an example of mismatches in other areas, Geraghty (1983a:249) suggested that in the area of passive possession, some items "may well be lexically determined". He noted the following apparent irregularities:

no-mu i-tāū 'your friend', but ke-mu meca 'your enemy'

wati-qu 'my spouse', but no-qu kābani 'my companion' and qāū i-sā 'my partner'

34.5 THE USE OF POSSESSIVES AS NOUNS

There are several constructions that use possessives as the head of a phrase. Although on the surface, the possessive assumes different roles, its basic classification is as a noun. Examples are:

sā no-na   it's hers

In this simple sentence, no-na passes through a series of role changes. From its basic role as a possessive, it changes its function to serve as the head of a NP. Some grammatical theories would suggest that the noun had been deleted; I prefer to analyze the construction differently. No-na is serving as a noun; through context, reference to the actual entity that it is related to is understood. Passing from that function, it finally serves as the head of a VP in this identifying construction (see 6.3.4).

In the following sentence, me-na goes through a similar set of functional changes:

```
ka   sā   loma-na sara me   sā   laki kau-t-a      mā̄ī me   me-na
CNJ ASP wish-3S INT  SUB ASP DIR bring-TR-3S DIR SUB POS-3S
```
and he wanted very much to go get one for his own (drinkable) (FR5:23)

The difference here is that in its ultimate (suface) function, me—na is serving as the head of a subordinate VP (see 33.2).

Examples with fewer functional changes are the following:

```
ni   rā̄ī ki   daku-na na  qāqā   oqō    e    na   no-na   namaka
SUB see ABL back-3S DEF courage DEM:1 ABL DEF POS-3S expect
```

```
   na   vē̄ī-vuke   mā̄ī vē̄ī ira na    no-na
   DEP  REC-help  DIR ABL 3P DEF  POS-3S
when this courageous man looked to the rear in his
expectation for help from his own (FR5:38)
```

```
ā̄ū vinaka-t-a   me   dua gā   na   no-qu

1S want-TR-3S SUB one LIM DEF POS-1S
I want one of my own (I want it—that there be
one—mine)
```

In these examples, the surface function of no-qu is as the head of an NP.

The following construction is quite different, but it shares the feature of the previous ones in that a possessive form is serving a function that a noun usually serves:

oyā   na   gauna ni   dui caka-no-na   e   na   vosa
DEM: DEF time   POS IND done-POS-3S ABL DEF talk
3
that was a time of doing one's own thing with respect to (writing) the language (SR 20/4/82)

Here, no-na takes the place of the noun (which actually functions as a modifier) in the gunu-yaqona construction (see 12.4.1). That is, it fits with the following paradigm:

gunu-yaqona   kava-drinking
kana-ika   eating fish
laga-sere   song-singing

34.6 REDUPLICATION OF POSSESSIVE FORMS

Some possessive forms can be reduplicated. For example:

sā nomunomu tū   it's always yours

For further examples and discussion, see 18.15.

34.7 DISCUSSION: POSSESSION

34.7.1 Possession as attribution. The treatment of possession as a type of attribution has support from Lyons (1968:296–97).

> The most typical function of what is called the "possessive", or "genitive", is to modify a noun, or noun-phrase, in an endocentric construction … and this is also the most typical function of the adjective.

34.7.2 Possession as a manifestation of gender? The origin of the notion of gender for Fijian seems to be Milner's treatment (1972:65–66). He went to some length to explain that the dis-

tinction among words that behaved differently with respect to the choice of possessive marker was one of GENDER. (Cammack (1962:56–63) adopted this approach; Schütz (1972b:36) used the term as well.)

Milner divided nouns into four classes: neutral, edible, drinkable, and familiar. Two of these terms need some explanation. Edible, marked by kē-, includes what I have here called kē- and kē-. Familiar applies to those kin terms and anatomical terms that take suffixed possessives.

Milner's short discussion (p. 66) of "Bases belonging to more than one class of gender" provides the best argument against relating this grammatical category to gender in—for instance—German. From a general grammatical point of view, one of the prime characteristics of a gender system is that there is little or no movement among classes (Hockett 1958:231). Fijian violates this restriction in a degree greater than one would suspect from reading Milner's discussion. In Fijian, words do not belong to a gender category. Instead, the "needs of the situation" (Milner 1972:66) dictate the choice of the possessive marker. For example, any food or drink can be considered a commodity for trade, rather than for immediate consumption (by eating or drinking) within the context of a particular discourse. Thus, the choice of possessive marker is conditioned by context, not by word class. Unless the term "gender" is used in a very special way, applying it to this situation obscures, rather than clarifies our view of the language.

35 COORDINATION AND SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS

35.1 COORDINATION[1]

In this chapter, we will deal mainly with the coordination of VPs; coordinate NPs are treated in 25.2. The marker sē, however, described below, is used for both VPs and NPs.

A coordinate relationship between VPs means that the actions/states referred to have no cause-effect or other subordinate relationship. The actions/ states may be concurrent, or, if they are in sequence, the sequential arrangement is not emphasized (see the treatments of qāī (21.4.1) and mani (21.4.2).

35.1.1 Ka (a).[2] Ka links VPs, as in the following examples:

e   vaka-yaga-taki   me   kākana,   ka   siga-ni   me   voli-taki
3S   CAU-use-TR   SUB   food   CNJ   dry-TR   SUB   buy-TR
it's used for food and dried to be sold (SF:90)

curu   ki   tuba   ka   kākua   tale   ni   lesu   māī
go-through   DIR   outside   CNJ   don't   ITR   SUB   return   DIR
go outside and don't come back again (SF:96)

era kana gā,   ka   ra moce sara   they just ate and went to sleep
                                                     immediately (VV)
3P eat   LIM CNJ 3P sleep INT

Note in the example just above that ka has the same effect on subjects as the subordinate markers. For those subjects beginning in e-, ka replaces that sound. With the first person singular subject, the u allomorph is used.

Milner noted (1972:18) that in examples like the preceding, the repetition of the subject is optional. Thus, the following is also permissible:

era kana gā ka moce sara

The following example shows ka linking modifiers (i.e. S1 + S1, etc.).

```
e   dua na   gone vuku ka   maqosa          a wise and clever child (VV)
3S  one DEF  child wise CNJ  clever
```

Churchward (1941:22) gave the following example showing ka linking adverbs:

```
era sā    vosa   vaka-dedē  ka    vaka-domo-i-levu
3P  ASP   speak  MAN-long   CNJ   MAN-loud
they spoke long and loudly
```

Ka is also used in numbers larger than ten to link units with tens:

```
tini ka   dua                       eleven
ten  CNJ  one
```

```
tolu-saga-vulu ka   ono                     thirty-six
thirty         CNJ  six
```

The Ivolavosa Vakaviti notes that mani and ka mani are used for the same purpose:

```
tini mani dua                       eleven
tini ka mani dua                    eleven
```

Churchward (1941:23) remarked on the use of ka ni for ni: "Occasionally ka ni appears to be used in place of the simple ni, in the sense of 'for' or 'because'."

As Milner noted (1972:76), ka is used with the markers ni and dē. His examples (in my notation) are as follows:

```
e   ā   mani sega ni    via   vukēī koya, ka   ni    kilā      na   ke-na
3S  PT  SEQ  not  SUB   DES   help  3S    CNJ  SUB   know-3S   DEF  POS-3S
```

```
    i-naki          he didn't want to help him because he knew the intention
    intention       (behind it)
```

```
sā    dua tani     na   no-qu   via   kana, ka   ni    sā   siga dua tāūcoko
ASP   one different DEF  POS-1S  DES   eat   CNJ  SUB   ASP  day  one INC
```

āū sega ni   kana   I was very hungry because I had not eaten
1S not   SUB eat   anything for a whole day

āū sā   sega ni   via tuku-n-a,   ka dē rogo-c-a   na luve-qu lāīlāī
1S ASP not   SUB DES tell-TR-3S CNJ SUB hear-TR-3S DEF child-1S small
I don't want to say it, in case my small child should hear it

āū ā   lako qoli, ka dē rawa me-u   rai-c-a   e dua na kēītōū
1S PT go   fish CNJ SUB able SUB-1S see-TR-3S 3S one DEF POS-1TX

    ika   I went to fish to see if I could find some fish for us
    fish

The Ivolavosa Vakaviti describes ka ni as the same as ni. See 33.1.4 for another example of ka ni.

35.1.2 Sē. In addition to its use as a subordinate marker (33.4), sē is used as a conjunction.

o   sā   na lako, sē   sega   will you go, or not?
2S ASP FT go   CNJ not

Sē can link NPs as well:

ka   ke-na   i-cōī na   rōūrōū   sē   ika
CNJ POS-3S i-cōī DEP taro-leaves CNJ fish
its i-cōī is taro-leaves or fish

Note that na can be omitted in the second NP.

35.1.3 Ia. This conjunction has two functions. The first is to mark an opposing situation:

e   ka-ya o   koya ni   dina, ia   āū sega ni   vaka-bau-t-a
3S say-3S PRP 3S   SUB true CNJ 1S not   SUB believe-TR-3S
he says that it's true, but I don't believe it (VV)

The second is to introduce a topic:

ia,   me da masu mada   now, let us pray (VV)
CNJ SUB 1PI pray INI

35.2 SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS

In this section, I have presented (implicitly) a syntactic theory for Fijian. Syntax is defined as the relationship among phrases. More specifically:

1. There are two main building blocks: VP and NP

2. VP and (NP + NP) constitute basic sentences.

3. Every addition of a phrase (that is, an NP or another VP added to the basic VP) fulfills the semantic function of narrowing the reference.

4. Every different complex (and compound) sentence structure can be viewed as a different combination of VPs and NPs, "Different" here means:

a. Different types of phrases and different combinations

b. Different relationships between/among the phrases

Examples:

1.   VP + VP

       Subordination
       Coordination

2.   NP + VP stative

       Noun attribution

3.   NP + VP active

       Relativization

4   NP + unmarked NP

       Subject, object, and possessive specification

5.   VP + marked NP

       Ablative phrases: i.e. attribution

Amore general notion about Fijian grammar is that certain grammatical and phonological units in Fijian have different functions than corresponding units in some other languages. For example, it is generally phrases, not words, that are identified as to function. With respect to phonological units, the function of accent measures may be closer to that of syllables in English. The next section will show examples of this relationship.

SECTION V

PHONOLOGY

The language of these people is very different in sound from the Tonga language, and is much more harsh to pronounce; it is replete with very strong percussions on the tongue, and with a frequent rattling of the letter r.

An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands Mariner 1827 (2):71

36 LINKS BETWEEN THE GRAMMAR AND PHONOLOGY

It was mentioned earlier that in the 1840s, the missionary-linguists in Fiji used the Quarterlies as a medium for discussing problems of grammar and translation. With the orthography fixed by the late '30s, one might have expected to find all major spelling problems solved by this time. But a problem that has persisted until this day is word division (also discussed in 4.1), The following comments and questions, from the Somosomo Quarterly, 24 June 1846, are illustrative of early concern about how to write certain combinations of morphemes:

> Concerning vei ... [With verbs] it is perhaps generally agreed, that it ought to be united to the verb. But how ought we to work it when it has the other sense?
>
> Is there any reason for this distinction between ena and e sa? We cannot think of one.
>
> Ought not dau, when used intensively, always to be united with the word which it precedes?
>
> We call your attention to the following plan for securing uniformity in writing the following pronouns: ... koi rau, ko iratou, ko ira.

The most publicized disagreement over word boundaries involves nouns formed with the prefix i, described in 4.1.1. We now look at this construction more carefully, seeking the cause of the controversy. Hale (1846:368) stated that "although ... it belongs to the word which follows it, it is nevertheless affixed in pronunciation to that which precedes." His successors had different ideas (Hazlewood 1872, Codrington 1885b:146, Hocart 1910, and Ray 1910). According to their various interpretations, the phrase that translates 'knife', for example, consisting of the morphemes na (definite article), i (instrumental), and sele 'cut', has been written as

nai sele

na isele

na i sele

In short, except for writing the whole construction as one word, every potential word division has been used.

Nor has the argument been resolved, for even today, people disagree about how to write such constructions. To understand why, one must look at the conflict between phonological units and morphological units.

The first comments about the dilemma—those of Hale—explain the problem clearly if they are rephrased. When he said that i "belongs to the word which follows it", he meant that it is allied in meaning and function to the following noun. Thus, with respect to morphology, the hierarchical structure of the phrase above is:

(na (i sele))

By "affixed in pronunciation to that which precedes", he meant that with respect to pronunciation, the phrase is structured as follows (periods separate accent units, to be discussed in the next section):

.nai.sele.

The basis for this division is ACCENT: each of these stretches of speech has one accented syllable.

Na i-sele, then, illustrates the occasional clash between morphology and phonology: the morphological units and the phonological units do not coincide.

But the situation is even more complicated, for the i can change affiliation as the phrase grows. If the possessive modifier is added, the phonological structure is as follows:

.nanona.isele.   his knife

Here, the i is again phonologically affixed to sele. In fact, on the basis of such variability, the definite article was once interpreted as having two shapes—na and nai—and was written that way for a fairly long period.

Such examples are common. In order to discuss their types and extent, we must first deal with the phonological unit that is alluded to above—the MEASURE. It, in turn, will serve as a pivot for the hierarchical array of phonological units treated in Section V.

36.1 MEASURES

The measure is the shortest unit of Fijian speech that can occur alone as a separate utterance. It follows then that anything said in Fijian is at least one measure long. As examples, the following short utterances consist of just one measure each:

io	yes	lako	go!
sega	no	māī	come!
bula	hello	raica	look!
moce	goodbye	vinaka	good
oyā	over there	a cava	what?
oqō	this	e naica	when
o cēī	who?	tū	stand!

If we examine this group of utterances carefully, we can divide them into four sets. Each set has a different combination of syllables, but always involving one (and only one) accented syllable:

1. Two short syllables, with accent on the penultimate. E.g. bula.

2. Three short syllables, with accent on the penultimate. E.g. vinaka

3. One long syllable (simple or complex), accented. E.g. tū,

4. One short syllable followed by one long one, with accent on the long one. E.g. oyā

Measures will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters; this sketch serves to introduce the concept, which plays an important part in the classification proposed in 36.2.

36.2 THE RELATIONSHIP OF ACCENT TO MORPHOLOGY-SYNTAX

For Fijian, as for many other Austronesian languages, statements about the placement and different levels of accent have often been confusing and contradictory. One can find, in various treatments, these statements, some of which are conflicting:

1. All words have penultimate accent.

2. Each word has only one accented syllable.

3. There are also secondary accents elsewhere in the word.

4. Content forms have a stronger accent than do function words.

In this section, we examine Fijian accent from a different stance: the prosodic behavior of different forms in different combinations.

36.3 FORMAL AND FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF MORPHEMES

Because many grammatical markers consist of one short syllable[1] (and are thereby prohibited from serving as independent measures), there are a number of links between grammar and prosody. In order to understand them, we must classify morphemes according to two criteria: form and function.

36.3.1 Classification according to form (phonological). The foundations of this formal classification are the measure and the syllable. We find that any form shorter than a long syllable or dissyllable—that is, a short syllable or a consonant alone—cannot serve as a complete measure, but only as part of one. Thus, the following division:

PARTICLE: a form that cannot serve as a measure

BASE: a form that can serve as a measure

(Note that this classification is wholly phonological, even though a particular form may serve as a morpheme.)

Examples of morphemes that are particles:

na   (definite article)

e	(third person singular subject)
i	(directional ablative)
-qu	(first person singular possessive)

Examples of morphemes that are bases:

vavi	baked
dalo	taro
qāī	(sequential)
tiko	stay, (continuative)
kece	(inclusion)

36.3.2 Classification according to function (grammatical). This classification has been used in the description of the VP and the NP. Morphemes that serve as content forms are called ROOTS; those that serve as grammatical forms are called MARKERS.

ROOT: a morpheme that functions as the head of a phrase
MARKER: a morpheme that functions in the periphery of a phrase

Examples of roots (from the previous lists) are:

vavi	baked
dalo	taro
tiko	stay

Examples of markers are:

na	(definite article)
e	(third person singular subject)
i	(directional ablative)
-qu	(first person singular possessive)
qāī	(sequential)
tiko	(continuative)
kece	(inclusion)

By examining the examples, it can be seen that the two systems of classification are not equivalent. However, there are two re-lationships that produce overlapping:

> 1. A root must have the form of a base. That is, in order to serve as the head of a phrase, a form must be at least one measure in length.

2. A particle must function as a marker, not as
the head of a phrase. That is, a form like na (def-
inite article) or e (third person singular subject)
must serve in the periphery of a phrase, not as the
head.

The examples also show that some bases have dual functions:
tiko appears in both lists. However, one might also, as a sep-
arate solution, consider tiko to be two separate morphemes: one
that serves as a root, the other as a marker.

36.4 COMBINING FORMS

In order to describe the effects of morphology-syntax on
prosody, we need a further division of the formal category
BASE. This division is related to two distinct measure types: the
first, CVCV and CV̄; the second, CVCVCV and CVCV̄. Their dis-
tinguishing characteristic (formally) is the absence or presence
of an onset syllable. The first type we call EVEN; the second,
ODD. The significance of the distinction is this: measures that
are even are capable of accepting another short syllable at the
beginning; odd measures are not.

The possible[2] combinations are:

1. Particle + base

    2. Base + particle

    3. Base + particle + base

    4. Base + base

    5. Particle + particle

36.4.1 Particle + base. This combination of forms produces very
different prosodic effects, depending on whether the base is
even or odd. An even base will accept a particle as an onset syl-
lable, so that the resultant form is still one measure in length:

```
na  +  vale  →  .navale.    the house
se  +  levu  →  .selevu.    there's still a lot
na  +  vū    →  .navū.      the origin
```

na + mē   → .namē.   the goat

If we examine the resultant measures, we see that each has an ideal accent pattern with respect to morpheme classification: the accent is on one of the syllables of the base, and the particle is unaccented.

However, the combination of particle + odd base has a different result. Here, the base fills the measure to the utmost, and the particle cannot be assimilated. Thus, a new measure is formed—one that consists of the particle plus the onset syllable of the base:

me + kilā   → .meki.lā.   that he might know it
i   + Levuka → .ile.vuka.   to Levuka
se + totoka → .seto.toka. it's still beautiful

In each of these constructions, the nature of the constituents has produced a less-than-ideal measure: one whose form forces a particle to be accented. As a result, although each of these measures occupies a place in the rhythm of the phrase, and although there is still a contrast between accented and unaccented syllables, the overall level of energy is less than that on an "ideal" measure. The phonetic effect, then, is something like the following:[3]

[mèkilã̄]

36.4.2 Base + particle. The examples of this construction are fewer than the former type, since particles that follow a base are confined to the following:

Inalienable possessive suffixes; e.g. -qu, -mu, -na

Monosyllabic transitive suffixes + a; e.g. -ca, -ka

Stative suffixes; e.g. -a, -wa

Syllables added to lines in meke; e.g. -ri

Examples are, first, with even bases:

mata +   →   .mataqu.   my eye
-qu

kaba + -ta →	.kabata.	climb it
savasava → + -a	.sava.savā.	clean
bū + -qu →	.buqu.	my grandmother
koro + -ri →	.korori.	house (syllable added to balance metre)

These examples illustrate two prominent phonological features: the so-called "accent shift" (máta, but matáqu) and the shortening of long vowels in measure-penultimate position.

An example with an odd base:[4]

dalíga + -na → .dáli.gána. her ear

Note that these examples, as well, illustrate the "accent shift", which is more accurately described as an obligatory re-alignment of syllables at the end of a phrase (Schütz 1976).

36.4.3 Base + particle + base. Although this combination might be considered a variation of either type 1 or type 2, we treat it separately for the following reasons.

First, although a construction like

na lewe ni vanua (lit.) the inhabitants of land

may look like a simple combination of two phrases, it forms one phonological phrase and has the following hierarchical grammatical structure:

(na (lewe (ni vanua)))

Thus, lewe ni vanua operates as a unit.

Next, there is some variation as to the prosodic behavior of the two linking markers that occur as the particle in this construction—i and ni. Note the following constructions and their grouping according to measures. We first treat i, which is more nearly regular in its behavior:

tama + i + kēīrāū → .tamāī.kēī.rāū. our (dual exclusive) father

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ulu + i + Alivereti → .ului.ali.vereti. A's head
tina + i + Sāīkiusa → .tināī.sāī.kiusa. S's mother

The bases in the first column are roots that belong to the semantic category of inalienable and partitive, and the usual function of i is—in semantic terms—to associate these entities (usually body parts and kin, as in the examples above) with another entity.

However, when i is used as an alternate to nēī (which marks alienable, neutral possession), it does not attach prosodically to the first base, but to the second:

kato + i + Mere   → .kato.imere.   Mere's box
i-sulu + i + Bale → .isulu.ibale.   Bale's clothes

Although the possessive marker ni usually combines prosodically with the following base, as in

vale + ni + kana → .vale.nikana. restaurant (literally house for eating)

some speakers treat it like the i in the first examples above:

yasa + ni + Hansard → .yasani.Hansard. the Hansard side

Such pronunciations are features of particular speakers or those from particular areas. However, it may be that it is the semantic category of the first root that makes them possible; it would be unusual to find the same measure grouping when ni is used with a root that is clearly alienable and integral, such as vale 'house'. Thus, such a pronunciation as:

> *.valeni.kana.

is not likely to be heard.

36.4.4 Base + base. When two bases are combined, they generally keep the measure grouping they had as separate bases. With even bases, there is not even an option to change:

```
kā + vōū    → .kā.vōū.      new thing
tauvi +     → .tauvi.mate.  ill (lit., infected with
mate                        illness)
```

No other measure groupings are possible.

But the combination of even base + odd base, or two odd bases, offers an option for realignment under the two accents. For example, combining

vale + balavu   long house

does not produce

   *.valeba.lavu.

Similarly,

vanua + totoka   beautiful land

does not produce

   *.vanu.ato.toka.

Instead, the accent pattern of each single measure is kept:

.vale.balavu.
.vanua. totoka.

The reason for the qualifier "generally" at the beginning of this section is that one kind of change can take place when two bases are combined: syllable shortening. Thus, even though

kā balavu   long thing

consists of two roots, the form can realign to this measure grouping:

   .kaba.lavu.

Note, however, that the accent does not shift from one syllable to another. This phenomenon is discussed more fully in 41.6 and 41.7.

36.4.5 Particle + particle. Within a phrase, the combinatorial possibilities of particles before a base[5] can produce sequences of particles that are forced to make up measures in themselves. For example:

ki + na (+ vale)	→ .kina.vale.	to the house
me + ra (+ lako)	→ .mera.lako.	that they might go
na + i (+ sele)	→ .nāī.sele.	the knife
e + na + i (+ sele)	→ .ena.isele.	with the knife

In each of these examples, the first measure is made up of particles, the first of which must be accented. But as with the type above in which a particle was accented, the degree of prominence given to such a measure is less than that given to a measure in which the accented syllable belongs to a base. Thus, the phonetic[6] manifestations of the forms above, with respect to accent, are:

[kìnavále]   [mèraláko]   [nāĭséle]   [ènaiséle]

In fast (normal) speech, it is often difficult to recognize any of the syllables in such measures as .kina. and .enāī. above as accented.

36.4.6 Summary. The main point of this section is that even when markers that are particles are placed in the accented position of a measure, that level of accent is less than that of a measure in which the accented syllable is part of a base. On the other hand, markers that are bases are accented as if they were roots. For example:

.sā.qāī.lako.   and then she went

Each of the three measures is a base, but in terms of function, there are two different categories represented. The measure .lako. corresponds to a root; .sā. and .qāī. each to a marker.

.āū.	sā.	bāū.	dāū.	tadra.	sara.	toka.	gā.	I always dream
								(FR3:45)
1S	ASP	TEN	HAB	dream	INT	CNT	LIM	

In this example as well, each measure corresponds to a base. The measure .tadra. corresponds to a root; each of the others to a marker.

36.5 THE EFFECT OF COMPLEMENTARY OR OPPOSING TENDENCIES

So far, two prosodic tendencies or pressures have been noted:

> 1. Long vowels regularly shorten before CV at the end of a phonological phrase; they tend to shorten before other instances of CV.

> 2. There is a tendency to avoid accenting a particle whenever possible.

Because of the first tendency, we find the following alternate pronunciations:

	.sē.nikāū.	
sē + ni + kāū		flower
	.seni.kāū.	

This presents no particular problems, since neither alternative has the particle ni in the accented position.

However,

bā + ni + vuaka   pig pen

presents a different situation. Here, of the two alternatives

.bā.nivu.aka.
.bani. vuaka.

the second is clearly preferable, since it puts the particle ni in an unaccented position. Thus, the tendency for bā to shorten before an unaccented short syllable is reinforced. Other examples are:

	.bani.tēī.tēī.
bā + ni + tēītēī →	

$$\text{bā + ni + itēītēī} \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{.bā.nitēī.tēī.} \\[4pt] \text{.bani.itēī.tēī.} \end{array}$$

36.6 DISCUSSION: WORDS?

The source of the conflict between the word and the measure is accent, for it is taken to be a defining feature of each. The possible resolutions of this paradox are:

1. Measures and words coincide. Or,

2. Accent defines only one unit.

I should like to show that accent defines only the measure, and that the concept "word" is valid as neither a phonological nor a grammatical unit.

36.6.1 Definitions of "word". It is difficult to find the term "word" explicitly defined in the grammars. Often, the definitions are implicit, and one must work backwards from statements about accent. For example, Churchward (1941:10) wrote: "The normal position of the stress or accent is on the last syllable but one." (One assumes that he was referring to a word.) With respect to our orthographical concept of "word", this definition does cover the majority of examples. However, it uses what we might call an escape word—"normal", which implies that there are other positions for an accent. Next, referring to "the stress" (emphasis mine) implies that there is only one; on only the next page (p. 11) of his description, Churchward noted that "many words have more than one accented syllable" (p. 11).

Milner's description (1972:6) accounts for words[7] with more than one accent by proposing a secondary accent, with "words of four syllables" exhibiting the following pattern:

bùtakóca   steal it

However, such a statement does not define word boundaries rigorously, for many four-syllable utterances have such a pattern:

vàle lévu   big house

| làko táni | | go away |

Moreover, as 36.1 shows, each accent here defines a measure peak; the It appears, then, that the main problem with recognizing the word as a grammatical entity is this: if accent defines various phonological units, can it also define the word? It could, of course, if the boundaries of these phonological units always coincided with conventional word boundaries. Consider the following examples (with measure boundaries indicated after the usual spelling):

| sā lako | .sā.lako. | he went |
| āū sā lako | .āū.sā.lako. | I went |

Here, the boundaries between measures match the word divisions. But unless one keeps the phrases very simple (for example, by substituting other two-syllable morphemes for lako), the boundaries do not match so well. As soon as morphemes of the odd (see 36.4) phonological shape appear in combination, there is a regrouping of syllables into measures:

| e na lako | .ena.lako. | he will go |

Is there any justification for writing e and na as separate words?[8] Following are more examples of the effect of combining morphemes that correspond to the odd phonological form:

me balavu	.meba.lavu.	let it be long
me kilā	.meki.lā.	in order to know it
e sega ni balavu	.esega.niba.lavu.	it isn't long

Note that e (third person singular) is written as a separate word in the last example above. Some writers (for example, the authors of the Na Viti series and the Fijian Readers) have chosen to write e as a separate word when it occurs in the other third person forms:

| e rau, e ratou, e ra | (third person dual, trial, plural) |

Others (for example, Churchward and Milner) have written:

erau, eratou, era

36.6.2 Accent "shift". For certain forms, there have been no orthographical arguments: principally, three[9] sets of those morphemes discussed in 36.4.2 have from Cargill's time been written as suffixes:

> 1. The transitive marker plus third person singular object; e.g. kaba-t-a 'climb it' (from kaba 'climb')
>
> 2. The one-syllable possessive person-number markers; e.g. mata-na 'her eye' (from mata 'eye')
>
> 3. A marker, no longer productive, that made a stative out of certain forms, e.g. drega-drega-ta 'sticky' (from drega 'gum')

The argument for writing all these forms as suffixes was that the one-syllable morphemes 'shifted the accent' on the forms they followed.[10] For example, marking an accent on the penultimate syllable of each of the examples above shows such a "shift". Can one doubt, then, that the added morphemes are suffixes?

A closer look at the situation[11] shows that the answer is not so simple. When one examines the structure of grammatical phrases, one finds that these classes are the only one-syllable forms that follow the head of the phrase. All others (see Milner 1972:94) are at least a measure in length. We can assume that such one-syllable forms end the basic phrase and thus have no following form to combine with phonologically. Thus, the resultant "shift in accent" is a phonological matter, dependent on the structure of measures and the phonological phrase, and their relation to the grammatical phrase. The concept "word" does not enter the picture.

36.6.3 Minimum free forms. What of other, more general definitions of the word? "Minimum free form" (Hockett 1958:168–9) is a possibility. However, as we saw in 36.1, minimum utterances in Fijian are dependent on measure structure. Such a "word" as ni or na or e could not possibly be a minimum free form.

From a grammatical point of view, "minimum free form" is a hazy concept. Utterances consisting of just one morpheme are rare, being restricted generally to greetings, exclamations, 'yes' and 'no', imperatives, and some one-word comments such as

totoka 'beautiful' or vinaka 'good'.[12] Forms that are used primarily in noun phrases are seldom heard without a preceding article. Most important, phrases like the following are in themselves minimal; they cannot be reduced:

i vēī	where?
māī vēī	where, whence?
lāī vēī	going where?
o cēī	who?

Is each of these phrases also a word?

36.6.4 Summary. In Fijian there is neither phonological nor morphological evidence for the word as a valid grammatical concept. What have traditionally been called "words" have been forms that were fortuitous matches between measures and morphemes. The mismatches have been glossed over as occasional exceptions.

37 PHONOLOGICAL UNITS

As CH 2 and CH 5 showed, the character and quality of the earlier studies of Fijian changed with the works of Davies and Cargill, not so much by their scope as by the analysis that went into their making. The evidence of such analysis is the alphabets that introduce the primers and grammars,[1] implicit proof that these two grammarians had viewed the sound system as a whole and had decided that a certain number and variety of letters could represent all the sounds that they heard.

Davies did not have an opportunity to produce more than an imperfect, rudimentary spelling system. But Cargill's situation differed markedly. Because he was instructed to devise an orthography that would facilitate a translation of the Bible and the literacy necessary for Fijians to read it, he modified a succession of less sophisticated systems until he achieved one that made nearly all—and only—those vowel and consonant distinctions that were necessary.[2] And because he was also charged with the more general task of describing the language, he went beyond the basic orthography by recognizing another level in the phonological hierarchy: the SYLLABLE.[3]

The present work attempts not only to treat these two more traditional units, but also to integrate them into the whole range of units to produce a descriptive statement that shows the hierarchical structure of the phonological system.

The underlying assumption for such a treatment is that phonological units larger than the syllable have a demarcative function (Martinet 1960:87, referred to in Hyman 1975:205): to give the hearer clues about grammatical units. This is not to say that phonological and grammatical units are always isomorphic; the preceding chapter gives an example of a common type of mismatch. But in general, one can find an approximate fit between the members of the pairs shown in Table 37:1.

TABLE 37:1

PHONOLOGICAL	GRAMMATICAL

measure	morpheme
phonological phrase	grammatical phrase
phonological sentence	grammatical sentence

37.1 PHONOLOGICAL UNITS AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

Fijian phonology is treated here by describing and noting the relationship among five different units in the phonological hierarchy,[4] beginning with the largest unit and moving to successively smaller ones. These units are the SENTENCE, PHRASE, MEASURE, SYLLABLE, and PHONEME. Using the sentence

 kē cā, āū tiko   if it's bad, I'm staying

we show the hierarchical relationship graphically in Figure 37:1.

FIGURE 37:1
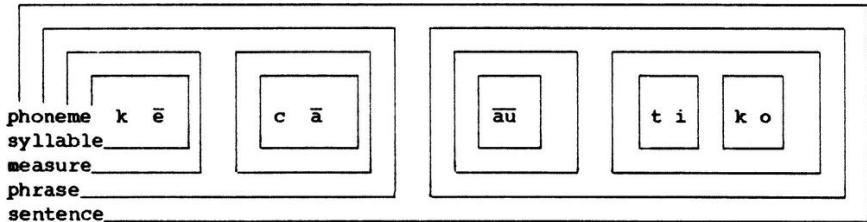
Note that in Figure 37:1, there is some overlapping of units. That is, the same stretch of material serves as different units on different levels. Thus, each of the forms /kē/, /cā/, and /āū/ serves as both a syllable and a measure.

Phonological units fall into two groups. The smaller units—the measure, the syllable, and the phoneme—are precisely defined as to length and structure, so that canonical forms can be established. The larger units—the phrase and the sentence—differ from the other units in two ways.

First, their length is only loosely limited. A phrase may be limited by the structure of the grammatical phrase (which is its correlate) and by breath span. Phonological sentences have fewer restrictions on length. For example, the breath span is

no longer appropriate. Moreover, in theory, at least, utterances of infinite length are possible: e.g. lists, or house-that-Jack-built constructions.

Next, whereas the smaller units are purely phonological in their function,[5] the larger units are subtly but inextricably bound to grammar and meaning. This property will become apparent in the following description, especially in the analysis of the complex relationship between phrases and sentences.

37.2 PHONOLOGICAL SENTENCES

A phonological sentence is an utterance that consists of a phrase or series of phrases, contains a TERMINAL, and is preceded and followed by pause.

For example, the following phonological sentence consists of two phonological phrases (indicated here by uppercase letters on the peak syllables):

ni oti na seREki   kēīrāū lāī leVUka
after the term was over, we (dual exclusive) went to Levuka

The way this sentence is normally said, the hearer can recognize that the first portion contains a phrase peak. Since its interval is relatively slight, the hearer knows that more material follows. The second phrase is marked with a terminal, signaling that the sentence ends with this phrase.

Although a sentence terminal is indicated by a combination of the phonetic ingredients STRESS, DURATION, and PITCH CONTOUR, the principal ingredient is the pitch contour and its relationship to the register of the preceding material. Formally, there are two kinds of sentence terminals: those distinguished by PITCH FALL and PITCH RISE.[6] In the notation here, a pitch fall is indicated by ↓, a rise by ↑ after the measure containing the peak syllable.

To distinguish a terminal, the pitch arrow appears at the end of the terminal phrase. Thus, the sentence above can be marked:

ni oti na seREki↓   kēīrāū lāī leVUka↓

Because a phonological sentence can contain more than one phonological phrase, it is necessary to mark phrase boundaries. In examples with more than one phrase, colons are used. To make the examples easier to read, conventional word boundaries will be used unless it is necessary to mark accent measures instead. Double colons will be used to mark sentence boundaries, if necessary.

37.3 PHONOLOGICAL PHRASES

A phonological phrase is a unit that functions as a building block for a phonological sentence. A phrase consists of a MEASURE (described in 36.1 and in the next section) or series of measures, one of which is characterized by a PEAK. Phonetically, this peak is indicated by a pitch change, a greater degree of stress, and a somewhat longer duration.[7]

The domain of that pitch change is the accented syllable of the peak measure. As in the previous examples, the peak syllable is written in uppercase type, the unaccented syllable(s) in lowercase. To add to the marking conventions, measures are separated by periods. Since any phrase division also represents a measure division (in slow speech, at least), colons at phrase boundaries show measure boundaries as well.

:kēī.rāū.lāī.leVUka↓:   we (dual exclusive) went to Levuka

The phonetic manifestation of the peak is a pitch change. In order to show further detail, pitch can be separated into three components: directon of change (rise vs. fall), relative height, and interval. But we take the position here that these details are not an integral part of the phrase until it serves some function in the sentence. Therefore, the phrase peak is like a chameleon, taking on different "colorations"—that is, phonetic detail—in different situations.

To give a stylized representation of the phrase and its peak (in this case, also the sentence peak), we use the common expression vinaka vakalevu 'thank you very much', shown in Figure 37:2.[8]

FIGURE 37:2
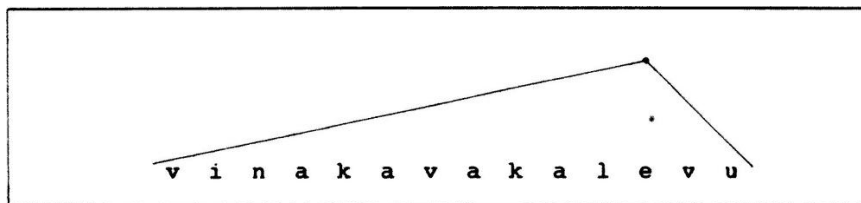
Except in phrases containing only one content form, the phrase peak is not fixed in one particular position.[9] Note the following:

::LAko.mada↓: :   please go

::lako.mada.MĀĪ↓::   please come here

In a more detailed discussion of the phrase, we will show how the location of the peak is dependent upon two related systems.

37.4 MEASURES

The term "measure" was introduced earlier. We now describe the measure in greater detail.

If we examine common short utterances in the language, we find that they fall into one of four types shown in Table 37:2.

TABLE 37:2

1. CV́CV		2. CVCV́CV		3. CV́		4. CVCV́	
io	yes	vinaka	good	ōī	(excl.)	e sō	some
sega	no	e sega	no	ō	(excl.)	e cā	it's bad
bula	hello	baleta	why	ā	(excl.)	e vēī	where?
moce	goodbye			ū	(excl.)	o cēī	who?
talo	pour			māī	come	ki vēī	where?
tuba	outside					segāī	no
lako	go						
kua	don't						
maca	dry						
veka	excrement						

These four types constitute the unit in the sound system that we call the measure. In terms of their structure, they can be viewed as:

1. cv́cv   3. cv̋
2. cvcv́cv   4. cvcv̋

A way to illustrate the four measure types graphically is to let boxes represent the two kinds of syllables in their special combinations. The smaller boxes represent short syllables; the larger boxes, long syllables. (One should not assume that the utterances are actually of the same length; acoustic experimentation has shown that this is not the case. However, they serve as equivalent units in the rhythm system.)

1	levu
2	vinaka
3	māī
4	kilā

In the examples in Table 37:2, each measure can be a separate utterance. It follows, then, that one of the features of a measure is that it serves as a minimum utterance. Further evidence for this label lies in citation forms—utterances consisting solely of an item that is not normally said alone. For example, the ablative marker i consists of a single short syllable (thus defined as a particle; see 36.3.1). When cited in quotation marks (so to speak), the syllable is lengthened, as in this example:

Q: o ā kaya "ī" sē "māī"?   did you say "i" or "māī"?
A: "ī"   "i"

In this citation form, the particle i is lengthened to /ī/, showing that such a short syllable cannot serve as a minimum utterance. In graphic terms, /i/ as a minimum form does not fit into any of the four combinations of boxes. Therefore, the syllable is lengthened so that it fits into box 3. Other examples are the names of the letters of the alphabet: ā, bā, cā, etc.; or syllabic oral spelling: vī nā kā for vinaka 'good'.[10]

Longer utterances provide another kind of argument for the existence of measures. They show that accented and unaccented syllables do not occur randomly, but in regular patterns. For example, one does not find more than two unaccented syllables in succession, or a series of two accented syllables unless they are long. Restrictions such as these point to this conclusion: that longer forms are made up of a succession of measures.

To show graphically the succession of measure peaks in a longer utterance, we use in Figure 37:3 the phrase that appears in Figure 37:2: vinaka vakalevu 'thank you very much':

FIGURE 37:3
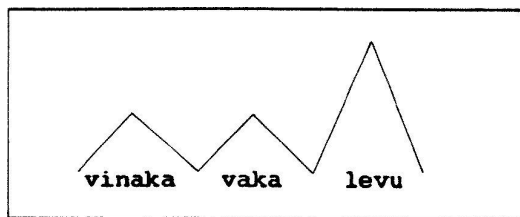
Figure 37:3 is an elaboration of Figure 37:2. The highest peak still represents the phrase (and sentence) peak, but in addition, the measure peaks are represented.

37.5 SYLLABLES

A syllable is the smallest rhythmic unit in the language; by "rhythmic" we mean that it is characterized by a pulsation—a beat. Formally, it is composed of a vowel peak, which may be preceded by a consonant. Functionally, a syllable is a constituent of the next larger phonological unit—the MEASURE.

Figure 37:4 adds the detail of syllable peaks to the previous two figures.

FIGURE 37:4
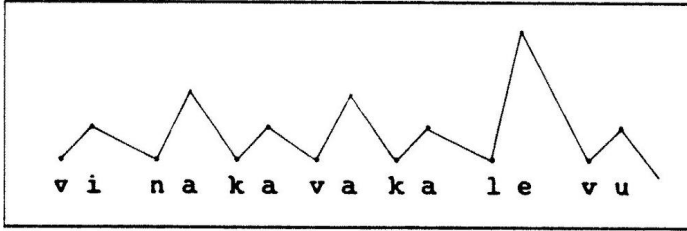
In Figure 37:4, higher peaks subsume lower ones. The highest peak represents the sentence and phrase peak, the peak of the measure .levu., and the peak of the syllable /le/. Similarly, the two second highest peaks represent both measure and syllable peaks.[11]

37.5.1 Types of syllables. The examples just given show the type of syllable that is most frequent: that consisting of a consonant and a vowel.[12] But because a vowel alone can serve as a syllable, the canonical form of syllables must be symbolized as (C)V.

Syllables can be further classified according to the types of vowels or vowel sequences that can represent V. There is a two-way classification: short vs. long, and simple vs. complex. Figure 37:5 shows the relationship.

FIGURE 37:5

	SHORT	LONG
SIMPLE	/a/ [a], as in ka 'and'	/ā/ [ā], as in kā 'thing'
COMPLEX	/au/ [aw], as in kauta 'carry it'	/āū/ [āw] as in kāū 'tree'

The terms "short" and "long" here refer principally to duration; but the phonetic transcriptions in Figure 37:5 show that there axe other phonetic mechanisms at work. We will discuss finer phonetic details in CH 43. It should also be mentioned here that long vowels (and hence, long syllables), whether simple or complex, regularly shorten when followed by a short unac-

cented syllable. Thus, there is no contrast between long and short vowels in that position. Vowel shortening is discussed in more detail in 41.6 and 41.7. Finally, long vowels are restricted to accented syllables; short vowels are not so restricted.

Because each of the four types in Figure 37:5 can occur either with or without a consonant, there are then eight specific syllable types possible.

37.6 PHONEMES

For the purposes of this description, phonemes are defined as minimum phonological units, and are restricted to vowels and consonants.

37.6.1 Vowels. This system of vowel classification is based on the function of vowels in different types of syllables—those that are represented in Figure 37:5. In addition, syllable accent has an effect on the classification.

37.6.1.1 Short accented syllables. This type contains the greatest number of vowel contrasts.[13] There are two types—those containing:

a. Simple short vowels. E.g.:

/i/ tiki	portion
/e/ teki	begun
/a/ taki	draw up
/o/ toki	shift
/u/ tuki	strike

b. Complex short vowels. Vowels of this type are short diph- thongs. That is, the peak of sonority is on the first element, and the second element serves as an offglide, E.g.:

/ai/	taiki[14]	swing around
/au/	tauke	possess
/ei/	seila	cataract
/eu/	ceuta	carve it

/oi/	boica	smell it
/ou/	touva	paste it
/iu/	biuta	leave it

Thus, we see that there are twelve vowel contrasts in this position. In a traditional phonemic sense, however, they do not contrast with corresponding complex long vowels, since vowel shortening in this position is regular.

37.6.1.2 Long accented syllables. There are two types of long syllables—those containing:

a. Simple long vowels. E.g.:

/ī/	bī	heavily laden
/ē/	bē	irreverent
/ā/	bā	fence
/ō/	bō	seized
/ū/	bū	drinking coconut

b. Complex long vowels. The marking on these vowels does not mean that each element is lengthened. On the contrary, it is the first vowel—the syllable peak—that is lengthened. E.g.:

/āī/	kāī	shellfish (bivalve)
/āū/	kāū	carried
/ēī/	kēī	and
/ēū/	kēū	if I
/ōī/	i-kōī	(kind of shellfish)
/ōū/	kōū	shout
/īū/	bīū	(to be) left

As with the complex short vowels, there are twelve vowel contrasts in this position.

37.6.1.3 Unaccented syllables. Each unaccented syllable contains a short, simple vowel. Therefore, only the five simple vowels occur in such syllables. In the following examples, the second syllable in each example is unaccented.

/i/	mati	ebb (tide)

/e/	mate	dead
/a/	mata	eye, face
/o/	mato	agitated (current)
/u/	matu	(kind of fish)

37.6.1.4 Summary. This analysis of Fijian vowel sounds is presented from a functional point of view: that is, how the language keeps utterances distinct. By using the measure and the syllable as starting points, I take the position that for Fijian, the most common measure type—the dissyllable—illustrates the array of vowel contrasts in much the same way that a monosyllable does for English.

This analysis, demonstrating the complexity of the system, does not preclude a five-vowel analysis at another level. Indeed, one might view the traditional five vowels as building blocks for syllable nuclei.

37.6.2 Consonants. Fijian consonants can be classified according to three phonetic criteria: articulatory position, manner, and voicing. In the following diagram, articulatory positions constitute the horizontal dimension, and manner the vertical dimension. Limited by the two dimensions of the page, we represent the voiceless-voiced contrast by the horizontal dotted lines on Table 37:3.

In Table 37:3, parentheses mark those consonants whose history or status is different from the majority (and whose presence is due largely to borrowing—either from related languages/dialects or from English). We will treat this aspect of /p/, /f/, j, and z[15] at length. Finally, asterisks mark sounds whose distribution is restricted in some way.

TABLE 37.3

	B L L D	A A D A	A P	D V	
STOPS	(p)	t		k	BL = bilabial
	- - - - - - - - - - - - - -			- -	LD = labiodental
	b	d		q	AD = apico-dental
TRILLS/ FLAPS		r - - - dr			AA = apico-alveolar AP = alveo-palatal DV = dorso-velar
FRICATIVES	(f) v	s c			
(AFFRICATES)			(j) - - - (z)		
NASALS	m	n		g	
LATERAL		l			
GLIDES	w*		y*		

Legend:
BL = bilabial
LD = labiodental
AD = apico-dental
AA = apico-alveolar
AP = alveo-palatal
DV = dorso-velar

37.7 DISCUSSION: PHONOLOGICAL UNITS

This chapter has introduced Fijian phonological units from a hierarchical point of view. The chapters that follow describe each unit in greater detail, discuss alternate analyses, and show how the present analysis developed. The order of chapters roughly follows that of the preceding sketch—that is, from larger unit to smaller one.

I shall now discuss some of the general problems connected with the hierarchical approach for phonology.

The standard treatments of Fijian have tended either to ignore phonological units larger than the syllable, or to deny them a place in the overall description of the language. For example, Scott (1948) recognized a unit of accent, but only with respect to word building. Scott (in the same work) and Milner (1972:147–51) treated intonation, but not from the point of view

of larger phonological units. Cammack (1962) included larger units in his description, but it is difficult to see what the defining features are.[16] Thus, for the most part, phonology stopped at the level of the phoneme.

The present approach of including all the levels in a hierarchical arrangement produces certain procedural difficulties, the first of which concerns definition. Except for those at the top and bottom of the scale,[17] each unit can be defined in two ways: first, according to its FORM—that is, its constituents; and second, according to its FUNCTION—that is, how it participates in a larger unit. The three largest units have an additional function, as they often coincide with grammatical units.

Inherent in this approach are three main problems. The first, stated by Hockett (1955:43–44) is that we cannot be sure that we have recognized the largest unit. Do sentences group together to form a phonological paragraph, as it were? Do even larger units—discourse, for example—have a phonological unity? The smaller end of the scale provides a corollary: Are there units smaller than the phoneme? An obvious possibility is the distinctive feature. But I have avoided discussing distinctive features here for two reasons. First, because the other units described have a "reality" in the sense that they can be heard and segmented, I have not dealt with any prospective unit that cannot be heard. Next, even from the point of view of economy, proposing distinctive features does not facilitate the description of Fijian phonology, for the consonant system is too asymmetrical for natural classes to be of much use for descriptive purposes.

The second problem is that in many cases, the same utterance may serve as several units at once. This situation is particularly common when very short utterances are involved. For example, the utterance

ō   (polite greeting used on formal occasions)

serves as all the units: sentence, phrase, measure, syllable, and phoneme.

This situation has led to a certain amount of confusion about which characteristics belong to which unit. The prime example is the view that words have the following accent pattern:

càkacáka   work

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when it turns out that words cannot be phonologically defined, and hence have no intrinsic accent pattern themselves. Instead, the accent pattern is related to phrases, for each word elicited out of context is actually a phonological phrase.

The third problem deals with the nature of linguistic description. It was mentioned above that the criteria used here are form and function. Because the form of a unit is dependent upon its constituents, one must look to these units smaller than the one in question. And because function refers partially to how a unit serves to build a larger unit, one must also include that larger unit in the description. Thus, it is impossible to deal wholly with one unit at a time. With the exception of the largest and the smallest unit, a description of a particular unit encompasses not only that unit, but those adjacent to it. This situation is shown graphically in Figure 37:6:

FIGURE 37:6
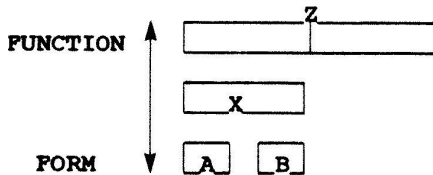
In order to describe fully the form of unit X, we must note that its constituents are units A and B. And to describe its function, we must note that it, in turn, is a constituent of unit Z. Therefore, the following description necessarily contains a certain amount of jumping from one unit to another.

37.7.1 Accent and prosody, and their place in the system. One of the first published accounts of Fijian available to scholars, Horatio Hale's grammatical sketch (1846), was cursory in its treatment of prosody. In a single paragraph (p. 367), Hale mentioned that although accent occurred on the last syllable of a few words, such as qāqā 'brave',[18] it more commonly occurred on the penultimate syllable of most words, and shifted on forms with suffixes.[19] It was his first category that dealt indirectly with another prosodic problem—the syllabic interpretation of long vowels—for later analysts interpreted this /qā/ as /qã/, a long and accented syllable, and then as two syllables, /qá/ + /a/, with penultimate accent.

Hazlewood (1872:57–8) went into more detail: "The accent is invariably on the last syllable, or last but one." He, too, noted that the accent shifted in such forms as /úlu/ 'head', /ulúdra/ 'their heads' and /kába/ 'climb', /kabáta/ 'climb it', /kabatáka/ 'climb with it'. In addition, he noted the accent placement in partially and fully reduplicated forms, such as /léka/, /leléka/ 'short' and /vala/, /válavála/ 'habit, act', proposing a secondary accent for the first syllable of a longer reduplicated form—/càkacakáva/. As did Hale, he interpreted the second syllable of such transitive forms as /volã/ 'write it' and /tarã/ 'touch it' as accented, not long.

But Hazlewood also mentioned duration (or quantity, as he called it) because it "not infrequently alters the sense of a word." However, he gave no examples, and it is difficult to understand how he distinguished long syllables from accented final ones. Unlike many Polynesian languages, Fijian has few examples of vowel-length contrast in non-final position. Perhaps dredre 'laugh' and drēdrē 'difficult' axe the kind of examples Hazlewood had in mind.

Under the heading of "Emphasis", Hazlewood discussed accent on the sentence level, making the observation that emphasis should never be placed on "articles, prepositions, conjunctions, expletives, and all words of minor importance". This feature, he speculated, "must be substantially the same in all languages".

With the exception of an odd contention by Moore (1906b:6) that "the penultimate accent generally shortens the vowel",[20] the few grammatical sketches and primers that appeared before 1941 echoed (and abbreviated) Hazlewood's observations about prosody. But that year, Churchward's new grammar and Capell's new dictionary clarified a few matters.

Most important, Churchward stated the relationship between length and accent more explicitly: "The normal position of the stress or accent is on the last syllable but one … A syllable containing a long vowel or a diphthong, however, is nearly always accented, no matter what its position may be … [M] any words have more than one accented syllable." He continued, giving a list of words of various lengths with different combinations of accents.

Capell (1941a:iv), in his companion-piece to the grammar, viewed accent in a different way:

Care has been taken to make the spelling consistent and self-explanatory. To this end long syllables have been marked by a macron or dash over the long vowel. It should be remembered, however, that this does not necessarily imply that the long vowel also bears the accent. Frequently a vowel is marked long in the syllable before the accent; in such cases the vowel is, strictly speaking, only half-long, but it has not seemed necessary to introduce a special symbol to mark this fact. An example is provided by the word macawa: the first a is definitely lengthened, but not fully long, and the accent is just as definitely on the second a. So in lomalagi: the second syllable is half-long, while the accent falls on the third.

Capell's and Churchward's contradictory statements represent two strongly opposing views about accent: each word has one accent (on either the final or penultimate syllable), or, each word has a number of accents.

37.7.2 Summary. What many descriptions of Fijian phonology have in common is a tendency to treat accent and length as elements similar to consonants and vowels. Perhaps the nature of the alphabetic writing system is responsible: we seem to be uncomfortable with linguistic elements that cannot be written in a linear order.

At any rate, accent and length are difficult to treat because they are different from consonants and vowels and thus not easily pigeonholed—at least, not into the categories that now exist. As the analysis of vowels shows, I class long vowels and certain vowel sequences together, because of their similar behavior (that is, their shortening in certain positions). Thus, it is difficult to extract length alone to give it a label.

As for accent, we should first return to its basic definition: a system that emphasizes or sets apart a particular segment of an utterance. Then, we must examine the reason for the emphasis. Some languages, such as English and Japanese, use accent (at one level) very much like consonants or vowels: as in permít and pérmit, or the Japanese words for 'nose' and 'flower', which differ only in pitch accent. Fijian accent does not function in this way. Instead, it identifies the peaks of various units, giving clues to the hierarchy that evidently allows speakers to process what they hear more effectively than if the material were a steady stream of small units.

How it this accomplished? Perhaps by highlighting the relationship of the phonological unit to its grammatical correlate. In this way, the identification of phonological sentences, phrases, and measures helps with the identification of grammatical sentences, phrases, and morphemes.

38 PHONOLOGICAL SENTENCES

In CH 37, the phonological sentence was sketched with broad strokes. In this chapter and the next, we examine in more detail the distinguishing features of that unit. These features come under the general term INTONATION—that is, the phonological system that uses the phonetic features of pitch, stress, and duration[1] to indicate phenomena that are not distinguished by the orthography.[2]

38.1 PHONETIC DETAILS

In this discussion of the phonetics of sentence intonation, we begin with sentences that consist of just one phrase. Such a sentence can be divided into three portions, each of which is characterized by a particular pitch pattern. (Terms describing pitch, such as "low" and "high", are relative; languages use pitch in a contrastive, not absolute fashion.)

Portion 1. The first portion of most sentences is characterized by a pitch that can be considered NEUTRAL. "Neutral" here refers to the fact that the starting pitch of a sentence seems to have no contrastive function. It is not significantly high, mid, low, or any other specific pitch. This pitch level generally extends over "introductory material": any markers that begin a sentence, or over unaccented portions of bases. For example, in:

  : :ena.qāī.LAko↓ : :   then she'll go

the measure .ena. (e na) comprises portion 1.

There is a reason for the qualifiers "most" and "generally" in the paragraph above: some sentences contain no such introductory material. For example, in a sentence that consists of

only one even measure (that is, a dissyllable or one long syllable) there is no introductory material over which portion 1 can extend:

: :LAko ↓: :   go

: :MĀĪ ↓ : :   come here

Longer sentences that begin with the same kind of material also avoid portion 1. Thus, the sentence:

: : lako.mada.MĀĪ ↓: :   please come here

contains no material at the beginning that is appropriate for the neutral pitch. Similarly, some morphemes that are clearly grammatical markers but phonological bases (see CH 36) are ambiguous in their behavior. Examples are subjects, such as eratōū, erāū, or āū, and the aspect marker sā. Phrases that begin with such forms seem to have the option of omitting this neutral initial pitch level.

However, there are some markers that regularly take the neutral pitch: e.g. e (third person singular) and e (ablative). Combinations of these markers and others—such as e na 'in the', and i na 'to the'—also take the neutral pitch, even though each forms a measure in itself:

.ena.   in the ...
.ina.   to the ...

As a result, the occurrence and extent of portion 1 is fairly predictable on the basis of the type of material that begins a sentence.

The following list shows examples of sentence beginnings with and without a pitch rise on the first measure, depending on the grammatical classification of the material within that measure (M 16Z[3]).

Measure division	Morpheme division	Gloss

RISE ON FIRST MEASURE

| 1 | .navēī.kā. | na vēī-kā | everything |

2	.nanodra.tōū.	na no-dratōū[4]	their (paucal)
3	.edua.nabilo.	e dua na bilo	a bowl
4	.ekata.kata.	e kata-kata	it's hot
5	.etolu.nanodra.	e tolu na no-dra	they (plural) have three
6	.nanō.drāū.	na no-drāū	their (dual)
7	.evitu.	e vitu	there are seven
8	.elāī.lāī.	e lāī-lāī	it's small

RISE NOT ON FIRST MEASURE

9	.nona.bulu.balavu.	no-na bulu-balavu	its being buried long
10	.eto.tolo.sara.	e totolo sara	it's fast indeed
11	.ema.kawa.sara.	e makawa sara	it's very old
12	.era.tōū.sā.cina.ika.	eratōū sā cina ika	they (paucal) were fishing
13	.era.sā. laki.qoli.	era sā laki qoli	they (plural) went fishing
14	.erāū.tiko.	erāū tiko	they (dual) stayed
15	.sā.bata.batā.	sā bata-batā	it's cold
16	.evi.naka.	e vinaka	it's good

In numbers (1-8), the accented syllable of each of the opening measures is composed of all or part of a morpheme that attracts the higher pitch. Most of them are roots, or the accent part of a root. In numbers (1, 2, 6), the rise is not on a root, but on the type of marker that often receives accent as if it were a content form. In numbers (9-16), the opposite situation holds: the ac-

cented syllable of the opening measure is all or part of a marker, an item that does not attract the accent; for example, in (10, 11, 16): e (third person singular).

Numbers (2, 9) present a problem: although nodratōū 'their (paucal)' and nona 'his, her, its' belong to the same morpheme category (mentioned in the preceding paragraph), they behave differently in this sample. I suggest that (9) would also be acceptable with an intonation pattern that omits portion 1.

Portion 2. In the second portion of the sentence, there is a change to the mid level, and the pitch stays at this general level until the end. Here, there may be a higher pitch to emphasize the fall in the final portion.

The placement of this rise is dependent on the shape of the peak measure. If the peak measure is of the even variety—that is, of the shape CVCV or CV̄—the slight rise will occur on the last syllable of the measure preceding the peak measure. For example:

: :nawaqa.LEvu↓: :   the big canoe

: :nawaqa.LEvu↑: :   the big canoe?

In each of these examples, the syllable /qa/, even though unaccented, may take the highest pitch in the sentence.

A rough analogue of the pitch patterns is as follows:

::nawaqa.levu::   (statement)
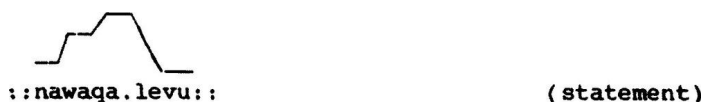
(The diagonal line represents not a sharp, but a gradual drop in pitch.)

::nawaqa.levu::   (question)

If the peak measure is odd—that is, of the shape CVCVCV or cvcV̄—the first, unaccented syllable in the measure can take the higher pitch:

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  : :nawaqa.toTOlo↓ : :   the fast canoe

  : :nawaqa.oQŌ↓ : :   this canoe

Thus, in these examples, the syllables /to/ and /o/, respectively, take the higher pitch that highlights the fall.

Portion 3. The terminal. This part of the sentence contains the most important intonational information, for the behavior of pitch at the sentence peak determines the function of the sentence. There are two major types of peaks: those with FALLING intonation, and those with RISING. As indicated in CH 37, note 6, falling intonation is considered basic, or UNMARKED, and rising intonation MARKED. Thus, the first and largest part of our discussion concerns peaks with falling intonation.

    Sentences whose peaks have rising intonation are generally questions (without a question morpheme), members of a series (except for the final item), and adverbial clauses that never serve as independent sentences except as answers to questions.

38.1.1 Match between intonation portions and measures. It would be descriptively convenient if the borders between intonation portions matched those between measures, but they don't. Note the following example (brackets separate portions):

 Portion 1   2   3
       [.na] [vēī.] [vale.]   the (distributive)
                               houses

This phrase contains three intonation segments, but only two measures.

    In short, the occurrence of odd measures or utterances shorter than three measures results in a mismatch between intonation portion borders and measure borders.

38.1.2 Intonational segmentation of shorter sentences. As mentioned above, when the material preceding the accented syllable of the peak measure becomes shorter and shorter, the first

two portions of the phrase become more and more restricted. The following examples show what happens to a phrase as material is deleted from the beginning portions.

: :ena.sega.niLAko↓: :   she won't go

This sentence shows the full range of pitch levels. Portion 1 includes the first measure; portion 2 includes the next measure and the pick-up syllable (/ni/) of the final measure; and portion 3 includes the remaining two syllables. The following notation shows both measures and intonation portions:

1   2   3
[.ena.]   [sega.ni]   [LAko.]

In the next example:

: :kua.niLAko↓: :   don't go

there are no markers to carry the low pitch, so the phrase begins on portion 2. The domain of portion 3 is the same as that in the first example. The segments can be marked as follows:

2   3
[.kua.ni] [LAko.]

In the following example:

: :moLAko↓: :   go (IMP)

the phrase begins directly on a high pitch that intensifies the fall. Thus, the portion can be marked:

2   3
[.mo]   [LAko.]

Finally, in an even shorter phrase:

: :LAko↓: :   go (IMP)

with no material preceding the accented syllable of the peak measure, the contrast between high and low has to be established in a different way. There are two possibilities. The first is

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a fall on the syllable /la/ itself; the second is high-low pattern for the two syllables /la/ and /ko/. At any rate, the phrase consists of only portion 3:

 3
[.LAko]

38.1.3 Step vs. glide. Even though an underlying pitch pattern may be described as high-low, there are two quite different phonetic manifestations of such a pattern, depending on the nature of the syllables involved. When a pitch change occurs across syllables separated by a voiceless consonant, the phonetic effect is that of a step—since pitch stops when voicing stops. The opposite situation—a pitch change over a sequence of voiced syllables, or especially one long syllable—produces the effect of a phonetic glide.

Thus, the phonetic effects, with respect to pitch, of the following phrases are strikingly different:

: :ekata.KAta↓ : :   it's hot

: :sā.DRŌ ↓: :   he's fled

In the first, because the fall is on the syllable /ka/, by the time the voicing begins, the level is already fairly low. Thus, the phonetic effect is nearly that of steps—that is, different levels. In the second, voicing is continuous after the first consonant. Therefore, pitch changes take the form of glides.

It seems more economical to regard the step pattern as the basic one, with glides then the result of assimilation of one pitch to another through voiced segments.

In statistical terms, however, there is a predominance of glides over steps. First, on a succession of V syllables or on a long syllable, a pitch change is always manifested as a glide. Next, even with intervening consonants, the ratio of voiceless to voiced consonants is 7:13.[5] However, one would have to take into account the frequency count of consonants to arrive at an accurate ratio of glides to steps.

Thus, because of the phonetic complexities of step vs. glide, and the contrastive, not absolute, use of pitch, I have tried to avoid showing intonation either by an analogue of pitch and accent, or by a system showing arbitrary levels. Instead, with

the notation used above, in combination with some knowledge about the grammatical classification of morphemes, we can reconstruct a rough model of the intonation. By these means, we may be able to escape the constrictions of a detailed transcription and come closer to understanding how hearers use what they know about the language.

38.2 FORMAL AND FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION

A phonological sentence is composed of one obligatory phrase, which is (by definition) marked by a terminal. Other phrases may precede; they are classified as nonterminal phrases.

> 38.2.1 Terminal phrases. The category of terminal phrases are divided into two formal types: those whose terminals are characterized by a pitch fall, and those characterized by a pitch rise.
>
> 38.2.1.1 Falling phrases. Phrases characterized by a pitch fall are (in a sense) unmarked. They indicate actual or potential sentences that express (in a broad semantic sense) some degree of completion or assertion. The exception to this general description is a phrase that contains such question-words as cava 'what', cēī 'who', naica 'when'.
>
> 38.2.1.1.1 Special characteristics of questions with question words. Even though questions with cava and other question words have a falling intonation, they are marked in another way: by a raised register preceding the pitch fall. Thus, the intonation sets them apart from statements.

38.2.1.2 Rising phrases. Sentences that serve as questions (excluding the type just mentioned) are marked by a pitch rise on the peak. Such sentences differ from those already discussed in that the location of the peak is fixed on the last measure in the phrase. Thus, contrastive intonation seems rather limited with questions of this type.

The question intonation is also characterized by a raised register throughout. The register of all three segments is raised. In segment 2, the last syllable is raised to emphasize the low pitch on the next syllable—the peak syllable of the final phrase. The final syllable is high again.

As with the falling intonation, rising pitch takes the form of a glide when it occurs on a long syllable or throughout a stretch of voiced sounds.

Other than a higher register throughout the sentence, the intonational shape of questions is similar in most respects to that of statements, except (of course) for the contour of the peak measure. There is one major difference, however, in the pattern of this particular intonation: when questions are composed of more than one phrase, the behavior of all the phrases is affected by the question intonation. For example, in the following sentences

: :edua.TAle:nanona.Ose ↑: :   does he have another horse?

: :sā.RAUta:nakemu.maDRĀĪ↑: : do you have enough bread?

(each of which consists of a VP + specified NP), the first phrase, after the initial rise, continues on a near monotone. Thus, phonetically, the accent on the peak is distinguished more by increased stress than by pitch change. The pattern is similar on the following sentence, even though the grammatical classification of the phrases is different (VP + LOC):

: :oā.RAIci.koya:ena.NOa↑: :   did you see him yesterday?

But in other respects, the placement of the individual segments of the pitch contours is similar to that on statements. The following examples are discussed individually so that the reader can observe the patterns. (Phrase and measure divisions are shown; conventional word divisions are retained for easier reading (examples from 12Z).)

1 : :e YAli↑: :   is it lost?

This sentence consists of one phrase, and one measure as well. Since such brevity does not provide much space for the usual pitch changes, the pattern must be truncated. Thus, there is a rise on /e/, because a high point must be established to em-

phasize the following low point. Moreover, because the material preceding the peak is so short, the syllable /ya/ cannot be low itself, but must fall to a low point. The significant contour, then, is the contrast between the pitches on /ya/ and /li/. One could propose an underlying pitch structure of: neutral to high on /e/, low on /ya/, and high on /li/. Because all the elements in the sentence are voiced, and because of the short distance between the beginning and the peak, the pitch changes take the form of glides, rather than steps.

2 : :sā.LAko↑: :   has she gone?

This sentence consists of one phrase, but two measures, thus providing more space for the pitch pattern. The first measure allows the pitch to rise from neutral to a point we call high+ —that is, the optional higher pitch (discussed earlier) that helps underline the significant contour of the peak. The peak itself it low; the "significant contour" is the jump to high on the last syllable.

3 : :e vi.NAka↑: :   is it all right?

In this sentence, there is now enough material for the pitch pattern to manifest itself without being condensed in any way. The syllable /e/ is neutral, /vi/ has high+, /na/ is low, and /ka/ is high. Note that the highest pitch in the sentence is on /vi/, which is an unaccented syllable.

4 : :e MOce:na GOne↑: :   is the child asleep?

This sentence provides an example of the phenomenon discussed earlier: the monotonic[6] nature of longer material preceding the sentence peak. Here, /e/ is neutral, and the pitch rises on the syllable /mo/ and stays at that general level until high+ is established before the sentence peak. Thus, there is no significant pitch difference between /mo/ and /ce/, and the phrase peak (and measure accent as well) is manifested by stronger stress.

38.2.1.2.1 Vocatives. Unmarked vocatives (that is, without i) occur at the end of a sentence and comprise a separate intonational phrase. They are characterized by a pitch rise:

: :sā.MOce:Gone↑: :   goodbye, child (14Z:30)

: :nī.BUla:JOne↑: :   hello, Jone

However, the rise may be short; in these examples, the peak syllable of the vocative may be at the same level as that of the preceding syllable—roughly, mid.

38.2.2 Nonterminal phrases. A nonterminal phrase is a phrase with a pitch fall, but one slight enough to be recognized as nonterminal. Many of them could serve as independent sentences themselves, but they are followed by optional material, such as a specifying NP or a modifying NP. For example:

```
[VP]             [specifying NP]
[sā   mate]      [na     vonu]               the turtle is dead (11Z)
ASP  dead        DEF     turtle
```

Others are not grammatically independent, but are subordinate VPs, time phrases, or specifying NPs that are fronted in the sentence. For example:

```
[subordinate VP]           [VP]
[ni   oti     na   bose]   [era sā   suka]
SUB finished DEF meeting 3P   ASP disperse
when the meeting was finished, they dispersed
```

```
[time phrase]              [VP]
[e    na   vula   oqō]   [e sā   lesu    māī]        this
ABL DEF month DEM:1 3S ASP return DIR              month
                                                   she
                                                   returned
```

```
[fronted specifying NP]   [VP]
[o    Pita]               [na   no-qu    i-tāū]        as for P,
                                                       he's my
PRP  P                    DEF POS-1S friend
                                        friend
```

```
[NP]    [NP]
[oqō]  [na   me-qu   dovu]                this is my
DEM:1 DEF  POS-1X sugarcane               sugarcane
```

38.2.2.1 Series intonation. Phrases that serve as items in a series are also marked by a nonterminal intonation, but different from that just described. Here, the direction of the pitch change is rising. The characteristic feature of the series intonation is a slightly raised final syllable. Within the following short phrases, the pitch level begins at a neutral pitch, rises to mid on the first accented syllable, remains at that height, and climbs to high on the final syllable. The following examples, each the first in a series of items, are marked with a pitch analogue to show this pattern.

. n a t ī . s e b a .

. n a k ō . v a t e .

. n a m ā . s e s e .

39 INTONATION AND ITS GRAMMATICAL CORRELATES

The purpose of this chapter is to show how intonation can signal the grammatical organization of sentences. Here, sentences are classified according to the grammatical function of the individual phrases. As in the previous chapters, the peak, of each phrase is indicated by upper case letters, and the sentence terminal by an upward or downward arrow at the end. Phrase boundaries are marked by ":" and measure boundaries by ".". Sentences boundaries are not marked; in this discussion, we can consider that any series of phrases represents a sentence.

The reasons for the present notation have already been discussed. In order to give the reader a better idea of the phonetic manifestations of these rather abstract representations, I have interspersed discussions of intonation, especially with regard to the assimilation that occurs when phrases are put together.

39.1 SENTENCES CONSISTING OF TWO PHRASES

Although formed from different grammatical elements, all the sentences in this section can be characterized as follows: in a very broad sense they consist of HEAD + ATTRIBUTE. But here, "attribute" refers to a part of the sentence that is somehow subordinate to the principal one. Another way to express the relationship between the two parts is to label the construction ENDOCENTRIC (Hockett 1958:184-85): that is, a construction that centers on a head within the construction itself.

A. VP + specified subject

:sā.MAte:naVOnu↓:[1]	the turtle is dead (11Z)
:eDUa:na bilo.niya.qona.LEvu↓:	a large bowl of kava (16Z)
:eVItu:nakato.leLEvu↓:	seven large boxes (16Z-14)

As a preliminary to discussing intonation, we need to note the grammatical character of the sentences above. In each of them, the first phrase is capable of serving as a sentence by itself. The grammatical function of the second phrase is to specify the subject of the first phrase. The intonational behavior of such sentences is different from that of some other types.

In the examples above, and all those in this category, the phrases have pitch falls. However, the interval of the first fall is relatively short; this characteristic identifies it as a nonterminal phrase. By this particular intonation, the hearer is informed that another phrase follows. The second phrase contains the terminal, which is identified as such by the long interval of the pitch fall.

Another phonetic characteristic shared by all the examples in this section is DOWNDRIFT. This term means that the pitch register falls slightly with successive phrases.[2]

B. Noun + stative

:naWAqa:toTOlo↓:   the fast canoe

Such examples as this are rare, and dependent on the speaker's speed and style. Since this particular example comes from a set of short sentences, most of which fall under pattern A, the intonation might be the result of unconscious analogy. This construction is usually subsumed under one phonological phrase, particularly so when it is part of a larger construction. At any rate, the existence of such a pattern is an interesting parallel to the grammatical analysis of this construction in 32.3.1.

C. Possessive NP + specified possessor

:nanō.drāū.kā.niQIto:naGOne↓:[3]   the two children's play-gear (16Z–9)

:nona.bula.baLAvu:naQAse↓:   the old person's long life (16Z-11)

:nanodra.tōū.gunu.yaQOna:naQAse↓:   the old persons' (paucal) kava drinking (17Z-5)

The intonational pattern of these sentences is identical to that of the preceding sentences.

D. VP + locative phrase

:era.sā.laki.qoli.VOnu:māī.caKĀŪ↓:[3]	they (plural) went turtle fishing on the reef (16Z-12)
:kara.tōū.sā.MOce:ena.vale.oQŌ↓:	and they (paucal) slept in this house (16Z-20)
:era.sā.laki.SUva:māī.nanodra.vēī.KOro↓:[3]	and they (plural) went to Suva from their villages (17Z-6)

E. :VP + specified subject: :time phrase:

:edua.nacagi.bata.baTĀ:ena.bogi.LEvu↓:	there was a cold wind in the middle of the night (17Z-4)
:evitu.navale.LEvu:māīna.KOro↓:[3]	there are seven large (main) houses in the village (17Z-16)

In these two sentences, the first phonological phrase is a combination of two phrases, or, in the style represented by example B, three phrases. They show how phonological phrases coalesce when part of longer sentences.

:etiko [:] edua.nawaqa.niviti.LEvu:māīla.KEba↓:[3]

  there's a large Fijian canoe at Lakeba

In this sentence, the fall on tiko is slight enough that one might consider all the material through levu to be one phonological phrase. Another view of the situation is that there are degrees

of phrase boundaries, with one major boundary always separating longer utterances into two units. With respect to layers of phrases, even the second potential phrase:

:edua.nawaqa.niviti.LEvu:

could consist of two phonological phrases if said in isolation:

:eDUa:nawaqa.niviti.LEvu:

F. :Fronted NP or subordinate VP: :VP:

The characteristic feature of this pattern is that the fall on the peak is slight enough to distinguish it from a phrase that could stand alone as a complete phonological sentence. There is also a pause between the phrases, and the second begins as a complete sentence would begin.

:oMEre:esega.nitiko.oQŌ↓:   as for Mary, she's not here now

:nioti.nakana:era.suka↓.   after eating, they dispersed

From these examples, one might draw the conclusion that there are a number of ways that a particular stretch of material could be divided into phonological phrases. This is not to say that there are no rules, for there are of course many constructions that cannot possibly contain two phonological phrases. But this much is apparent: the levels of grammatical structure of sentences provides a number of points at which a phrase division is possible.

39.1.1 Embedding of phonological phrases. The last examples above show that as phrases are combined into sentences, two (or more) phonological phrases can be combined, or EMBEDDED, into one. Note the following pairs of examples:

:sā.YAli:nanodra.tūRAga↓:   their (plural) chief is gone

:sā.yali.nanodra.tūRAga:māī.naKOro↓:
their (plural) chief is gone from the village (20Z-5)

:erāū.sā.MOce.tiko:naGOne↓:
the (dual) children were asleep

:erāū.sā.moce.tiko.naGOne:ena.dua.navale.LAca↓:

the (dual) children were asleep in the sail house

:eTAro.tiko:naGOne↓:
the child asks questions

:etaro.tiko.naGOne:kaSAUma:naqase.niVUli↓:
the child asks questions, and the teacher answers them

In such phonological sentences as the last, certain phrase boundaries are not always firmly fixed. It would be possible to combine the two last phrases, so that the whole sentence consists of two similar parts:

:etaro.tiko.naGOne:kasauma.naqase.niVUli↓:

However, the conjunction ka is always accompanied by a phrase boundary.

39.2 PHONOLOGICAL SENTENCES CONSISTING OF MORE THAN TWO PHKASES

The following examples show sentences that consist of more than two phrases. In general, the phonetic details pertinent to the preceding set hold: each phrase is characterized by pitch fall, but nonterminal and terminal falls are distinguished. Also, the pitch register generally falls throughout the sentence. (In each example, the sentence is given first with conventional word divisions.)

e totolo sara na nodra vosa na gone ni Viti

:eto.tolo.SAra:nanodra.VOsa:nagone.niVIti↓:

Fijians' speech is fast (16Z-2)

e vinaka na cagi ka ra sā lako qoli na cauravou e na mataka iailai

:evi.naka.naCAgi:kara.sā.laki.QOli:nacaura.VŌŪ:ena.mataka.lāī.LĀĪ↓:

the wind was good, and the youths went fishing early in the morning (16Z-19)

There is one example of embedding here: the first phrase, which, alone and spoken slowly, would be:

e vinaka na cagi   the wind was good
:evi.NAka:naCAgi↓:

It is likely that the second and third phrases could also be embedded:

ka ra sā laki qoli na cauravōū

:kara.sā.laki.qoli.nacaura.VŌŪ↓:

39.2.1 Hierarchical structure. Because more than two phrases constitute these sentences, there are two possibilities of structure: a purely sequential arrangement, or a hierarchical one. The strong marking of certain borders (such as that preceding ka, as opposed to the tendency of others to disappear when two phrases are combined, suggests that the arrangement is hierarchical. For the following examples, I have tried, from the nature of the borders, to construct tentative hierarchical models.

1. eratōū lewe lima na gone lalāī, ka ratōū sā moce e na vale oqō

there were five children who slept in this house (16Z-20)

:era.tōū.lewe.LIma:nagone.laLĀĪ:kara.tōū.sā.MOce:ena.vale.oQŌ↓:[4]
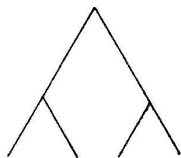
In this example, the major boundary (before ka) is strongly marked (by a pitch fall of a greater interval on the peak of the preceding phrase, and by pause), and the secondary boundaries are weakly marked.

2. e lāīlāī sara ka sā cā na nodratōū ibe

their (paucal) mats were very small and bad (16Z-21)

:elāī.lāī.SAra:kasā.CĀ:nanodra.tōū Ibe↓:
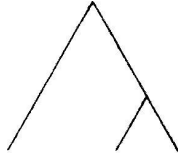
I suggest this phrase structure on the basis of the pause before ka, in spite of its being contrary to the grammatical structure. It would be interesting to examine other examples of such possible conflict between the phonological structure and the grammatical structure.

3. e tiko na buka kēī na wāī māī na vale ni kuro

there's firewood and water in the kitchen (16Z-22)

:etiko.naBUka:kēī.naWĀĪ:māī.navale.niKUro↓:[5]
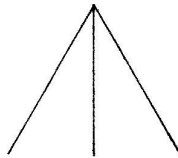
The structure above appears because of the way the reader read the sentence, but the even division among three units sounds rather strange (see the conclusion to this chapter). The following diagram suggests another grouping for the phrases, one that sounds more natural.
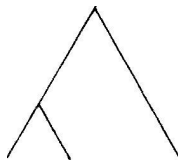
4. o Bāū, e dua na nodra koro tūraga na gone ni Viti
As for Bau, it is the Fijians' chiefly village (16Z-23)

:oBĀŪ:edua.nanodra.koro.tū.RAga:nagone.niVIti↓:
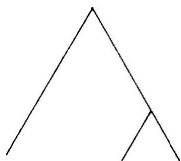
In this sentence, we have the TOPICALIZED word order, placing o Bāū at the front. Note, incidentally, that this order lessens the chance for ambiguity, for there are two items to specify—the subject and the possessor, both third person singular. AS (5/81) confirmed that the order above is preferred to the following:

*e dua na nodra koro tūraga na gone ni Viti o Bāū

5. erāū lewe rua na tagane ka ratōū lewe lima na yalewa e na vale e rua oqō There are two men and five women in this house (17Z-12)

:erāū.lewe.rua.nata.GAne:kara.tōū.lewe.lima.naya.LEwa:ena.VAle: erua.oQŌ↓:

The phrasing of this sentence seems to defy immediate constituent analysis. Could the latter part of the sentence have been divided into phrases because of limitations of the breath stream? I would have expected the following:

* :ena.vale.erua.oQŌ:

6. e vinaka sara na nodratōū ibe vōū na marama qase the old women's new mats are very good (17Z-13)

:evi.naka.SAra:nanodra.tōū.ibe.VOU:nama.rama.QAse↓:

Grammatically, this sentence shows a succession of items to be specified. First, the subject e is specified by the following phrase, and that phrase contains nodratōū, which is specified by the next phrase. In grammatical terms, I should expect the following hierarchical structure:
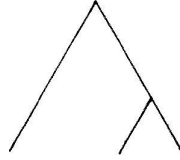
7. era gunu tī e na vēīmataka na tūraga ni viti ka ra gunu yaqona
   e na vēībogi

Fijian chiefs drink tea every morning and drink kava every night
(17Z-18)

:era.gunu.TĪ:ena.vēī.maTAka:natū.raga.niVTti:kara.gunu.yaQOna:
   :e na vēīBOgi↓:

In this sentence, the principal division is before the ka. The
phonological hierarchy of the whole sentence is as follows:
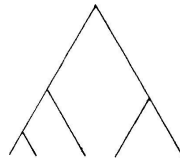
This judgment is rather subjective, but its very subjectivity is
suggestive. I am not surprised to find the first two phrases
loosely bound, for the second phrase (grammatically, a time
phrase) is not fixed in that position; the following is also pos-
sible:

:ena.vēī.maTAka:era.gunu.TĪ:natū.raga.niVIti↓:

8. e vinaka na cagi ka katakata na siga

the wind is good and the day is hot (17Z-19)

:evi.NAka:naCAgi:kakata.KAta:na SIga↓:

This sentence has a straightforward, symmetrical structure:
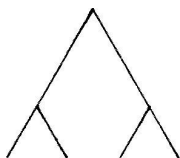
In each of the subdivisions, the division between the two phrases was not distinctly marked. It would be possible to combine the phrases in each:
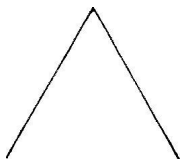
9. e na mataka, era sā laki qoli na tagane kēī na yalewa ka ratōū sā laki cina ika na cauravōū e na vēībogi

In the morning, the men and the women go fishing, and the young men go torch fishing every night (17Z-20)

:ena.maTAka:era.sā.laki.QOli:nata.GAne:kēī.naya.LEwa: :kara.tōū.sā.laki.cina.Ika:nacaura.VŌŪ:ena.vēī.BOgi↓:

It is difficult to establish a hierarchical structure from the reading on the recording. The speaker may have paused for breath—which is not surprising, for probably only a singer with good breath control and an ability to plan ahead would have read the sentence at its deliberate speed on one breath. I expected the main pause to occur before ka, but instead, it occurred before the kēī phrase. I should add that the first phrase belongs to a different type when it is in that position, similar to the phrase o Bāū in (4), since it is a nonfinal. One might also consider that the order is "marked", for in a different order, each of the phrases can be a final (with, of course, assimilation at the borders):

:era.sā.laki.QOli:ena.maTAka:nata.GAne:kēī.naya.LEwa: :kara.tōū.sā.laki.cina.Ika:nacaura.VŌŪ:ena.vēī.BOgi↓:

With this reordering, each phrase end is a potential sentence end. thus, by examining various orders, one can find the "natural" or "unmarked" order of phrases within the sentence.

39.3 SUMMARY

From these few examples, two patterns emerge. First, for these sentences of medium length, there is a tendency to group the material into two main intonational units (note that we have no name for this putative and rather indistinct phonological unit). There is support for this hypothesis in the fact that some speakers divide even very short stretches of speech into two phrases: for example, the construction noun + stative (see section B).

Second, although the hypothesis is as yet ill-formed, there may be a general preferred length of phrases. Items that are too short to fit this general length of other phrases seem to be discouraged if there is a way to avoid them (excepting, perhaps, vocatives and other short material that comprises a separate phrase). This tendency may explain why some speakers add modifying markers, such as gā (limiter) to some phrases, even though the situation doesn't seem to call for it. I have heard such explanations as: "It sounds too light without it."

Thus, there may be opposing tendencies that account for the problem with sentence (3). The first: to divide the intonation into two parts, and the second: to avoid ill-balanced units within the sentence.

40 PHONOLOGICAL PHRASES

In this chapter, we discuss more detailed characteristics of the phonological phrase, with respect to both its form and its function.

40.1 PHRASE BOUNDARIES

Because the accented measure can fall anywhere in the phrase, it does not regularly indicate the boundaries of a phrase. Nor does any other auditorily perceptible sign mark these boundaries, unless the phrase happens to begin or end a sentence, or comprise the whole sentence itself. Note the following example:

| ::eMAsu ↓. laka.ena.vēī.maTAka ↓:: | he prays for it every morning |

Although two peaks are clearly indicated, a boundary is not. In particular, we do not know whether the phonological phrase boundary occurs after the measures .emasu., .laka., or .vēī.[1] In the absence of real marking, we can use a loosely-defined aid for establishing some kinds of phonological boundaries: potential pause. In slower speech, there may be pause between the phrases, as follows:

| ::eMAsu ↓ .laka: | :ena.vēī.maTAka↓:: |

In addition to strictly phonological criteria, we can use grammatical clues, not as proof, but as suggestions. Thus, we have to take into account the boundaries of the grammatical phrases, which—in turn—necessitates using meaning. By doing so, we match the boundaries of the phonological phrases to those of the grammatical phrases.[2] We also use two traditional criteria for immediate constituent analysis: substitutability and freedom of occurrence—means of determining just what constitutes a putative construction. In this construction, although certainly not in all, the second phrase happens to be moveable; it can also occur at the beginning of the sentence.

40.2 THE CONTRASTIVE FUNCTION OF PHRASE PEAKS

Similar to the peak of a sentence, the peak of a phrase has a function in addition to that of delineating the unit: it has the semantic function of focussing attention on the particular referent when more than one are possible.

This feature—semantic function—is especially important in setting the phrase apart from the smaller phonological units, for here meaning must enter as a component of the unit. Thus, unlike the smaller units, a phrase of a particular kind has a particular grammatical function.

Just as we showed contrast at the sentence level by noting that the sentence peak could fall on one or another of various phrases (depending on context), we now demonstrate that the phrase peak is also moveable. However, in order to illustrate this property, the phrases in question must be long enough to contain at least two items that cam serve as peaks, for it is obvious that contrasting phrases could not be formed from a minimal construction like:

e levu   it is big

It is here that a complex relationship between phonology and grammar is markedly visible. Generally, phonological phrases that that are long enough to offer a choice of peaks are of particular grammatical types, for items that can serve as peaks are usually roots (see CH 36). For example, a common way to form a phrase with two roots is to link an attribute to a head. Attribution, in turn, is an extension of specification—a narrowing of the semantic range of a particular concept. Thus, in phrases containing an attribute, that attribute coincides with the peak measure, and it carries the line of discourse. For example (in the following phrases, terminals will not be marked; thus, the pitch arrow follows the peak measure):

e vosa vaka-levu   he talks a lot
:evosa.vaka.LEvu ↓:

As the marking of this phrase shows, the peak is on the root levu; in what we might call an ordinary or colorless context, it is the attribute that serves semantically as the most important

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part of the phrase. In another context, however, a different root can serve as the peak. For example, we could construct a conversation, the gist of which is (in English):

He talks a lot.

>Did you say he eats a lot?

>No, he TALKS a lot.

In this situation, the attribute would no longer carry the thread of discourse, and the phonological form of the phrase would be:

:eVOsa ↓.vaka.levu: he talks a lot

For another example, we take the phrase

:e vodo GĀ: he always rides

Gā behaves like an attribute; that is, in a noncontrasting situation, the phrase peak is on the measure that coincides with gā. In a contrastive situation, however, the peak can coincide with a different morpheme, depending on the situation. In the following examples, I have attempted to convey some of the intonational information of the English gloss by using italics for the accented word:

(e sega ni tāūbale tiko)   he's not walking;

:edāū.VOdo ↓ .gā: he always rides.

Finally, one can show contrast between 'sometimes' and 'always'. Note the following:

(o koya e tāūbale e na sō na gauna?) does he walk some of the time?

(sega) :eDĀŪ↓.vodo.gā: (no), he always rides.

40.3 DISCUSSION: PHONOLOGICAL PHRASES AND SENTENCES AS CONTRASTIVE UNITS

The principal difference between the present treatment and previous and previous ones is that in the former, sentences were considered to be intonationally marked only at the end. For example, Milner wrote (1972:146):

> It is the height of the last three syllables (in relation to one another and to the rest of the phrase or sentence) which is markedly different from the rest, and characteristic of the various intonation-tunes.

However, it turns out that only the question phrase requires the peak to be on the final measure. In other phrases, it is usually on the final measure, but its occurrence there is due not to the phonological but to the grammatical structure.

The following phrases, which appear in the previous section, illustrate two related, but distinct correlations between grammatical matters and phrase peaks in nonfinal position.

(e sega ni tāūbale tiko),	(he's not walking);
:edāū.VOdo↓.gā:	he always rides
:evaka.maCAla↓.taka:	she explained it

The first example illustrates situational contrast, and shows that —within bounds—Fijian has contrastive accent that operates much like that in many other languages. Here, the present view is not exactly opposite, but nearly so, to that of Milner (1972:13):

> It is not possible in Fijian (as it is in English) to emphasize a word by using more energy to articulate it than would be used if it was not emphasized. (In English this feature is often indicated by underlining a word or printing it in italics: I did tell you, he gave it to me, etc.)

Here, we are not exactly discussing "energy" (that is stress, which is a purely phonetic term), but instead, phonological (contrastive) accent. But we are discussing the same kind of function. Therefore, it seems that phrase accent has not been noted before.

It is easy to understand such an omission: the language has several other ways of indicating the "focus" in discourse. The first is the mobility of certain phrases, which can precede the main verb phrase to show the importance of the themes therein. The second is the use of modifying markers, such as gā (limiter), tale (iteration), qāī (sequential), and wale (limiter), to emphasize situational contrast. Therefore, Fijian makes perhaps less use of contrastive accent than does English. But contrastive accent does occur, as the earlier examples show.

The second example above shows that the peak of a phrase (with falling intonation) does not occur on a measure that is made up of a morpheme that is purely functional.[3] In this way, -taka (or any other -Caka) differs from the forms in the preceding paragraph (gā, tale, qāī, wale) and others of their class; the latter type either can occur as the head of a grammatical phrase, or perhaps once could.

Perhaps Milner's choice of sample sentences (1972:147–50) conditioned his conclusion: there is only one -Cak-a form (p. 148, #10), and it does not occur in sentence-final position. Moreover, most of his sentences are unusually free from the "modifying" elements mentioned above. One exception is tiko as a sentence final (p. 149, #8), but it occurs in a question intonation, and thus does serve as the peak of the phrase.

41 MEASURES

In this chapter, we deal with the immediate constituents of the phonological phrase: the measure.

41.1 DETERMINING MEASURE BOUNDARIES

This section shows how we can segment phrases into measures, based on what we know about their structure.

In the following example, we mark only those prosodic features that the hearer can perceive: vowel length and accent.[1] Thus, traditional word divisions or morpheme boundaries are not indicated. However, the mere patterning of accent and vowel length will guide us in determining measures.

dárukabátatálegã   let's (dual) climb it again

To find the measure divisons, we go through a process such as the following, basing rules on the observed structure of the four measure types:

> A. Most important, each accent marks the peak of a measure. Therefore, the phrase above consists of four measures.

> B. No measure has two unaccented syllables in succession. Therefore, there is a division between the syllables /ru/ and /ka/, as marked in the following (by periods):

> .dáru.kabátatálegã.

> The material that remains must be divided into three measures, each containing one accented syllable.

> C. Since no measure ends in a short accented vowel, the two remaining divisions are as follows:

> .dáru.kabáta.tále.gã.

In the following phrases, measures are indicated in two ways: the boundaries are marked by periods, and the accented syllables are marked with acute accents.

.sã.yádra.	good morning
.nĭ.sã.búla.	greetings
.vináka.nacáka.cáka.	greetings (to those engaged in culturally significant work)
.vináka.váka.lévu.	very good / thanks very much
.éra.tóū.sã.váka.macála.táka.	they (paucal) explained it

The marking system used here is redundant; once the measure boundaries are marked in a text, the position of the accent can be determined: it occurs on any long vowel or diphthong; in measures without long syllables, it occurs on the penultimate vowel. But here we mark both positions of accent and measure boundaries as an introductory guide to pronunciation and as a way of clarifying the notion of "measure". In the material that follows, only the boundaries are marked.[2]

Although such a notation has the advantage of showing that measures are units, it is contrary to what we actually hear—we hear not the boundaries of the units, but their peaks (that is, the accented portions).

Again, it must be emphasized that in terms of syllable count or "word" boundaries, accent is not predictable.[3] Instead, it is accent that determines the boundaries of the measures. To state this important principle in another way: there are no rules to determine where accent falls, for the accents are present whenever anything is spoken.

41.2 MOVEMENT TOWARD CVCV—THE OPTIMUM MEASURE

In the example just given, we approached a ready-made stretch of speech and—to borrow a term from traditional grammatical analysis—parsed it with regard to its constituents. We now discuss measures from the point of view of phrase-building. In the following discussion, the morphological type of particular forms will play an important role, but we are concerned here with the phonological effects of various combinations.

As a general principle that covers various phenomena at this phonological level, I suggest the following: certain types of measures seem to be favored over other types. One can draw such a conclusion after noting the behavior of particular shapes of morphemes when combined. For example:

1. When two morphemes with the shape CV and CVCVCV are combined in a phrase, two dissyllabic measures are automatically formed, since a measure cannot consist of a single short syllable. Thus:

me + balavu → .meba.lavu. to be
long

2. When two morphemes with the shape CV̄ and CVCVCV (or CVCV̄) are combined, usually the first syllable shortens to combine with the following one, forming two measures of the type CVCV.CVCV or CVCV.CV. For example:

sā + vinaka   → .savi.naka. it's
good
sā + kilā   → .saki.lā.   she
knows
it
sē + ni   + kāū → .seni.kāū. flower

(As mentioned before, the long vowels may retain their length in slow, careful speech.)

Such behavior leads one to suggest a hierarchy of stability (or preference) for measure types:

1.   CVCV   stable in all environments[4]
2.   CV̄   stable before accented syllables, unstable elsewhere
3.   CVCVCV   stable only when not preceded by an element that can attract the first syllable, or followed by an unaccented syllable
4.   CVCV̄   same as CVCVCV

These patterns indicate that a measure of the shape CVCV is favored over other types—that it constitutes an ideal phonological shape at this level of the hierarchy.

It should be noted, however, that the realignments discussed above hold only for phonological phrases that correspond to basic grammatical phrases—those that contain one root. In phrases that are more complex grammatically—that is, those containing more than one root—the bases fit into the accent pattern as if they each ended a basic phrase. For example, the complex phrase

tamata balavu   tall person

is not divided into three dissyllabic measures:

*.tama.taba.lavu.

but instead:

.tamata.balavu.

as if each root ended a basic phrase:

na tamata

e balavu

41.3 MOVEMENT TOWARD CV—THE OPTIMUM SYLLABLE

It follows from the discussion of the measure that CV is the favored syllable type. It is commonest shape for a syllable, and the one most resistant to change. All the changes discussed so far (excluding simple realignment of measures) involve the reduction or reinterpretation of a vowel sequence—that is, with the second vowel unsupported by a consonant. For example, the shortening of long vowels can be interpreted as:

V V   → V sā → sa (before unaccented syllable)

and diphthongization as:

V V　→　V V　rāī　→　rai　(before unaccented syllable)

However, these rules constitute a cul-de-sac in the sense that they add little to our understanding of the rest of the phonological system.

41.4 HOW MANY SYLLABLES?

The matters just discussed introduce a further complication: do we interpret a measure of the shape CVV as one or two syllables? In a sense, this kind of measure is indeterminate with respect to the number of syllables, but we can make some arbitrary decisions:

> A. There seems to be little reason to call CV, as in vā 'four', two syllables. Therefore, it can be considered one long syllable.

> B. Because sequences classified as potential diphthongs are long in certain environments, and short in others, and because this pattern is the same as that for long vowels, we call sequences like rāī, kāū, or tēī—when they constitute separate measures—long syllables, just like bā, cā, or gā.

> C. Because vowel sequences other than potential diphthongs never shorten (i.e. never act as a unit), they are best considered dissyllables. Examples are via, kua, bui.

41.5 SHORTENING BY REDUCING THE NUMBER OF MEASURES

In Schütz (1983), I discussed the ways in which Fijian loanwords from English are accented to match the model most closely. Aside from dropping out syllables, the principal means available is to lengthen a syllable to "attract the accent". Thus, Tēvita .tē.vita. 'David' is the accepted form, rather than *Tevita .tevita., since the latter has an accent pattern rather unlike that of the model.

However, today one can hear .tevita., as well as these other shortened forms:

.bē.leti.	→	.beleti.	belt
.bī.keni.	→	.bikeni.	beacon
.bō.nisi.	→	.bonisi.	bonus

This pattern suggests that as the borrowed forms become more and more Fijian in the minds in the speakers, and the English models fade into the background, it becomes less important to match the accent pattern of the model. One might suggest further that such shortening is acceptable when no information is lost.

If this process applies to indigenous words as well, it might explain why there is an alternation between such forms as:

.nō.daru.   .nodaru.   our (dual inclusive)

The next section shows that shortening can occur in other environments as well.

41.6 VOWEL SHORTENING WITHIN THE PHRASE

Scott (1948:741n, 744) was the first to note an important feature of Fijian phonology: that words do not have penultimate long vowels. So powerful is this restriction that when morphological processes add a short syllable to a long syllable in this environment, the long syllable regularly shortens to avoid forming an irregular word. For example:

bū 'grandmother' + qu 'my' → .buqu., not *.būqu.

tā 'chop' + y-a (transitive, third person singular object)→ .taya., not *.tāya.

To illustrate this restriction graphically, a measure of this form is not permitted:

That is, one cannot have a long syllable followed by a short syllable.[5]

However, the same kind of combination elsewhere in the basic phrase[6] provides a somewhat different situation. For example:

 sā aspect   + vinaka   'good' it is good

can form the following sequence of measures:

     .sā.vinaka.

And in slow, precise speech, the utterance is often heard this way. But in faster (normal) speech, perhaps on the analogy of the vowel shortening that occurs in forms like buqu and taya, there is a tendency for the unaccented onset syllable vi to attach itself to the preceding sā, with the result that the sā shortens, forming the following measure division:

     .savi.naka.

Still, the potential for length remains, and rather than write the morpheme sā (or any other long syllable that occurs in such a position) two different ways, we use the long syllable as a base form. It is important to remember, though, that in this position, there is no contrast between long and short vowels. Here, vowel length is not an on-off matter, but rather, it is on a continuum.

The potential for indicating the phonological structure of sā vinaka in two ways:

.sā.vinaka.

  .savi.naka.

results in another indeterminacy in the description. That is, to which measure does the syllable /vi/ belong? One way to resolve this matter is to use the notion of INTERLUDES (Hockett 1958:86). Hockett used the term with respect to the occasional difficulty in deciding whether certain consonants or sequences of consonants (in English) belong to the preceding or following syllable. On this analogy, we could consider that since the measure division in such forms as those above is indeterminate, the syllable /vi/ would not necessarily belong to one measure or the other, but would be an interlude.

41.7 VOWEL SHORTENING ACROSS PHRASE BOUNDARIES

In slower, more careful speech, the syllable at the end of one phrase is not affected by the first syllable of the next phrase. Thus, so long as the speech style remains slow and precise, in the following phrases:

:e cā: :na nodra.tōū. vanua: their (paucal) land was bad

the short syllable /na/ does not cause the preceding long syllable /cā/ to shorten. Or, to look at the situation the other way round, the retention of vowel length in that position is one phonetic signal of a phrase boundary (pause may be another).

However, in faster speech, the barrier of the phrase boundary can disappear, resulting in a shortened syllable /ca/, and the possibility of a realigned measure .cana.[7] Another example is:

:āū.kilā: :nisā.bula: (āū kilā ni sā bula) I know she's well now

In this example, the final vowel in /kilā/, as well as the potential diphthong /āū/, can shorten:

.auki.lani.sā.bula.

Similarly, the long vowel in

:esō: :nata.mata: (e sō na tamata) some people

usually shortens to form the following:

.esona.tamata.

Here, the situation is somewhat different, since constructions with e sō are (so to speak) phonologically idiomatic—that is, they are seldom pronounced as two phonological phrases except in very slow speech.

Taking the vowel shortening rule a step further: under certain conditions, a long syllable shortens when the following syllable is accented according to measure criteria, but unaccented according to the pattern of the phrase—that is, measures made up of particles are less accented.

For an example of the difference between the base form and the actual pronunciation, see the Ivolavosa Vakaviti under bā. The base form for bā ni ivalu is:

.bā.nii.valu.

But it would normally be said not in three, but in two measures:

.bani.ivalu.

41.8 DIPHTHONGIZATION

Just as long vowels shorten when they are followed by an unaccented syllable, so do seven sequences of vowels: /āī/, /āū/, /ēī/, /ēū/, /ōū/, /ōī/, and /īū/. With the exception of /īū/, all these sequences consist of a lower vowel followed by a higher one. (Because /ae/ and /ao/ are rare, having undergone certain changes, they are not included; see Geraghty and Pawley 1981.) The sequences can be diagrammed as follows:
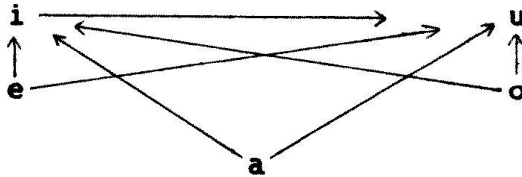
When a syllable containing one of these sequences forms a measure in itself, as

.kāū.   tree

it is not, strictly speaking, a diphthong, but a POTENTIAL DIPHTHONG, for in this environment, how can we judge whether /kāū/ is a long syllable or a disyllable? It is only when it shortens, as in

.kauta.   carry it

that it clearly functions as a unit.

The following examples show contrast between long and short vowel sequences:

.tāū.	fall	.taura.	take it
.rāī.	see	.raica.	see it
.cēū.	carved	.ceuta.	carve it
.bēī.	accuse	.seila.	cataract
.cōū.	bald	.koula.	gold
.bōī.	smell	.boica.	smell it
.bīū.	left	.biuta.	leave it

Sequences with the opposite order (higher to lower vowel: /ua/, /ia/, /ue/, /ie/, /uo/, /io/) function not as one unit, but as two. This analysis is based on two observations: First, the second element receives the accent when this sequence is followed by another unaccented syllable (just as in a CVCVCV form). Next, no vowel shortening takes place. E.g.:

.luaca.	vomit on it
.diaka.	hit him
.buela.	(kind of shellfish)
.Kieta.	(place name)
. uo .	[no example]
.cioru.	muddy
.Peali.	Baal
.moala.	(island name)

The remaining sequence, /ui/, is somewhat difficult to analyze, since it does not involve a change from a higher to a lower vowel, but instead (like its opposite number, /iu/) a change from one vowel of low sonority (and high position) to another of the same type. Still, forms with /ui/ preceding an unaccented syllable sound like trisyllables, with the accent in the usual position:

.kuíta.   octopus

Phonetically, the sonority of the unaccented /u/ is so slight that the effect is that of an on-glide (or what would be called, in phonological terms, a semivowel):

[kwitʌ]

It is not interpreted as such within the phonological system, because there is no contrast between the following:

[kwitʌ]

  [kuitʌ]

41.9 VOWEL SEQUENCES ACROSS MORPHEME BOUNDARIES

In all the examples so far, the vowel sequences in question have occurred within a morpheme. But since roots beginning with vowels are not entirely prohibited, some vowel sequences can occur across morpheme boundaries. Note the following common roots:

oca	tired	ura	prawn
oga	busy	uca	rain
oti	finished	ubi	covered
ono	six	uto	breadfruit

Any of these words in combination with a preceding syllable, of course, will result in a vowel sequence. For example, consider those morphemes above that begin with /u-/. If they were to be preceded by a syllable ending with /-a/, one might expect the resultant /au/—a sequence earlier classified as a potential diphthong—to shorten. But it does not. In the following examples, three of the forms above are preceded by the definite marker na. Instead of forming diphthongs, /a/ and /u/ remain in separate syllables, and each measure formed is trisyllabic, not disyllabic. In the following examples, conventional word division is used to show that the adjacent vowels do not diphthongize:

na ura, not *naura	prawn
na uca, not *nauca	rain
na uto, not *nauto	breadfruit

Morphemes beginning with /i-/ behave in the same way:

na ibe, not *naibe	mat
na ika, not *naika	fish
na ivi, not *naivi	Tahitian chestnut

Combinations of roots (see 41.2) behave the same way. For example, in

cina ika   fishing by lamplight

the /a/ and the /i/ do not diphthongize; rather the measure division is

        .cina.ika.

Other examples are

kere ibe   .kere.ibe.   requesting mats
kana uto   .kana.uto.   eating breadfruit
kana ika   .kana.ika.   eating fish

Similarly, the combination of like vowels through morphology does not produce a long vowel, except when two like vowels occur at the end of a basic phrase. Note the following:

vili ivi   .vili.ivi.,   not   *.vilīvi. -→ *.vilivi. picking up ivi
na vēī   .navēī.   not   *.navēīvi. -→ *naveivi. collection of
ivi   ivi.,   ivi

In most of these cases, the correct pronunciations are suggested by the conventional word boundaries: na ura, na uca, etc.

From these examples, we can see that a vowel sequence described as a potential diphthong behaves differently between morphemes than it does within one morpheme.

41.10 /AO/ AND /OE/

It was mentioned above that the sequence /ao/ has undergone changes and is now rare in Fijian (except, perhaps, across morpheme boundaries, as in na-i-ka-ono 'sixth'; or across measure divisions: .bā.ovi. is an example of an āo sequence, but not within one measure). However, it now occurs in a few borrowings, but in these is treated as so unusual that it receives special pronunciation. For example, paodi 'pound' is trisyllabic, but the /a/ in the first syllable is not short and centralized as it would be in other trisyllables. After some deliberation, it was decided to mark the pronunciation of the word .pāodi. in the dictionary to account for its irregular pronunciation. In this instance, the macron indicates not so much the length of

the vowel as its quality. Note that the form is not divided into two measures (according to the patterns discussed earlier), but is pronounced with only one accent. Thus, its pronunciation makes /pāodi/ a misfit for our system ... but borrowed words often stretch the phonological system. Incidentally, it may be significant that there exists an alternate form .pauni. that better matches the prosodic pattern of indigenous words.

Oe has also re-entered the language through borrowings. E.g.:

boe, poe	boy
boela	boil

On the basis of the accent pattern of the first example alone, it would be impossible to classify oe. However, boela is pronounced as two syllables, giving another potential diphthong with very limited distribution.

41.11 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT

The notion of the measure as a building-block for phrases developed from PG's observation (5/76) that he had found a number of languages in western Fiji in which /a/ is regularly lengthened in the antepenultimate syllable.[8] Since vowel length alternation in certain positions had long been for me a personal phonetic quagmire, I wondered if Geraghty's findings might have some application to that persistent problem: long vs. short sā (sa?) [aspect marker]. After examining examples, TRN found that the marker was always long before a two-syllable form or one with a long syllable, short before a three-syllable form, and long again before four syllables. Such a distribution seemed to point toward a natural grouping of units composed of two short syllables or one long one, which in turn pointed toward a section of Scott 1948. I have mentioned some difficulties with his one-syllable-per-vowel orthodox approach. But his section on groups, although limited to words, cannot be too highly praised. Following is his summary of that unit as a basic one for word formation (pp. 746–47):

The fundamental unit is the dissyllabic group, bound together by the stress on the first syllable. It may have the structure CV.CV, V.CV, CV.V, or, rarely, V.V. It follows from the fact that 'long vowels'

are made up of two syllables that length, though phonetically important, is not a systematic feature of the word, since there can be no differentiation by length within the syllable.

> In addition to dissyllabic groups, it is necessary to recognize trisyllabic groups, but these consist of a dissyllabic group preceded by an unstressed syllable. Thus every utterance in the language ends with a dissyllabic group that may or may not be the last two syllables of a trisyllabic group. When there are more than three syllables in the utterance the incidence of the preceding stress shows whether it is or not.

In the present study, I have replaced the term "group" with "measure" because of the connotations of the musical use of that term: a unit of rhythm containing one major accent and used to build larger structures.

Moreover, the use of "measure" here differs in several respects from Scott's treatment of "group".

First, my interpretation of vowel length and diphthongs leads to a different classification of measures: to account for vowel shortening, it is necessary to posit a type that includes long syllables.

Next, Scott considered the group to be a word-building unit. In 36.6 I pointed out the impossibility of using the word as either a phonological or grammatical unit.

Finally, Scott noticed only word-penultimate vowel shortening, not the shortening of long vowels or potential diphthongs before any short unaccented syllable.

For a treatment of accent units in another Austronesian language, see Schütz 1978e. For examples of accent units in other languages, see Lehiste 1964:197; 1970:455–56.

42 SYLLABLES

42.1 THE PROBLEM WITH SYLLABLES

The present grammar differs from previous ones in its view of the syllable as an important building block of an utterance, and vowels and consonants as incidental fillers of syllables. Most present and past theoretical models seem unable (and perhaps unwilling) to account for units larger than the "segmental phoneme"—consonants and vowels. For example, structual linguists went to great lengths to avoid such units, setting up the concept of "juncture" to explain what could have been explained by taking syllable division into account.

One of the drawbacks, it seems, was that linguists were reluctant to recognize a unit whose boundaries are not consistently phonetically realized, although it turns out that that the same problem exists for segmental phonemes. For example, Ladefoged, who undoubtedly was aware of the difficulty of using acoustic means to determine the boundaries between segments, expressed this reluctance in his "definition" of the syllable (1982:285):

> A unit of speech for which there is no satisfactory definition. Syllables seem to be necessary units in the mental organization and production of utterances.

For the purposes of Fijian grammar, a specific definition of the syllable is more useful than a universal one. In 37.5, the form of the syllable is described, and in 37.7, its function is discussed. The examination of the syllable from these two points of view constitutes its definition.

The present chapter treats a number of different topics about the syllable.

42.2 CLUES THAT POINT TOWARD THE VALIDITY OF SYLLABLES

The following observations are perhaps related to the "mental organization and production of utterances" that Ladefoged had in mind:

> 1. Although on the syllabic level, only two conso-nants (w and y) have limited distribution, there are many restrictions on sequences of syllables in forms consisting of only one morpheme, and across certain morpheme boundaries.

> 2. Palatalization, prominent in a number of com-munalects and present (to a lesser degree) in Standard Fijian in casual speech, operates on the syllabic level.

> 3. Reduplication operates on syllables or mea-sures, rather than on segmental phonemes.

> 4. An examination of the phonological patterning of English loan words in Fijian (Schütz 1978d) shows that with respect to epenthetic and par-agogic vowels, certain syllables are favored or more "natural". In indigenous words as well, these syllables may be reduced in certain posi-tions in faster (normal) speech. (See the next section.)

As for an internal view of the language, native speakers seem to recognize the syllable as a unit: covertly, in their occasional use of syllabic oral spelling; and overtly, in their marking syllable di-vision in some material for language teachers.

Thus, the reactions of both outside observers and native speakers suggest that the syllable might play a more prominent role in the description of Fijian than previously thought.

42.3 "NATURAL" SYLLABLES

Perceptual evidence for the existence of the syllable as a valid phonological unit involves the ability of Fijian speakers to rec-ognize syllable peaks as pulsations or peaks of prominence in a stretch of speech and to count them. In fact, under certain

conditions, these pulsations—or beats—take precedence over the requirement that a vowel peak be present in each syllable. For example, there are certain syllables (called NATURAL SYL-LABLES; Schütz 1978d:21) that can be greatly altered in phonetic shape when they are not accented. A natural syllable with a continuant as the onset (e.g. /si/, /mu/, /vu/) may be realized as a lengthened consonant: [s:], [m:], [β:]. Those with other types of onsets may become totally voiceless: phonetically, /ti/ can be [ti̥] or [či̥]. Obviously, in these phonetic manifestations, one can no longer use the VOWEL PEAK as a criterion for syllabicity, because there is no such peak. But the beat goes on; [leβ:] for /levu/ still has two syllables, as does [nom:] for /nomu/. This apparent discrepency merely points out the difference between the phonetic and phonological definitions of the syllable.

The canonical form of the syllable seems paramount in what constitutes the "Fijian-ness" of the sound of the various indigenous languages in Fiji. So far as we know, the other languages vary freely in their consonant (note: not vowel) systems, but not in canonical form of syllables or measures. Work on the phonological structure of phrases is not advanced enough to be conclusive. At any rate, note the "unfamiliar" consonants of [čūngwāngwā]—the equivalent of Standard Fijian qase 'old person' in a number of western languages. Because it retains a CV syllable structure, it is likely that it sounds "more Fijian" than a word that takes Standard Fijian consonants and vowels and puts them in an unfamiliar order or in new combinations.

42.4 THE FIJIAN SYLLABLE FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Although Churchward and Capell wrote their descriptions during the rise of structural linguistics, it is difficult to find in their work any influence of the powerful constraints developed by the new discipline. For instance, it is unlikely that Capell understood the principle of contrast when he wrote about vowel length, for he failed to mark some long vowels where they contrast with short ones, and he marked many as long where contrast is impossible. As a matter of fact, both Churchward and Capell seemed to share Hazlewood's philosophy: that the ultimate purpose of the grammar and the dictionary was to facilitate a European's learning of the Fijian language, and for matters of prosody, the best method was "hearing and im-

itating good native speakers" (1872:58). Or, as Churchward wrote (1941:11): "In the matter of accent, as in the sounding of the various vowels and consonants, the golden rule is, of course, to give careful and patient attention to native pronunciation, and to persist in the endeavour to imitate it as perfectly as possible.

From one point of view, their work compensates for a lack of structuralist rigor by being free from structuralist rigidity. In particular, since (judging from their analyses) they seemed unaware of the methodology involved in determining segmental phonemes, they were perhaps less dazzled by the efficiency of that methodology than were their contemporaries and successors with linguistic training. Thus they were free to use the concept of the syllable when it seemed appropriate, and not bound to describe accent only in terms of vowel occurrences.

42.4.1 The phonetic syllable: syllabication based on auditory impression. A major problem with the description of the Fijian syllable has been the potential of interpreting long vowels and certain vowel combinations as either one syllable or two. Opinions on this matter fall into two chronological groups: 1835–1941, and the period following.

Although in his grammatical sketch (Schütz and Geraghty 1980), Cargill mentioned syllables only indirectly, indicating that two consonants do not occur together, his notion of syllable structure appeared a few years earlier in the primer that he and William Cross prepared before they left Tonga for Fiji. In the primer, the first suggestion of diphthongs is an unlabeled list of six vowel clusters following the alphabet: ae, ai, ao, au, ei, and ou. But the list does not correspond exactly to the sequences found in the groups arranged according to the number of syllables. There we find the following in single syllables: /ae ai au ei eu iu ou/. As two syllables: /ao eo oa ui ua/. Therefore, if we give more weight to the examples than to the list, the combinations assumed to make up diphthongs show a pattern that recurs (with variations): usually /a/, /e/, or /o/, followed by /i/ or /u/, plus the combination /iu/.

Hale, the next analyst, ignored vowel sequences, and his description gives the impression that Fijian consists entirely of alternating consonants and vowels (1846:367):

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... and, as in [the Polynesian dialects], every syllable ends with a vowel. Such words as tambu, manda, waŋga, tandra form no exception to this rule, as the nasals m, n, and ŋ, and nd really belong to the last syllable.

Hazlewood's description (1872:4) is somewhat more explicit: "Either a vowel or a consonant may begin a syllable, but vowels only can end them, as o-ba, ca-ta, vei-vi-na-ka-ti, not ob-a, cat-a, vei-vin-ak-at-i." Note that vei is treated as a single syllable. He expanded on this interpretation:

In Feejeean, we have the following proper dipthongs [sic]. There are no improper dipthongs.

ai,	as in	bai,	(a fence)
au,	---	kau,	(a tree)
ei,	---	vei,	(to)
eu,	---	ceu,	(carved)
iu,	---	liu,	(to precede)
ou,	---	dou,	(ye)
oi,	---	koi,	(an article)

Nearly a century later, Churchward discussed diphthongs in a similar way, adding English "equivalents" (1941:10):

When two vowels come together, each of them receives its ordinary pronunciation ... This results in ai sounding like ai in aisle or i in bite; au, like ow in cow and now; ei, like ei in eight or a in late; iu, like u in music or eu in Teuton; oi, like oi in joint or oy in joy; ou, like o in so or ow in low; and so on ...

Observe, further, that in the instances just given that the two vowels are such they together form one syllable. In such cases the two vowels constitute a diphthong. When, however, the two vowels are such that they form two syllables, the term diphthong is not applicable. Thus, for example, the combination au is a diphthong, such words as dau (habitually) and kau (tree) being monosyllabic, whereas the combination ua is not a diphthong, such words as dua (one) and kua (don't) being disyllabic.

In each treatment, then, the diphthong is considered to consist of a nucleus (one of the three lower vowels) followed by a glide to the position of either /i/ or /u/. In addition, /iu/ occurs.

To summarize the earlier approach, apparently neither Hazlewood nor Churchward doubted that syllables could be counted, and thus that certain (and explicit) vowel combinations were always realized as diphthongs, others never so. This interpretation seems based entirely on a phonetic concept of syllable: to these outside observers, some sequences sounded like one syllable, others sounded like two.

But in the same decade as the publication of Churchward's grammar, another point of view was developed—that of the phonological syllable.

42.4.2 The phonological syllable: syllabication based on underlying structure. N. C. Scott (1948) was the first to propose (implicitly) that Fijian syllables could be analyzed according to an underlying structure and that it was unnecessary to posit diphthongs in order to describe the phonology. This is not to say that he denied the existence of diphthongs on a phonetic level. On the contrary—his discussion of diphthongs is detailed and accurate.[1] But after treating the phonetic nature of vowel sequences, he abandoned the concept of diphthongs and long vowels in favor of another interpretation: in a sequence of vowels (like or unlike), each comprises a separate syllable. His main argument rests on the functional similarity of CV̄ and CVV to CVCV in their compositon of accent measures.

Milner also based his syllable on the underlying structure (1972:6):

> Length is a matter of syllables rather than vowels. That is to say, when a syllable ending with a certain vowel is followed by another syllable with the same vowel, but without a consonant, both syllables are pronounced as if they were one syllable with a long vowel … Two degrees of length will be discussed and reference will be made to short and "long" vowels (or syllables) but the student should remember that a "long" vowel or syllable is actually produced by two identical short vowels and syllables.

Another treatment based on the one-syllable-per-vowel interpretation is that of Hockett's (1955:55):[2] "In Fijian there is a set of five vocoids, /i e a o u/, which occur only and always as peaks; and every peak consists of one or another of these five … In Fijian, a sequence of two identical vocoids is structurally quite like a sequence of two different vocoids."

Cammack (1962:27) carried on with the now-orthodox solution: the distinction between phonetic and phonological syllables:

Where two like vowels occur in succession (not separated by an onset) as in the second and third syllables of ki.la.a,[3] the second of the two constitutes a separate syllable by definition, but is phonetically merely a prolongation of the preceding vowel. The second and third syllables of ki.la.a, with unchanged vowel color, take the same length of time as the second and third syllables of vi.na. ka, where the final syllable includes an onset.[4]

42.4.3 Summary of the orthodox position. Most modern analysts have assumed that the Fijian syllable consists of a vowel alone or one with a preceding consonant. Such a description has certain advantages. First, with the kind of modified orthography exemplified by Cammack (1962)—that in which long vowels are written as geminate clusters—macrons are unnecessary. In addition, one small part of the description of accent is simplified: if ā is written as /aa/, its accent can be considered "regular" penultimate accent. Thus, if wāwā 'wait' is interpreted as four syllables, the two accents can be described as penultimate and "on alternate preceding syllables", a phrase that often but erroneously (see Schütz 1978e) comprises the totality of the statement about accent in many grammars of Oceanic languages.

Next, a (C)V interpretation of the syllable simplifies the typology of measure types; it allowed Scott to set up only two types: those referred to in the present study as even and odd (see 36.4).

In principle, there seems to be nothing wrong with a phonological interpretation of the syllable. As a matter of fact, it is a stubborn insistence on a universal phonetic definition that has kept—and still keeps —many linguists from recognizing the syllable as a valid phonological unit; note Ladefoged's "definition" cited earlier.

Moreover, the interpretation of V̄ as VV almost certainly has some relationship to the historical development of such long vowels.

But however satisfactory the simplistic phonological-syllable solution may be for accounting for the history of long vowels, it is at great variance with one's[5] auditory impression of the

number of syllables one hears. More important, it ignores a very important phonological feature—the shortening of long vowels and potential diphthongs in certain positions that allows us to say that both these long/complex vowels FUNCTION the same as short vowels when they occur in the accented position in disyllabic measures. It is becoming apparent from the study of vowel length in other languages (e.g. Stemberger 1984) that it is a phenomenon more closely associated with prosodic (that is, suprasegmental) than segmental features.

43 PHONETIC CHARACTERISTICS OF VOWELS AND THEIR EFFECT ON PHONOLOGICAL DECISIONS

As members of a whole system, Fijian vowels can be viewed as follows, an adaptation of Figure 37:5:

FIGURE 43:1
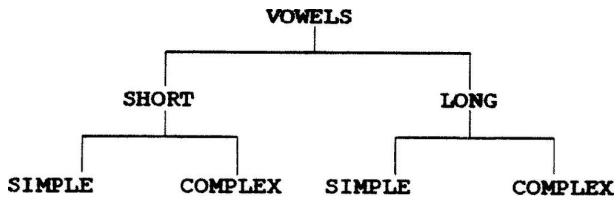
These types of vowels do not have freedom of occurrence in the measure; 37.6.1 gives examples of these different types in different positions in the measure.

At a lower level, the vowel nuclei are composed of specific combinations of the following short, simple vowels. In Table 43:1, the vowels are arranged according to the phonetic features of tongue height, tongue advancement, and lip form:

TABLE 43:1

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

This chapter shows how a number of factors affect these basic phonetic features.

43.1 VOWEL ASSIMILATION

Because of their phonetic nature, vowels are especially subject to influence from their environment. Here we discuss three types of influence confined to contiguous environment (that is, adjacent phonemes) or simultaneously produced features (such as accent):

> a. the phonetic manifestations of accent
>
> b. the effect of adjacent vowels on each other (within a single syllable)
>
> c. the effect of the position of consonants on the placement of the vowel triangle

43.1.1 The influence of accent on vowel quality and length. Since accent is a purely phonological term, it is necessary to describe its phonetic manifestations. We do so by treating five phonetic components of accent: STRESS, LENGTH, PITCH, TENSION, and VOWEL POSITION. (Although N. C. Scott did not arrange his discussion of Fijian phonetics (1948) in this way, his observations form the basis for many of the following points.)

> a. Stress. This feature can be defined as per-ceived amplitude—that is, how, in comparing two adjacent syllables, we hear one as louder than the other. Although different vowels and—to a certain extent—different consonants affect amplitude so that each syllable has its own specific loudness, a particular syllable will be louder in accented position than in unaccented position. The most satisfactory examples for such a contrast are se-quences of otherwise identical syllables: /kaka/, /mimi/, /lolo/, etc. Even so, stress alone is difficult to isolate from the bundle that comprises accent.[1]
>
> b. Length. Accented syllables are also longer than unaccented syllables, with a caveat similar to that above: that each consonant and each vowel has its own range of intrinsic length.[2] For example,

syllables with /a/ are longer than those with /i/; syllables with /b/ are longer than those with /k/ (other factors being equal). However, in addition to this intrinsic length, syllables are longer when accented. Scott (1948) described vowels in the accented position as being "half long".[3] This length is certainly discernible enough so that vowels in this position are sometimes mistakenly classed as phonologically long.[4]

c. Vowel position. The comparison of otherwise identical accented and unaccented syllables shows a regular relationship in vowel position. Accented vowels are nearer the periphery of the vowel chart (that is, low vowels lower, front vowels nearer the front, etc.) than unaccented vowels, which are—as in many other languages—somewhat centralized. /a/ is the vowel with the most noticeable change of position.[5] As with his label of "half-long", Scott tried to regularize this allophonic variation by writing an unaccented /a/ as [a], but such a symbolization a precision that does not exist. In the strictest terms, one can only note that unaccented /a/ is more centralized (that is, in this case, higher) than accented /a/ and that it may occur as high as [ʌ].

d. Tension. Tension refers to the relative muscular condition associated with the production of a sound. It is a phonetic feature that often accompanies stress; in fact, the two features may be inextricably bound.

e. Pitch. It is difficult to deal with pitch as a feature of accent separate from intonation, because all short utterances comprise a phrase in themselves, and the peak of a phrase is marked primarily by pitch. However, in longer stretches, one can often discern a slightly higher pitch in an accented syllable—an expected phenomenon related to tension and stress (but by no means inevitable).

43.1.2 Vowel assimilation in diphthongs. One way in which the syllabication has a phonetic effect (or—to look at the situation the other way round—one way to recognize that certain combinations operate as one syllable) is the behavior of the vowel /a/ in its different functions. In a /Ca/ syllable, the /a/ is little influenced by a high vowel in the following syllable: for example, in

kati   bite

the /a/ does not raise appreciably.[6]

But a following /i/ or /u/ in the same syllable has a marked phonetic effect. In a syllable like /ai/ or /rai/, the /a/ can assimilate far enough to the /i/ that it not only raises but fronts as well, and the diphthong approaches [εi] (see Scott 1948:739). Similarly, in /au/, the /a/ can approach /o/ so that the effect of the diphthong is [ow]. For example, I have heard the vowels in kāūkaua 'strong' approach [ow]. As evidence that this assimilation is neither new nor unique to my own observation, note that Thomas Williams wrote Lou for Lau (Somosomo Quarterly Letter No. 4, June 1846).

It should be emphasized that phonetic rounding is not an either-or proposition, but a matter of degree.[7]

Figure 43:2 shows (roughly) the lines of movement for the two types of assimilation:

FIGURE 43:2
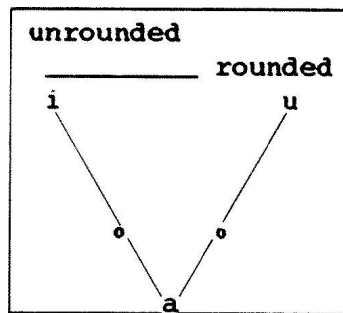
For the /ai/ diphthong, the position of /a/ moves up along the diagonal line, possibly to a spot (indicated by a small circle) somewhat lower and more central than [ε]. For /au/, the position is in a corresponding position on the other diagonal line, with this added change: the /a/ assimilates to rounding as well as to

position. The rounding includes protrusion of the lips. Thus, the contrast between kaua and kawa (discussed in 43.2) is phonetically marked by the assimilatory features of the diphthong that operate on /a/ (in kaua), as opposed to relatively little influence (in kawa) by the following syllable.

Although both these assimilations are present (in varying degrees) in long syllables, such as rāī 'see' and kāū 'wood', they seem more pronounced in shortened syllables, such as the first syllables in raica 'see it' and kauta 'carry it'.

43.1.3 A note on different degrees of noncontrastive vowel length. There are several homophonous markers of the form i. When one of these occurs after an -i syllable within a phrase, the combination results in several potential types of phonetic vowel length.

Because of the structure of measures, the syllable preceding the i marker is unaccented unless long. In the following examples, "s" represents a short and unaccented vowel, "´" a short and accented vowel, and "-" a long and accented vowel.

e raici irāū	s + s	he saw them (dual)
e raici iratōū	s + ´	he saw them (paucal)
na kolī i Mere	-+ s	M's dog
na kolī i Marama	-+ ´	M's dog

The variation between kāī Idia and kāī Dia 'Indian' may reflect the uncertainty in representing a geminate sequence of unaccented vowels.

43.2 SEMIVOWELS? AN ALTERNATE ANALYSIS OF VOWEL NUCLEI

The effect of the two high vowels on lower vowels, and the loss of their syllabicity in diphthongs leads us to consider an alternate analysis of such sequences, one that rests on positing the SEMIVOWELS /w/ and /y/ as part of the vowel nucleus.

In some treatments of Fijian, the term "semi-vowel" has been used rather loosely in a phonetic sense as if it were on a par with such terms as "stop" and "nasal". However, if "glide" is used for that purpose, "semivowel" can then be used for the phonological description of /i/ and /y/, indicating that they function as consonants in some environments, vowels in others.

The system would work this way: Any of the seven vowel sequences that are potential diphthongs would be written (in a phonemic transcription) as two vowels when they are long:

/rai/

　/kau/

　/boi/, etc.

and as a vowel plus semivowel when short:

/rayca/

　/kawta/

　/boyca/, etc.

In this way, the contrast between /ai/ in a short syllable and /ai/ in a long syllable could be indicated in the phonological transcription without macrons or breves:

　/nayca/　　when　　　　　vs.　/naika/　　fish

To maintain the difference between functioning as a consonant and as a semivowel, the following kind of description would be needed:

/y/: a consonant when preceding a vowel a semivowel
    elsewhere

However, when /y/ precedes a V-syllable (rather than one that is made up of CV), both its function and the syllable division of the form become ambiguous. Consider:

  taya   chop it

With this system, it is not clear whether the syllable division is ta:ya or tay:a—an ambiguity that may be quite justified.[8]

    But an analogous situation does not hold for /w/. According to our proposed system, kaukaua 'strong' would be transcribed:

      /kau.kawa/

However, kaua and kawa contrast in pronunciation.[9] Therefore, this tentative system would not work as well for /w/ diphthongs as it does for /y/ diphthongs.[10]

44 THE CONSONANT SYSTEM

In 37.6.2, the consonant system was presented merely in tabular form. Now, we discuss each consonant with respect to its phonetic manifestations, its distribution (if limited), and—in some cases—its phonological interpretation.

44.1 /P/ [P]. RELATIVELY UNASPIRATED AND LENIS

The status of /p/ and some of the history of its entry into the system of Standard Fijian are discussed in 4.5.1.1.

44.2 /T/ [T]. UNASPIRATED AND LENIS

Although the point of articulation for /t/ is basically[1] apico-alveolar, the point and spread of contact change for different vowels. The syllable /ti/ especially is subject to a type of assimilation commonly called PALATALIZATION.

The difference in position between the syllables /ta/[2] and /ti/ is visually marked enough to be observed. For /ta/, the concave shape of the tongue presents the apex, but little more area, for contact with the alveolar ridge. In addition to that which is visible, conventional phonetic research (palatograms, x-ray photography, etc.) for other languages shows the different configurations of the tongue for different syllables. For example, for /ta/, the tongue touches a relatively small area of the roof of the mouth. However, for /ti/, the shape of the tongue more nearly matches the shape of the roof of the mouth, and the apex itself is slightly but visibly thrust forward, with the area of contact for the articulator extending from the apex to the blade, and that of the point of articulation extending from the upper back dental area to the alveopalatal area.

In Fijian, as in many other languages, this change in position of the syllable /ti/ is accompanied by a change in the manner of release. No longer is the release always "clear", as with the other /t-/ syllables, but it is made in such a way to permit friction. Such a release is called FRICATIVIZED. In addition,

the quality of the fricative release is somewhat influenced by grooving of the tongue, which gives it a sibilant quality. As a matter of fact, it is as much this quality as the point of articulation that characterizes a palatalized consonant. The whole articulation (stop plus fricative) is classified as an AFFRICATE.[3]

It must be understood, however, that for Fijian, an affricate is not on a par with the other manners of articulation, for this manner is not distinctive. That is, it cannot serve as a feature to distinguish otherwise identical members of a pair, such as bē 'irreverent' and mē 'goat' —set apart by the difference between stop and nasal. Instead, there is a continuum of pronunciation between [ti] and [či], and the conditions that produce any particular point on this continuum seem complex (and as yet largely unstudied). However, the following factors seem related to the situation:

> 1. Palatalization is rare in careful, precise speech, but the degree increases with speed and informality.

> 2. Because palatalization is common in many areas of Fiji, speakers from those areas often carry this pronunciation over to their pronunciation of Standard Fijian, but to a lesser degree.

> 3. Although a modified [č] pronunciation is common for many words, for some it is unacceptable. For example, tī 'tea' seems clearly recognized as an English borrowing and not subject (at present) to the same processes as other words.

44.3 /K/ [K]. RELATIVELY UNASPRIATED AND LENIS

Because the movement of the back part of the tongue is more restricted than that of the apex, its position is therefore more markedly influenced by the position required by the following vowel. Scott (1948:740) demonstrated this assimilation by describing the results of his experiments to pinpoint articulatory position:

Palatograms for ki show a 'wipe' that may extend as far forward as a line joining the centres of the second molars on either side; for ke the wipe may only reach a line joining the posterior ends of the second molars; for ka the wipe may only reach the back of the false palate behind the third molars; and for ko and ku there is no median wipe.

44.4 /R/ [Ř] ↔ [Ȓ]. APICOALVEOLAR TRILL RANGING TO TAP. (THE RELATIONSHIP OF VOICING TO THIS SOUND IS DISCUSSED IN A FOLLOWING SECTION.)

The environment for the tap-trill continuum seems to be fairly random, with the exception of a relationship to speed of speech. Slower speech, of course, makes a longer period available for the segment, and phonetic length in this instance means an increase in the number of taps. But the length is not contrastive, and thus, "tap vs. trill" would be an artificial distinction.

44.5 /B D Q/ [MB ND ŊG].

The articulatory positions for these sounds match those for /p t k/, differing only in the feature of VOICING. We now discuss the special properties of voicing as applied to these three stops and the trilled /r/.

44.5.1 Voicing: a functional approach to Fijian /b/, /d/, /q/, and /dr/. Earlier sections show that most of the difficulties in treating the Fijian consonant system—both from a theoretical and a practical point of view—lay in the interpretation of the sounds now written as b, d, q, and dr. The phonetic "facts" seem clear, at least to English-speaking phoneticians; a nasal sound precedes the three stops and one trill. Thus, the four forms have been treated phonetically as [mb], [nd], [ŋg] and [n(d)ř].

I should like to show that (1) such an interpretation is not a universal one—that our perception of nasals in these forms is perhaps a linguistically biased one; and (2) that in functional terms, the nasal articulation is not significant, but voicing is.

The first point is impossible to prove, but there is some anecdotal evidence in its favor. In the historical introduction to this grammar, there are many examples of the effect of Tongan pronunciation on the forms that the earliest explorers and missionaries wrote. One of the ways of recognizing such an effect was to note regular "correspondences" of Tongan pronunciation to Fijian pronunciation, one of which is an absence of prenasalization. Current Tongan pronunciation of Fijian confirms this observation. For example, Fijian /sā bula/ is pronounced (in a Tongan phonemic transcription) as /sā pula/. Now, having noticed how speakers of Tongan adapt English borrowings to their own phonemic system (Schütz 1970), one wonders why the [mb] "cluster" is is not broken into two syllables, resulting in something like */samu pula/.

Next, when asked how one might prolong or accentuate the voicing on a [b] without making an implosive or ballooning the cheeks (see following passage), one subject (AS, spring semester 1980) simply articulated [m:].

These incidents lead one to suggest that for speakers of Fijian, the sound preceding the velic closure for /b d q/ is not perceived as a nasal, but simply as voicing. In order to support such an analysis, we must look at the stop systems of some other languages to see how phonological contrasts are manifested phonetically.

In English, the voicing contrast in the set of stops

p	t	k
b	d	g

is considered—functionally—the principal means of distinguishing between the members of each homorganic pair. The phonetic picture is something quite different, however. First, in many positions it is the presence or absence of aspiration that signals whether a sound is "voiceless" or "voiced". And in one position in which aspiration is greatly reduced—after /s/—the contrasts /p-b/, /t-d/, and /k-g/ are neutralized.

Next, acoustic measurement shows that for English, the voicing difference between /p/ and /b/ in initial position hinges on the onset of voicing, which—for /b/—is relatively late in the articulation as compared with that for French /b/.

Finally, many varieties of English use an additional clue to distinguish between final voiceless and voiced stops: prolongation of the preceding vowel for the latter. E.g. [bit] (beat) vs. [bīd] (bead).

In summary, the phonological contrast between voiceless and voiced stops in English is brought about by a number of phonetic strategies, and voicing does not seem to be the most important of these.

When we look in Fijian for similar strategies, we find that two of those that are important for English do not occur: aspiration and vowel length. The latter is especially prohibited, since vowel length is distinctive within the vowel system itself. One strategy that is available, however, is prolongation of voicing as a means of enhancing the contrast. Kim (1978:187) reviewed two possibilities for prolonging voicing in obstruents:

> Voicing is, of course, made with the vibrating vocal folds. During the vibration, air continuously flows through the glottis from the lungs to the upper vocal tract. If the tract is wide open, as in vowels, the air flow can proceed with no difficulty. But when there is a constriction in the tract, as in obstruent consonants, there is a limit as to how much air can flow into the closed cavity. As more air flows into the oral cavity, the pressure in the cavity becomes higher. If no adjustment is made, this increasing pressure equalizes the pressure differential across the glottis and the voicing stops. In order to prevent this from happening, one can do a little adjustment in the tract; increase the cavity size to accommodate the airflow. Though one can blow out one's cheeks to achieve this purpose, this is normally not done in speaking. Instead, what is done is to lower the glottis …

> … In implosives, the rarefaction of the tract air is created by the lowering of the glottis. Now, this lowering of the glottis simultaneously compresses the lung air, and since air flows from areas of high pressure to areas of low pressure, the air will eventually flow from the lungs to the rarefied upper tract, resulting in the vibration of the vocal folds.

There is, however, a third way: to "pre-voice" the stop. In this procedure, the oral cavity is closed (at bilabial, apico-dental, and dorso-velar positions) in preparation for the stops at these positions. Since the air flowing through the glottis in the production of voicing must have an exit, the velic is lowered, and

the air flows through the nasal passage. Such conditions, of course, produce what is usually perceived as a nasal. But from a functional point of view, it is the voicing that is significant. The nasal articulation is merely a necessary consequence of an early onset of voicing.

The situation for /dr/ is slightly different, for we do not usually perceive /r/ as voiceless.[4] However, in working with other Fijian languages, I have noticed that occasionally /r/ has a late onset of voicing, late enough to prompt me to write [hr] in a rough phonetic transcription. Some preliminary acoustic experimentation bears out the hypothesis that even for Standard Fijian, the onset of voicing of /r/ is later than that for similar trills in other languages (G. Nathan 80).

Thus, if one restates the conditions, the voiceless-voiced contrast for the three stop positions and the one trill is the same: it is not, strictly speaking, a matter of off-on for the voicing, but the timing of the onset of voicing that is significant. The so-called pre-nasalized series can be described as having early voicing, and the so-called "voiceless" series as having relatively late voicing.[5]

44.6 /DR/ [NŘ] ↔ [NR̃]

The consonant /dr/ presents special problems. First, it can be added to the set /b d q/, since it is preceded by a stretch of voicing perceived (by many observers) as [n]. Next, the [d] is unusual phonetically in that we hear it "automatically" when [ř] is begun from closed position, rather than open.

Although Cargill was thorough in his description of the evolution of the treatment of the voiced stops, he did not include /dr/. Moreover, it was not listed with the rest of the alphabet the early primers and grammars. It was written ndr in the 1835 primer, changed to nr in a somewhat later catechism, and finally fixed in the orthography as dr, the only orthographic cluster in the system.

There are two possible explanations for that decision. First, that the missionaries admitted it as an anomaly in the system—a cluster of /d/ + /r/. Next, that they realized that it, like the voiced stops, functioned as a unit, but wrote it as dr in the absence of any convenient symbol with which to represent it.[6]

44.7 /F/ [F]. VOICELESS LABIODENTAL SLIT FRICATIVE

For a discussion of the status of /f/ in Standard Fijian, see 4.5.1.

44.8 /S/ [S]. VOICELESS APICOALVEOLAR GROOVED FRICATIVE

Scott (1948:740–41) noted the only prominent allophonic variation of /s/: an occasional pronunciation somewhat back of the apicoalveolar position, approaching [š]. I observed (Schütz 1962) this variation of /s/ in other languages on Viti Levu, particularly before /i/. Thus, it could be labeled as palatalization in the expected environment. However, such palatalization was never as prominent as that of /t/ before /i/.

44.9 /V/ [B]. VOICED BILABIAL SLIT FRICATIVE

Although in syllables with unrounded vowels (see Scott 1948:740) the lips are not particularly protruded, neither is the spread position so pronounced nor the force of air so great that the consonant is fortis.

Hale (1846:367) was the first to report that the Fijian /v/ is bilabial. He wrote:

> The v is one of the most remarkable elementary sounds in the language, on account of the wide range of its variations. Like the Spanish b, it is pronounced by closing the lips together, and according to the greater or less force of pronunciation, it is heard as a v, f, p, or b, and occasionally even as m.[7] Thus the word vanua, country, is sounded frequently fanua, banua, and panua; levu, great, is commonly pronounced nearly as leb', Cava, what, as Capa; and the name Viti levu has been written by different persons Feetee leb, Beetee lib, and, utterly corrupted, Metaleep. At the beginning of words, it is more often heard as f, and in the middle as b or p. In some few words, the sound of p is so distinct that the missionaries were induced, at first, to write it with this letter; but they find it impossible to keep up the distinction, and at present the sounds of p, f, v, and b, (not preceded by m,) wherever they occur, are expressed by the same letter, v.

The quotation above shows an allophone (an "allosyllable"?) of a /v-/ syllable: /vu/. When in the final unaccented position in the accent measure, and when that measure ends an utterance, the syllable is often a lengthened [b, with some devoicing of the consonant as well (see 42.3).

44.10 /C/ [Ð]. VOICED APICODENTAL FRICATIVE

The actual point of contract with the upper teeth can vary somewhat, so that the extent of protrusion of the tip varies. But the descriptive term "interdental" is not apt; the bottom teeth do not contribute to the articulation.

44.11 /M/ [M]. VOICED BILABIAL NASAL

One /m-/ syllable, /mu/, patterns with /vu/ in its behavior. In the position described for /vu/, /mu/ appears as [m̃?, sometimes with a residual protrusion of the lips representing the underlying /u/.

44.12 /N/ [N]. VOICED APICODENTAL NASAL

Scott (1948:740) described (based on palatograms) a marked difference in position for /n/ in the syllables /ni/ vs. /nu/: a front-back difference, with the nasals in the syllables /ne/, /na/, and /no/ occupying "intermediate positions".

44.13 /G/ [Ŋ]. VOICED BACK-VELAR NASAL

Scott reported that palatograms show an assimilation similar to that for /k-/ and /q-/ syllables: a front-back relationship according to the position of the vowel.

44.14 /L/ [L]. VOICED APICOALVEOLAR LATERAL

The quality varies according to the different resonances produced by the position of the back of the tongue. In the syllable /li/, the back of the tongue is high; for /lo/, it is lower. In general, Fijian /l/ before low vowels is higher than English /l/ in the same position.

44.15 /Y/ [E] ↔ [Y].

/y/ is difficult to describe phonetically because of its range of manifestations. A rough description is as follows: it is closer to the first symbol in the brackets above—a mid front unrounded glide—when it is in initial position in content morphemes. It is closer to [y] when it does not begin a content morpheme and occurs between vowels.

44.16 /W/ [W]. HIGH BACK ROUNDED GLIDE

Because both /y/ and /w/ function in special ways, we now discuss them at length.

44.16.1 Discussion: y and w: vowels, semivowels, or consonants? (The very form of this section heading indicates that these two sounds pose special problems, for I have chosen to indicate them by italicized letters, rather than to try to make the usual distinction among phonemic form, phonetic form, and written form). In 43.2, y and w were examined with respect to their possible function as semivowels. We now look at this possibility again, but in more detail.

As in many other languages, y and w in Fijian pattern differently from other consonants. The reason is their phonetic similarity to the vowels /i/ and /u/—a similarity that often forces us to rely on functional rather than formal (phonetic) criteria to decide how to classify the sounds.

We begin with this premise: that some instances of y and w stem from /i/ and /u/ respectively. Underlying this premise is an assumption that certain phonetic conditions result in /i/ and /u/ taking such a form or being distributed in such a pattern that it becomes possible to interpret them as consonants rather than as vowels.

The main phonetic conditions for reinterpretation are these:

> 1. An /i/ or /u/ syllable has no supporting consonant.
>
> 2. That syllable is unaccented.

These two conditions are not independent, but interdependent. Such a syllable as /Ci/ or /Cu/ is not likely to permit the development of y or w no matter what the level of accent, whereas a syllable consisting solely of /i/ or /u/ is stable only when accented. Accent does, however, help to maintain the existence of certain consonants in syllables—or, conversely, certain consonants are more subject to change (leading to elimination) in unaccented syllables. Take, for example, /k/ syllables. In an unaccented syllable, a [k] can change to [****];[8] one can imagine a further change of [****] to [ø].

If these assumptions are correct, certain syllables or sequences of sounds should be rare or nonexistent. For example:

iy or yi, since they both stem from */ii/.

uw or wu, since they both stem from */uu/.

Less rare, but still uncommon should be:

ey or ye, since they stem from */ei/ and */ie/ (respectively), both rare within morphemes.

ow or wo, since they stem from */ou/ and */uo/ (respectively), both rare within morphemes.

In the discussion that follows, we can see how closely the actual distribution of y and w matches the theoretical distribution sketched here.

44.16.1.1 The problem with y. If we play close to the ear in our phonological analysis, we encounter some difficulties with the sound that is written as y:

1. It occurs principally before /a/, except for a few questionable forms before /e/ (see the Fijian-English dictionary) and /o/ (as toyovu).

It is also interesting to note the limitations on vowels that can precede y in the same measure. There seems to be no contrast between these sequences:

ia and iya

ea and eya

The first of these would be unlikely to occur through diphthongization, for there is no diphthong iy. The second would be possible, since ei (ey) is a potential diphthong. However, it is not a common sequence and does not often occur as the accented syllable in a disyllabic measure.[9]

> 2. A number of forms vary (in spelling) between ya- and a-.

> 3. In English words with /a-/ or /æ-/ pronounced by a Fijian speaker, the vowel is often preceded by a mid-front unrounded glide.

> 4. The phonetic nature of the sound varies according to whether, in traditional terms, it is in word-initial or intervocalic position. However, since the word is not a definable linguistic unit for Fijian, we must change that term to "content-morpheme-initial". Moreover, since such an initial may turn out to be intervocalic in a phrase, the second term must also be changed to exclude content morphemes.

We shall now try to deal with these problems.

There seems to be no explanation for (1), except to note that many languages show a limited distribution of y.

Milner dealt with the problem very briefly (1972:4n): "One of the semivowels, y, is not a unit of the phonological system, but it has been treated as such for the sake of convenience".[10] The problem with this analysis is that it does not account for all the data. Biggs and Nayacakalou pointed out this omission in their review (1958:81):

> [Milner] denies [y] a place in the phonetic system ... which can only be done if it is always predictable in terms of the other phonemes. Such pairs as toa, totoya; kaa, kaya; tootaka, toyovu; show that, in the author's phonemicisation this is not the case. Since [y] almost always occurs morpheme initially, it is tempting to regard it as a junctural phenomenon, an allophone of the juncture which must be introduced to account for the phonetic difference in the transition between vowels in such pairs as rauta

[rauta], vakauqeta [vaka + ungeta]. But toyovu and a few dictionary words not known to the reviewers are single morphemes. It seems best therefore to include /y/ as a phoneme in its own right.

The juncture proposed between /vaka/ and /uqeta/ is, of course, unnecessary, since diphthongization cannot take place in that position. But the other examples do point out the necessity of another explanation for the occurrence of y in medial position. In addition to the functional necessity of accounting for the examples of contrast just given, such an analysis is matched by our phonetic impression: y at the beginning of a word is seldom [y], but a nonsyllabic [ɛ]. In addition, the a is fronted and raised somewhat. Thus, we hear something like the following:

yalewa	[ɛalewə]	woman
yawa	[ɛawə]	far

In intervocalic position, however, it has the form [y]:

taya	[tayə]	chop it
kaya	[kayə]	say it

Thus, when forms with y-are combined in a phrase with a preceding vowel, we expect the y, now in intervocalic position, to sound like [y]. But this does not happen. Note the following forms:

na yalewa	the woman
taya	chop it

Here, the measure divisions are as follows:

.naya.lewa.

   .taya.

so we can see that the environments for the two ys are nearly the same. However, the expected allophonic change does not occur; the ya in yalewa is still realized phonetically by [ɛæ]. Thus, in nearly identical situations, the y has two phonetic forms.

The solution that seems most reasonable is to treat "initial" y as an allophone of /a/, with a careful distributional statement. This statement needs some adjustment, however. Consider the following example (measure divisions are marked to show the prosodic environment):

.era.tōū.ā.tiko.evale.   they (paucal) stayed at home

.era.tōū.yā.tolu.navu.aka.   they (paucal) have three pigs each

Here, the immediate environments of /ā/ and yā are identical: each is preceded by exactly the same material, and followed by a disyllabic measure that begins with the same consonant. In addition, each constitutes one measure in itself, and contrastive accent is not appreciably different. How, then, do we account for the difference? The earlier statement has to be modified somewhat, for this example shows that y at the beginning of a form can be distinctive. Thus, although (for example) written yalewa may be phonemically /alewa/, yā is /yā/.

For medial y, however, the matter is different, for each occurrence has contrastive function. Pawley (1973a) discussed this situation from a historical point of view, proposing that y in this position was from */i/. The analysis here is based on that premise, but from a descriptive, not a historical, point of view.

Because of our recognition of diphthongs and their function, we can now interpret y in most intervocalic positions as a semivowel—part of the preceding diphthong. There are certain drawbacks to this solution, however.

First, it imposes certain accent limitations. Since all diphthongs are inherently accented, the syllable preceding y would naturally be accented. And indeed, many examples do follow this pattern (most examples from Pawley 1973a):

koya	he, she, it	koy-a
kaya	say it	kay-a
laya	calix of breadfruit	lay-a
vaya	small fish taxa	vay-a
tavaya	bottle	ta-vay-a
maroya	care for it	ma-roy-a

On the right-hand side, we have given the syllable divisions produced by this analysis.

However, there are some counterexamples. The solution does not work for such forms as:

 koyā   that
 mayā   happy

If the y in these forms was part of a diphthong, the first syllable would have to be accented. Since it is not, the existing accent pattern must be accounted for. We attempt to do this (in a very general way) later in this section.

Next, although most examples show y preceded by a vowel with which it could constitute a diphthong, there are some forms with uy:

 savuya   flow against or along it

We saw earlier, however, that the sequence uy (or ui) did not function as a diphthong: it neither shortened in penultimate position, nor did the accent remain on the u. Thus, it does not follow that the syllables of savuya should be sa-vuy-a.

There may, however, be a solution to these general problems with the interpretation. We have mentioned at various points that establishing the borders of phonological units was often difficult when the defining feature of such a unit was a peak and not a terminal of some kind. Perhaps, then, we could consider that the syllable division of vuya is indeterminate.

More to the point is a suggestion (tendered in 41.3) that a number of features of Fijian phonology are the result of a movement toward this goal: To eliminate syllables that are not clearly of the form CV.[11] Thus, one might reconstruct a hypothetical sequence such as this for the development of present-day taya:[12]

ta-i-a	syllables: CV-V-V
tay-a	syllables: CV-V
ta-ya	syllables: CV-CV

One could also view the initial y—that is, the transitional feature—as a means of avoiding a V syllable.

44.16.1.2 W. For a time at least, w did not exist at all in the Fijian alphabet (see Discussion, CH 2). Tongan phonology seems to be the conditioning factor in this omission. Either Cargill was so accustomed to Tongan phonology that he "processed" what he heard from his first Fijian consultant, or the man himself, Mateinaniu, adopted a Tongan-like pronunciation because it was what outsiders expected. Even after he arrived in Fiji, Cargill continued writing u for what we now write as w: his journal mentions visits to the Lakeba village of "Uathiuathi" (Waciwaci).

Although Hale wrote w (and y) in his transcription of Fijian words, he did not consider them phonemic. Or, in his words (1846:367): "The y and w are used instead of i and u when they begin a syllable, —as, yava for iava, waluvu for ualuvu."

There are certainly distributional limitations that, in part, support Hale's view. /w/ does not occur adjacent to the rounded vowels u and o (Scott 1948:741). However, in the orthography, such sequences are permitted:

kaukauwa	strong	quwava	guava
sowiri	spin	drowa	drawer
quwa	wipe	suwiti	sweet
uwea	fish trap	tauwelu	towel
saluwaki	perfume	bowiri	faint
buwawa	vague		

For most of these forms, alternate spellings without the w exist, but this situation is an orthographical accident. The crucial matter is not so much the phonetic one of the degree of lip rounding and constriction in this position, but a phonological one: in this position, /w/ is not contrastive.

The form maniwa 'manure' presents an interesting problem, for it would seem that a form like *maniua would come closer to the English model. In the hypothetical form, the sequence /iu/ would form a diphthong close to the one in the model. But is there really a contrast between /iua/ and /iwa/? Or is the difference indeterminate at present, reflecting a sound change from the first form to the second? Such a change would match others in the language, not so much in their forms, but in their function or goal: to eliminate syllables not of the shape CV.

44.17 RESTRICTIONS ON CONSONANTS IN SUCCESSIVE SYLLABLES

For treatments of dissimilative tendencies for consonants in successive syllables, see Krupa 1966, Geraghty 1973a, and Arms 1974.

44.18 DISCUSSION: THE CONSONANT SYSTEM

44.18.1 Economy? From Cargill's description of the process by which he decided to interpret the voiced stops as units, one gets the impression that had the Fijians not objected to the consonant clusters he wrote, they would still be writing them today. But after the objections had been voiced, and a new system proposed, Cargill justified it from the analyst's point of view by noting that it was more "economical" to write b than mb.

Economy in such matters is a difficult goal to achieve, because it cannot be explicitly defined. For example, even though writing b is more economical than writing mb, the three voiced stops are still interpreted as three additional phonemes—three letters to be added to the alphabet. Hockett (1955:95) discussed two variants of am alternative analysis that would do away with the three additional phonemes. Both these solutions involve clusters; they differ only in the choice of which consonant to combine with the nasal.

However, each of the solutions (as Hockett pointed out), is marred by the asymmetry of the Fijian consonant system. First, Hockett suggested interpreting the voiced stops as /mp/, /nt/, and /ŋk/. The drawback to this solution is the dubious phonemic status of /p/.[13] Next, he suggested using the fricative series as the second element in the clusters. Here, /mv/ and /nc/ could serve adequately to represent [mb] and [nd], but Fijian has no fricative at dorsovelar position, except as an allophone of /k/. Thus, neither of the solutions was judged to be acceptable.

Even if one of these cluster solutions proved to be adequate, would the resultant phonemic description be more economical? Perhaps. From the point of view of the phonemic inventory, it would be, since the number of consonants would be reduced. On the other hand, the description of the canonical form of syllables and measures would be more complicated. As usual, Ockham's razor is a double-edged tool.

44.18.2 Phonetic symmetry. The discussion above referred to the asymmetry that the Fijian consonant system exhibits. Specifically, it is this: the stop system contains a voiced (prenasalized) bilabial stop, /b/, but the status of the voiceless counterpart, written p, is uncertain —primarily because of the option for alternation with /v/. Moreover, the fricative system is not symmetrical in any sense: there are no voiceless-voiced pairs at one point of articulation; nor do the articulatory positions of the fricatives match those of the stops (and nasals).

The grammatical sketch written by Hale (1846) gives an indication that his knowledge of other phonological systems (or at least, alphabets) led him to expect phonetic symmetry in the Fijian consonant system. He organized it as follows:

Labials	v	m	mb	w
Dentals	t	n	nd	c
Gutterals	k	g	ng	y
Liquids	l	r	ndr	s(?)

Here, the obvious anomalies are the classification of /y/ as a gutteral, and /s/ as a liquid. For the latter, Hale himself showed his uncertainty by adding the question mark. Moreover, it is difficult to find a common element in the columns, except for the third one, which contains the voiced obstruents.

APPENDIX:
THE EARLY WORD LISTS

This appendix reproduces the premissionary word lists discussed in CH 1. Each list is examined in detail, especially with respect to the following topics:

1 Accuracy

    2 Dialect area

    3 Orthography

    4 Pidginization (after Geraghty 1978)

Occasionally, the transcribers missed their mark by a considerable distance. In other instances, they and their informants misunderstood each other. Finally, certain items seem to have gone out of use or to have been replaced by forms from Standard Fijian. Some of these words were identified with the help of other written material, but I have relied to a large extent on the advice of the following people: A. C. Reid, Pio Manoa, and Paul Geraghty, who read and annotated the entire section. Their notes are identified by the initials ACR, PM, and PG.

A chronology of the lists follows:

Collector	Date		Size
1 Cook-Anderson	1777	12	words
2 Bligh	1792	3	words
3 d'Entrecasteaux	1793	7	words
4 Patterson	1808	18	words and phrases

Collector		Date		Size
5	Lockerby	1809	93	words and phrases
6	Lockerby: proper names	1809	17	words
7	Davies I	1810	20	words
8	Davies I: place names	1810	28	names
9	Richardson	1811	276	words and phrases
10	Bellingshausen	1820	49	words
11	Davies II	1825	8	printed pages
12	Cary	1825–32	47	words and phrases
13	Gaimard	1827	340	words and phrases
14	Twyning	1829–35	35	words and phrases
15	Endicott	1831	104	words
16	Oliver	1831		misc. words and phrases
17	Bennet	1831	43	words
18	Osborn	1833	198	words and phrases
19	Marsden (Bennet)	1834	16	words
20	Ray (Bennet > Marsden)	1926	7	words

A1 COOK-ANDERSON 1777

The dozen Fijian words collected are as follows:

1	Kanna	To eat
2	Tabeelý	A boat
3	Vaitý	Coition
4	Veenága	Good (Adopted at Tonga in some cases)
5	Matanee-deena	The Penis

6	Laggomý	Come here
7	Shainga	No—There is none
8	Laiva	A woman
9	Toá.	A man
10	Latoo	A chief
11	Oeelai	An interjection of admiration
12	Eeo	Yes

The list looks somewhat garbled until one understands the conventions Anderson was using, set forth in the introduction to his Tahitian vocabulary (Anderson 1776–77:319–22). The following are phonetic equivalents for some of his vowel letters:

a [a], ai [e, ei], y [ai], ee [i], o [o], oo [u]

The list, respelled according to these conventions, and also with b, d, and g changed to p, t, and k,[1] is as follows:

	Respelled	Current Standard Fijian
1	kana	kana
2	tapilái	tabilai[2]
3	vetái / veitái	veicai
4	vináka	vinaka
5	matini-tina	mata ni dena[3]
6	lako mái	lako mai
7	shenga	sega[4]
8	leva	(ya)lewa
9	toa	toa[5]
10	latu	rātū
11	oile / oilei	oilei
12	io	io

When recast this way, the list turns out to be considerably more nearly accurate than it appears at first glance. Moreover, it reveals a thread that runs through several later lists. Since there seems to be no reason why Anderson could not recognize the [mb] in tabilai, the [ð] in veicai, the [nd] in dena, or the [w] in lewa, it is very possible that the Fijian speakers were assimilating to him in the way that they did to other outsiders, notably the Tongans (see Geraghty 1978). Another possibility is that the list was elicited directly from Tongans who spoke Fijian, but in their own fashion.

A2 BLIGH 1792

At the end of his journal entry, Bligh wrote:

The few words I was able to understand were

1   Heeoh-------------------Yes   Friendly
2   Mattow-----------------   D°
    Afraid
3   Fuckatow----------------To Trade or
    Barter D°

Io for 'yes' exists in both Fijian and Tongan. But although many Oceanic languages, including western Fijian, have reflexes of Proto-Polynesian *mataku 'fear', Lauan Fijian and Tongan do not. Bligh or his interpreters may have known Samoan mata'u. ACR suggested that since misprints and transcription errors are common in material of this kind, the word matau or Tongan mata'au might have been elicited for 'right', which somehow was changed to 'fright' and then 'afraid'. The last item represents fakatau, which exists in Tongan. The word does not exist in Moce, but the people there, who know Tongan, would recognize such a term (PG 7/82).

A3 D'ENTRECASTEAUX 1793

In his narrative, d'Entrecasteaux prefaced his Fijian word list with the following remarks:

We give here words from the language of the Fiji islands, which we learned at Tongatapu from a native of those islands who had come to visit us. One will be gratified to find at the side words from the language of the Friendly islands with the same meaning, and compare the two languages[1].

Francais [translated]		Fedgi	Tongatabou
1	Good	Vinaca [vinaka]	Léley [lelei]
2	Chief	Toulanha [tūraga]	Aiqui [eiki]
3	Woman	Leva [(ya)lewa]	Féfiné [fefine]

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Francais [translated]		Fedgi	Tongatabou
4	Large	Laï laï [lailai]	Laï [lahi]
5	Person	Tamata [tamata]	Tongata [tangata]
6	Bad	Éta [e cā]	Covi [kovi]
7	Steal	Poutaco [butako]	Caïa [kaiha'a]

Comparing this list with the Cook-Anderson list, we can see that it is not significantly more accurate, in spite of d'Entrecasteaux's criticism of his predecessor. One major error here is laï laï for 'large'. Evidently, this misunderstanding started from a not unexpected mishearing of Tongan lahi 'large' as lai. From there, it is not difficult to see how the wrong meaning was attached to laï laï. Note that the h, as well as the glottal stop, was also missed in the Tongan form kaiha'a.

The mistranscriptions of v for w, and t for c present a dilemma: are they due to the absence of those sounds in French (and thus the inability of some French speakers to recognize them), or to a "Tonganized" or pidginized pronunciation of the Fijian words themselves? The 1 in the form for tūraga tips the scale in favor of the latter, for a trilled r should have been easy for a speaker of French to hear. In addition, the voicing (phonetically, in the form of a preceding nasal; see the section on phonetics) of b in butako should have been noted—unless it was p to begin with.

The second accent on féfiné could represent "definitive accent" (see Churchward 1953:6–7). Those on léley and éta do not match current pronunciation.

A4 PATTERSON 1808

The following words, names, and phrases are from pages 63–103 of Patterson's Narrative. Communication with the Fijians at first was aided by Charles Savage, who—having spent more than eighteen months in Tonga (Derrick 1946:44) "could speak the language of this people, and was of great use to us as an interpreter" (Patterson 1817:86). In the explanations at the right, Patterson's own words appear in parentheses.

86	Beteger	Batiki
87	sicingi	sā sega 'no'
	munries	madrai 'fermented taro'
89	Rombetty	Rā Bete ('something like a priest')
	Booree-curlow	bure kalou 'sacred house'
90	angooner	yaqona 'kava'
	mannor	mana yaqona ('returning thanks to God
	angooner	in their way')
91	armatee,	a mate, a mate (said to lower classes
	armatee	upon their breaking wind)
	ambuller,	a bula, a bula (said to upper classes
	ambuller	upon their breaking wind)
	marrar	malo 'loincloth'
92	leeky	liku 'skirt'

93   taw haw, haw haw, peppa longa Feegee, peppa longa
      Feegee _____ pāpālagi Fiji, pāpālagi Fiji
                    (said in laughter when P thought an
                    albino was a Fijian)

      sarbeur conur sā via kana '(I) am hungry'
      cooue

95   peppa longa sar percolor en deeni
                  pāpālagi sā bokola dina ('white man you
                  are good to eat')

96   peppa longa tooronga martinasinger
                  pāpālagi tūraga mata-ni-siga ('white
                  men are chiefs from the sun')

103   taw haw, haw haw, peppa longa na wanka matta
                  pāpālagi na waqa mate ('white men of
                  the ship that was broke')

A5 LOCKERBY 1809

Lockerby's list represents a significant jump in quantity but a drop in the quality of the transcription. Therefore, in column below, I make a guess at what Lockerby was aiming at. The word "guess" is intentional, for more than regular substitutions are involved if we are to work our way back to the original forms. The reason for this difficulty is the internal inconsistency of the list itself. Unlike that of Davies, for example, in which most of the significant contrasts are maintained,[1] this list under-differentiates a number of contrasts, especially those involving unaccented vowels. Thus, we find:

sealey 'knife', in which ey represents /e/

cotey 'scissors', in which ey represents /i/

On the other hand, there is also overdifferentiation: /i/ is also written e, as in iarse 'sandalwood'. And some words with /a/ are written with a (as latha for laca, others with ar (as iarse for yasi), and still others with u (as utamata for a tamata.

English	Fegee	Adjusted spelling
1 Ivory	Tamboo	tabua
2 Iron	Matow	matau 'adze'
3 An Axe	Matow Logey	matau loki
4 An Adz	Matow Mungey	matau magimagi (ACR[2]
5 A Knife	Sealey	i-sele
6 Sisors	Cotey	i-koti
7 Beads	Moro Moro	moromoro
8 Cloth	Solo	solo (ACR)[3]
9 Sandalwood	Iarse	yasi
10 Fier	Amboca	a buka
11 Water	awey	a wai
12 a Ship	Wankey ne Pappilangi	waqa ni pāpālagi
13 a Canoe	Wankey ne Betty	waqa ni Viti
14 a Sail	Latha	laca

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English	Fegee	Adjusted spelling
15 a Boat	Bello Bello	velovelo 'ship's boat
16 a Musket	Antakie	a dakai
17 Amoneshen	Angasow	a gasau
18 Bow & Arrows	Antakie ne Angasow	a dakai ni a gasau
19 Club & a spear	Maloom & Motto	malumu & moto
20 war	highbala	a i-valu
21 a fort made of stone	Gorobato	koro vatu
22 D° of or surrounded with water	Goro Wey	koro wai
23 a Man	Utama ta	a tamata
24 Woman	Leva	lewa
25 Boy	Tangona or Tangone	tagane
26 Girel	Leva ley ley	lewa lailai
27 Land	Fenoa	vanua
28 Stone	Bato	vatu
29 Pork	Poaka	vuaka
30 fish	Angoli	a qoli[4]
31 fish hook	Ambato ne Angoli	a bati ni qoli
32 a house	Napale	na vale

English	Fegee	Adjusted spelling
33 a house to cook in	Na Seue	na sue
34 Breadfruit	Auta	a uto
35 Planten	Bondey	vudi
36 a head Chief	Tourang lebo	tūraga levu
37 a D° of war	Boney high Bala	vū-ni-veivala (vū ni a i-valu?)
38 a yong Chief	Boney lang.	vū-ni-lagi
39 a Queen	Marrama	marama
40 a poor man	a hiesee, or Cisee	kaisī[5]
41 Salt Water	Ranna Wey	rana wai[6]
42 fresh D°	wey Motha	wai maca[7]
43 Good Morning	Sieandra	sā yadra
44 Today	Negoa	nikua
45 tomorrow	Mataca	mataka
46 the Sun	Sing.	siga
47 the Moon	Polo	vula
48 Come hear	Lago my	lako mai
49 go away	Sa lago	sā lako
50 you	Qugo (?)	ko iko
51 o Me	ungou	oqō ('here by me')
52 What Do you say	adaba poso Qugo	a cava vosa ko iko

English		Fegee	Adjusted spelling
53	Who has got any wood to sell today	Cothe Yarse Bolley Negoa	ko cei yasi voli nikua
54	When will you cut Sandlewood	Nenetha Ta Ta Yarse	ni naica a tata yasi
55	Yams	Offie or Uffie	uvī
56	Yams	offie	uvi
57	Tara [taro?]	Tanga	daiga (ACR)[8]
58	rain	otha	uca
59	Wind	Thanga	cagi
60	a Landing place	Matasava	matāsawa
61	An Anchor	Gilley Gily	kelekele
62	anything good	venacka	vinaka
63	D° bad	Sa Da	sā cā
64	anything large	Sa lebo	sā levu
65	D° small	Sa Ly Ly	sā lailai
66	to Speak	Sa Posa	sā vosa
67	Angry	Nerrey	nene (PG)
68	to Sing	Makey Makey	mekemeke
69	Larg Sandlewood	Iarse Lebo	yasi levu
70	Lon D°	Ryendry Iarse	draidrai yasi (PG)
71	old D°	Iarse Mandoo	yasi madū

English	Fegee	Adjusted spelling
72 bad D⁰	Iarse Cobey	yasi kovi
73 good D°	Iarse Venacka	yasi vinaka
74 to cut Wood	Ta Ta Irse	tata yasi
75 to sap wood	sa Seeby Irse	sā sivi yasi
76 to carry wood	Tou tou Irse	tautau yasi (?)
77 to put it up in piles	Sobo Irse	sova yasi
78 wood not saped	Irse Manga Seby	sivi yasi maqa sivisivi
79 What will you take for the pile of wood	adaba boley andongo Soba irse	a cava voli eduga sova yasi
80 Have you got any Mango wood today	Irse Nego	maqa yasi nikua
81 Where is the Sandlewood	My bie Irse	mai vei yasi
82 Go with me & show me it	Sa Qugo Sa guou Lago Sara Sara	sā ko iko sā ko au lako sarasara
83 How many piles of wood have you	a Vitha na Soba Irse Qugo	e vica na sova yasi ko iko

NB Sandlewood is sometimes called Iesey but mostly Irse

A piece of Ivory wt about one 1b is worth two tons of wood

Numbers Fegee		English	Adjusted spelling
84	andonga	one	e duga

Numbers Fegee		English	Adjusted spelling
85	Sa rooah	two	sā rua
86	Sa tola	three	sā tolu
87	Vau	four	vā
88	lemo	five	lima
89	onah	six	ono
90	vita	seven	vitu
91	vala	eight	walu
92	Theva	nine	ciwa
93	Teney	ten	tini

As do many documents written in a transitional orthography, Lockerby's list tells us more than the compiler intended. For instance:

> 1. The Fijian dialect area: Such a form as andonga (e duga) confirms the source as Vanualevu, and specifically as Bua Province.

> 2. Lockerby's dialect of English: The r in his spellings iarse, ierse, and irse for yasi 'sandalwood' and argasow for a gasau 'arrow' shows that Lockerby pronounced a postvocalic /r/ as [?].

> 3. Difficulty in transcribing unaccented vowels: Lockerby's problem with the unaccented vowels in Fijian can be illustrated by some of the numerals he listed. Note especially his spellings of the forms for 'three', 'five', 'six', 'seven', and 'eight'.

> 4. Grammatical recutting: Some of the forms cited are spelled with their articles attached, as the current spelling in the third column shows. Such inconsistencies are common in the early

lists, and quite justifiably so. Later we will discuss word division as a persistent orthographical problem.

5. The character of the phrases: Lockerby's sandalwood-collecting phrases do not reflect normal speech. Not only are they without the niceties of expression that politeness might demand, but—and more important—they are actually early examples of pidgin Fijian. Geraghty (1978) developed this idea into a well-supported hypothesis that Fijians spoke (and still speak) a special kind of language to outsiders. He also noted that with a few exceptions, the transcription of Lockerby (and later that of Richardson and Davies) does not accurately reflect the phonology of the area from which it was collected, but instead that of the Rewa area. He concluded (p. 54) that "in their communications with non-Fijians, Vanualevu speakers did not use their own dialect, but used the 'correct' phonology of Rewa".

However, since the list includes such spellings as mb, nk, nt, and th, it does differ from some others in that it represents (however inconsistently) Fijian pronunciation, and not a Tongan imitation.

A6 LOCKERBY'S PROPER NAMES 1809

What follows is a sample of Fijian place names and personal names, gleaned from Lockerby's early sailing directions (Dodge 1972).[1] It is atypical, because it is richer in names than the usual ships' logs. Most of the identifications are by Peter France (Dodge 1972:182n).

1	Myemboo (Bay)	mai 'from, at' Bua
2	My-Gora, My-Goro (Is.)	mai Koro
3	Highley (Bay)	Wailea
4	Nighpark ( )	Naivaka
5	Angana (Is.)	Yagaga
6	Embelabo (R.)	Balavu (?)
7	Embagabo (Is.)	Nabekavu
8	Nandorey, Nandorry	Naduri
9	Sabo Sabo (village)	Savusavu

10	Townrobo, Token Roba	Cakaudrove (province)
11	Lagota (Bay)	Lekutu
12	Tafear	Tavea
13	Beambowalla (chief)	Bouwalu
14	Goro Batto (chief)	Korovatu
15	Groma (hills)	Koroma (?)
16	Tattileso	Tacilevu
17	Inragete	Dreketi

Later records show that there was little attempt to correct these early approximations. Perhaps some of the names had taken root by then, at least among outsiders. This entry (from Captain Eagleston, early 1830s) packs a number of misspellings into one sentence: "Our destination from Rava [Rewa] is first to Le-booker [Levuka] (on the Id of Overlow [Ovalau]) for water, then to Mudwater [Macuata] (on the Id. of Tackaneva [Cakaudrove]"] (Eagleston 1833–36).

A7 DAVIES I 1810

Although Davies's word list is important because of its early date, it remained little known for over a century. When it was finally published, it suffered at the hands of either the editor or the printer. Im Thurn called the list a "somewhat confused vocabulary" (1925:154), but he did not understand the conventions that Davies had used. His History of the Tahitian Mission (Newbury 1961) provides the key.

Davies explained that the Tahitian orthography used then (adopted over his objections) used e for /i/. Thus, the spelling of belo for bilo 'cup' is more appropriate than it seemed to im Thurn. In addition, the Tahitian orthography used an epsilon for /i/, thus indicating the contrast between sega 'not' and siga 'day' as sɛnga and senga. The distinction was lost in the editing, and the two words appear to be identical in the printed version.

As in some of the previous lists, there is a stong flavor of Tongan in these transcriptions. Because it is unlikely that Davies would confuse such contrasts, the following probably represent Tongan pronunciations of Fijian words: three examples of v for w: Ambalava 'pandanus', leva 'woman', and lava 'net'; alapo for alavo or 'alavo 'rat' (kalavo in Standard Fijian), and puka for buka 'firewood'. The list of island names (pp. 150–51) adds more support to the theory: the spellings Takaunovɛ for Cakaudrove, Labɛ for Rabe, and Jejea for Cicia are almost certain evidence that Davies's informants were not

Fijians, but the Tongans who visited the ship on several occasions. However, as with the previous lists, there is also a possibility that the Fijians were assimilating to a pronunciation they thought appropriate for foreigners.[1]

The list which follows was transcribed directly from a microfilm of the original manuscript (Davies 1809). The first column gives the words as Davies wrote them, the second as im Thurn printed them, the third in a spelling that has been adjusted to take into account the Tahitian conventions, and the fourth in a current Fijian spelling. Dashes indicate that there is no change from the form immediately to the left.

	Manuscript	Printed	Adjusted	Current	English
1	Amɛ	Ame	-----	yame	tongue
2	Ambalava	-----	-----	a balawa	pandanus
3	Ankona	-----	-----	yaqona	kava
4	Alapo	-----	-----	alavo or 'alavo	rat
5	Belo	-----	bilo	bilo	cup
6	Bedu	-----	bitu	bitu	bamboo
7	Nogonogo	-----	nokonoko	nokonoko	ironwood tree
8	Lɛva	Leva	-----	(ya)lewa	woman
9	Lava	-----	-----	lawa	net
10	Lale	-----	lali	lali	drum
11	Loge	-----	loki	loki	axe
12	Longa	-----	-----	loga	mat
13	Puka	-----	-----	buka	firewood
14	Kalau	-----	-----	kalou	god

Manuscript	Printed	Adjusted	Current	English
15 Sɛnga	Senga	sega	sega	not
16 Senga	-----	siga	siga	sun, day
17 Sangole	-----	sagoli or saqoli	sā qoli	it is a fish
18 Ranegae	-----	ranikai	rānikai	leaf of ti plant
19 Turanga	-----	-----	tūraga	chief
20 Vosa	-----	-----	vosa	speech

The third column shows an additional adjustment to compensate for the frequent writing of unaspirated stops as voiced stops.

A8 DAVIES I PLACE NAMES 1810

The following quotation and list of place names is from the journal of the Rev. John Davies, Tuesday, 23 January 1810. It is published as im Thurn 1925.

> The word Feje (not Feejee) seems to be the name of the People and not of the islands. They call themselves Feje and Kai Feje or Fede and sometimes Kaipeti. This group contains a great number of islands, most of them inhabited, some small but several very large. According to the account of the natives several of their islands have not been seen by Europeans. The principal of those we have seen, or heard the names of, are the following:

Davies spelling	Current spelling		Davies spelling	Current spelling
1 Takaunovɛ	Cakaudrove	15	Fanua vatu	Vanuavatu
2 Ambau	Bau	16	Vatu vala	Vatuvara
3 Vanegɛle	Lemo	17	Kanatɛa	Kanacea
4 Labɛ	Rabe	18	Munea	Munia

Davies spelling		Current spelling	Davies spelling		Current spelling
5	Loutala	Laucala	19	Neau	Nayau
6	Kamɛa	Qamea	20	Jegobea	Cikobia
7	Angana	Yaqaga	21	Namuga	Namuka
8	Legɛba	Lakeba	22	Tuputu	Tuvuca [?]
9	Fɛtoa	Vatoa	23	Funatafeune	vuna-Taveuni
10	Kabala	Kabara	24	Jejea	Cicia
11	Ono	Ono	25	Oneata	Oneata
12	Ongea	Ogea	26	Fulanga	Fulaga
13	Atata	Yacata	27	Aeva	Aiewa
14	Fanuaparau	vanuabalavu	28	Komo	Komo

A9 RICHARDSON 1811

	English	Fijian	Adjusted spelling
1	One	Endoongah	e duga
2	TWO	sa rooah	sā rua
3	Three	Sa Toloo	sā tolu
4	Four	Va	vā
5	Five	Lemo	lima
6	Six	Ono	ono
7	Seven	Vetoo	vitu
8	Eight	Whaloo	walu

English		Fijian	Adjusted spelling
9	Nine	Thivah	ciwa
10	Ten	Teeney	tini
11	Eleven	Endoongah Teeney bonackhe edoongah	e duga tini [ ] e duga[1]
12	Twenty	Rooah Teeney	rua tini
13	Twenty one	Ruah Teeney bonackhe	rua tini [ ]
14	Thirty or more	Toloo Teeney bonackhe	tolu tini [ ]
15	one Hundred	Androw	a drau

To express a great number they repeat the word Androw, shutting or opening thier hands to signify Thousands.

16	Sandalwood	Iarsey	yasi
17	who has any sandalwood to sell today	Quotha Iarsey boley Negow	ko cei yasi voli nikua
18	go with me to see the sandalwood	sa guego sa guow lago sara sara n'Iarsey	sā ko iko sā koiau lako sarasara na yasi
19	what do you want for your wood	boley adabah n'Iarsey guego	voli a cava na yasi ko iko
20	when will you cut sandalwood	Nenethah ta ta Iarsey	nineca tata yasi
21	have you got any wood to day	Sa munckah N'Iarsey Negow	sā maqa na yasi nikua
22	I have sold it	Sa boleah	sā volia
23	Yes	Eyo	io
24	no	Sengah	sega
25	no more	Sa munckah	sā maqa
26	where is your wood	Mybee N'Iarsey guego	mai vei na yasi ko iko

27	it is hide	Sa Pooney	sā vuni
28	how many piles of wood have you got	Abetah N'Asopah Iarsey guego	e vica na sova yasi ko iko
29	how many pieces of wood in one pile	Abetah N'Iarsey endoongah Asopah	e vica na yasi e duga a sova
30	throw the wood out of the house	key tumbah Iarsey N'Assuey	ki tuba yasi na sue
31	carry the wood to the boat	dolah N'Iarsey n'bello bello	cola na yasi na velovelo
32	put the wood in piles	Asopah N'Iarsey	a sova na yasi
33	whose wood is this	Iarsey quothae	yasi ko cei
34	it is my wood	Iarsey quow	yasi ko yau
35	it belongs to another man	Iarsey N Itahnie	yasi ni tani
36	where is the owner	Cybee ne towgay	kaivei na taukei
37	he has gone to woods to cut sandalwood	Salago lagoutoo ta ta ne Iarsey	sā lako lekutu tata ni yasi
38	old dry wood	Iarsey mundoo	yasi madū
39	green straight wood	Iarsey boo	yasi vou
40	crooked wood	Iarsey ambillo	yasi kapelu[2]
41	young wood in which there is no heart or smell	Iarsey cobey	yasi kovi
42	hollow wood	Iarsey tolo	yasi tola
43	large wood	Iarsey lebo	yasi levu
44	small wood	Iarsey ly ly	yasi lailai
45	lone wood	Iarsey endryendry	yasi draidrai
46	short wood	Iarsey leccalecca	yasi lekaleka
47	good wood	Iarsey benackah	yasi vinaka
48	bad wood	Iarsey dah	yasi cā
49	to cut sandalwood	Ta ta Ne Iarsey	tata ni yasi
50	to sap wood	Gurry gurry N'Iarsey	karikari na yasi
51	a real whales tooth	Tambure indeenah	tabua dina
52	an artificial wh tooth	Tambure N'Iscealey	tabua ni sele

53	a small piece of ivory	Tombey	taube (ACR)[3]
54	Iron	Matow	matau
55	an Axe	matow logey or logeylebu	matau loki or lokilevu
56	a hatchet	logey ly ly	loki lailai
57	an Adze	tamboo mungymungy	tabu magimagi[4]
58	a knife or saw	Iscealey	i-sele
59	a fork [?]	san [ ]	saga[5]
60	a pair of scissors	Icotey	i-koti
61	a chissel	bellico	velekō[6]
62	a plane Iron	bellico ouboonah	velekō uvuna [?]
63	a gimblet	cunny wankey	ouetenuh
64	beads	moromoro	moromoro
65	cloth	Sulu	i-sulu
66	a looking glass	lillo lillo	i-iloilo
67	a piece of bar Iron hammer'd into the shape of a chissel	Matow tokey	matau tuki
68	a sea elephant's tooth	Ambattienah	a bati-na
69	a fan	Mossay	masei[7]
70	the cloth the men wear round their bodies	Mass	masi
71	goods or trade	Yow	yau
72	a Razor	Taboui	tavui, tavai [?][8]
73	a Man	Tumattah	tamata
74	a woman	Lewa	lewa
75	a boy	Ra gonie	rā gone
76	a girl	Lewah Ly ly	lewa lailai
77	a husband	Tungunie	tagane
78	a wife	Ouetenuh	wati-na
79	a father	Tummunnah	tama-na
80	a Mother	Tunnunah	tina-na
81	a chief	Turang	tūraga
82	a great chief	Turang a lebo	tūraga levu
83	wife to a head chief	Marammah	marama
84	a petty chief	Turang ly ly	tūraga lailai
85	a poor man or Nave	Kisee	kaisī
86	a prophet	Ambitty	a bete

87	the deity which they worship or a very old man celebrated for his wisdom	Callou	kalou
88	a thief or to steal	Tumbataccah	tuba-taka
89	a fool	Lear Lear	lialia
90	a boat steerer	Tulindow	tū-ni-dau[9]
91	a sailor or fisherman	Kywhye	kai-wai
92	a white man or ghost	Pappelange	pāpālagi
93	a Lascar	Kimori	kai-mua
94	an aged man or woman	Mattuah	matua
95	silly or foolish	Etinum	tina-mu
96	pig, hog or pork	Poakah	puaka
97	the dead body of an enemy which they intend to eat	Borgoolah	bokola
98	fish	Missamis	Gourie
99	to catch fish	Angole ne missamis	a qoli ni [ ]
100	a fish hook	Ambat ne angole	a bati ni qoli
101	bread fruit	Aooto	a uto
102	bannannah	Boondey	vudi
103	a cocoa nut	Anew	a niu
104	a cocoa nut fit to drink	Anew soosoo	a niu sosou
105	an old cocoa nut	Anew Mundoo	a niu madū
106	a yam	Ouvie	uvi
107	a long potatoe	Carvi	kawai
108	a vegetable which grows in swampy ground resembling in appearance a french turnip. it is called tarrow in Otahitie & is superior to any vege table I have ever eaten.	Antaloo	a dalo
109	sugar cane	Andobu	a dovu
110	a fowl	Etoah	a toa
111	a duck	Ungah	a gā
112	a Turtle	Ouboonah	vonu
113	a shaddock	Moley	moli
114	a large nut which at one season of the year constitutes a considerable part of the natives food	Aeevee	a ivi

115	a fruit somewhat resembling a mangoe	Awee	a wī
116	a dog	Gourie	korī
117	a parroquet	Goulie	kula
118	an intoxicating drink made by chewing a root	Angonah	yaqona
119	a large root which after baking yields a considerable quantity of molasses at least 3/4 [?] of its weight	Anki	a qai
120	a kind of sour	Mandri	madrai

paste made from fruits or vegetables by grating them fine & burying it in the ground wrapped up in bannannah leaves, where it remains untill wanted for use. it is chiefly used in times of scarcity or at thier feasts being considered as a great delicacy it had to me a very disagreeable taste, but many of my people appear to like it.

121	a favorite dish of the natives made from Antaloe, sugar cane & cocoa nuts	Fuckalolo	vakalolo
122	salt	Marsemah	māsima
123	Provisions	Mungety	magiti
124	to climb a cocoanut tree	cumba new	kaba niu
125	an earthen pot in which they boil thier victuals	Goro nubeta	kuro ni Viti
126	an Iron pot	Goro ne pappelange	kuro ni pāpālagi
127	to boil thier provisions	sunker ne Goro	saqa ni kuro
128	a bone	suir	sui
129	Water	Ahwhye	a wai
130	fresh water	Ahwhye endrau	a wai dranu
131	salt water	Ahwhye enduey	a wai dui
132	Land	Fenoah	vanua
133	stone	Batoo	vatu
134	a fort	Coro	koro
135	a stone fort	Coro battu	koro vatu
136	a fort surrounded by water	Coro whye	koro wai

137	to take a fort or town, or to burn it, which is thier constant practice when at war	Cumbah ne Coro	kaba ni koro
138	an enemy	Ne Methu	na meca
139	an ally in war	ne Highballoo	na i-valu
140	War	Highballoo	a i-valu
141	to put to death, dead, or to hurt in any way	Matte Matte	matemate
142	a piece of white cloth worn round the head when they go to war	Ivow	i-vau
143	sharp pieces of bamboo hardened in the fire & placed in the ground & in the ditches round thier forts to run in thier assailents feet	so kies	soki
144	a War club	Maloom	malumu
145	a large club with a large knubbed head & sharp points	maloom totogier	malumu totokia
146	a bow	Antakienubetu	a dakai ni bitu
147	Arrows	Nassow	gasau
148	a Musket	Antakie	a dakai
149	Ammunition	Nassow	gasau
150	a large gun	Antakie ne fenoah	a dakai ni vanua
151	bold, courageous	Ganggah	qāqā
152	a spear	Mottoo	moto
153	strong or in good health, fearless, undaunted	Bullumbullum	bulabula
154	cowardly, fearful, timid, frightened	Sa Reyret	sā rere
155	Angry	Ninneyninney	nenenene, nininini [?]
156	Very Angry, Mad,	Goosegoosey	kusikusi
157	to ask forgiveness	So-roh	soro
158	a House	Assuey or Walley	a sue or vale
159	a house in which the men sleep by themselves	Boorey	bure

160	a house devoted to the worship of the Deity	Boorey ne Callou	bure ni kalou
161	a house appropriated for the reception of strangers, where they receive provisions from the chief, & every man in the village is obliged to contribute to thier support	Boorey	bure
162	to eat	Cunnycun	kanikani
163	a great feast	soroh lebo	sō levu
164	a ship or vessel	Wankey lebo	waqa levu
165	a Canoe	Wankey nubeta	waqa ni Viti
166	a boat	bellobello	velovelo
167	a sail	Latha	laca
168	a seine or net	Latha ni missamiss	laca ni [ ]
169	an outrigger to a canoe	dammer	cama
170	good morning	Sciandrah	sā yadra
171	to day	Negour	nikua
172	tomorrow morning	metaccah lyly	mataka lailai
173	to Morrow	ne bongibong	ni bogibogi
174	in two days	ne bongy Roi	ni bogi rua
175	in three days	ne bongy tolu	ni bogi tolu
176	the moon	Booloo	vula
177	night	ne bongy	ni bogi
178	by & by	Samberry	sa bere
179	You	guego	ko iko
180	I or myself	auow	au
181	what is your name	quotha Ithana guego	ko cei yaca-na ko iko
182	where is your house	Cybei ne assuey Quego	ki vei na sue ko iko
183	go away	Salago	sā lako
184	come here	Lagomy	lako mai
185	where are you going	Salago by	sā lako vei
186	where do you come from	Salago myby	sā lako mai vei
187	where do you belong	Mybee guego	mai vei ko iko
188	to speak	Sa vosa	sā vosa
189	what do you say	a dabah vosa guego	a cava vosa ko iko
190	a pile of anything	Asopah	a sova

191	anything large	Sa lebo	sā levu
192	anything small	sa ly ly	sā lailai
193	short	leccalecca	lekaleka
194	long	andry andry	draidrai
195	any good or pleasing	Sa Rey or Sa Venackah	sā rē or sā vinaka
196	anything bad	Sa dah	sā cā
197	to sing & dance	Mecka Mecka	mekemeke
198	rain	Outha	uca
199	wind	Thungie	cagi
200	Fire	Ambucah	a buka
201	a carpenter	Marti	mātai
202	a blacksmith	Tookie ne mattow	tuki ni matau
203	a womans dress	Leek	liku
204	to lie	Lasso	lasu
205	Indeed or it is true	Indeenah	e dina
206	anything forbidden	Tamboo	tabu

by a chief is said to be tambooed the chiefs are in the habit of tambooing the different kinds of provisions & while this restriction remains any person eating of the forbidden articles would be put to death.

207	when the restriction is removed	Tarrow	tara
209	to see or look	Sara Sarah	sarasara
209	let me see	Sarahsarah guow	sarasara ko au
210	do you understand	Sagalah guego	sā kilā ko iko
211	I understand	sa galah guow	sā kilā ko au
212	I do not understand	singenigelah guow	sega ni kilā ko au
213	to stay or remain	sa Tego	sā tiko
214	to sleep or rest	moi moi	moemoe
215	laziness, lounging about	salebe ne fear mothey	sā levu na via moce
216	make haste	Coosah coosah	kusakusa
217	Crying	Tungie	tagi
218	hush or be quiet	Dulah	dula
219	an oath	Esah	sā
220	before, previous	Muntah	mada
221	after, behind, or last	Moorie	muri
222	a path	sallah	sala

223	where is the path	Cybee ne salluh	ki vei ni sala
224	give me	Cowmy	kau mai
225	bring or come here	Currymy or hurrymy	
226	all the same, similar	Fuckengo	vaka-oqō
227	what do you say, or what will you do	Fuckaby	vaka-vei
228	empty	Salallah	sā lala
229	a cup made of a Cocoa nut shell	Ambillo	a bilo
230	Ashes made from breadfruit	Endra	drā

leaves which they mix with water & put it on their hair
to make it curl & give it a white appearance

231	hair of the head	Ouly	ulu
232	a comb	scerie	seru
233	white	boothem boothem	bucobuco
234	black	Luah luah	loaloa
235	Red	endum endum	damudamu
236	yellow	Ambure	
237	green or blue	Carrahcarahwah	karakarawa
238	blood	Endrah	drā
239	a sword	Iscealey embala	i-sele
240	a reef	Thackow	cakau
241	a landing place	Matte savah	matāsawa
242	a setting pole	Thocka Thocka	cokacoka
243	to pull an oar or to paddle	Bothy	voce
244	coya cynet	Mung a mung	magimagi
245	a Rope	Antahly	a dali
246	small line or thread or anything to tie up a bundle with	Wahwah	wāwā
247	to lay up a rope	Tumbu ne Antahly	tubu ni dali
248	a Needle	Ithuly	i-cula
249	a chest basket or box	Rhomboo	rubu
250	a bamboo to hold water or a cask	Sunker	saqa (ACR)
251	Mangrove	Andongah	a dogo
252	a hard wood of which they make thier war clubs	Nokah nokah	nokonoko

253	a sharp stick to husk cocoa nuts or to dig with	Ankokah	a doko [?][10] a i-coka [?]
254	to weed or clean the ground for planting	Ueerie	were
255	Tumirick	Arrarengah	rerega
256	a lemon	Moley ne pappelange	moli ni pāpālagi
257	to give or make a present	Solea	soli-a (ACR)
258	an expression of grief	Ahlai	oilei
259	a watch	Callou ne pappelange	kalou ni pāpālagi
260	to thatch a house	Towrow ne Ivally	tau rau ni vale
261	a sort of pitch made from the bread fruit tree	Endingah	
262	stinking	Booey dah	boi cā
263	a sweet smell	Booey rey	boi rē
264	the space of time	Baggay	yabaki

from one yam planting season to Another. wether this is yearley or half yearley I will not learn, as I could not find any Native learned enough to inform me how many moons constituted a baggay they varying in thier account from five moons to ten

265	Heavy	Beembee	bībī
266	full not empty	Looboo	luvu
267	labour, work	Tuliah	tuli-a
268	the privates of a Man	Outee	uti
269	a womans privates	Tailey	tele
270	Copulation	Bendraty	vei-drati
271	a private vice	Tubelagah	tuvulaka [?]
272	to piss	Mie	mī
273	to fart	Bekah bekah	vekaveka
274	excrements	Antah	a dā
275	lice	Goutoo	kutu
276	a crooked c -t	Mungah baby	maga veve

A10 BELLINGSHAUSEN 1820

APPENDIX: THE EARLY WORD LISTS

English	Fijian	Current spelling
1 kind of potato	kavai	kawai
2 pig	puaka	vuaka
3 knife	seli	i-sele
4 cocoa-nut	ambu	a bū
5 dog	koli	kolī
6 a weapon similar to the butt-end of a gun	maluk	malumu [?]
7 bone	yeikolo	i-kolo 'stick' [?]
8 a finger ring	leru	lelu [Tongan]
9 hair-pin	atoku	a taku 'turtle shell [?]
10 payment	sakyun	[?]
11 scissors	saitazh	[from English?]
12 ear	tariga	daliga
13 beard	kummi	kumi
14 the earth	falua	vanua
15 paddle	kinikin	kinikini 'paddle-shaped club'
16 sticks	glandzhi	ka latai (ACR)[?]
17 a kind of club	maida malum	mada malumu (ACR)
18 oar	yeivodi	i-voce
19 curved club	sun-syup	[?]

English	Fijian	Current spelling
20 cloth, stuff	amasi	masi
21 mat	e-amba	yaba
22 bow	itakoi	takai / dakai
23 arrow	manau	[?] gasau
24 shells, called 'porcelain'	buli-gon-go	buli qaqau 'egg cowry'
25 pearl shell	yediba	civa
26 a braid of cord made of plaited hair	vallo-a	vulo 'twisted thread' [?] or vulua 'pubic hair' [?]
27 ship	avango	waqa
28 nail	vakko	i-vako
29 yellow paint	a-rfeno	rerega
30 cock	a-spoa	toa
31 hen	mona	moa [Tongan moa?]
32 three stars of the constellation of Orion	yeolu-alatolu	[?] tolu 'three'
33 the moon	yeolu-vullo	yalo vula
34 well, good	minako	vinaka
35 hand	alisangu	a liga-qu 'my hand'
36 finger	induti	i-duciduci
37 nose	äutu	a ucu
38 mouth	Nrako	draka

English	Fijian	Current spelling
39 teeth	ambachi	a bati [baji]
40 forehead	aianri	yadre
41 eye	amata	a mata
42 tongue	ame	yame
43 hair	äulu	a ulu
44 finger-nail	akovupo	i-taukuku (ACR)
45 foot	beri	bere 'footprint' [?]
46 back	andaku	a daku
47 fire	ambuka	a buka

Although some of the forms on Bellingshausen's list are immediately recognizable (such as the first five), a few others are unknown to Fijians today, and still others have an orthographical form so unusual that it is difficult to guess at the phonetic form they represent. Examples of the last category are sakyun and glandzhi. But even glandzhi can be partially analyzed. The ndzhi segment represents, for a Lauan language, /di/ [nǐi], and gl may represent kal (the ka syllable would be unstressed). On the basis of this analysis, ACR suggested the form given in the list, a shortened form of kau vei-latai 'heap of sticks'.

For a few words, the relationship between the Russian orthography and pronunciation has produced a barrier to our reconstruction.[1] Since Russian unstressed /o/ has a centralized pronunciation, it is no surprise that in some cases the transcriber wrote both final -a and final -o with the same letter. It is possible that spoa for toa is a printer's mistake, since Russian handwritten t might have been mistaken for sp (PG 79). Beri 'foot' may be bere, which survives in northeast Vanualevu as 'footprint' (PG 79).

The final m in malum, which represents mu, shows that this particular phonetic feature of devoicing[2] existed at that time and is not a recent development.

Henderson's version (1933:229–31), translated from Russian, has these differences:

7	Eikolo
15	Kinikin Malum
17	Malum Ambale-mato-malum Maida Malum
37	Aushu
18	Eivodi
25	Ed-iba
32	Eolu-alatolu
33	Eolu-vullo
35	Asilangu
36	Indushi
40	Ayanri
44	Akokupo
46	Anaku

Henderson's introduction to the word list provides the following background information (229n):

> This is the first list of dialect words in Fiji that has come down to us ... The reader will bear in mind that the words in the first column are not truly Fijian. They simply represent the sounds which Bellinghausen and his men heard when the various objects were referred to, and they reach us through Russian as written by a Baltic German. The two Englishmen whom Bellingshausen had as interpreters on board the Vostok would be of great assistance to him in preparing his list. The Mbauan equivalents of the Ono words were written down for me by Mr. K. J. Allardyce of Mbavatu and Kaminieli Tubanavau of Ono and Lakeba.

After looking at more of Henderson's work, one comes to the conclusion that it is linguistically rather naive (see especially his opinions on orthography in CH 3). It is difficult to imagine how speakers of English could help in preparing this list, unless one assumes that the Ono people knew some English. His folk etymology of vuaka from English 'porker' was referred to earlier; adjacent to that one in his notes here is another common one:

kolī from English 'collie'. Another note tells us that "this word …
may begin with y; as the e in Russian here is preitalicized very
often." One assumes that he meant "palatalized".

A11 DAVIES II 1825

On the following pages is a facsimile of what is thought to be
the first printing in the Fijian language—Sa Alphabeta Na Vosa
Faka Fiji.

Fiji Language

SA ALPHABETA NA

VOSA FAKA FIJI.

Sa tamu		Sa tamu	
A — — A, a		Mo — — M, m	
B. — — B, b		Nu — — N, n	
Dh — — D, d		Nga — — Ng, ng	
E — — E, e		O — — O, o	
Fh — — F, f		Pi — — P, p	
Gh — — G, g		Ro — — R, r	
I — — I, i		Sa — — S, s	
J. — — J. j		Ti — — T, t	
K — — K. k		U — — U, u	
La — — L. l		Vi — — V, v	

ABDEFGIJKLMN
NGOPRSTUV.

A B D E F G I J K L M N
Ng O P R S T U V.
a b d e f g i j k l m n ng o p r s t u v.
d v j m e f i k n p r o s ng t a l o u g.

a e i o u

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10.
I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X.

2

Ba	be	bi	bo	bu
da	de	di	do	du
fa	fe	fi	fo	fu
ga	ge	gi	go	gu
ju	je	ji	jo	ju
ka	ke	ki	ko	ku
la	le	li	lo	lu
ma	me	mi	mo	mu
na	ne	ni	no	nu
nga	nge	ngi	ngo	ngu
pa	pe	pi	po	pu
ra	re	ri	ro	ru
sa	se	si	so	su
ta	te	ti	to	tu
va	ve	vi	vo	vu
ang	eng	ing	ong	ung
aj	ej	ij	oj	uj
as	es	is	os	us
ran	ren	rin	ron	run
tang	teng	ting	tong	tung

mai	niu	na	ki	gai	kei
ta	tai	tau	re	sa	tei
vai	vei	rau	sam	san	ko

A— si	la—va	o—ne	van—ka
a—tu	la—gi	pu—ka	v. —lu
a—va	la—go	po—nu	va—tu
am—ba	la—ngi	ra—nu	va—ra
bi—du	la—ngo	ru—nga	v. —vi
bi—lo	la—su	sa—nga	ve—re
bo—ngi	lei—lei	se—nga	vi—a
bu—nga	le—bu	si—nga	vo—sa
bu—la	le—va	se—te	u—ta
bu—no	le—vu	se—ru	u—to
fa—go	lo—a	su—li	ka—si
fa—ka	lo—vo	su—lu	le—e
gi—la	na—si	ta—kau	pi. lu
i—ka	ma—ta	ta—ti	a—lo

3

i—o	ma—ta	ta—lo	ji—na
ka—na	ma—te	ta—pa	vu—li
Ka—lou	ma—tu	ti—mu	ro—ngo
kan—da	ma—tau	tai—nga	me—ta
kan—di	man—rai	ta—ngi	me—ko
ka—sa	mo—te	ta—ta	ki—na
ki—o	mo—li	te—ngu	tu—pa
koe—au	mo—ka	tu—ru	U—bi
ku—li	ngan—te	ti—go	vo—no

Ai-sa-lu	ki-na-na	so-re-na	tu-ra-nga
a-me-mu	la-ge-ba	san-be-ra	va-nu-a
au-tu-mu	fa-la-le	sam-ba-ta	vi-nu-ga
a lo-na	ka-tu-pa	sam-bu-la	vain-na-nu
aa-ko-na	ko-i-ko	ta-ma-ta	tang-o-mu
an-e-mu	ma-si-ma	a-ka-tu	vo-vo-le
bu-a-ka	ka-la-po	be-lu-gi	li-nga-mu

An-tang-o-mu	lo-a-lo-a	ron-ro-la-ngi
bo-ngi-bo-ngi	lo-pu-lo-pu	ra-ni-a-ro
ka-lo-ka-lo	ma-ngi-ma-ngi	pi-ge-pi-gen
ke-le-ke-le	ma-nu-ma-nu	pu-ao-pu-no
ka-ta-ka-ta	mo-ro-mo-ro	si-nga-si-ngau
lo-va-lo-va	ni-va-ni-va	su-a-su-a
le-ga-le-ga	pa-pa-la-ngi	to-kai-la-be

Ngo-ne-ta-nga-ne	Pa-gi-na-mo-ka
bu-a-bu-ta-go	ro-mo-ro-mo-a
pa-la-pa-la-pu	ka-lo-ka-lo-si-nga

Sa gi la koe au. Sa senga ne gi la koiko.
Sa gi la koikoea. Sa vosa anjina koeau.
Sa vosa lasu, sa vosa ta.
Lago mai koiko, mai vuli na vosa faka Fiji.

Lago mai, mai kana.
Sa kana koiko. Sa matu koeau.
Sa koe sei koiko? Sa lagi ngante.
à ta sa ko lago mai kina? Lago mai, mai sara
sara Lago mai ki fale.

4

Sa tau na langi, sa lebu na uta.
Sa lebu na loa, sa tangi ta. Sa kata kata.
Sa a-a liva. Sa lebu na tangi, sa tangi vinaga.
Sa sua sua na uta, sa lebu na uta.
Mahua sa lago mai koeau.

Sa Turanga anga vinaga koiko.
Senga negila koeau na vosa faka Fiji.
Senga negila koeau na vosa faka Tonga.
Senga negila koeau na vosa faka papa langi.
Sa gila koiko na vosa faka Tahiti.
Sa senga ne gila koeau, sa leilei.

Lagi vaka rongo na vosa ni Kalou.
Lago mai koiko, mai vuli na vosa ni Kalou.
Meta vinaga na vuli na vosa ni Kalou.
Meko kila koiko. Vono ni Kalou. Lago mai
koiko, mai vuli na vosa ni Kalou 'njina.
Puta koiko na vosa ni Kalou lasu.

Sa tigo i lomani langi na Kalou 'njina.
Sa tigo i ra na Kalou lasu,
Sa tigo i angele na Kalou lasu.
Sa tigo na bongi na Kalou lasu.
Sa tigo i langi na Kalou anga vinaga.
Sa tigo i langi na Kalou alo vinaga.
Sa Kalou anjina sa valavala na vanua, valavala
na langi.
Na tamu ko Jehova na Kalou lebu, na Kalou
anjina.

Sa bulu a tangona, sa lago na alona.
Sa valavala na Kalou na tangona, sa mani pu-
lu i na gele.
Sa mate na tangona, sa pulu i na gele.
Na aloni tamata vinaga sa lagi langi.
Na aloni tamata ta, lago voli na bongi.
Tamata sa vaka rangota na vosa ni Kalou an-
jina, sa lagi langi na alona.
Tamata sa lialia na alona, sa lago voli na bongi.

5

Sa vosa mai na Kalou anjina, bula na alo mu-
tou. Na tamata ta na tamata butabutago.
Na tamata ta na tamata lasu lasu.
Na tamata vinaga na tamata vosa anjina.
Loloma mai koiko, kini kei tou.
Sambula kiniko na Kalou anjina.
Kakna ni jiko vale vulita na vosa ni Kalou.
Santua na kalou lasu, ka lasu kini kemuntou.
Senga ñegila koikemuntou, na Kalou anjina.
Kakna ni rere na kalou lasu, pinta ni na kalou
lasu
Leita vinaga mai, na vosa ni Kalou anjina.
Vaka rongo mai, na vosa ni Kalou anjina ko-
maopo.
Senga ni vak rongo tamai ko lialia.
Ko vaka rongo mai ko ma opo.
Sa vosa mai Kalou anjina, lago koikemuntou
vulita na vosa ni Kalou anjina, mekilamembula.
Lago koikemuntou ki vulita na vosa ni Kalou
i na vanua ani.
Vaka rongo tamai ko tamamu.
Faaroo maitai i to medua tane.
Vaka rongo tamai ko jinamu.
Faaroo maitai i to medua vahine.

6

vosa Fiji	parau Tahiti.	vosa Fiji	parau Tahiti
Aguro —	aua a aea	K vou —	aeou
Arvahu —	tatata	K maurao	rana
Anemu —	aero	K namtou -	ratou
Autunu -	ihu	Ko — —	mao
Ava - - -	avae, manao	Kaumanga	taoa
Autangomu	tino, oivi	Lava - - -	upea
Alo — —	aau, varua'	Leva —	vahine
Alona —	varua	Lebu —	rahi
A-i —	aha, rau noanoa	Langi —	rai
Atu - —	emo ou, atu	Lago, lagi	haere
Amba —	rara	Lasu —	haavare
Ankona —	ava	Leilei —	iti
Anremu —	roa	Loa —	ata
Anjiua, jina parau mau,		Lovo —	uuu
	enea mau.	Livahva—	toetoe
B la —	buaa	Liugamu	rima
B uga —	bua	Masi - -	ahu
Bongi —	rui, po	Masima -	miti
Be bongi ananahi,		Mote - -	moe
Bini — —	ohe	Moumi -	moua
Bil — -	aua, aibu	Mutau -	toi
Bua - -	avae, marama	Maurai —	mahi
Fale —	fare	Malua -	ariana
Fale na Kalou	fare no te	Manginango-	uape
	Atua.	Noka —	ota
Io — —	e, oia, oia ia	Ngusu - -	utu
Ika — —	ia	Ngone -	tamaiditi
Kalou —	Atua	Ponu -	honu
Kalokalo -	fetu, fetia	Puka - -	auahi
Kana —	amu, ai	Paji - -	niho
Kasa —	toa, papa	Rani - -	rau
Kasi — -	ruhiruhia	Raniuru -	rouru
Katupa na fale - opani		Rourolangi -	auaaua
	fare.	Sanga - -	uraa
Kelekele -	tiatau	Senga - -	aaa, eve
Koeau —	o vau	Singa - -	mahana
Koiko —	o oe	Singasingau -	teatea
Koikoea -	o oia	Seru - -	pahere
Ketaru —	taua	Sorena - -	huero

7

Fā parau Tahiti.	vosa Fiji parau Tahiti
S... taro ... arae	Vanua — — tenua
S... eaha?	Vatu — — ofai
Ts... ta... taata	Vonranu — pape
Tangane... tane	Vanti — — initi
Ts... ino	Vosa — — parau
Feenna'amu auaura	Vinaga — maitai
Toa... taura	Vanka — vaa
Tsaga... Teve	Vere — ohipa
Taugi... matai	Ua — — Ua
Tata... papai	Vali — haapii
Tigo... parahi	Valavala — hamani

Anga vinaga — — hamani maitai.
Apra ta — — — hamani ino.
Pata na aivalu — — faarue i te tamai.
Pata na malunga — faarue i te malunga.
Pata 6a vosaga — faarue i te o tai.
K...ua ni Laba, meta ta eiaha ei laba, e mea ino la
K... m' esi — — eiaha ei hamani ino.
Hakna ni avita na tamata eiaha e taparahi noa i
te taata.
Kakna ni lakova na leva eiaha e rave i ta vetahi
vaka vaji.   e ra vahine.
Kisua ni laso — — eiaha e haavare.
Kisua ni porisi — — eiaha e riri.
Vacata vaka vinaga - hamani maitai i te taata
na soda.   ee ra
Kakna ni kovca ka- eiaha e haru i ta te taata
n... nga ni tamata   o ra taoa.
tani.
K... ani butabutago eiaha eia.
L... na vanua koiko, haere i to oe fenua.
Lagi i ra — — — haere i raro.
L... rege — — haere i te vahi raru ra.
L... tage — — haere i nua.
L... teo — — haere i te oho.
L... mni — — haere i te mouna.
L... vana — — haere... tei
L... li — — haere... vani.
Lagi au matau — haere e hui te ia.

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Vosa faka fiji.	Parau Tahiti.
Lagi vere ki soso —	haere i te ohipa faaabu.
Lagi nagante ki vanua	haere ma e o'ori haere.
Lagi sua nin — —	haere e pai ma i te mari.
Lagi kapa uto —	haere e ... na i te uru.
Lagi tupa — —	haere e rapae.
Lagi vavi nto —	haere e cu i te urn.
Lagi tavu na ika —	haere e tanu i te ia.
Lagi sanka na ubi —	haere e tanu i te uhi.
Lagi tata na akatu —	haere e tapu i te raau.
Lagi 'ori na vale na rau	haere e ato i te fare.
Lagi tei kavai — —	haere e tanu i te taro.
Lagi tei masi — —	haere e tanu i te ante.
Lagi tei vunsi — —	haere e tanu i te maia.
Lagi tei uvi — —	haere e tanu i te ulu.
Lagi tei'n talo — —	haere e tanu i te talo.
Sa lago mote — —	haere e taoto.
Kotai e lago? — —	o vai te haere?
Koka e lago — —	o mea te haere.
Kotai ka lagi tupa? —	o vai tei haere i rapae?
Turu mai ki fale —	o A tomo mai i te fare.
Kusakusa mai —	haapeepee mai.
A tapa katoka mai?	eaha tera?
A tapa meta i? — —	eaha teie?
Kotai na tanu? —	o vai to oe ioa?
A luvei tei? — —	e tamaidi na vai?
Nuvena ko Atamoe —	tamaidi a Atamoe.
Sa tapa sa vosa mai kina?	eaha ta oe i parau mai nei?

In CH 1, we mentioned that the Davies primer gave the Fijian chief Tākai his first look at his language in written form. But a speaker of modern Fijian today would see his language though a glass darkly, for it is obscured by several layers of sociolinguistic interference.

The alphabet itself gives the first indication that the language here is special, for it does not reflect ordinary Fijian pronunciation: w and c [ð] are omitted altogether. Within the words and phrases, t is substituted for c (as in uta for uca 'rain' and ta for cā 'bad') and v for w (as in vanka for waqa 'canoe' and vainranu for wai dranu 'fresh water'). Even where v would have been appropriate (such as in levu 'great'), we find it interpreted as a b—that is, as unaspirated [p]: levu. These are all Tongan substitutions, not the result of Fijian passing through an English filter. As a specific example, note the following table. The first column contains Davies's transcription; the second column, a guess at what the Lauan forms were; and the third column, an English gloss. In order to understand the transcription, one must note that the symbols for voiced stops represent their unaspirated voiceless counterparts, not their current values.

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Davies's transcription	Adjusted spelling	English glosses
sa tau na langi	sā tau na lagi	the rain is falling
sa lebu na uta	sā levu na uca	there's a lot of rain
sa lebu na loa	sā levu na loa	there are a lot of clouds
sa tangi ta	sā cagi cā	it's a bad wind
sa kata kata	sā katakata	it's hot
sa liva liva	sā liwaliwa	there's lightning
sa lebu na tangi	sā levu na cagi	there's lots of wind
sa tangi vinaga	sā cagi vinaka	it's a good wind
sa sua sua na uta	sā suasua na uca	the rain is wet
sa lebu na uta	sā levu na uca	there's lots of rain
malua sa lago mai koeau	mālua sā lako mai ko yau	I'll come after awhile

In addition to reflecting Tongan pronunciation, the paragraph illustrates two prominent features of "foreigner talk" (Geraghty 1978). First, each sentence contains the aspect marker sā, as if it were an obligatory part of the verb phrase. Next, although Standard Fijian cannot specify a first or second person subject without having it appear within the verb phrase, such a construction is common in pidginized versions of the language.

But not all the words are Tonganized (or pidginized). As the forms vainranu 'fresh water', ankona 'kava', sambula 'greetings', and santua 'there's one' show, the prenasalized (prevoiced) consonants were treated as clusters. The use of nr is particularly interesting, because it is less misleading than the dr spelling that was finally chosen. The sound it represents is a prevoiced apical trill (the voicing is manifested in the only way possible: that is, as a nasal; see 44.5.1); the [d] is heard merely because the trill starts from closed position rather than

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the open position that is customary in some other languages. So these forma show something other than a Tongan pronunciation. Even so, there is not a consistent representation of the prevoiced stops, for Laqeba (which we could reinterpret as Lakepa) shows not a Fijian but a Tongan pronunciation of the island name.

A12 CARY 1825–32

The following words and phrases were gleaned from Cary's account of his stay in Fiji during the (approximate) period 1825–32. These words were not given in a list with glosses. The numbers before the items refer to page numbers. Parentheses enclose Cary's context or explanation; ACR has helped with the other identifications.

20	Lahcameber	Lakeba
	Ono	Ono
21	Toka	Toki Soroaqali, brother of Tui Nayau ('brother to the head chief of Lahcameber')
23	caloo	kalou (C. calls it a spirit)
24	Hamdoo	ā muduō ("all clapped their hands, repeating the word H., which means give thanks to the king")
25	Wooa venaka!	wō! vinaka saka vinaka ("Very well done. Thank you, sirs")
	Suka venaka	
	Umbaty	a bete
26	Ambow	Bau
	Emwaller	Moala (Island name: day's sail from Vatoa)
	pacalcolo	vakalolo ("The inhabitants brought down yams, tarrow, p., and pigs..")
	Engow	Gau (another day's sail away)
27	Motosick	Moturiki [The s is apparently a misprint; it is described as being about 15 miles from Bau]
28	Ovalau	Ovalau
29	Dohoah	Duō! Ō! ("This word is only used to Kings and chiefs")
	myinafuandooa	Mainavakadua! ("which is the salutation for the queens")
30	Nivy	Nairai (an island "about 50 miles northeast of Bau")

31	Uylah	Wailea (name of town where C. Savage was killed)
	Coroo	Koro
	Angarmy	("a town on Coroo")
32	Raver	Rewa
33	Waloa nongu turang owsar cani lolocoo	Mālua, noqu tūraga, au sā kā ni loloku ("Oh, my dear chief, I will soon fol low you" Cried by widow at funeral)
35	Bookeegodinga	Vuki-ko-Degei ("a monstrous great spirit, who lived on the big island in a very deep cave … it made a great earthquake")
36	Cantab	Kadavu
37	awanker parpalong sarla comy	a waqa vāvālagi sā lako mai
	Banger	Beqa
36	Tarbuca	Tavuki (place name, vicinity of Kadavu)
39	Vechalaboo	Vitilevu
42	Caloo Laboo	kalou levu
45	Myambooa (bay)	Bua
47	Naviti	Naviti
	Thowcanrover	Cakaudrove
48	Goro	Koro
49	spineringarselar	mua-ni-qasila ("They measured her [ship's] length and breadth, and counted her masts over and over, counting the bowsprit as one. They called it s.")
	massa Raver	(Mister Driver)
52	Labooca	Levuka
	Navarto	(village name)
53	Wilama	(William)
58	Veserwanker	Visawaqa (brother of king of Bau)
59	Nerg	(an island)
61	Angalore	Galoa
	Bratter	Verata
62	Ingaun	Naigani [?] (island: 6 or 7 days, bad weather, sailing from previous island. Three miles from Ovalau?)
63	Umbawaller	Nabouwalu
	wylain	Wailea
64	Anganger	Yaqaqa

66	Cambo point	[Kaba Pt.]
67	Mathawater	[Macuata]
68	Camber	[Kaba?]
72	Somosom	[Somosomo]

A13 GAIMARD 1827[1]

	English	Fijian	Respelled
1	Bark	Hosso	oso
2	Deliver (child)	Assoudou	a sucu
3	Buy	Boli boli	volivoli
4	I love you	Vousa binaka tigo	au sā vinaki iko
5	Go away	Lagotani	lako tani
6	Light fire	Pakavouan kira nambouka	vakawaqa na buka [?]
7	Soul	Aïalou	a yalo
8	Friend	Naounguitaou	na noqu i tau
9	I want to be your friend	Darou vioue kane	daru veiwekani
10	Call	Kavi	kaci
11	Tree	Akaou	a kau
12	Breadfruit artocarpus	Aouto	a uto
13	Bow	Takaï	dakai / takai
14	Bear, veer	Lave	lave
15	Today	Poungui loua	bogi rua [?]

English		Fijian	Respelled
16	Blind	Mote, reï sara (at Bau) mata gouï (at Lakeba)	-----
17	Ring	Kato, engato	qato
18	Outrigger	Biri biri	bilibili
19	Banana	Aboundi, abountchi	a vudi, a vuji
20	Banana tree	Gueïlaou moze [?]	
21	Seat in a boat	Avata	a vata
22	Beard	Koumi, oumi	kumi, umi
23	Shave	Tassi	tasi
24	Good	Binaka	vinaka
25	Many	Levou levou	levu
26	White	Boula boula	vulavula
27	Wood	Kaou	kau
28	Drink	Ninhounou	ni ɡunu
29	One-eyed	Matandoua	mata dua
30	Good morning	Douoh! oh!	duō ō
31	Mouth	N-houssou, anrakana	ɡusu, a drakana
32	Arm	Tamba	taba
33	Fine man	Tamata binaka	tamata vinaka
34	Hut	Abale	a vale
35	Duck	Anha	a ɡā

APPENDIX: THE EARLY WORD LISTS

English		Fijian	Respelled
36	Sugarcane	Andobou, tovou	a dovu, tovu
37	Boat	Velo velo ni papalanghi	velovelo ni pāpālagi
38	Club	Naïvaou	na i wau
39	Belt, sash	malo (at B[au]), (at L[akeba])	massi malo, masi
40	Heat	Kata kata	katakata
41	Sing	Meke	meke
42	Hunt	Bana manou manou	vana manumanu
43	Owl	Bebe houa	-----
44	Bat	Ambeka	a beka
45	Chief	Touran-ha	tūraga
46	Hair	Houlou	vulu
47	Dog	Kouli	kolī
48	Excrement	Abeka	a veka
49	Surgeon	Abouko	a vuku 'wise'
50	Heaven	Louma lanhe	lomālagi
51	Scissors	Aï koti	a i-koti
52	Citrus	Moli	moli
53	Bell	Alati	a lali
54	Coconut	Niou	niu

English		Fijian	Respelled
55	Heart	Aouto	a uto
56	Copulation	Vizaï	vīcai
57	Necklace	Zoko zoto, toko toko	cokocoko
58	Dove	Adongue	a coqe
59	War	Eïvalou	a i-valu
60	Row are you?	Tamata oou, sa mate ina tolonia	-----
61	I don't understand you	Senha peka nekilaï	sega beka ni kilā
62	shellfish	Manha	manā 'land crab'
63	Rope	Tali	tali / dali
64	Human body	Nanhona	na yago-na
65	Neck	Domo, andomo	domo, a domo
66	Go to bed	Tamoti	sā??] moce
67	Elbow	Soumouai nilinhana	[ ] ni ligana
68	Short	Leka leka	lekaleka
69	Cousin	Tadin ho	taci-na [?]
70	Knife	Aï sele	a i-sele
71	White crab-eater	Ambelo boula	a belo vula
72	Grey crab-eater	Ambelo loa	a belo loa

English		Fijian	Respelled
73	Spit	Sibi, kasibi, karaki	sivi, kāsivi, karaki
74	Cook	Vala lovo	vala lovo
75	Thigh	San hana (at B), anou (at L)	saga (at B), anu (at L)
76	Posterior	Mouna (at B) sodo (at L)	mu-na (at B), soco (at L)
77	Dance	Meke	meke
78	Tomorrow	Pounhi pounhi, saou ponhi	bogibogi, sā bogi, sau bogi
79	Tooth	Ambati (at B), batchi (at L)	bati (at B), baji (at L)
80	God	Kalou levou	kalou levu
81	Thumb	Koukou lebou (at B), taou gougou lebou (at L)	kuku levu taukuku levu
82	Index finger	Doun doussi	dudusi
83	Third finger	Linha loma	liga loma
84	Fourth finger	Linha tarava	liga tarava
85	Little finger	Linha issaï	liga i sai[2]
86	I give you that	Kawani menemo	kau yani me nomu
87	Give	Maï	maï
88	Give me, show me	Omaï sala sala	o mai sarasara

English		Fijian	Respelled
89	Give that	Maï nongou	maï noqu
90	Give me a knife	Kaou maï, naïsele	kau mai na i sele
91	Sleep	Mote	moce
92	I'm sleepy	Oouvia moze	au via moce
93	Sad	Rarava	rarawa
94	Water	Awaï	a wai
95	Fresh water	Awaï inrano	a wai dranu
96	Exchange	Boli boli	volivoli
97	Do you want to barter	Tarou vissaou	daru visau
98	Illumination	Ambouka	a buka
99	Enemy	Ameda	a meca
100	Shoulder	Batou batou	vatuvatu
101	Belly	Kete	kete
102	Fabric	A issoulou	a i-sulu
103	Paper cloth	Massi	masi
104	Star	Kalou kalou	kalokalo
105	European	Kaï papalanhe, papalanhi	kai vāvālagi
106	Fan	Ahili	a iri
107	Feces	Anda	a dā
108	Hunger	Fie kana	via kana

APPENDIX: THE EARLY WORD LISTS

English		Fijian	Respelled
109	I'm very hungry	Mate wa iou bia kana	mate o yau via kana
110	Woman	Alewa	yalewa
111	Pleasing woman	Alewa binaka	yalewa vinaka
112	Ill-favored woman	Alewa za	yalewa cā
113	Fire	Mbouka, ambouka	a buka
114	Fishing net	Alava elagui koli	a lawa e laki qoli
115	Girl	Alevan honi	yalewa gone
116	Son	Louvena	luvena
117	Smell	Ambouïza	boica
118	Arrow	Gnassaou	gasau
119	Flute	Bitou, ambitou	a bitu
120	Brother	Atadingou lebou	a taciqu levu
121	Cold	Salilioua	sā liliwa
122	Forehead	Eandre	yadre
123	Smoke	Ouvou tabaka	uvu tapaka/tavaka
124	Boy	Nhone	gone
125	Small boy	Nhone lailai	gone lailai
126	Large boy	Nhone levou	gone levu
127	Knee	Drouna	duru-na

English	Fijian	Respelled
128 Large	Lebou, levou	levu
129 Pregnancy	Ambou kete	bukete
130 War	Aïvano	a i-valu
131 Warrier [sic]	Tamata aïvano	tamata i valu
132 Axe	Mataou	matau
133 Fish-hook	Tchioua	-----
134 High	Dezere	cecere
135 Yesterday	Nanoa	nanoa
136 White sea swallow	Lawen doua	lawedua (ACR)
137 Stop—come here	Ouïgo! ouïgo! lagoumaï	o iko, o iko, lako mai
138 Man	Tamata	tamata
139 Man from the Fiji islands	Kaï Viti	kai Viti
140 Here	Guike, kike	ki kē
141 Come here	Lagoumaï kike	lako mai ki kē
142 Yam	Oubi	uvi
143 Island	Banoua, mouanou	vanua, moana[3]
144 Drunk	Mateni	mateni
145 Leg	Temo	temo
146 Kava	Angona	yaqona

English	Fijian	Respelled
147 Milk	Waï ni soudou	wai ni sucu
148 Spear	Akatou	a katu [?]
149 Tongue	Eame	yame
150 Leprosy	Vintikoso	vidikoso
151 Lip	Tembe	tebe
152 Lower lip	Tembe ninhou souna eïza	tebe ni gusu-na i rā
153 Upper lip	Tembe ounou souna eïzake	tebe ni gusu-na i cake
154 Luff	Taoumaï	tau mai (ACR)
155 Long	Balan balaou	balabalavu
156 Heavy	Embibi	e bīī
157 Moon	Aboula	a vula
158 Glasses	Aïraïraï aïlaïlaï	a i-rairai
159 Thin	Lila	lila
160 Hand	Linhana (at B) alinha (at L)	liga-na, liga
161 Right hand	Alinha mataou sema linhana	liga matau, sema liga-na [?]
162 Left hand	Alinha imawi	liga i-mawī
163 Back of hand	Dagouno ni linhana	daku-na ni liga-na
164 Palm of hand	kete linhana	kete liga-na

English	Fijian	Respelled
165 I am ill	Sabada gouï aou	sā baca ko yau
166 What disease do you have	Ambada zava ouïgo	a baca cava o iko?
167 Mammaries	Soudou	sucu
168 Eat	Kana	kana
169 Are you hungry?	Oubie kana	o via kana
170 Walk	Lago (at B) ande (at L)	lako
171 Marine	Tounitaou	-----
172 Tapa beater	Samou samou	i-samusamu
173 ____fisher	Sedala, alele	-----
174 Mast	Aïpana	i-vanā
175 Morning	Sampon ponhi	sā bogibogi
176 Evil	Za, edza, tza	cā
177 Menses	aboula	a vula
178 To lie	Lassou	lasu
179 Chin	Koumi	kumi
180 Sea	Awaï touhi	a wai tui
181 Mother	Tinana	tina-na
182 Mirror	Ilou ilou	i-iloilo
183 Mountain	Vikaou	vī-kau
184 Mt. dweller	Kaï vikaou	kai vī-kau

English	Fijian	Respelled
185 I want to climb	Oubie tigouï zake	au via tiko i cake
186 Show me that	Maï mou saraba mandanha	mai mo sara-va mada gā
187 Bite	Katia, gatia	kati-a
188 Fly	Lanho	lago
189 Die	Mate	mate
190 Mosquito	Namou	namu
191 Swim	Galo	qalo
191 Braided [?]	Ahi be	a ibe (ACR)
192 Nose	aoodou, ooudou	a ucu
193 My nose	Aoudoun ho	a ucu-qu
194 Your nose	Aoudou mou	a ucu-mu
195 One's nose	Aoudou mou	a ucu-mu
196 Look at that nose	Reda na oudou na	rai-ca na ucu-na
197 sea [?] bird	Obaban biaou	vavabiau (ACR)
198 Black	Loa loa, loha loha	loaloa
199 Candlenut	Touï touï	tuitui
200 Name	Atana	yaca-na
201 None, not	Lala	lala
202 Night	Ambonhi	a bogi

English	Fijian	Respelled
203 Oh—that's beautiful	Sen doua naka vinaka ango	sā dua kā vinaka oqō
204 Eye	Mata	mata
205 Close eyes	Matan boko	mata boko
206 Open eyes	Rebinaka	rai vinaka
207 Carnation	Sinitoa	sē-ni-toa
208 Bird	Manou manou	manumanu
209 Fingernail	Taou gougou	tau kuku
210 Ear	Dalinha	daliga
211 Yes	Ia	ia
212 Sea urchin	Tonha	toga [?]
213 white cowrie	Boulin gangaon	buli qaqau (ACR)
214 Paddle	Aï waou, avete	a i-wau, a voce
215 Large paddle	Aï soua	a i-sua
216 Woven basket	Loubou	rubu [?]
217 Speak	Vossa	vosa
218 Eyelid	Dagoun dagou	dakudaku
219 Eyelashes	Ambenbaka	bebeka
220 Skin	Kouli koulina	kuli, kuli-na
221 Paint, write	Tozi, bolabola	toci,[4] volavola

English		Fijian	Respelled
222	Penis	Aouti, aoutchi	a uti, a uji
223	Father	Tama	tama
224	My father	Tama gou	tama-qu
225	Tongan wig	Koula toun raou	kulatu drau [?]
226	Small	Leilei, lailai	lailai
227	Yellow Wattled Honeyeater	Biehilo	Vihilu (ACR)
228	Hanging"	Keï sevaou	Kaisevau (ACR)
229	Foot	Avana	yavana
230	Footbone	Andagou	a daku [?]
231	Sole	Gueten guete	qeteqete
232	Stone	Batou	vatu
233	Canoe	Vaka	waqa
234	Fast canoe	Totolo	totolo
235	Urinate	Mi	mī
236	Cry	Tanhi	tagi
237	Rain	Aouba, etaou aouta	a uca, e tau a uca
238	Golden plover	Koume toko	-----
239	Body hair	koumi abouloua	kumi vulua
240	Pubic hair	Abouloumou	a vulu-mu

English	Fijian	Respelled
241 Fish	Ika	ika
242 Chest	Manboune, sarena	mabu-na, sere-na
243 Pig	Pouaka	vuaka
244 Door	Katoumba	kātuba
245 I am well	Oou binaka nonha	au vinaka nō gā
246 Louse	Koutou	kutu
247 Fowl	Toa	toa
248 Take	Talamaï	tarā mai
249 Take it	Taoura	tau-ra
250 Rat	Kalabo	kalavo
251 Back	Kondouna	daku-na [?]
252 Shame	Molli molli, moundoua	molemole,[5] māduā
253 Breathe	Len houada	regu-ca
254 Wealth	Kabounanha	kamunaga[6]
255 Laugh	Renre, nene	dredre, nini [?]
256 King	Touranha levou	tūraga levu
257 Red	Tamou tamou, damoun damou	damudamu
258 Roll (ship)	Biri biri	-----

English	Fijian	Respelled
259 I don't know	Aouta guila (at L), tawa guila (at B)	au tā kilā[7] tawa kilā
260 Sandalwood	Aïazi, aïassi	a yasi
261 Blood	Anra	a drā
262 I am sated	Oousa mazou	au sā macu
263 Sea snake	Nhata	gata
264 Only, alone	Lendouanha	lē dua gā
265 Whistle	Kalou	kalu
266 Sister	Nhanengou	gane-qu
267 I am very thirsty	Mate ina vian hounou	matei na via gunu
268 Evening	Iakabi	yakavi
269 Sun	Sinha	siga
270 Eyebrows	Abazou, foulou matou	a vacu, vulu mata [?]
271 Drum	Guerin gueri	qiriqiri
272 Pitch	Saboulaka	-----
273 Tatoo	Anguia	a qia
274 Testicle	Angala	a qala
275 Head	Ankabo kaboba	qā vokavoka
276 Suck	Onen ramen rame	gone dramidrami

English	Fijian	Respelled
277 Larnyx	Tanhi tanhi	tagitagi
278 Turtle	Abonhou	a vonu
279 Turtle shell	Tako	taku
280 Throat	Telou telou	tilotilo
281 Tripod	Kali	kali [?]
282 Ship	Vaka lebou	waqa levu
283 Banana leaf cup	Piloni akona	bilo ni yaqona
284 Vein	Ahoua	a ua
285 Come here	Tolomaï kike	toro mai ki kē [?]
286 Wind	Adanha	a cagi
287 Ill wind	Aza ba	a cavā
288 Pig bladder	Aouboulou ni	uvuuvu ni vuaka
289 Sail	Laza (at B), lada (at L)	laca, lata [?]
290 Are you sleepy	Oubie mote	o via moce
291 Are you thirsty	Oubie hounou	o via gunu
292 Vulva	Manha	maga
293 One	Doua	dua
294 Two	Roua	rua
295 Three	Toulou	tolu
296 Four	Va	vā

English	Fijian	Respelled
297 Five	Lima	lima
298 Six	Ono	ono
299 Seven	Vitou	vitu
300 Eight	Walou	walu
301 Nine	Zioua, zivoua, ua, tiva, diva	ciwa
302 Ten	Tini, tchini	tini, jini
303 Eleven	Tini manedoua	tini mane dua
304 Twelve	Tini maneroua	tini mane rua
305 Thirteen	Tini manetolou	tini mane tolu
306 Fourteen	Tini maneva	tini mane vā
307 Fifteen	Tini manelima	tini mane lima
308 Sixteen	Tini mane ono	tini mane ono
309 Seventeen	Tini mane vitou	tini mane vitu
310 Eighteen	Tini manewalou	tini mane walu
311 Nineteen	Tini manezioua, Tini manevioua	tini mane ciwa
312 Twenty	Tini mane tini a sana boulou	tini mane tini ruasagavulu
313 Twenty-one	Roua sanaboulou mane doua	ruasagavulu mane dua
314 Twenty-two	Roua sanaboulou mane roua	ruasagavulu mane rua

APPENDIX: THE EARLY WORD LISTS

English	Fijian	Respelled
315 Thirty	Tolou sanaboulou	tolusagavulu
316 Forty	Va sanaboulou	vāsagavulu
317 Fifty	Lima sanaboulou	limasagavulu
318 Sixty	Ono sanaboulou	onosagavulu
319 Seventy	Vitou sanaboulou	vitusagavulu
320 Eighty	Walou sanaboulou	walusagavulu
321 Ninety	Vioua sanaboulou	ciwasagavulu
322 One hundred	Nanraou, doua nanraou	na drau, dua na drau
323 Two hundred	Roua nanraou	rua na drau
324 Three hundred	Tolou nanraou	tolu na drau
325 Four hundred	Va nanraou	vā na drau
326 Five hundred	Lima nanraou	lima na drau
327 Six hundred	Ono nanraou	ono na drau
328 Seven hundred	Vitou nanraou	vitu na drau
329 Eight hundred	Walou nanraou	walu na drau
330 Nine hundred	Viouma nanraou	ciwa na drau
331 One thousand	Nandolou, doua nandolou	na udolu, dua na udolu
332 Two thousand	Rouanandolou	rua na udolu
333 Three thousand	Tolou nandolou	tolu na udolo

English	Fijian	Respelled
334 Four thousand	Va nandolou	vā na udolu
335 Five thousand	Lima nandolou	lima na udolu
336 Six thousand	Ono nandolou	ono na udolu
337 Seven thousand	Vitou nandolou	vitu na udolu
338 Eight thousand	Walou nandolou	walu na udolu
339 Nine thousand	Vioua nandolou	ciwa na udolu
340 Ten thousand	Watouloua	vatulua[8]

A14 TWYNING 1829–35

As with the words and phrases collected by Cary and Patterson, these were not elicited as a list, but appear throughout Twyning's text. Page numbers precede the entries. My identifications are in square brackets; Twyning's in parentheses.

50 Sabuta, Sabuta, na lob sa bea, canna paupalana [sā buta, sā buta, na lovo sa ____, kana pāpālagi] (the meaning of which I afterwards found to be 'The oven is done, the foreigners are very hungry')

52	Corro	[koro] 'village'
	Tambakow	[tabakau] (cocoa nuts mats (to lie on))
	Calley	[kali] (wooden pillow)
	Foso toua	[ ] (plant from which obtained glue for tapa)
55	Batoa	[Vatoa] (Turtle Island)
60	Lakembo	[Lakeba]
63	Bulana (island)	[Vulaga] (ACR)
	Mataboolley	[matāpule] (the captain of the canoes was welcomed by the m., clapping his hands several times)
	Annamooka (island)	[Namuka] (ACR)

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	Oneatta	[Oneata]
64	Toobo	[Tubou] (the capital of Lakembo)
	Toonehow	[Tui Nayau] (which was the name of the king)
66	Balechin Angona	[ ] ni yaqona] (kava chewers)
	Foo	[vau] 'hibiscus plant'
	Okohaka	[Kava kou heka] (ACR) (who is this for?)
73	Maula Newballave	[Kau Moala Niu balavu] (ACR) (signifying Captain Long Cocoa Nut)
74	Maula-tare	[Kau Moala tea] (ACR) (the White Captain)
75	Futo	[Vutu] (tree-like plant, the pounded roots of which used to poison fish)[1])
	Oniatta	[Oneata]
83	Kaballa (island)	[Kabara]
87	Tarnore	[Tānoa] (the king of Ambow)
	Bolib	[Vitilevu?] (Ambow was a small rocky island, situated near the larger island named B.)
88	Somosomo	[Somosomo] (the chief of another island)
89	Tooi-Lakembo	[Tui Lakeba] (the name of the god of the island)
	Onni Wallew Tarnore	[Vūnivalu Tānoa] (ACR)
91	Bow	[Bau]
93	Cantab	[Kadavu]
	tarra	[dalo] (ground fruit)
	bagolla	[bokola] 'bodies to be eaten'
95	Marra	[Mara]
	Waynew	[Wainiu]
97	Ranvessa (a chief)	[ ]
99	Ankamalaney (a chief)	[Waqaimalani] (ACR)

A15 ENDICOTT 1831

A FEW WORDS OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE FEGEE IS-LANDS[1]

The natives always add the word Sah, to all words excepting substantives.

APPENDIX: THE EARLY WORD LISTS

English		Adjusted spelling	Fegee
1	Beche-le-mer	Andree'	a drī[2]
2	What	A-tap'-pah	a cava
3	That or those	Ing-go'	oqō
4	Go away	Lah'-go	lako
5	Come here	Oh-mi'	o mai
6	Here	Mi	mai
7	How do you do	Si-an'-drah	sā yadra
8	This fashion, or this way	Fah-ing-go'	vāqō
9	General name for civilized people	Papa lang'	vāvālagi
10	Like a Fegee man	Fah-a-Be'tee	va'a-Viti
11	Like a civilized man	Fah-a-papa-lang'	va'a-vavālagi
12	Large	La'bo	levu
13	Small	Li-Li	lailai
14	Good	Ba-na'-kak	vinaka
15	Bad	Dah	cā
16	True	Un-dee'-nah	e dina
17	False	Las'-so	lasu
18	Handsome	Bon-ee'-tah	-----
19	No	Seeng-ah'	sega
20	Yes	Ee'-o	io

APPENDIX: THE EARLY WORD LISTS

English		Adjusted spelling	Fegee
21	Angry	Neen'-ee	nini
22	Man	Tom'-a'Tah	tamata
23	Woman	La'-vah	lewa
24	Musket or bow	Anti-ky'	a dakai
25	House	E-val'-ee	e vale[3]
26	Bullets or arrows	Nung-a-Sow'	na gasau
27	Club	Ma-Loon'	malumu
28	Sand or powder	A-noo'-koo	a nuku
29	Stones	A-bat'-to	a vatu
30	Fire	Am-boo'-kah	a buka
31	Wood	Nah-cow'	na kau
32	Land—the shore	Fa-nu'-ah	vanua
33	Lengthy	Dry-and-dry'	draidrai
34	Short	Lakah-Lakah'	lekaleka
35	Strong or brave	Boo'-lah	bula
36	Frightened	Ra'-Rah	rere
37	Blood	An-Drew'	a drā
38	Cooked	Am-Boo'ter	a buta
39	Raw	An-Dro'kah	a droka
40	Ship, canoe	Wank'-ah	waqa

APPENDIX: THE EARLY WORD LISTS

	English	Adjusted spelling	Fegee
41	Boat	Bel'lo-Bel'lo	velovelo
42	oar, paddle	Pie'-o	-----
43	Pole	Thoo'-lar	cula
44	Sail	Ee-lah'-ther	laca
45	Hoist	Ra'-Vah	rewa
46	Salt water	wye'-Dewee	wai tui
47	Water to drink	Wye-Ee-No	wai inu
48	Eat	Cun'-a-Cun'	kanakana
49	Drink	Ee-No	inu
50	Bread	Mun'dry	madrai
51	Hogs	Poark'-ah	puaka/vuaka
52	Yams	Oo'-fee	uvi
53	Plantains	A-boon'-tee	a vudi
54	Bread, fruit	A-oo'-to	a uto
55	Fish	Eg'-kah	ika
56	Salt	Mah-Seem'-ah	māsima
57	Cocoanuts	Ah-nee'-ew	a niu
58	Chief	Too-rong'-ah	tūraga
59	Common man	Ky-See	kaisī
60	Carpenter	Mar-Ty'	mātai

English		Adjusted spelling	Fegee
61	Helmsman	Toon-en-Dye'	tulidau [?][4]
62	Landsman	Ky-Fa-nu'-ah	kai vanua
63	Sailor	Ky-Wye'	kai wai
64	Stranger	Tah'-nee	tani
65	Trade, barter	Bul'lee-Bul'lee	volivoli
66	Chizzel	Par'-lee-Co	velekō[4]
67	Beads	Mo'ro-Mo'ro	moromoro
68	Whale's tooth	Tambour'	tabua
69	Knife, sword	I-sail-ee	i-sele
70	Tub or hogshead	So'-Ber	sova
71	Box	Ca'-To	kato
72	Bag	A-rom'-bo	a robo
73	Basket	Gu'tee-Gu'tee	ketekete
74	One—1	Du'-nah	duga
75	Two—2	A-roo'-ah	e rua
76	Three—3	To'lo	tolu
77	Four—4	vah	vā
78	Five—5	Lee'-mah	lima
79	Six—6	Ono	ono
80	Seven—7	Ve'-to	vitu

APPENDIX: THE EARLY WORD LISTS

English		Adjusted spelling	Fegee
81	Eight—8	Wah'-loo	walu
82	Nine—9	Thee'-wah	ciwa
83	Ten—10	Tee'-nee	tini
84	Great Spirit	Car'-loo	kalou
85	Priest	Em-Bet'ta	a bete
86	Sun	See'ng-ah	siga
87	Moon	Boo'-lah	vula
88	Wind	Tung'-ee	cagi
89	Rain	Oo'-ther	uca
90	Red colour	Dumb'-an-Dumb'	damudamu
91	Green colour	Cur-ra-la-row'er	karakarawa
92	Black or blue colour	Lo'-ah-Lo'-ah	loaloa
93	White or yellow colour	I-bo'-Lah	i vula
94	By and by	Sam-ber'-rah	se bera
95	How many	Sah-Vet'her	sā vica
96	Where is it	Sah-Ee'-Bee	sā i vei
97	yourself	Gwe'go	ko iko
98	Myself	Gwo'	koau
99	What is your name	Cot'he-Thung'ee	ko cei yaca-ni
100	What will you trade for	Bullee-Atap'pah	voli a cava

English		Adjusted spelling	Fegee
101	Fegee man	Ky-Bee-Tee	kai Viti
102	American	Ky-America	kai Merekē
103	Englishman	Ky-Bulle-Tan'ee	kai pulitani[5]
104	Tongee man	Ky-Tonga	kai Toga

The Fegee people are named after the principal things they are acquainted with, as their weapons, the elements, vegetables, etc.

Within Endicott's narrative, he used the following Fijian words and one sentence:

Amba cula boy thu-ie he is a stinking dead man	e bokola boi cā
isulic, knife	i-sele
lobu, oven	lovo
Boo-re, house	bure
ma-ti, mechanic	mātai
ki-sees, slaves	kaisī
see-nu, a poison wood burned by the natives	-----
Soleb, feast	sōlevu

Endicott's list is innovative in its use of syllable division and accent marks. The former, because it is rather inconsistent, and (in some cases) based on English orthographic practices, does not give us much information. The latter, in spite of such errors as

Tom'-a-Tah	tama'ta
Lakah-Lakah'	lèkale'ka
Mun'-dry	madra'i
Car'-loo	kalo'u

is more reliable.

APPENDIX: THE EARLY WORD LISTS

The following patterns of orthographic confusion have all appeared in previous lists. They show that most of the early recorders of the language encountered the same phonetic problems:

F, p, or b for /v/

A-tap'-pah	a cava 'what'
Fah-ing-go'	vāqō 'this fashion'
La'bo	levu 'large'
Ba-na'-kak	vinaka 'good'
I-bo'-Lah	vula 'white'
Sah-Ee'-Bee	sāīvēī 'where is it'
Bullee-Atap'-pah	voli a cava 'what will you trade for'
Ky-Be-Tee	kāīviti 'Fegee man'

D for /c/

Dah	cā 'bad'

V for /w/

La'-vah	yalewa 'woman'
Ra'-Vah	rewa 'hoist'

Final -mu truncated

Ma-Loon'	malumu 'club'
Dumb'-an-Dumb'	damudamu 'red'

Final unaccented vowels confused

La'bo	levu 'large'
Las'-so	lasu 'lie'
A-bat'-to	a vatu 'stone'
Wye-Ee-No	wāī inu 'water to drink'
To'lo	tolu 'three'
Ve'-to	vitu 'seven'
Em-Bet'ta	a bete 'priest'

Er or ar spelling for /a/

Am-boo'-ter	buta 'cooked'

Ee-lah'-ther	laca 'sail'
Car'-loo	kalōū 'god'
Cur-ra-la-rower	karakarawa 'blue'
Thoo'-lar	cula 'pole'
Poark'-ah	puaka 'pig'
Oo'-ther	uca 'rain'
Sah-Vet'her	sā vica 'how many'

A16 OLIVER 1831

	English	Fijian	Current spelling
1	knife	iscealy	i-sele
2	chisel	bellico	velekō
3	hatchet	cogy-lyly	toki [?] lailai
4	axe	cogy-lib	toki levu
5	string of blue beads	carah-carah-wah	karakarawa ('blue')
6	musket	antiki	a dakai
7	ammunition	antiki-massow	a dakai gasau
8	good	benacka	vinaka
9	malo (loin cloth)	maro	malo
10	double canoe	waunka-lib	waqa levu
11	single canoe	waunka-lili	waqa lailai
12	kava	angona	yaqona
13	house	boore	bure
14	high priest	numbetta	na bete
15	despised one	kysee	kaisī

English	Fijian	Current spelling
16 grand feast	solib	sō levu
17 great	leebo	levu
18 plenty of provisions	mungety-leebo	magiti levu
19 pig	pookah	vuaka
20 yam	ouvie	uvi
21 breadfruit	aooto	a uto
22 plantains	boondy	vudi

PHRASES

The following phrases, used in Oliver's narrative, are clear examples of the pidgin Fijian mentioned earlier in the Appendix. See also Geraghty 1978, Moag 1978, and Seigel 1982b.

Samboola boola papalangi [sā bulabula pāpālagi] — the white men will not be injured.

Sah-andra, touronga-lib [sā yadra, tūraga levu] — welcome king.

Sah-andra, papalangi [sā yadra, pāpālagi] — welcome white man.

Sah gala guego [sā kilā ko iko] — do you understand?

Sah-senga [sā sega] — no

Sa gala quow [sā kilā ko āu] — I understand.

When he was asked what use he had made of the knife. Cybee n'iscealy [ki vei na i-sele]? We then said to him quotha [o cēī]? who did it. he answered quow [ko āū], I, myself, quotha [o cēī]? how? iscealy [i-sele], with a knife, quotha [o cēī]? why? matte-matte tunenah [matemate tina-na] my mother is dead (pp. 51–52).

[at Ovalau] Eudonga [e duga], Rua [rua], Tolo [tolu], Va [vā], Leema [lima], Ono [ono], Vetu [vitu], etc. [numerals from 1–7]

Sah-senga ne-legomai ne-antiki, ne-tapa sah-moke [sā sega ni lako māī na dakāī, na cava sā moku] — Give me your musket and clothes, or I will strike.

Cybee ne waunka funua [ki vēī na waqa vanua]? Where is the ship? Sah-lago [sā lako] — It has gone.

bade me begone, or he would slay me, "Sah-lago, sah-senga, ne-lago sah-moke [sā lako, sā sega ni lako, sā moku]" … assuring … that the chest and its contents were mine … Sah-quow, sah-senga, ne-quego [sā ko āū, sā sega ni ko iko].

PLACE NAMES

Nerei 'one of the Fijis'	-----
Coro	Koro
Tacanova 'the noble island'	Cakaudrove
Miambooa bay	Bua Bay
Bou	Bau
Nungalooa	-----
Raratoi	-----
Bratta	Verata
Overlou	Ovalau
Soma-Soma	Somosomo
Bonne-Rarah	-----
Lakamba	Lakeba
Mudwater (or Bonne Rarah, as the natives call it)	Macuata

PERSONAL NAMES

Timbooa	Tui Bua
Timooro	Tui Muru
Mah-Mathee — the king of Bonne Rarah	Māmaca, Vūnirārā
Santa Beeta	

DISCOURSE ON SĀ

As did Endicott (see A15), Oliver commented on the grammatical use of sā. Incidentally, if such interest in the language seems unusual for a ship's crewman, perhaps the crew itself was unusual. At one point (p. 110), Oliver told of the crew amusing themselves by the grammatical parsing of Pope's Essay on Man. In that light, an interest in the Fijian language does not seem out of place.

> Sah is a prominent word in the Fiji language, to which it seems to be peculiar, as I never heard it used by other islanders in the Pacific. It is usually prefixed to questions, answers, commands, and words expressing quality; for instance, besides the words used in the text, sah-lago, begone, sah-lagomai, come, sah-benacka, good, sah-thah, bad, sai, (contracted, probably, from sah-ai) yes. Sometimes, however, it is dropped in common conversation, as (sah) benacka, (sah) lagomai, (sah) lago. So that it seems to have little meaning of its own, yet it sounds agreeably, when spoken by a native.

A17 BENNET 1831

English		Fidgian	Adjusted spelling
1	one	dua	dua
2	two	lua	rua
3	three	tolu	tolu
4	four	fa	vā
5	five	lima	lima
6	six	ono	ono
7	seven	fitu	vitu
8	eight	valu	walu
9	nine	diva	ciwa
10	ten	tini[1]	tini

APPENDIX: THE EARLY WORD LISTS

English		Fidgian	Adjusted spelling
11	sun	lingia[2]	siga
12	moon	vula	vula
13	star	kalo, kalo	kalokalo
14	night	bongi	bogi
15	day	lingia[2]	siga
16	morning	mataka	mataka
17	light	lingia[2]	siga
18	noon	sigialebu	sigalevu
19	evening	kaeavi	yakavi
20	come	lakomai	lako mai
21	go	lako	lako
22	man	tamata[3]	tamata
23	woman	leva	yalewa
24	children	ngone	gone
25	boy	ngone, tagane	gone tagane
26	girl	gonealeva	gone yalewa
27	dark	bongi	bogi
28	sit	tiko[4]	tiko
29	stand	tutake[5]	tūcake
30	eat	kana	kana

English		Fidgian	Adjusted spelling
31	drink	nungu	gunu
32	good	vinaka	vinaka
33	bad	ta	cā
34	house	vale	vale
35	cloth	sulu	i-sulu
36	water	vai	wai
37	rain	uta	uca
38	god	kalou	kalou
39	spirit	kalou	kalou
40	pray	solo	soro
41	laugh	nene	dredre
42	cry	tangi	tagi
43	trade	voli, voli	volivoli

A18 OSBORN 1833

[This word list appears as an appendix to Geraghty 1978. His transcription and analysis are reproduced here.]

The following word-list was brought to my attention by Albert J. Schütz. It is contained in Volume E5 of "Papers of the Emerald 1833–6, J. H. Eagleston Captain", at the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass. The sheets are unsigned, but the compiler was Joseph W. Osborn, clerk of the Emerald. Written vertically down the left-hand side of the first sheet are the words "Underbettah Island", which I take to be the name of the place where the words were collected. I am unable to locate this island, though the spelling suggests that a name such as Daveta was meant; the word means

'passage through a reef', and is not an unlikely name for an island. Some of the words recorded point to a place within the Rewa dialect area.

[ACR added: "Eagleston had a shore station in the [Rewa] delta area. In one of his journals he refers to departing 'from Port Peru, Reawa' ... The shore stations were normally establishments outside villages, so one of the islands around the Delta and near to a passage is a reaonable interpretation."]

Portions of the transcription which are suspect I have underlined [here, bracketed]. I have removed brackets, and rearranged some of the glosses, so that the Fijian is consistently in the same column. The first column below gives the spelling as in the manuscript, or as closely as can be ascertained, the second the gloss, and the third the contemporary spelling, and any other pertinent remarks.

A few Fegee words & sentences, with their meanings -being those that are oftenest used in our communications with them

1	Tangahne	man	tagane
2	Ala[vu]	woman	yalewa, a lewa
3	[Loobanah] Ungoni	child or young person	luvena 'his child'; 'young, child'
4	Tomut[u]	people	tamata
5	Turong	chief	tūraga
6	Murama	queen	marama
7	Ci see	poor man or slave	kai sī
8	[O c] oro	town	a koro
9	Fanuwe	land	vanua
10	wy	water	wai
11	wy lib	ocean	wai levu (generally means 'river')
12	wy t[u] a	Saltwater	waitui
13	Wy endrowndrow	Freshwater	wai dranudranu (more usually wai dranu)
14	Ahthahbah	what	a cava
15	Ahthahbah ingo	what is that	a cava oqō (possibly: a cava iqō)
16	Wenackah	good	vinaka

17	Sah thah	bad	sā cā (sā is an aspect marker)
18	Boolie Boolie	buying & selling	volivoli
19	I boollie an ahthahbu	what will you sell it for	a i-voli na cava 'what is the price?' (unidiomatic)
20	Antegi	musket	a dakai
21	Antegi Fanuwe	big gun	a dakai ni vanua
22	Antegi Leka leka	pistol	a dakai lekaleka
23	Nuke	powder	nuku
24	[Mug] bou	ball	?
25	LekaLeka	short	lekaleka
26	Bulum Bulub	long	balabalavu (more usually: balavu)
27	Lib	large	levu
28	Bulo Bulo or Singi Sing[ou]	white (colour)	vulavula sigasiga
29	Lo[re] [Lo] re	black	loaloa
30	Dum Dum	red	damudamu
31	Karakurahwah	green or blue	karakarawa
32	Sura Sura	look	sarasara 'be spectator'
33	nGarah	search	qarā
34	Guego	you	ko iko
35	[Kentahro]	us	kēdaru 'you and I'
36	Milahko	come to me	mai lako (ungrammatical)
37	Lahkomi	come to me	lako mai
38	wahle	House	vale
39	Boorie	church	bure
40	Isal[er]	Path	a sala
41	Oono	drink	unu[1]
42	Noongo	mine	no-qu
43	Oootha	who	o cei
44	Vahnah	shoot	vana, vanā (transitive)
45	Lou	hit	lau
46	Tower	Loaded	tawa
47	Singi	No	segai[2]
48	Eo	Yes	io
49	Ioomah	lead	a i-uma 'lead (noun)'
50	Moto Moto	narrow or sharp	motomoto

51	Rumba Rumba	broad	rabaraba (more usually: rāraba)
52	Lili	little	lailai
53	Cooah	enough	kua 'don't, enough'
54	Cah Cooah	enough	kākua 'don't, enough'
55	Wuiou	me	o yau
56	Sahlahgo	go	sā lako
57	Tolahko	come	tou lako 'let's go'
58	Coosah	quick	kusa
59	Mahluah	slow	mālua
60	Endi	edai2	now
61	Sumberah	by & by	se bera 'not yet'
62	Cunu Cunu	eat	kanakana (more usually: kana)
63	Towga	owner	i-taukei
64	Vosah	speak or talk	vosa
65	Rong a Rong	news	i-rogorogo
66	Em bouka	fire + firewood	a buka
67	Voonkah	full	vuqa
68	Ta[uwer] voonkah	half full	tawa vuqa 'not full'
69	Getackah	go on	kī-taka 'do it'
70	Thahkah or Thahcah	Make	caka
71	Isale	knife	a i-sele
72	Igotchee	scissors	a i-koji,[3] a i-koti
73	Itasse	a i-tasi	razor
74	Umbat Seawah	fish-hook	a bati-ni-siwa
75	Moro Moro and Thoki a Thoki	beads	moromoro (obs.) cokicoki (?) (obs.)
76	Saro	comb	i-seru
77	Elelo	looking glass	i-iloilo
78	Arrengah, Ungeeah	red paint	'tumeric' 'tattoo' a rerega a qia
79	Mboro	paint	boro
80	Cahto	chest	kato
81	Sooloo	cloth & clothes	i-sulu
82	Endolu	Key	i-dola
83	Mutow	Iron hoop plane iron	matau 'axe'

84	Mutow Logie	axe	matau loki (?)
85	Boonisale	Plane Iron	vū-ni-i-sele (?) (lit. 'source of knives')
86	Ni [Barrow]	file	na i-varo 'saw'
87	Ni [Barrow]	saw	na i-varo
88	Vuck	gimblet	i-vako 'nail'
89	I thule	needle	a i-cula
90	Tombooah Butteenah	whales tooth	tabua, batina
91	Ungum	vice	i-qamu
92	Mutow Umbeto	chizel	matau bitu (?) 'axe of bamboo'
93	Matow Thalu	gouge	matau calo
94	Isale [uke]	paper	suluka (ACR)
95	I thulu	fork	a i-cula
96	Ungewah	flint	qiwa (obs.)
97	Andre	beche le Mer	a drī
98	Oobie	Yams	uvi
99	Ooto	Breadfruit	uto
100	Boondee	Bananas	vudi
101	Moolee	Orange & Shaddock	moli
102	Munri	Bread	madrai
103	H[ ] aka	Fish	haku (Tongan saku (ACR)
104	Vee	Brazilian plum	wī
105	[O b] wockah	Hog	vuaka
106	Calahbo	rat	kalavo
107	Coolie	Dog	kolī
108	Coos	cat	kosi
		(second sheet)	
109	nDua	one	dua
110	[Au] rua	Two	rua
111	Tolo	Three	tolu
112	Vah	four	vā
113	Lima	Five	lima
114	Ono	Six	ono
115	Aveto	Seven	e vitu
116	Awhalo	Eight	e walu
117	Aveva	Nine	e ciwa

118	Atena	Ten	e tini
119	Atena un dua	Eleven	e tiniadua
120	Atena aurua &C	Twelve	e tiniarua
121	Aurua S[emi] boolo	Twenty	e ruasagavulu
122	Tolo S[emi] boolo	Thirty	e tolusagavulu
123	Endrow	Hundred	a drau
124	Aurua [n] Endrow	2 Hundred	a rua na drau
125	Endolo	Thousand	udolu
126	Atena [n] Endolo	10 Thousand	e tini na udolu
127	Andena	true or truth	e dina
128	Lasso	Lie	lasu
129	Iboler	Writing	a i-vola
130	Cowcoowah	Hard	kaukaua
131	Mula Muloom	Soft	malumalumu
132	An dua tally	One more	e dua tale
133	An dua tally mi	Give me one more	e dua tale mai
134	cuttah cuttah	Hot	katakata
135	Andrekah, Lelewah	Cold	drika,[2] liliwa
136	Drown[d] ecow	Medicine	draunikau
137	Noonga tou	Friend	noqu i-tau
138	couto mi	Fetch me	kauta mai
139	cou tally	Take away	kau tale 'bring/take back'
140	Vukee	turn	vuki
141	Sah oote	All	sā oti
142	[O] benecatee	Want	o vinakata 'do you want it?'
143	O thater	Do not want or like	o cata 'you dislike it?'
144	Sombo Sombo	Wonderful	sobosobo (exclamation of surprise)
145	Vo	New	vou
146	Mahtue	Old	matua
147	Lea Lea	Fool	lialia
148	Ungusee	Wise	qase 'old', also generally implies wisdom
149	Boorum Boorong	Stingy	buroburogo

150	Singah lib	Noon	siga levu
151	Endinedi	Today	edaidai[2]
152	Ahthahbah nahthumah guego	What is your name	a cava na yaca-mu ko iko (?) (unidiomatic)
153	Ahthahbah nahthunah [N Go]	What is the name of that	a cava na yaca-na oqō
154	Sooa Sooa	Wet	suasua
155	Ma[r] mahthah	Dry	māmaca
156	Imbe[i]	Mat	ibe
157	Teco	Stop	tiko 'stay'
158	Maka	Dance or Song	meke
159	Sah mutee	death	sā mate
160	Sah mutee	hurt	sā mate
161	beercahnah	hungry	via kana
162	Mou Mou	tired	? maumau 'spoilt, wasted'
163	Ahcahle	Pillow	a kali
164	I[vw] ow	Club	a i-wau
165	Malloom	Club	malumu
166	Obelo	Cup	a bilo
167	Cooro	Pot	kuro
168	Ivawlo	War	a i-valu
169	Nivavah	Shoes	na i-vāvā
170	Ivum	Feet	a yava-mu 'your foot'
171	Iva[hngo]	Foot	a yava-qu 'my foot'
172	Lingango	Hand	liga-qu 'my hand'
173	Undulingah	Ear	a daliga
174	Ungooso	Mouth	a gusu
175	Butchea	Teeth	baji[3]
176	Combe	chin	kumi
177	Mutu[m]	eyes	mata-mu 'your eye'
178	Soolee	Give	soli(a)
179	Cery Cery	Beg	kerekere
180	Mahmat[huh]	Light	māmaca 'dry'& māmada 'light'
181	Bembe	Heavy	bībī
182	Mothee	Sleep	moce
183	Andrah	Awake	yadra
184	Thombo	clap	cobo

185	Ketty Ketty & Roombo	basket	ketekete, rubu
186	Sobah & sungar	cask	sova, saqā
187	Tua	string	i-tui [?]
188	Tua nah Moro Moro	String of beads	i-tui na moromoro (unidiomatic)
189	Endobe	Sugar Cane	dovu
190	Yambea	Arrowroot	yabia
191	A[re] ngah	Tumeric	a rerega
192	Avahto	Rock	a vatu
193	Alungola[h]	Ginger	a cagola [?]
194	Angonah	Grog	yaqona
195	Umbeto	Bamboo	bitu
196	Anew	Old c.cnut	a niu
197	Soo Soo	Young c.cnut	sosou
198	Umboo	fit for drinking	bū

A19 MARSDEN 1834

English		Fiji Islands	Current spelling
1	Two	lua	rua
2	Three	tolu	tolu
3	Four	fa	vā
4	Five	lima	lima
5	Six	ono	ono
6	Seven	fitu	vitu
7	Eight	valu	walu
8	Nine	diva?	ciwa
9	Ten	tini, ahuru	tini, avulu[1]

English		Fiji Islands	Current spelling
10	Man	tamata	tamata
11	Day	lingia	siga
12	Night	bongi	bogi
13	Water	vai	wai
14	Sun	lingia	siga
15	Moon	vula	vula
16	Stars	kalo-kalo	kalokalo

As one can see, Marsden reduced Bonnet's original list of forty-three words to sixteen, most likely to fit in with his data from other languages. The misprint of 1 for s (in lingia for siga) was transferred intact, and nearly a century later, solidified further by Ray.

A20 RAY 1926

English		Fiji	Current spelling
1	Day	lingia	siga
2	Man	tamata	tamata
3	Moon	vula	vula
4	Night	bongi	bogi
5	Stars	kalokalo	kalokalo
6	Sun	lingia	siga
7	Water	vai	wai

Ray ignored the mistaken 1 (as well as vai for wāī), and produced this fanciful explanation of the -ia: "All the Fijian are right, lingia being the Nandroga dialect linga, but the other words are Mbau dialect." Here, he must have misanalyzed the word as a verb, associating -ia with the transitive marker that occurs in western Fijian.

* * * * * * *

PLATES

On the following pages are reproduced:

A page from David Cargill's unpublished Lakeba dictionary (n.d.) (courtesy Mitchell Library, Sydney)

The first two pages of Cargill's Lakeba grammar (1839a) (courtesy Mitchell Library, Sydney)

The title page of David Hazlewood's dictionary (1850a)

A
Grammar
of the
Feejeean Language

Chapter 1.

On the alphabet.

The letters of the
Feejeean alphabet
are twenty-four in
number: the forms,

names, and powers of
which are exhibited
in the following table.

Forms.	Names.	Powers.
A, a.	A.	This letter has a full, broad sound, as *a* in father; e. g. — tadra, a dream; lako, to go.
B e.	A.	a, — as "a" in fate; or, — as "e" in sere, fear.

Forms.	Names.
I, i.	E.
O, o.	O.
W, w.	W.

A

FEEJEEAN AND ENGLISH

DICTIONARY:

WITH EXAMPLES OF

COMMON AND PECULIAR MODES OF EXPRESSION,
AND USES OF WORDS.

ALSO, CONTAINING

BRIEF HINTS ON NATIVE CUSTOMS, PROVERBS,

THE NATIVE
NAMES OF THE NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF THE ISLANDS,

NOTICES OF THE ISLANDS OF FEEJEE,

AND

A LIST OF THE FOREIGN WORDS INTRODUCED.

BY THE

REV. D. HAZLEWOOD,

WESLEYAN MISSIONARY.

———

VEWA, FEEJEE:
PRINTED AT THE WESLEYAN MISSION PRESS.
1850.
SOLD BY J. MASON, CONFERENCE-OFFICE, LONDON.
Seven Shillings and Sixpence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Acknowledgments

This collection of references to works about the Fijian language was begun in 1959 by Floyd M. Cammack in preparation for the field work for his dissertation on Standard Fijian (Cammack 1962). We enlarged it in Honolulu in 1960 and in Sydney in 1961. Since then, I have been assisted by Cynthia Rapu and Frantisek Lichtenberk. G. B. Milner and Andrew Pawley contributed items, and Karen Peacock helped with the format.

I should especially like to thank Renée Heyum, Curator of the University of Hawaii's Pacific Collection, who read through the entire bibliography and gave valuable advice about all aspects of the entries. The errors that remain are, of course, my responsibility.

Most bibliographies are based on others; this one has used those listed below.

2. Sources

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3. Conventions

a. * means that the item does not refer specifically to Fijian, but was used in the grammatical or historical discussion.

b. Names. If an author signed a work with last name and initials, I have tried to supply the first name (enclosed in brackets). The purpose of this information is to make it easier to find an item in card catalogues.

c. Contrary to usual practice for the references at the end of a book, page numbers are supplied for books and monographs, including small roman numerals to indicate front matter and back matter. The conventions used, however, are somewhat simpler than those used by cataloguers.

d. Where possible, call numbers for manuscript material are included as part of the main entry.

4. Explanation of minimal annotation. Square brackets contain two main types of information:

a. Bracketed material written as part of the reference contains (1) information about the location of unpublished material and rare published material, and (2) miscellaneous information about publication, such as reprints and new editions.

b. Bracketed material written separately after a reference is sketch annotation. It accompanies items whose titles do not give an indication of their relationship to Fijian grammar or the history of grammatical scholarship.

5. Text material

Material in the Fijian language has not been included, except for that which discusses the grammar or that which has been used for examples in the grammar.

6. Abbreviations:

AL: Anthropological Linguistics (Bloomington, Indiana University)

AT: Alexander Turnbull Library (Wellington, New Zealand)

BSLP: Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique (Paris)

BSOAS, BSOS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies (University of London)

Bull. Bishop Mus.: Bulletin of the Bishop Museum (Honolulu)

Bull. Soc. Etud. Océanien.: Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniennes (Paris)

CRHT : Taylor 1948

ESL : Department of English as a Second Language (Honolulu, University of Hawaii)

FS: The Fiji Society. Transactions and Proceedings (Suva)

HRK: Hans R. Klieneberger 1958

IJAL: International Journal of American Linguistics (Bloomington, Indiana University)

Int. Z. allg. Sprw.: Internationale Zeitschrift für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (Leipzig)

JAS: Journal of Austronesian Studies (Norfolk, England)

JPH: Journal of Pacific History (Canberra, Australian National University)

JPS: Journal of the Polynesian Society (University of Auckland)

J. Soc. Océanist.: Journal de la Société des Océanistes (Paris)

Ling.: Linguistics

LMS: London Missionary Society

LSA: Linguistic Society of America

Mem. Bishop Mus.: Memoir of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum (Honolulu)

ML: Mitchell Library (Library of New South Wales, Sydney)

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MS.: Manuscript

OL: Oceanic Linguistics (Honolulu, University of Hawaii)

PAS: Philip A. Snow 1969

PMB: Pacific Manuscripts Bureau

SF: Standard Fijian

SOAS: School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London)

TFS: Transactions of the Fijian Society (Suva)

TPFSSI: Transactions and Proceedings of the Fiji Society of Science and Industry (Suva)

TR: Te Reo (Auckland).

UAWP: University of Auckland, Department of Anthropology. Working Papers in Anthropology, Archaelogy, Linguistics, Maori Studies

UH: University of Hawaii (Honolulu)

WPL: Working Papers in Linguistics, Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii (Honolulu)

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[Vol. 7, p. lxxxiv]

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  [Pp. 435–39: the results of a four-week linguistic survey of Vanua-levu. P. 436–37: discussion of consonant variations. P. 437: map showing /k/ and /t/ distribution]

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[P. 572: "quelques mots de la langue des Iles Fedji"]

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    [P. 12: list of 12 eastern and 12 western dialects. Map 35: Fiji and Rotuma]

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Notes

1 DISCOVERY

1. Comparative evidence, both internal and external, provides another way to delve into the history of the language. For this type of history, see Geraghty 1983a.

2. The word "discovery" sometimes carries the implication that the people were isolated until the arrival of the Europeans. Here I mean "discovery" simply from the European point of view.

3. Here are Le Maire's transcriptions for the words in question: alieuw 'coconut', omo 'fowl', waij 'water', wacka, puacca 'pig'. The first two items are quite garbled; the last two should have produced results with the Tongans.

4. The s is very likely a misprint. Elsewhere, this word is written aigi, which is a reasonable transcription of Tongan eiki. Latu appears to be lost in modern Tongan; if Tasman heard the word, it might have been borrowed from Fijian rātū. More likely, he extracted it from the word list, where it represents lātū, used in modern Sāmoan and apparently in Niuatoputapu when the list was collected. See also Anderson's quotation at the beginning of 1.3.

5. The adjusted compass bearings are Lat. 3, Long. 148 10', which places him somewhere near New Ireland in the Bismarck Archipelago.

6. Note that the spellings are slightly different from those on the Le Maire list. The 1 in alieuw has been corrected to n (assuming that it was other than a printer's mistake to begin with), and the spelling for 'pig' has been altered somewhat.

7. Anderson was characterized as "a Scot, and apparently educated at Edinburgh, and must early have become interested in all the departments of natural history as studied at the time … His linguistic talent was careful as well as eager" (Beaglehole 1955–74 [III] :467n).

8. One wonders if d'Entrecasteaux realized that the key to pronunciation lay in Anderson's introduction to his Tahitian word list, discussed in the Appendix.

9. The author noted that the quotation from within this passage was from a Melanesian's account of his first meeting with the Bishops Selwyn and Patteson. (Hilliard 1973).

10. This project is described at length in a note by John Pickering (1820:3n, 4n): "The Empress began her project in the late 18th century: 'I made a list of between two and three hundred radical words of the Russian language, and had them translated into every tongue and jargon that I could hear of; the number of which already exceeds two hundred. Every day I took one of these words and wrote it down in all the languages I had been able to collect.'" Later "she directed her Secretary of State to write to the powers of Europe, Asia, and America; and application was accordingly made to President Washington for our Indian languages; several specimens of which were accordingly furnished." Her intentions: "a selection of such words as were the most essential, and generally in use even among the best civilized nations … In that selection the preference was given to substantives and adjectives of the first necessity, and which are common to the most barbarous of languages, or which serve to trace the progress of agriculture or of any arts or elementary knowledge from one people to another."

11. Tākai, Langi, Hape [Haepe], and Tafeta set out for Fiji, but were detained in Tonga. There the Tahitians were able to assist the European missionaries, but they never reached Fiji. Tākai returned to Tahiti, and eventually reached Fiji with three Tahitians: Hatai, Faruea, and Jacaro. I am grateful to A. H. Wood (11/77) for first clarifying the matter of the change of personnel, and especially to A. C. Reid's account (1979) of Tākai and his deeds. Those who know that article will see how much I have relied on it for the summary here, even for such details as the long vowel in the name Tākai.

12. Thus Davies seems to have had a much larger sample of the language than appears in the Hibernia selection.

13. This passage is quoted from Reid 1979. His source is John Davies, manuscript journal, 23 Feb. 1826, London, School of Oriental and African Studies Library and London Missionary Society Archives.

14. The name is spelled as "Bennett" in the publication and in some subsequent references to it.

15. "In Tahiti Tākai and Langi attended school and made considerable progress in Tahitian, having already picked up some English on board ship and in New South Wales" (Reid 1979:156). Reid added (10/82) that because of Tākai's mixed Tongan-Fijian background, he "must therefore have been subject to a variety of linguistic influences from the beginning."

16. The word for 'good' is the only exception.

17. See also cary's account (1928:47).

2 ORTHOGRAPHY

1. A. Reid (1979:161) thought that the Tahitians' language problems were not insurmountable: "Cross was critical of the inability of the Tahitians to preach or pray in Fijian, ignoring the fact that their patron, Tākai, was able to interpret fluently."

2. That is, according to traditional interpretations.

3. I am grateful to W. Niel Gunson for bringing this quotation to my notice.

4. G. B. Milner has pointed out (9/84) that according to Dahl 1966, missionaries trained in Great Britain, even in the early years of the nineteenth century, would have been familiar with Samuel Johnson's (1755) description of ideal orthography: that in which "every sound may have its own character, and every character a single sound." Even so, Cargill's and Cross's major contribution was to recognize that such a phonetically complex bundle as [mb] could, in the Fijian phonological system, be interpreted as a "single sound", in spite of its status in English as a cluster.

3 THE SOCIOLOGY OF SPELLING: EXTERNAL IMPRESSIONS

1. Most of the first half of this chapter appeared in Schütz 1972a.

2. Every orthography has to be accompanied by a key to pronunciation, which contains a description of any major allophonic variations that may exist.

3. One exception here, common to most orthographies, is prosodic matters, particularly accent.

4. Here, Brewster was referring to the palatalization of /t/ to [č] before /i/ in many parts of Fiji.

5.   Thanks to Jeff Siegel for supplying this letter.

6.   Most of the following section is based on Fijian Orthography.

7.   Churchward was referring to subphonemic variation. He noted in his grammar (1941:9) that "the pronunciation of certain letters varies a little; but these variations are only slight."

4 THE SOCIOLOGY OF SPELLING: INTERNAL PROBLEMS

1.   "Users" have changed over the years. I suggest that such linguistic matters have been discussed primarily by language policy makers (at least, these are the only discussions that have been preserved in print). At first, the policy makers were figures in the various missions and the Colonial Government (including the Department of Education), and grammarians and lexicographers from the outside. Now, most policy makers are native speakers.

2.   The linguistic reasons for the controversy are discussed in CH 36.

3.   In a concession to established writing practice, however, Milner did not write the i at all after a word ending in -i. Thus, the translation of "envelope", which is morphologically waqa-ni-i-vola, was written as waqanivola.

4.   Sometimes, the old spelling is used unwittingly by writers who are not sufficiently acquainted with their source material to standardize their spelling. Thus, one can find in Kikau 1981 both ai boro 'the paint' and na i kara 'the pole'.

5.   Capell split the difference: the dictionary has kaukauwa but buāwa (the macron should not be there).

6.   Unless across certain kinds of morpheme boundaries.

7. Keu is missing.

8. See numbers 34 and 152 in Osborn, in the Appendix.

9. According to TRN and PG (3/82), there are some construc-
    tions in which lako i cannot be substituted for lai. See 9.14.2,
    9.14.3.

10. In Schütz 1978d, the counts are: /f-/: 15, /j-/: 23, /p-/: 70.
     One must remember, however, that the /j/ in Fijian stems
     from more than one English sound, and that the ratio of /f-/
     to /p-/ words in English is roughly 1:2.

11. Actually, palatalization is not an either-or matter, but one
     of degree. Thus, there is a continuum from the forms on the
     left to those on the right, even with respect to whether or
     not the /i/ is included.

12. I am temporarily assuming, for the sake of illustration, that
     the first stage of the borrowing process was to choose con-
     sonants and vowels that would match those of the model
     most closely.

13. C. F. Hockett (10/82) suggested another complicating
     factor: the resemblance of certain syllables to common
     markers that seldom take a high degree of accent.

14. I mean that the pronunciation is not exactly Fijian, nor is it
     English. In that particular form, it is a mispronunciation of
     an English word.

15. This statement is not wholly correct, for all long vowels re-
     ceive at least measure accent.

16. One reason for the lower number of minimal pairs is that
     Fijian no longer has a vowel-length contrast in penultimate
     position.

5 PRELUDE TO THE GRAMMAR: THE TONGUES OF MEN AND ANGELS

1. Most of this section is an expansion of Schütz 1972a, chapters 1, 3, and 4.

2. This statement, reflecting Cargill's attitude not only at that time, but also after seemingly ample evidence to the contrary, is the source of major disagreement among the missionaries working in Fiji.

3. Entered in the bibliography as Cargill n.d. So far as we know, no copy of this manuscript exists.

4. "Finished" only in the sense that Cargill had no opportunity to expand on that draft. One version was published by the Mission Society as Cargill 1840a; another, based on the manuscript and annotated, as Schütz and Geraghty 1980.

5. In a letter written nearly fifty years later (1890), Hale complained that his early work had never had a wide enough distribution. The official publications of the expedition, which were plagued by Congressional squabbles, were limited by law to one-hundred copies. The unofficial issue (see Bibliography) was an edition of 150 copies (Haskell 1968:9, 49).

6. Cargill made this judgment on his second day in Rewa, thus giving grounds for one of John Hunt's later criticisms, discussed in this section.

7. It is impossible to count the "dialects", unless one uses extremely arbitrary criteria. One can compare and count specific features—such as grammatical markers or the presence of certain sounds—but not total linguistic systems,

8. "Altered in form" means that the words show different sounds, but are cognate.

9. Perhaps included in the published dictionary as an appendix on Biblical names; the manuscript is unknown to me.

10.   Richard B. Lyth, Letter to David Hazlewood, 12 March 1845. Lyth was stationed at Somosomo when he wrote. The Fijian cited is the local equivalent of Bauan sā vinaka gā 'it's all right'.

11.   The following excerpt, from James Calvert's papers, shows that at least one missionary was restrained in the praise he gave the grammar. But Calvert was not typical; my impression from the record of his long missionary career is that he was vindictive and complaining. See the account of his behavior in Schütz 1977a:236–38.

> 5 May 1851. The Feejeean Grammar has been (or is about to be) forwarded to each Missionary and to each Missionary's wife—also, to London, Sydney, Moret [ ] Bay, Auckland, and Vandieman's Land. I hope Mr. Williams will attend to the Chairman's request, and provide us with a useful Review. But, at the same time, "our Grammarian" cannot do less than furnish us with somewhat lengthy Remarks and Additions. Bro. Hazlewood was a very short time in writing the grammar. It must be defective on some points—and Remarks and Additions made by our Chairman, who has so long and carefully studied the subject—and that with reference to publication for the benefit of others—will be very valuable. Let us have then as much as will make twelve pages.

> Whatever defects there may be in the Grammar, our best thanks are due to Mr. Hazlewood—who gave his utmost & best & most laborious night-to-day efforts to effect the work which was so much needed and desired, and that so promptly after he was requested.

> Hereby I return the Papers kindly supplied by Mr. Lyth & Mr. Hazlewood—hoping that [ ] will bring some of his own views out in his own way, thereby doubly-benefitting us, & those who follow. It would not be right for [ ] to hide the light which he can impart.

I have not been able to get any further in the Dictionary—and I
fear the time is very distant when I shall have the pleasure to
forward a complete copy.

6 SENTENCE TYPES

1. Lyons (1968:335) sketched the development of definitions
of topic and comment, beginning with Sapir's view of subject
and predicate, and continuing to Hockett's adaptation,
which is used here.

2. In the interlinear glosses and grammatical explanations, the
glosses for content forms are in lowercase letters, and the
abbreviations for grammatical explanations are in capital
letters. To save space, most proper nouns are glossed with
initials only. Since these abbreviations constitute the only
instance of single capital letters, they are distinguishable
from those for grammatical terms. Hyphens connect closely
bound forms. It is difficult to label one marker with the
same term consistently and still give the required gram-
matical information about its use in that particular example.
Therefore, one should turn to the description of that marker
for a more thorough explanation of its function and
meaning.

3. The table follows Milner (1972:54), and Geraghty (1977b).
The forms in parentheses are explained in 20.9.

4. Note that this phrase is identical in form to one in 6.3.2. The
two phrases can be distinguished only through context.

5. As discussed in 4.1.4, the conventions for writing com-
pounds are erratic. Even though qasenivuli is written as one
word, and siga ni lotu as three, the constructions are similar,
differing perhaps only in how idiomatic they are.

6. The form of such questions, however, is not always NP + NP; like other nouns, cava can be used as a verb. In the following sentence, note that cava is the head of a VP, surrounded by such VP markers as sā, bāū, and mada:

sā   bāū cava mada e   tuku-n-a vēī iko na   no-mu doketā?
ASP TEN what INI   3S tell-TR-3S ABL 2S DEP POS-2S doctor
just what did your doctor tell you? (T74:51)

Cēī works similarly, but only when preceded by o:

sā   o   cēī   beka o   koya?   who's he?
ASP PRP who TEN   PRP 3S

This sentence, however, is appropriate only in certain contexts. See 9.3.1.

7. As the glosses show, cava following a noun takes on an idiomatic Meaning: 'what kind of, which?'

8. This notion of quantity involved with tū matches TRN's explanation. See 22.10.2.

9. Schütz and Nawadra questioned (1972:101) the traditional notion of "subject" in Fijian.

10. This view is not extremely unorthodox. In their search for language universals, popularized in the last twenty years or so, and in many of the grammatical models they have proposed during a much longer period, many analysts seem to have forgotten that some very well-studied languages have something rather different from an NP + VP sentence structure.

But the situation has not remained entirely unnoticed. In his argument that nouns are "the one substantive universal of syntactic theory", Lyons (1966:230) admitted that linguists in search of such universals must "account for the fact that in very many languages, the 'verbal complex' may

stand as a 'one-word sentence', independently of the occur-
rence of previous utterances from which nouns may be 'un-
derstood' to function as the subject or object of the sentence
in question. Since the 'things' referred to in utterances are
often physically present in the situations in which the utter-
ances are spoken, there need be merely a 'pronominal' indi-
cation, or no overt indication at all, of the 'things' referred
to."

Lyons's description fits one of the cornerstones of classical
linguistics: Latin. For Latin, the "personal endings" of the
verb show the person and number of the "subject". Every
student who has recited "portō 'I carry', portās 'you carry'
…" has in fact been uttering a set of complete—albeit
strange—sentences. It was not necessary to say "Ego portō".

7 CLASSIFICATION OF MORPHEMES

1. The qualification in this statement refers to a few markers
    that are reduplicated. They seem to be of two types; (1)
    Via 'desirous of' is reduplicated with a change in meaning:
    viavia means 'act as if, pretend to be', as in e viavia tūraga
    'he acts like a chief'. (2) Certain markers that seem closer to
    the root, such as those of the shape Ca-occurring with two-
    topic statives, seem to be reinterpreted as part of the root:

ta-ta-bale-bale	stagger
ta-ta-ciqi-ciqi	chipped off, little by little
ta-ta-kube	hang onto
ta-ta-gede-gede	shaking agitatedly up and down

For more examples of reduplicated markers, see 18.14 and
27.3.2.

2. Both of these conditions may have to be revised as we
    learn more about Standard Fijian and how it changes. The
    following observations indicate that the system of function

forms may be less rigid than previously thought: (1) as shown later, some markers seem to have developed from roots; (2) there seem to be a number of fossilized markers with very limited distributions; and (3) perhaps markers can be borrowed from other Fijian languages more easily than we had thought. Geraghty's work (especially 1977b and 1983a) is beginning to reveal the complex relationships among the speech communities in Fiji.

3. The grammatical phrase is defined by structure. The relationship between grammatical phrases and phonological phrases is rather like that between the arguments in a syllogism: the end of a phonological phrase also indicates the end of a grammatical phrase, but the converse is not necessarily the case.

4. In dāū ni X 'expert at X' and ke-na dāū 'expert at if, we can consider dāū a different lexical item with limited distribution: it does not occur in constructions like *na dāū 'the expert' or *e dāū 'he is an expert'.

5. It is also possible to consider these forms as two morphemes each—that is, separate entries in a dictionary.

6. The glosses given here are more appropriate to the forms when used as roots.

7. Adapting the suggestion of note 5 would eliminate the continuum by assumption. For each of the forms in any position except the extremes, there would be two meanings: one as a root, and one as a marker.

8. PG noted that tī is used in the context of root crops to indicate downward growth.

9. We use different terms here; Milner used "base" and "particle".

10. Nor did he distinguish between these two phrase types, for he showed both "nominal particles" and "verbal particles" in the same table. For me, at least, it was Buse's articles on Rarotongan (1963) that pointed out the necessity of describing noun phrases and verb phrases separately, which I did for Nguna (Schütz 1969).

11. Milner (9/79) suggested that it be made clear here that nouns and verbs are not absolute terms. It is especially important to note that neither the use of these terms, nor the designation of noun phrases and verb phrases assumes that the Indo-European subject-predicate relationship holds for Fijian. See 5.4.2 and Schütz and Nawadra 1972:101.

12. As we treat the structure of the verb phrase in more detail, we will find that there are a number of constructions in which the verb phrase marker has been deleted. Such a deletion is common for second person singular (in imperative sentences) and for third person singular.

13. The style of the following story is stilted; it does not represent normal conversation. But the sentences do show a clear contrast between root and marker.

14. This sentence actually has two verb phrases, but one is introduced by a subordinate marker. See 33.1.

15. The construction itself is classed as identifying—a type that regularly uses a noun in the verb phrase.

16. The official orthography treats via as a separate word, vaka (causative) as a prefix, and vēī sometimes as one, sometimes as the other.

17. It is uncertain whether this verb is a stative or an active.

18. PG (79) suggested that nā might originally have been a verb. Lau has vaka-nā wāī 'channel, collect water'.

19. The i is lost before the third person singular object a. For
    '^L a historical discussion, see Geraghty 1983a:263–66.

8 VERB CLASSIFICATION I: EXISTENTIALS, ACTIVES, AND STATIVES

1. Compare with Hockett's "privileges of occurrence" (1958:162).

2. This construction contrasts with one that looks similar but is actually rather different:

e sega ni raisi   it isn't rice

Here, sega negates what is asserted by the subordinate verb
phrase, introduced by ni. The basic verb phrase underlying
this subordinate phrase is the identifying construction:

e raisi   it is rice

3. I am grateful to PG and TRN for the examples of less common existentials.

4. That is, as opposed to actives. Some nouns also occur in this' position, e.g. vale vatu 'stone house'.

5. Such modifiers might be from a VP: manumanu e vuka 'animal that flies'.

6. Biggs (1975:493) proposed the imperative test for actives. His requirement that mo (me + o) [subjunctive plus second person singular] be included is especially useful, for in purely formal terms, one-referent statives can also occur as one-word utterances. They cannot, however, have the imperative meaning with second-person subjects.

   Two-referent statives can occur with the subjunctive particle, with the meaning 'let it be done'. Note the following context (AS): In the process of preparing a lovo, someone

suggests that the work be interrupted for, say, swimming. A possible reply is me bulu mada 'let it [the lovo] be buried [that is, covered] first'.

9 VERB CLASSIFICATION II: ONE- AND TWO-REFERENT VERBS

1. Here, and in later sections, I deliberately use English as a Metalanguage—a means of describing the situation referred to by the sentence.

2. Of course, the meaning of the verb and its range of uses are closely bound, for it is the latter that lets us determine the former. Thus, we are—in a sense—using grammatical criteria to help determine whether a verb has one referent or two, for we look for its occurrence with the formal markers that objects condition. That is, we look for cawī with a transitive marker and an object: *cawī-C-a or *cawī-C-aka.

3. For some speakers, gādē is an A2 verb. No doubt, speakers will disagree about the classification of other verbs as well.

4. That is, not within the framework of verbs, transitive markers, and objects. Goals can be indicated formally by ablative NPs, but these lie outside the scope of the classification.

5. Dromu, with the meaning 'push under water' occurs with -c-a. (and is hence classified as a two-referent verb), but not with 'sun' or 'moon' as a subject.

6. PG noted that mata bobo 'wink' suggests A rather than S.

7. Here, again, the emphasis seems to be on the manner, rather than the goal.

8. It may seem awkward to use "goal" in connection with the subject of a stative verb phrase, but it is common in current treatments (e.g. Biggs 1974:424). It should be emphasized that "goal" is a technical term here, so that it can include an entity being described.

9. Lako-v-a is seldom used with this second meaning.

10. The use of this verb with first person seems unlikely, but could occur with a legend, for example, or the future tense.

10 VERB CLASSIFICATION III: SEMANTICS

1. 'This use of "process" is somewhat different from that of Lyons (1968:366), apparently based on work of M.A.K. Halliday (no reference).

2. This last sentence can also be an example of -taki (reason).

3. The causative constructions seem to indicate specific instances, whereas the stative constructions indicate general conditions.

4. These are all nominalizations, not merely verbs "used as" nouns. See Geraghty 1983a:246–49.

5. Ke-na lasa is 'its capability of causing delight'.

6. This construction seldom has this meaning.

7. It may be that the problems the analyst has with such forms are rooted in the English translations rather than in Fijian grammar.

8. It is not possible to use the frame e [ ] with oti as the verb, for it occurs regularly with sā (see 21.3.1). The constituents of sā oti seem idiomatically fused, favored over *e oti.

11 VERB CLASSIFICATION IV: HISTORY AND DISCUSSION

1. Since he was describing the Lakeba language, his polysyllabic suffixes were -takini, -lakini, etc.

2. In his attempt to describe Fijian verbs on their own terms, Hazlewood encountered his greatest challenge. Quoted on the title page of Section II is an excerpt from his diary referring to his struggle with verb classification.

3. Although I think it is important to make a distinction between simple and derived forms for the purpose of classifying verbs, this distinction does not seem to have any effect on any other part of the grammar. Thus, this dichotomy is less important than others.

4. In the absence of an accurate count of verb roots in each category, it is impossible to know how much Hazlewood overestimated the size of the S2 class.

5. "First" is rather a dangerous word to use in a historical sense; one often finds earlier instances after a statement has been sanctified in print.

6. The publication date is misleading; the article was written in late 1973 and early 1974.

7. Note that this part of the treatment is still based only on form. The semantic part of the classification came later, as did the division into one-referent vs. two-referent verbs.

8. Note that -a was not yet treated consistently as a separate morpheme, nor the transitive marker as -(C)i, so that the presence of the -i form of the verb was considered to be a change from -a to -i.

12 TRANSITIVITY

NOTES

1. "Signal" is used here as a technical term; later it is described as a particular level of specificity.

2. The symbol 'ø' is merely a descriptive device to indicate that no consonant occurs before the object, as kila 'know', kilā 'know it'. I am not proposing it as a unit. PG suggested (7/82) that ø and y might be considered allomorphs, with this distribution:

ø after a, e, and i
y after o, u.

See the discussion of y in the next note.

3. Historically, the y in this list represents no consonant (see 44.16.1.1), since it is an i that has lost its syllabicity by joining with a preceding a to form a diphthong āī, which in turn shortens in its penultimate position in the measure. In kaya 'say it' (which we might interpret as /kaia/ (with the /ka/ accented), the i is part of the root, as shown by another transitive form, kāī-nak-a. For taya 'chop it', it may be that the i is retained to keep the form that includes the object distinct from the base, since /tā/ + /a/ can yield only /tā/ (there being no three-way vowel-length contrast in the language). As an afterthought: ta-ya is the only Ca type of verb that has retained the i; most others use a disyllabic suffix; those with monosyllabic suffixes are ca-t-a and va-c-a. However, tuya 'tow if (/tu/ + /i/ + /a/?) has also retained the /i/.

    PG suggested (7/82) that tā is an irregular verb, since areas near Bau have tataya and tataka, rather than taya.

4. Lako-v-a seldom has this meaning.

5. PG proposed (7/82) that there are two dabe roots: the one that takes -ci is A2; the one that takes -ri is S2.

6. Foley (1976:270) claimed that -Caki is rare with P-verbs (S2). He seems to have made the statement without considering the extent of -taki (reason) and -laki and -raki (intensive). The following are some are some examples of S2 verbs that occur with one or more of these suffixes:

bura 'pierced' :   -laki -taki
bete 'broken'   :   -laki
belu 'bent'   :   -laki
dolo 'broken'   :   -laki
bolo 'pelted'   :   -laki -taki
gudu 'cut off' :   -raki -taki

7. These verbs were elicited directly, not found in context.

8. Remember that -Cak-a represents two morphemes: the transitive marker -Caki fused with the third person singular object a.

9. Another actor could be included in the subject—for example, a singular subject would change to dual.

10. Different speakers would produce different results.

11. Note that some of these examples are A1 verbs.

12. G. B. Milner suggested (9/79) that attaching the glosses 'buy' and 'sell' to these forms might be an attempt to make them match English usage. He proposed that voli originally referred to barter, and that from each participant's point of view, the operation was the same, but with different transitive markers to indicate either getting at a commodity or getting rid of it.

    Currently, with a cash economy, the transaction might not be viewed so much as an exchange, since one of the commodities is now required to be cash.

13. PG supplied the following examples of loans from other languages: joro-tak-a 'steal it' and talaki-tak-a 'search him', from Fiji Hindustani; talanoa-taka 'story-tell it', from Tongan.

14. These examples come from VG and NL.

15. These forms were supplied by AS from a list of about 800 loanwords (Schütz 1978d).

16. These first four examples are disputed. They seem rather innovative to some speakers.

17. AS did not recognize the construction. Butō differs from siga and bogi in that it refers to a state ('darkness'), rather than a period of time. But it could figuratively mean a period of darkness, i.e. night.

18. Milner's treatment (1972:113) does not clarify the distinction between -yaka and -yaki. Note the contrast is illustrated by the last three examples above. Only the third expresses the object (-a) and specifies it (with na kā).

19. Incidentally, the modifying element is not always a single noun, but can be a phrase (FR3:23):

erāū voli ke-drāū pīnati, ka gunu loli tale gā
3D   buy POS-3D peanut CNJ drink lolly ITR INT
they (dual) bought their peanuts, and had lollies, too

Note also that this construction involves only third person singular "objects". This by itself sets it off from the formal transitives.

20. The term "incorporation" refers to including a noun in the grammatical phrase. It is often used for two separate constructions in Fijian: the one discussed here, and one that

includes a proper noun (that is, a noun that in other constructions in the same discourse would be preceded by o). Examples of the second type are:

e rai-ci koya	he saw her
e rai-ci Erelia	she saw E

It should be emphasized that the similarity between the two constructions seems to be a historical accident, and that their functions are quite distinct.

21. A note here might serve to illustrate the pitfalls connected with the casual and superficial use of grammatical descriptions for comparative work. Clark's insistence that "the [transitive] suffix does not appear" is odd, in light of his reference to Churchward's treatment and examples. Churchward (1941:19) said: "A transitive verb which has an indefinite object is usually [emphasis mine] a simple root word, the verb's transitive suffix (as well as the article before the noun) being dispensed with," In the next paragraph (and characterized by the word "frequently"), he mentioned the "indefinite-transitive" construction occurring with both one-syllable and two-syllable suffixes.

Clark seems to have missed those examples. However, he (apparently) added this note to the original version (1973:599): "For the record, Pawley (pers. comm.) says that in Bauan Fijian some verbs bear the -Ci suffix even before generic objects." Note, however, that this is only half a correction, since it fails to mention the two-syllable suffixes.

22. Note that with respect to discourse, the construction does not introduce a theme into the conversation or story. It is different, then, from other specified referents.

I should emphasize that in general terms, my analysis (at least the most important part of it) follows Milner's (1972:26).

23. PG (1/79) first drew my attention to this construction.

24. Sometimes an S2 verb occurs in this construction, although it is then ambiguous, as we show later in the discussion.

25. On the advice of participants in a Fijian Language Workshop, November 1979, at the Fiji Museum.

26. SN compiled the list.

13 TRANSITIVITY: HISTORY AND DISCUSSION

1. Not used now in this sense. Moce-r-a is used to mean 'sleep with him/her'—with a sexual connotation.

2. Tu-r-a is not used now with this meaning. Instead, vaka-tu-r-a 'make it stand (somewhere)' it used. The latter also means 'to propose it (law, motion+)'.

3. Note the dependence, in this definition, on noun phrases, which I consider optional elements in the sentence.

4. Here, actor and goal.

5. Unfortunately, every linguist who is not a native speaker of Fijian is at the mercy of Capell's dictionary; the many obvious errors are not so much a problem as the half-truths.

6. Arms deleted y from the list.

7. As an example, I have cited gādē 'stroll' to illustrate Al verbs (as Arms did to illustrate "true" verbs without a transitive suffix). However, some speakers use it with the transitive marker -vi.

8. Not all analysts agree; for example, Sheldon P. Harrison (personal communication, 1981).

9. I am only assuming this part of the definition, for the means of showing what is "most important" are unclear.

10. It should be pointed out that Wolff (1980:164) considered his paper to be in preliminary form.

11. She concluded (1978:419) that Fijian had a "three-focus system", but I cannot understand the argument.

12. I assume that it is a misprint because first, the sentence as it is doesn't make sense, and second, she used the term "semantic object" in the same sentence.

13. As elsewhere in this grammar, I use the English forms to symbolize semantic entities, not forms in a language.

14. By intransitive, he meant a verb without a transitive marker and/or object.

15. It is more likely that the second sentence would not repeat the NP equivalent of "the tea", but it could be repeated.

16. I use the term "goal" here, because I think that semantic functions are the primary consideration in dealing with discourse. Thus, the referent 'tea' is the entity that is being emphasized. Terms like "subject" and "object" are purely grammatical, and are only the manifestations of the systems that portray the referents. Wolff used the correct terminology in one statement (1980:156): "In the first case the verb lako focuses on the action; in the second, the verb lakova focuses on the goal of the action." But on the next page, he mixed the terminology: "The transitive verb focuses on the object of the action, the intransitive verb on the action itself." As noted above, Naylor mixed semantic and formal terms.

17. CH 30 gives labels for the different degrees of specification.

18. See CH 30 for an explanation of these terms. Briefly, "expressed" means represented by one of the person-number markers that are interpreted as subject and object.

14 VERB DERIVATION, OR HOW VERBS CHANGE CLASSES

1. Note that the forms in the second column are identical with those that precede proper objects. Thus, the following contrast is possible:

e rai-ci   she was seen
e rai-ci koya   he saw her

In these sentences, there is a switch in the role played by the subject. In the first sentence, the subject represents the goal; in the second, the actor. Such a situation is interesting with respect to making hypotheses about the way a hearer understands what is being said. To illustrate the point, we can construct some longer examples:

The first sentence is translated: 'They will then be explained.' And the second: 'They will then explain themselves/them.'

In this pair of sentences, the hearer does not know the role of the subject eratōū 'they (paucal)' until he hears what follows -taki.

2. The patterning of lāū- is not so simple as these examples indicate, since it also occurs with statives. For example,

e lāū-tā   it's been chopped

It can also occur with derived statives:

e lāū-gunu-vi   it's drunk/drinkable

So far, it has not been possible to determine any difference between these constructions and those without lāū-:

e tā	it's been chopped
e gunu-vi	it's been drunk

It has been suggested (PG 9/83) that lāū- forms are adversative, but such examples as lāū-gunu 'drinkable' do not fit this hypothesis.

3. See the discussion section. Also, this function of reduplication was referred to briefly in the section on verb classification.

4. I think Arms was being too cautious here. In what respects would this form differ?

5. AS reported that some speakers say tā-. PG considered it extremely rare.

6. I observed the incident on 20 July 1979.

7. The dictionaries have bete for 'chipped'. Beti may be a trace of the speaker's Kadavu language.

8. Some verbs are semantically incompatible with this meaning: e.g. kana 'eat', gunu 'drink'.

9. Examples from Arms 1974:270–72.

10. Note the alternate form, ta-sova, in the example sentence.

11. It is necessary to add a caveat here: the forms in Arms's list must be examined carefully, for a number of them probably should not be there. In his discussion of the "spontaneous form", Arms began, "The spontaneous form of a verb consists of the base plus one of the spontaneous prefixes ca-, ka-, ra-, and ta-." Thus, we must be able to apply with some assurance standard morphological principles to the forms he

listed. We are not always able to do so. For example, if ca-wī 'fly very fast' is to be included, there must be a verb wī with a related meaning. There is none.

12.   AS suggested that such variation might be due to the influence of other speech communities on the standard language. A similar situation exists for the transitive markers for some forms.

13.   Arms mentioned (1974:42) a few S2 verbs lacking a corresponding transitive form.

14.   This gloss makes it sound as if it takes a goal, but the goal is manifested by a vēī phrase, not with a transitive marker and an object.

15.   Hazlewood was saying here that third person subjects with a number greater than singular (that is, erāū, eratōū, and era) cannot be used to refer to nonhumans. If the statement was accurate at the time he made it, the language has changed; it is still a somewhat controversial matter, but many speakers use the subjects above for non-human referents (see 20.5, 20.13).

16.   Schütz and Nawadra did not mention this second theme.

17.   PG (9/83) suggested that ca-, ka-, and ra- convey an adversative meaning.

15 VERB AFFIXES: VAKA-

1. PG (10/78) noted that Tongan suggests a multiple origin for Fijian vaka-: in addition to faka- there is fa'a, and there are a number of examples of contrast.

2. For some constructions it is difficult to decide whether vaka is a root or a marker. One such construction is the following:

e vaka-bula vēī āū   he said "Bula" to me

sā qāī vaka-ō vēī āū	and he called "Ō" back
e vaka-mōmō vēī āū	he calls me "Mōmō"

This last construction is used with kin terms or titles, but there is some disagreement about its use with proper names (PG 9/83).

But note that vaka is used as a full verb, complete with object:

e vakā o koya, "Tuba"	he said, "Get out"

This form of vaka leads us to interpret the construction vaka-bula, vaka-ō as examples of verb plus modifier—that is, the gunu-yaqona type. As with that type, vaka-bula can be related to a whole phrase that includes the specified object:

e vakā vēī āū, "Bula"	he said to me, "Bula"

3. Vaka- changes to vā- before velars (see Hazlewood 1872:58). Vaka- can also be shortened in fast speech. In AS's reading of FR2: 4–5, he shortened vaka-dike-v-a to vā-dike-v-a. Note that this long vowel can then shorten (see 41.6), leaving two "ideal" measures: .vadi.keva.

4. That is, one that reflects the grammatical structure as well as the meaning.

5. Example from PG.

6. TRN says, however, that it does occur in the reduplicated form and with vēī-:

e   vēī-rāūrāū   na   wāī   kēī   na   suka
3S   REC-suffice   DEF   water   CNJ   DEF   sugar
there are equal amounts of water and
sugar

7. Examples from PG.

8. Examples from Milner 1972:82.

9. This relationship betwen A and B assumes that the phrases occur together in context.

10. Some of these verbs belong to the S2 category, although this is not always reflected in the gloss.

11. Vā-qō and vā-qori are usually written in the longer forms vaka-oqō and vaka-oqori. (The formal forms begin with vakā-; the long vowel is unexplained.) Note the order of the changes: First, o drops; second, vaka- changes to vā- before the velar that now begins the form.

12. Vaka-dua also has an idiomatic meaning of 'once and for all, completely.

13. Idiomatic, as well as literal. This can also mean 'having a spouse and family'.

14. This and the next five examples are from Cammack 1962:102, 108.

15. This appears to be a somewhat idiomatic usage. First, it seems to be an active construction. Next, it does not mean that the subject owns the guest house, but merely occupies it. However, although the construction often implies literal ownership, there are other expressions in which it does not: sā vaka-moto-kā o iko? can mean either: 'do you own a car?' or 'have you found transport?'

16. The number of faka- forms was, of course, partially dependent on the lexicographer's decision to include such derivations as separate entries.

17. Its frequency is lower in more informal texts.

18. My terminology unless in quotation marks.

16 VERB AFFIXES: VĒĪ-/V Ī-

1. Vī is a nonstandard form. It is heard in casual conversation in Standard Fijian, and is the only form in many of the other Fijian languages.

2. When the subject is paucal or plural, more underlying phrases are assumed: sufficient to cover each pair within the total number of participants.

3. The gloss makes this verb sound as though the subjects are in a mutual state rather than action, but vōleka also occurs with a transitive marker and object: e vōleka-t-a 'it was near it'. All in all, it is difficult to label this construction as strictly active or stative.

4. TRN (11/79) said that the verb can be used with such notions as 'country' or 'church' as a goal, but with a somewhat different meaning of 'feel concern for'.

5. PG (10/83): Sāū, bō, and māū cannot occur without vēī-.

6. I suspect that this word was introduced from Tongan by the missionaries. Tongan has lulu 'shake'.

7. The transitive suffix does occur in this construction:

| e vēī-sere-ki na | the magistrate granted the divorce (i.e. |
| tūraga ni lewā | he "divorced"). |

Here, vēī-sere-ki refers to the general act of divorcing.

8. Showing the morphological divisions of this form obscures the length of the final syllable: vēībāsāī.

9. This form also occurs tentatively in the reciprocal active category, which points out that we are unsure of its basic classification.

10. Incidently, kase by itself cannot be classified as either active or stative, but only as a two-referent verb.

11. I have changed some of the spellings.

12. Probably vēī-tama-ni. Vēī-toma-ni means 'accompany each other'.

13. Not (at least now) in Standard Fijian, which has vēī-kila-i.

14. Some speakers do not accept this construction.

15. One difficulty, however, is that neither sentence that follows is the ordinary way of expressing the idea, which would be in the verb phrase, not as an attribute:

> erāū vēī-loma-ni o Jone kēī Mere

The sentences as given above shift the focus.

17 VERB AFFIXES: VIA-, VIAVIA-, TAWA- AND OTHERS

1. David Arms noted (10/84) that some elements can occur between via and the verb. Such may also be the case for the other markers treated here; thus their classification as "affixes" is tenuous. At any rate, the distinction between affix and separate marker seems neither clear nor important for Fijian.

2. it would take a special context for it to be interpreted this way.

3. Using want in this way is somewhat outside most dialects of American English, but I recognize it.

4. Examples from Hazlewood, Churchward, Milner, and BK.

5. Not S2 roots, but derived verbs that function as two-referent statives.

6. This stands to reason, since lāū- forms, although all stative, still include an implicit actor—unlike forms with ta-, ca_1, etc.

7. Not a representative sample of all verbs, but appropriate for lāū-, since it concentrates on two-referent verbs.

8. It should be remembered that the sample used is by no means complete.

9. By AS.

10. This definition has been modified to fit the S2 nature of vuru; the dictionary treats it as an active.

11. This point of view was developed through discussions with TRN.

12. I have altered his glosses somewhat.

18 VERB REDUPLICATION

1. Also the extended meaning of 'exceptional', 'most'. Milner (1972:47) considered this a special category of 'superlative, excessive'.

2. The classification of gū is somewhat uncertain. It may not belong in this group of actives, but instead may be one of the statives (like cā 'bad') that can take a transitive suffix and an object.

3. It may be that this category functions to distinguish statives from the existential use of (at least) levu and lāīlāī. At any rate, it tells us whether the meaning is 'a large X' or 'lots of X'.

4. Some consultants suggest vī-vinaka. Since the putative long vowel is in the position that allows shortening, it is difficult to decide whether the underlying form is long or short.

5. Examples from TRN.

6. TRN suggested that the grammatical form is due to the original meaning—to eat each bit of fish or shellfish as it was found, not to gather it all first and then eat it in a continuous operation.

7. Perhaps the same as 8.8.

8. There are some exceptions: qaqi, qaqo, qiqō (however, perhaps forms with long final vowels are excluded from the restriction), vavi.

9. There are at least two possible explanations for this long vowel, and others—such as in vā-vava, vā-vavi, and qā-qaqi. First, there might be an underlying long vowel in the root, such as *dēde. It would regularly shorten in penultimate position. But vava doesn't seem to work this way, for when an object is added, the form is vavā and not vāvā. Thus the second possibility: that some forms with Ca syllables are borrowed from languages in western Fiji, which lengthen a syllables in antepenultimate position (Geraghty 1983a:68).

10. Thanks to BK for helping with the definitions for many of the reduplicated forms.

11. These two forms are not quite as erratic as they look. We discuss in the sections on phonology the difficulty with the vowel-shortening rule in positions other than penultimate. Here, even the form on the left varies: the vowel is somewhat long in citation form, but not as long as it would be if followed by an accented vowel. In the first reduplicated form, both ce syllables are perceived by speakers as being short, although the underlying vowels are long. In the second reduplicated form, the cē syllable is perceived as long, because it is phonetically longer due to its position before an accented syllable.

12. This abbreviation refers to those forms that clearly sound like two syllables—that is, with vowel sequence of high to low, or ui. Other vowel sequences are classified as potential diphthongs.

13. Based on a small sample of questioning. Other speakers may have other such items that are reduplicated.

14. See Tippett 1953–54 for an interesting discussion of this pattern of reduplication.

15. This form is evidence that the underlying form of the unreduplicated verb is *ka-bībi. There, the bī is shortened before the unaccented syllable; in the reduplicated form it is restored before an accented syllable.

16. An exception to the rule.

17. There is also ta-ta-caqu-caqu (in the fashion of the derived forms, but TRN says it "looks suspicious".

18. Examples from Cammack 1962:106.

19. Examples from Cammack 1962:107.

20. Earlier this feature served as a criterion for identifying roots.

21. Data from SN, who supplied these examples when questioned about koyakoya (from Capell 1941a).

22. Examples from PG (10/83)

23. I have weeded out types and examples that have to do with noun formation. They will be discussed in the appropriate sections.

24. Tukutuku does not illustrate repetition. It simply allows the verb to be active, with the object unexpressed.

25. This is just one of a number of examples of forms whose meanings seem to have been lost.

20 SUBJECTS AND OBJECTS

1. PG (10/83) pointed out that actually, it is only third person that is deleted, since the singular marker is zero.

2. On 7 July 1981, I showed consultants a series of boxes, each with a different number of circles representing people. The consultants were requested to choose a subject that could refer to specific groups of "people", as represented by the circles in both individual boxes and those grouped for comparisons.

3. PG collected a text in which approximately thirty people are referred to variously with paucal and plural.

4. TRN (4/82) thought that such personifying was an innovation. He preferred the nonpersonal construction using just e. At least in this instance, in which the category of 'catepillar' is being referred to as a whole, there is no need to specify its number.

5. That is, even without them, the other forms are all distinct.

6. Because of the historical development of the forms, Geraghty did not include the first person exclusive forms in the morphological analysis (10/83).

7. "Indicative" here refers to constructions other than subjunctive and imperative (in terms of grammatical function), or (in formal terms) to those in which the basic VP is preceded by a subordinate marker or in which the person marker is deleted.

8. The reason I refer to this as variation rather than "loss" of e is that the situation is closer to a continuum than an either-or matter. Note that Milner's phrase "a suggestion of [the e]" indicates that it is not always possible to determine, in faster speech, whether or not e has been uttered.

9.   Such objects, along with the nouns in rāī koro 'village inspection' and gunu yaqona 'kava drinking', have often been called incorporated objects. As 12.4.1 shows, koro and yaqona are not objects at all, and there is no reason why the word "incorporated" should be used for names.

10.   Except in what PG calls "Old High Fijian". See 4.2.

11.   Classifying these forms as content morphemes is rather a departure from the usual definition, but I suggest that these (historically) bundles of morphemes now function as a special type of content form.

21 VERB PHRASE MARKERS PRECEDING THE HEAD

1.   The general order is based on Milner's tables (1972:84,116).

2.   One must distinguish here between tense, a grammatical term, and time, an element of the real, extralinguistic world.

3.   Compare with #2 in 20.9. The underlying form would begin with the locative marker e.

4.   In this form, the phonological and morphological representations are at odds. The addition of the -i to the final -a forms a long diphthong: āī.

5.   This is a narrow use of "meaning". A stylistic difference has meaning as well. I have no examples of the inverted order in texts, and cannot comment on the function of the change of order.

6.   Dāū is treated rather differently in VPs and NPs. In the former, it functions as one of the so-called moveable markers in the periphery of the phrase; in the latter, as a prefix to the base.

7. At least as reflected in speech, these traits are not culturally desirable, but abrupt and immodest.

8. Thanks to PG for bringing this marker to my attention, and to BK for supplying the examples.

9. Thanks to TRN for helping to straighten out the different uses of māī.

10. Thanks to SN for polishing the translation.

22 VERB PHRASE MARKERS AFTER THE HEAD

1. The general order is based on Milner f s table (1972:94). Changes are based on my own observations and those of PG and TRN. This chapter has also benefitted from Arms's paper (1984, 1985) on surface order in the VP, which is especially detailed in its discussion of subtle differences of meaning that occur when certain markers change order.

2. PG noted that sobu cannot be the head of a locative (ablative) phrase as cake can. Rā serves that function.

3. Of course, even if it is the result of translations, it should be treated here so long as it is in the current idiom.

4. Oti might be considered irregular if we group it with a small number of S1 verbs that take a transitive suffix, On the other hand, we might classify it as a "process" verb (see 10.3).

5. Thanks to TRN (4/82) for explaining the difference.

6. This indeterminancy is another example of the hazy line between verb and marker, verb and underived adverb, and compound verbs.

7. The actual use of soti belies Capell's explanation that it is a "particle modifying a negative".

8. In a very limited experiment, I showed the sentence, minus the word gone, to two people, asking them to supply the missing word. One proposed gone, the other, gone vuli 'school children'.

9. Vēī is usually described as a locative noun, not a verb. However, the phrase e vēī often seems to function as a VP; for example, it can be preceded by the aspect marker sā.

10. TRN (5/82) pointed out that in one sense, tale is still referring to repeated actions, since telegramming is a form of volavola 'writing'.

11. That is, tū and tiko as markers, not as main verbs.

12. As a vocative, it cannot be used other than in direct quotation; it refers directly to the addressee.

13. Saka is used to address persons of either sex. 'Sir' is used here merely as a convenient translation.

14. Confirmed by TRN (5/82).

15. PG noted that the reason for using nō here might be to avoid the construction *koto koto, similar to avoiding *kina kina. See Geraghty 1976a:516n.

16. Thanks to TRN for the explanation. The term "continuative" is not quite satisfactory for the meaning of voli, but the marker seems to fit with the others in this class in terms of its position.

17. Churchward (1941:52) used the term "moderative" to describe beka. J. Siegel pointed out (9/83) its dubitative and tentative meaning.

18. The māī in this sentence does not belong to the VP but to the following NP.

19. For example, Churchward (1941:53): "mai: towards the speaker … yani: away from the speaker or towards the person spoken to …" Milner (1972:29): "Mai and yani are used from the point of view of the speaker."

23 THE NOUN PHRASE: SEMANTICS AND CLASSIFICATION

1. This stricture automatically excludes sentences that are composed of juxtaposed NPs. Sentences that are VPs of the identifying type should also be excluded, unless we can—for the nonce—consider that the identification is an action/ state.

2. It should be emphasized that these are semantic, not grammatical terms. The list is not meant to be closed. But it was compiled after examining the semantic role of the grammatical subject, of different grammatical objects (distinguished by the varying transitive suffixes), and of unmarked and marked NPs.

3. The entity "person" and the entity "place" each consist of an extremely large number of individual members. The ones that are important to the speakers of a language are individually named. Sometimes other entities receive the same special attention: individual animals that are important to people are often given names.

4. Using latitudinal and longitudinal figures would be a quantitative means of referring to location, rather like temperature readings for hot vs. cold, or cycles-per-second figures for high vs. low pitch.

5. At the smaller levels, such as yavusa, tikina, itokatoka, and mataqali, the terms are primarily names for groups of people. However, in a society with strong kin ties and permanant residences, a particular group of people is often associated with a particular place.

6. For a detailed discussion of words classification—particularly semantic, formal, and functional criteria—see Schütz 1975b.

7. An apparent exception is a proper noun that serves as an object. However, there are two ways to treat this exception. First, as 20.10 shows, an implicit solution is to include such nouns in the set of grammatical objects. Next, as 20.12 shows, there is evidence for a suppressed i accusative marker before such nouns in that position. Thus, in the deeper structure, a proper noun in that position would also be marked for function.

24 NP ARTICLES

1. This simple definition has to be expanded somewhat to include things other than persons and places. (1) Some outside this category are named, like pets and organizations. The latter must be investigated further, but it is my impression that organizations, in spite of the conventions of English capitalization adopted into Fijian, are definite. For example, na Fiji Times, etc. (2) Others are counted as individual entities in the grammatical organization of the VP, like non-human concepts that are referred to by non-singular subjects or objects.

2. Milner's table (1972:99) shows an optional i before the head in all the nonsingular forms in first and second person. He noted (p. 100) that not all speakers used it.

3. The rigor with which the "rule" has been applied is in sharp constrast to its vagueness. Hazlewood wrote (1872:5) "O is the same as ko, k being sometimes omitted for the sake of euphony, chiefly at the beginning of a sentence."

4. O na marama is still not explained, because I have no examples in context. I would expect na to be working in its usual way here, marking definiteness—hence, old information. The person would have been mentioned before in the discourse.

5. The occurrence of this construction depends on discourse. Therefore, it is difficult to give a reasonable translation out of context.

6. As opposed to proper NPs, which—by referring to a specific person or place—have no option for a definite-indefinite distinction.

7. This interpretation is based on that of Arms (1974) and Pawley (1973e).

8. I use English glosses to refer to semantic concepts.

9. Strictly speaking, this analysis holds only when the VP precedes the NP, which is the unmarked order of phrases. Other orders are marked by special intonation. J. D. Gibson pointed out (11 82) that one should be careful not to imply cause and effect in this analysis, since similar conditions in other languages do not always produce similar effects.

10. See Lyons 1968:391.

11. All these NPs are "prepositional" or "marked". Note that an indefinite NP cannot occur with no markers at all.

12. We need to point out here that "indefinite" for Fijian does not necessarily mean that the NP in question would be translated into English with 'a'. In particular, it does not mean 'one'. Instead, it refers to the general, rather than the specific.

13. Grammatically, e dua is an existential VP, meaning 'there is one (of something)'. Even in its use as a generalizer of NPs, e dua still behaves as a VP. Note the following:

e	qāī	nanu-m-a	ni	sega	ni	dua	na	i-cōī	ni	kākana
3S	SEQ	think-TR-3S	SUB	not	SUB	one	DEF	i-cōī	POS	food

e	vaka-rāū-tak-a	then he remembered that he hadn't
3S	CAU-ready-TR-3S	prepared any i-coi (FR5:19)

An NP after sega would be introduced by na, not ni.

14. I have respelled certain forms, added macrons for long vowels, and repunctuated.

15. For a discussion of this construction, see 12.4.1.

16. "Construction" isn't exactly the right word, because these three morphemes never form a constituent on their own.

17. Milner related na and e dua to the English definite and indefinite articles only by saying that "in general na corresponds to the definite article in English" (1972:11) and that e dua is a way to translate the English indefinite article (p. 14).

25 NP FUNCTION MARKERS

1. The markers in this category have a wide range of grammatical meaning, depending partially on the meaning of the head of the phrase. "Ablative" is used as a label because it

is appropriately broad in scope, covering (in its traditional use) a "range of locative or instrumental meanings" (Crystal 1980:7).

2.   Nikua is heard more often than edāīdāī, in spite of attempts to force the use of the latter. The use of ni as a time marker seems restricted to a few fused forms. See the next note. However, as Arms has pointed out (10/84), ni forms are actually VPs.

3.   The root mataka is also used in the expression nimataka 'tomorrow'. This idiomatic form constitutes a phrase in itself, and is not used with ablative markers.

4.   PG pointed this construction out.

5.   This construction is identical in meaning to that described in 8.3. For example, the first sentence could be sā oca o F na sāūsāū-mi taro.

6.   What is written as sa here is probably a hypercorrection of se (see 21.3.4), but could also be sā, with a different meaning (Arms 10/84).

7.   Here, I use "instrument" and "agent" strictly in a semantic sense; I do not propose that Fijian has a formal case system.

8.   māī also used. VV (botoboto: m[ataqali] kākana caka māī na kawāī …

9.   In a convincing argument, Geraghty proposed (1976a:515–16) that two māīs underlie such sentences—one the postverbal directional, and the other the ablative marker. He pointed out that there are other such restrictions against two homophonous words together. See the discussion in 25.1.3.1.

10.   The phonological phrasing represented by this marking would occur only in slow, precise speech. In more normal speech, ablative NPs combine with the main VP to form one phonological phrase.

11.   The analysis here is based largely on Geraghty 1976a, which is the major work on Fijian "prepositions" as a class. Previous treatments of kina are inconsistent. For example, although Milner (1972:69) analyzed vuā as vēī + koya, he didn't analyze kina, but discussed only its position and various translations.

12.   I have used the abbreviation CNC (concomitant) to match that used for the verb marker vata (22.3).

13.   Here, "proper" includes all proper nouns and all grammatical objects except third person singular -a. For a speculative discussion of underlying i for objects, see 20.12.

14.   This marker was brought to my attention by PG.

15.   Perhaps this form is related to i_2.

26 NP GRAMMATICAL MODIFIERS

1.   Note that māqusa is the type of verb discussed in 8.3—an apparently stative verb that can be followed by an unmarked NP. Other such verbs are mātāī 'skilled' and vōraki 'reluctant'.

2.   I found such disagreements about style interesting. Often they confirmed or disproved a hypothesis about the function of a particular marker. One reader of this grammar in draft form disapproved of the procedure and disagreed with the conclusion. However, I see nothing wrong with suggesting that speakers of Fijian differ in their opinion of what is good or bad style.

3.   This marker was noted by PG.

4. There seems to be a restriction against kece in most NP + NP sentences. E.g.:

*[o ira] [na tūraga kece]	all of them are chiefs
PRP 3P DEF chief INC	

*[o ira] [kece na tūraga]	all of them are chiefs
PRP 3P INC DEF chief	

27 NOUN AFFIXATION

1. PG suggested (11/83) that the first dui is redundant, adding that if the second were deleted, the sentence could mean that they board the same bus at different times.

2. Unspecified, tina is usually human. Attributive phrases can narrow the meaning: tina ni vuaka 'sow', etc.

3. However, he included also 'otherwise different from the genuine thing', which can be a fairly open-ended category.

28 NOMINALIZATION

1. Note that there are now three separate meanings for this one form.

2. Milner (1971:410–11) referred to "deverbal nouns".

29 PERSONAL DEICTIC NOUNS

1. For example, see Milner 1972:19–20. The statements "... oqō is used for the present", "oqori is used for the recent past", and "oyā is used for the distant past" are too simple.

2. As Arms noted (10/84), this sentence (at least as written) can also mean 'I'll look at it here' or 'I'll look at it now'.

3. Some writers use an apostrophe in these shortened forms: 'qō, 'qori, and 'yā.

30 OPERATIONS: SPECIFICATION

1. This sentence is ambiguous only when written. It represents two spoken sentences with separate intonation contours.

2. Examples of a verb being used with neither actor or goal being made more specific are, first, the imperative, and second, its use in a noun phrase, as na lade 'the jumping'.

3. In this construction, of course, the actor cannot be specified any further.

4. This example shows that the language uses these levels more cumulatively than individually. That is, in most constructions a higher level of specificity does not replace a lower level. In particular, none of the formal levels can replace Implicit, which is inherent in the meaning of the verb.

5. The difference between common and proper is linked to the general area of specificity, since one of the features of "proper" is "specific".

6. Arms (10/84) noted that this sentence can also mean 'Perhaps Nukui is near it'.

7. If we propose an underlying structure for the second sentence above, it might be *e vōleka-ta o Nukui, producing a disfavored vowel sequence ao (see Geraghty & Pawley 1981 for an excellent discussion of ae and ao). But perhaps phonological grounds alone are not sufficient to explain the present situation.

8. I, e, and māī phrases with 3rd person singular head are realized as ki-na. The relationship of ki-na to its coreferential NP is somewhat different from the specification relationships, since the NP often precedes ki-na. See 25.1.2.4.

9. PG suggested that there is pressure against the specification construction in 3d person singular.

10. Double vowels represent long vowels.

31 VERB MODIFICATION

1. Subordinate VPs could be treated as adverbial phrases. However, I decided to deal with subordination separately in spite of the "adverbial" relationship between the phrases that sometimes holds.

2. Some of the examples that follow will show why these conditions need to be qualified with "usually".

3. Compound verbs are discussed in more detail in CH 19.

4. Lō is not used as a main verb.

5. Or the reverse order.

32 NOUN MODIFICATION

1. This category can overlap with some attributes from category (1). For example, it might be a matter for debate whether a dress is karakarawa or drokadroka (each somewhere on the blue to green scale), or whether a house is levu 'big' or balavu 'long'.

2. For the distinction betwen integral and partitive nouns, see 23.2.1.

3. A2 verb roots with certain affixes are derived S2 verbs. In the examples, gunu is an A2 verb root that functions as S2 with the affixes shown.

4. See note 2.

5. Raba is not now a partitive noun (that is, grammatically) in Standard Fijian.

6. Perhaps the construction ibe laca is similar to yatu vosa.

33 SUBORDINATION

1. Except for the imperative. Lyons (1968:307) noted that establishing categories of mood is often difficult, because of the special behavior of imperatives, which seem to comprise a class by themselves.

2. With a change in intonation contours.

3. Geraghty (1977b, 1979) has suggested, on the basis of evidence from other Fijian languages, that āū is an innovation and that earlier, first person singular was indicated by u. A synchronic view of the situation is that first person singular has two allomorphs—āū and u—and that the latter occurs after subordinate markers. From this point of view, no vowel has been dropped; nīū is simply the result of ni + u.

4. E.g. Churchward 1941:23; Milner 1972:68. Capell's dictionary (1941a) contains a classic comment on this pattern: "Often used twice in a Fijian sentence where once is sufficient in English". a Fijian sentence where once is sufficient in English".

5. Segmentation is a problem here. An extra-long vowel is a phonological impossibility. Is the remaining long vowel that of kē, with the locative marker e deleted, or is it ke + e?

6. The combination of sē + e shortens to sē.

34 POSSESSION

1. Fijian possession has been well studied; thus, there is little that is new in the treatment here except the overall classification of possession as a type of attribution, and the treatment of such phrases as na ke-na vinaka na kākana 'the goodness of the food' as a combination of possession and specification.

2. This dichotomy is based on Lyons 1968:297.

3. The first two may be considered specific categories of the third.

4. As Geraghty (1983a:252) pointed out, na is not omitted when the possessive form itself serves as the head of a phrase, as in na nona 'his'. Arms added (10/84) that it is only before the n- possessives that na is omitted.

5. Fijian dichotomizes food in this way: kākana dina, which refers to taro, yam, or other root crops; and i-cōī, the accompanying protein, such as fish, meat, or taro-leaf dishes. There is no convenient way to gloss these terms in English.

6. The extended meaning of bati is 'edge'.

7. Thanks to AS for verifying these suppositions.

8. Note the variations possible if the verb is a stative:

    e balavu na dali   the rope is long
    na balavu ni dali the length of the rope
    na dali balavu   the long rope
    na kena balavu   its length

35 COORDINATION AND SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS

1. This treatment of the coordinating markers is based almost entirely on the work of my grammatical predecessors.

2. Churchward (1941:23) described the alternation: "At the beginning of a clause or sentence, ka is sometimes contracted to a." PG (2/83) described a as much more common in informal, spoken Fijian, and considered ka as "almost pedantic".

36 LINKS BETWEEN THE GRAMMAR AND PHONOLOGY

1. In their underlying form at least, no morphemes consist of less than a syllable. For example, the surface division of kaba-t-a 'climb it' is based on an underlying *kaba-ti-a. (Since a single vowel can serve as a syllable, this restriction can be restated to say that a single consonant cannot serve as a morpheme.)

2. This list does not represent all possible combinations, but some combinations that do not appear—such as particle + base + particle—are treated as layered combinations.

3. This accent pattern is intensified, since this phrase constitutes a phonological phrase, for the peak of the phrase is also on the syllable /lā/.

4. I have as yet found no examples of CVCV̄ + CV within these morphological categories.

5. There seem to be no combinations of particles after a base. Excepting those particles discussed as type 2, all the markers that occur after a root are bases.

6. Not entirely phonetic; since the first measure is made up of markers that are particles, the level of accent is somewhat less than that on the accented syllable of a base.

7. "Word" does not appear in Milner's glossary of grammatical terms (1972:128–37). Note that in his list of accent patterns, the "components" are rather like Scott's groups, or, here, measures.

8. Capell (1941a, in the entry for e) noted that e + na (future) was "written ena to distinguish it from e na 'in the'".

9. There are some rarer particles that could be added to this list: -i, and perhaps -ri.

10. See, for example, Milner 1972:72n: "uluqu (which is stressed on the second syllable whereas in ulu the first syllable is stressed) provides evidence to show the ending -qu must be considered as a suffix of the base and not as a separate word."

11. The argument here follows that in Schütz 1976.

12. An examination of fifty pages of transcribed conversation (FMC61) revealed the following specific kinds of minimum utterances:

a. Exclamations: ō, ōī, veka, ia, sā, ē, io, sega, sō, sobo, maca, tawa, koya.

b. Imperatives: talanoa 'tell it', kana 'eat', davodavo 'lie down', gunu 'drink', māī '(come) here'.

c. Answers or words supplied to complete another speaker's sentence.

d. The phrases with question words, cited in the discussion above.

37 PHONOLOGICAL UNITS

1. They were, of course, following the contemporary format for a grammatical description.

2. The exception at the phoneme level is the letter j, which represented both /t/ and /d/ before /i/. On the prosodic level, the writing system has never distinguished between long and short vowels and diphthongs, or between vowel sequences and diphthongs.

3. Most analysts have recognized the syllable as a unit, usually noting that it does not end with a consonant. However, they have seldom drawn on the notion in the remainder of their descriptions.

4. Since language is linear in production, it might be possible to discuss phonology in terms of longer and longer strings of the smallest perceptible units—the phonemes. But to do so would be to ignore the evidence of higher levels in the phonological hierarchy.

5. That is, they function only to make up larger units, and have no relationship to grammar and meaning.

6. Because terminals with pitch falls are much more common than those with rises, it is convenient to consider those UN-MARKED (following a suggestion by G. W. Grace), and those with a rise, MARKED. I begin the description of the sentence with the unmarked variety.

7. Because of the nature of the morphemes in the units usually called words, the peak measure in such a construction is usually the final measure. This situation has given rise to an analysis of word accent in terms of primary accent (the penultimate syllable or final long syllable), secondary accent (the accented syllable on the preceding measure), and unaccented syllables (the remainder). The discussion in the following chapters should show that such a pattern is a feature of phrases, not of words.

8. Figure 37:2 and the variations that follow are, of course, rough representations. No instrumental measurement would give such an even picture, because each vowel and each consonant has it own level of prominence.

9. My analysis here differs from previous ones. See 42.2 for a discussion of this problem.

10. The syllabic oral spelling system is sometimes used in place of a letter-by-letter system. Syllable by syllable, the word vinaka is spelled /vī-nā-kā/; letter by letter, it is spelled /vā-ī-nā-ā-kā-ā/. Note that when either letters or syllables are spelled aloud, each resultant syllable, or letter-name, must be lengthened so that it can be a measure in length.

11. The diagram represents peaks more clearly than boundaries. For example, it does not show clearly where the syllable divisions are, except at the beginning and the end of the phrase. These points are crucial, for they show that although phonetically each consonant in the middle of the phrase might serve as the border for two adjacent syllables, phonologically the consonant begins the syllable and the vowel ends it. The form of a syllable, then, can be symbolized as (C)V.

12. Even a casual examination of a Fijian text or dictionary shows that CV is by far the favored syllable type. 41.3 shows that certain features existing at present can be considered the result of moving toward more CV syllables. But still, V syllables do occur, and thus, a more accurate symbolization of a syllable is (C)V. But to avoid the awkwardness of the parentheses in each representation, we omit them unless calling attention to initial vowels or vowel sequences across syllable boundaries.

13.   We might compare CVCV in Fijian to CVC in English, in the sense that it provides a frame for showing the maximum number of stressed syllabics. For example, in English, the frame b[ ] t is often used, producing beat, bit, bait, bet, bat, etc.

14.   Some of these sequences are rare in penultimate position. Some verbs like bēī and kōū take two-syllable transitive suffixes, thus making it difficult to find such a sequence in a position in which shortening is possible.

15.   It is difficult to be entirely consistent in distinguishing among a phonemic transcription (indicated by //), a phonetic transcription (indicated by []), and a written form (italicized) when dealing with sounds whose phonemic status is uncertain. Since the conventional methods of proving the status of j and z do not give a conclusive answer, I shall treat them as elements of the orthography, at least so far as writing conventions are concerned.

16.   For example, "microsegment" is defined in terms of an accent. But it does not correspond to an accent measure.

17.   Note the restrictions at the extremes of the hierarchy. If the sentence is the largest unit, then it cannot yet be defined in terms of its function in constituting a larger unit, for studies of Fijian discourse have only begun. Later, it may be possible to say that the sentence serves a particular function in a larger unit, such as paragraph, theme, or discourse. And if the phoneme is the smallest unit, it cannot be defined in terms of its constituents.

18.   I have changed Hale's transcription to match the official orthography. The form he cited actually has two accented syllables.

19.   In 36.6.2, I discussed the reasons why these particular formsi are considered suffixes.

20. Perhaps Moore had in mind one-syllable bases, such as tā 'chop', which shorten when followed by a morpheme with a short syllable: taya 'chop it'. PG (4/77) suggested that Moore was referring to such pairs as donu, dōnuya; sili, sīsili.

38 PHONOLOGICAL SENTENCES

1. As part of intonation, duration figures as a phonetic component of accent, operating as a system separate from vowel length.

2. Except in a general way by punctuation, italics, or underlines.

3. To achieve a degree of unity, and also to insure that the examples can be checked if necessary, I have taken many of the examples for the description of intonation from a set of records made to accompany Milner's Fijian Grammar. Copies of these records, along with a transcription, are on file at the Language Laboratory, Moore Hall, University of Hawaii. I am grateful to G. B. Milner for giving me a set of the records.

4. Actually, the morpheme is nō, shortening before an unaccented syllable. See 41.6.

5. See 4.5 for a discussion of the status of p, f, j, and z.

6. David Arms (10/84) suggested that this stretch is not necessarily monotonic, sometimes having a gradual descent. I mean here that any slight pitch change that may occur is not significant.

39 INTONATION AND ITS GRAMMATICAL CORRELATES

1. The placement of the sentence peak on many of the examples is a feature of the recording from which they are taken. Since the recording consists of lists of sentences out of context, many of them have the option of having their peak on a different phrase—in a particular context.

2. This phenomenon often carries over to a cappella choral performances.

3. In each of the examples marked, a long vowel or diphthong has the option of shortening before a following unaccented short syllable. Thus, the notation .kā.niqito., for example, indicates an underlying form. See 41.6.

4. Could the length of the second phrase have something to do with whether it can be embedded in the first? For example, the following intonation doesn't sound right to me:

:era.tōū.lewe.LIma:naGOne:kara.tōū … (etc.)

In the same way, the former example doesn't sound right if the second phrase is shortened:

:eto.tolo.SAra:naVOsa:nagone.niVIti:

5. This sentence contains two examples of long syllables followed by short unaccented syllables: kēī na and māī na. As in the examples discussed in note 3, in normal speech, the long syllables shorten, and the measures are realigned accordingly: .keina.wāī. and .maina.vale.

40 PHONOLOGICAL PHRASES

1. The pitch rises again on vēī, which indicates that it belongs to the second phrase.

2. Is this procedure so unusual? For some languages, such as English, the borders between certain kinds of syllables cannot be fixed phonologically. Yet, we can agree that the units are present. And segmentation of sounds is often a phonological, rather than a strictly phonetic, matter.

3. There seem to be some exceptions to this generalization. First, Arms noted (1974:95) that the suffix -yaki is accented. Second, I have found that in trying to elicit such information, some speakers do not accent the content portion of vaka-macala-tak-a, but accent the final measure. This problem needs further study.

41 MEASURES

1. These two terms, LENGTH and ACCENT, are not parallel. Length can be considered from a phonetic and phonological point of view; accent, on the other hand, is a purely phonological term. The phonetic features we hear that comprise an accented syllable are vowel length, vowel quality that can be characterized as belonging to the extremes of the vowel chart rather than toward the center, and increased stress.

2. By marking the measure boundaries in this notation, we are not suggesting that they are phonologically marked by any kind of "juncture"—an ill-conceived concept that ignored the phonological hierarchy and allowed prosodic elements to be treated as if they were additional beads on the string of vowels and consonants.

3. For an attempt to treat accent as a predictable feature of the "word", see King 1969:532. One of her rules assigns accent "to penultimate and alternate preceding vowels ..." This statement is part of what I call the Austronesian accent myth. One has only to look at forms longer than five syllables to find contrasting patterns.

Notes

4.   Both types 1 and 2, of course, will regularly pick up a preceding unaccented syllable if there is nothing else for that syllable to attach itself to.

5.   I have suggested (Schütz 1976:90–91) that the reason for the obligatory shortening in this position is that this limited set of one-syllable forms, such as -qu and -ya, once ended the basic verb phrase. Because they were in that position, they could not align themselves with any following material. Thus, they had to form a measure with the preceding material. If the preceding syllable was long, the shortening rule applied obligatorily. Now, such forms are fixed, no matter what their position in the phonological phrase.

6.   A basic phrase is one that contains only one root.

7.   It is important to note that even if vowel shortening isn't as fixed within a phrase as it is at the end of a basic phrase (or word), it is significant that in neither case is there a contrast between the long and the short form. Fijian does not have contrasting words like Hawaiian kane (kind of skin disease) and kāne 'male'. Nor does it have examples of such contrast within a phrase. In other words, the shortening of a syllable like /tā/ within vakatākilā does not change the meaning of the form.

   There is, however, a problem with so-called short sa—a dialectal or stylistic alternate to se. If sa occurs before a three-syllable word, this dilemma arises: either two constructions are ambiguous, or there is another phonological clue to keep them apart. Investigation so far seems to favor the second possibility: shortened sā seems to keep much of its vowel quality (low and central) when shortened; short sa is higher and further front. Obviously, this is a paradox in phonological terms.

8.   Discussed at greater length in Geraghty 1983a:68.

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42 SYLLABLES

1. For example, he noted the raising of /a/ when followed by /i/ or /u/.

2. At the time Hockett wrote this description, he had access only to Churchward's grammar. Since then, he has revised his opinion of Fijian phonology (3/77). I cite his description to show his point of view then, not now.

3. In Cammack's notation, periods separate syllables.

4. It is difficult to find the source of the idea that long vowels were twice the duration of short vowels. As Condax's research (e.g. 1979b) has shown, the perceptual and acoustic views of duration do not always match.

5. The argument here is rather difficult to prove; it depends, of course, on how we define the syllable. For example, if it depends primarily on duration, rather than on pulsation, syllable counting becomes much more difficult, and there might be little agreement among native speakers.

43 PHONETIC CHARACTERISTICS OF VOWELS AND THEIR EFFECT ON PHONOLOGICAL DECISIONS

1. Any one of the components is difficult to isolate, because no one of them makes up the sole difference in a minimal pair. In other words, there are no utterances that differ solely because of stress or length or any of the other components, because they operate as a group.

2. Not necessarily discernible to the ear, but instrumentally measurable.

3. I think he erred in trying to regularize vowel length or divide it into discrete units when phonetic, not phonological length, was involved. But such a problem is common in phonetics, when we are often forced to divide a continuum into discrete sections.

4. The most prominent example of such an interpretation is Capell's dictionary, in which there are mistakes of vowel-length marking on nearly every page. An anecdotal example is that a speaker of Fijian, in the early days of the Fijian Dictionary Project, regularly marked penultimate vowels as long.

5. Possibly because speakers of English recognize a change in the height of /a/ more readily than, say, a change of /i/ or /u/ to a somewhat more central position.

6. Hawaiian is an example of a language in which /a/ raises noticeably when followed by Ci in the same measure. An example is pali 'precipice', in which the /a/ is phonetically [ʌ] or [ə].

7. It should be noted, perhaps in passing, that the phonological status of rounding is not clear, since it is automatic with back vowels. Thus, no rounded-unrounded contrast is possible at one vowel position, as it is in, say, French or German.

8. In the discussion of /y/ in CH 44, we elaborate on this point.

9. The vowel /a/ as the center of a diphthong is raised; /a/ before /w/ remains low.

10. This difference also illustrates the difference in the phonemic status of /w/ and /y/: the former, although restricted in distribution, is much less restricted than the latter.

44 THE CONSONANT SYSTEM

1. I use "basically" here because there seems to be an insignificant variation on the continuum between apico-dental and apicoalveolar, including the possibility of an articulation that covers both positions.

2. I arbitrarily choose /-a/ syllables as a frame of reference for consonant position. Higher vowels automatically allow a larger area of tongue contact for consonants that involve the area from the upper rear portion of the incisors rearward.

3. The position of articulation is somewhat forward of that for the English pronunciation of the initial sound in "cheese", and less aspirated.

4. However, one is hard pressed to find in the literature an accurate phonetic description of /r/. It seems to be taken for granted that anything represented by that letter is voiced.

5. In phonological terms, every consonant is involved in voicing, since every consonant must enter into a syllable, and since the principal defining criterion for a syllable is the presence of a vowel. For /p t k r/, then, voicing enters the picture somewhere in that (acoustically) hazy area of the transition between consonant and vowel.

6. By this time, only x and z were in the stock of unused letters.

7. See, for example, Lockerby's list (Appendix, A5), numbers 27, 28, and 29, in which /v/ is transcribed as f, b, and p respectively.

8. As, for example, in Nasoqo village, Namosi province, Vitilevu.

9. If we propose a distribution parallel to that of /w/, which is somewhat less indeterminate, we might suggest that since /w/ cannot occur in the environment of /u/ or /o/, /y/ should not occur in the environment of /i/ and /e/.

10. We have here a problem of terminology. "Semivowel" is better used as a phonological term, indicating function, but it is often loosely used in a phonetic sense.

11. There is also a tendency to shorten utterances—that is, the number of measures—when possible. This tendency might explain the development of a form like mayā (one measure) from .māī.ā. (two measures).

12. The assumption that this particular y is based on the transitive marker *ia is based on Pawley 1973a. However, the accentuation of the proto-form is unknown. If it was measure-penultimate, what conditioned the change? How did /i/ lose its accent and its syllabicity?

13. At the time Hockett wrote, there was available only Churchward's grammar and Capell's dictionary, neither of which contains enough p words to give the impression that it had a place in the system. Now, we might be more inclined to accept p.

APPENDIX

1. Most of the English speakers heard some of these unaspirated stops as voiced, and wrote them that way. One such spelling—Cook's taboo for tapu—has been preserved.

2. Tabilai is a specific kind of boat—one with square ends. Note that the long diphthong is not marked in this form. In these word lists, I have used macrons to indicate simple vowel length only.

3. The Fijian word for 'penis' is uti. TRN recognized this form as mata ni dena 'anus', although with the spelling deena, one would have expected dina, not dena.

4. Sometimes the /s/ is slightly palatalized before /i/ and /e/.

5. ACR suggested to'a for this form, since in Tongan, it means 'courageous', and is used as a name for a champion or a fighting leader. This etymology seems plausible, especially since the dot over the a might be Anderson's way of setting that syllable apart from the previous vowel—thus, a way of indicating a glottal stop. PM approached the problem from the Fijian form toa, which means 'fowl'. He suggested that the word might be metaphoric, citing toa ni valu 'warrior' and a line from a meke for Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna: Sā qai bale na toa tagane 'And then the cock died.'

1. My own rough translation.

1. Of course, Davies I contains many fewer examples and does confuse g and q.

2. ACR suggested that this form is an abbreviation of matau tabu magimagi 'adze without sennit', a variety of adze hafted without benefit of binding.

3. ACR chose solo 'to dry' over a possible i-sulu. Solo i-tutuvi refers to a large piece of tapa used as toweling.

4. Qoli in Standard Fijian means 'to fish'.

5. PM noted the dialect variation: hiesee could represent [xaisīo. See also Geraghty 1978.

6. The word order is puzzling. One would expect wai rana.

7. PM: 'stream when dry or almost dry'.

8. daiga is a plant mixed with taro to make madrai.

1.   The forms given here do not always match those in Dodge's printed version, since I had available a microfilm of the original (Peabody Museum, Salem) and a typescript (UH PMB 225).

1.   A fuller account appears in Schütz 1980.

The forms labeled as "current spelling" represent a mixture of "dialects" (see Geraghty 1978). Even though the phonology they represent avoids certain features of Bua pronunciation, such as the glottal stop, many Bua lexical items do occur. They were identified through Geraghty's article (op, cit.), my own vocabularies from three parts of Bua (collected in 1961), and the help of Pio Manoa and Apenisa Seduadua. Some words are still unidentified, and uncertain parts of the transcriptions are marked with [ ].

There seems to be a slight shift in vocabulary toward the Bau-Rewa area (considered more "correct", according to Hale 1846:368). For example, both rē and vinaka appear for 'good'; the former is the Bua form. Also lasu for 'lie' is unexpected; Bua now uses seni. Rather than matemate 'sickness', one might have expected some variant of ciba. And for vakaevei, 'how', a kuca instead.

For the phrases, I have attempted to regularize only the spelling, not the syntax or vocabulary. Thus, these phrases represent the "foreigner talk" Geraghty discussed in his article. Also preserved are the examples of Richardson's varying morphological interpretation: that is, including the article a or the instrumental i with some nouns but not others. But this is a minor and expected error. For the most part, the list represents a considerable advance over its predecessors and even many of its successors.

The following are notes on specific items:

1.   Bonackhe seems impossible to reconstruct; Geraghty (1978:56) considered it "completely lost". PM suggested that it might be a transcription of va'axei 'with'. ACR

thought Richardson might be trying "to record the Fijian use of Vinaka to convey a round number, as opposed to one with extras added on."

2. PM suggested 'amilo 'twisted'; ACR suggested the Lau form kapelu 'bent'.

3. ACR suggested taube for 'a small piece of ivory passed off as a tabua and hung on a string around the neck.'

4. See note 2 following Lockerby's list.

5. ACR agreed that saga made sense for 'fork or branch of tree', but noted that this meaning does not fit well with the sequence of words elicited.

6. Velekō is defined (in Capell 1941a, based on Hazlewood 1872) as 'the polished part of a tool, so in modern use the steel of a tool'. It appears also in Endicott 1831, but does not seem to be in current use.

7. PM added that in iri masei is the palm from which the fan is made, as

8. ACR: "If the b were a mistake for 1, perhaps taloi might be the answer."

9. ACR proposed tū-dau or tū-ni-dau.

10. ACR noted that it was difficult to choose between doko and i-doko: the meaning given matches the latter, the form is closer to the former.

1. I wish to thank L. Thompson and A. Lyovin, who provided information about the Russian orthography.

2. Sometimes so extreme that the phonetic manifestation is [m̃].

1. I am grateful to Barbara L. Loveless and Apenisa Seduadua for their help in identifying some of these items.

2. ACR: A kena sai is the smallest.

3.   ACR added that Gaimard might have meant yanuyanu 'island'.

4.   Tongan has tohi for 'book'.

5.   ACR: Note Tongan faka-molemole for 'apologize'.

6.   ACR: Kamunaga 'property when formally presented, such as tabua, and representing wealth.

7.   ACR: The tā identifies the form as Lauan.

8.   ACR: Perhaps Gaimard has confused oba '10,000' and vatuloa '100,000'.

1.   ACR: It is the fruit of the vutu that contains poison.

1.   The introduction adds (p. 10): ''the ship drove on a shore-reef projecting from the island for Vanua Levu and soon became a total wreck … gives an interesting account of the natives among whom he lived for several months; supplying also a short vocabulary of their language."

2.   It is difficult to decide whether or not an a written before a prenasalized sound represents a separate vowel or just part of the nasal sound.

3.   The glosses for this item and the next are reversed in the printed version.

4.   These unusual words also appear on Richardson's list. Velikō also appears on Oliver's list.

5.   If Endicott's transcription is correct, this form seems to be a Tongan borrowing of the word 'Britain'. ACR suggested that it was from Bolātagane, an old term for 'British'.

1.   Here the t is unexpected; we expect a Tongan speaker to palatalize that sound before /i/.

2.   This form most likely represents a printer's mistake: the handwritten s of that period for 1. Note that in the compound for 'noon', it is printed correctly. The -ia ending is unexplained.

3.   Tamata means 'man' as 'human', not 'male'.

4.   Tiko means 'stay'.

5.   Tūcake means 'stand up'.

1.   The form oono 'drink' is also not recorded for the Rewa area. It could have been misheard (but unlikely; cf. Ungooso 'mouth'), but the probable explanation is that the form unu has since then been replaced by the standard gunu, or widespread Rewa somi.

2.   The forms singi 'no' (segai), endi 'now' (endai), Andrekah 'cold' (drika), and Endinedi 'today' (edaidai) help to locate the dialect recorded here somewhere in or about the Rewa delta.

3.   Palatalization of /t/ before /i/ is indicated in Igotchee 'scissors', and Butchea 'teeth', but not in butteena 'whale's tooth', and many others. Although such palatalization is not usually recorded for the Rewa area, it is not uncommon in fast speech.

1.   ACR noted that although Tongan uses the root fulu as a decimal compound in hongofulu, like Fijian sagavulu, there is an instance of 'ulu for 'ten' used in the game of lafo.

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Albert J. Schütz received his Ph.D. from Cornell University in 1962 and is now Professor of Linguistics at the University of Hawaii. His study of Fijian began in 1960 with a dialect survey but later branched out to include pedagogy and the history of the study of Fijian. The latter interest led to research in a number of Pacific collections in various countries, resulting in the integration of this material into the present study. From 1971–79, he was Director of the Fijian Dictionary Project, a position that provided the opportunity and the supporting data to write a new grammar of the standard language.

Dr. Schütz's other publications on Fijian include The languages of Fiji (Oxford University Press), Spoken Fijian (with R. T. Komaitai, University of Hawaii Press), Say it in Fijian (Pacific Publications), and The Diaries and Correspondence of David Cargill, 1832–1843 (Australian National University Press).