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CLAUSE STRUCTURE IN

FIJIAN

by

Aubrey L. Parke

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at the Australian National University.

June 1981
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is a distillation of the learning and use of Fijian which began for me thirty years ago under the guidance of George Milner and N.C. Scott of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London and Ratu Livai Volavola who at the time was at the Institute of Education.

I could not begin to list the names of the people in Fiji who from 1951 to 1971 wittingly or unwittingly continued to facilitate my exposure to Fijian as it is spoken in the various parts of Fiji where I was serving as an administrative officer. I must however mention G.K. Roth and Ulaisi Vosabalavu who during my first tour of duty nurtured the seedlings of learning planted by George Milner.

Outside of Fiji, Al Schutz started to direct my practical language learning into more theoretical fields and over the years both in Hawaii and Fiji and by post was co.stantly advising me on some of my earlier attempts to write about Fijian dialects. I also received encouragement from Bruce Biggs and Andrew Pawley, and it was Ron Crocombe and Arthur Capell who suggested that on moving to Canberra I should undertake formal training in linguistics at the Australian National University.

I was formally tutored in the preparation of this study of Fijian by Bill Foley, my appointed supervisor, who suggested the model for me to follow. Bob Dixon bravely read and kindly commented on my handwritten draft. My especial thanks are due to John Harris who never failed to provide a word of encouragement, advice or suggestion, whatever the place or time.

Many of the examples cited in this study were provided by members of the Fijian community in Canberra, and especially by Toga Wailevu when serving at the Fiji High Commission, who spent so many hours with me. It was with Toga that I delved into some of those areas of Fijian semantics and syntax which till then had been as obscure to me as the innermost recesses of Degei's cave on Nakauvadra Mountains.

Jennifer Hyles typed the thesis with amazing speed, accuracy and understanding, and Avery Andrews suggested the title.
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INTRODUCTION

Fiji is a group of islands lying to the west of the New Hebrides, the Solomons and other Melanesian areas, and to the east of Tonga and other Polynesian areas. The island of Rotuma, to which mention is made later in this introduction, lies to the north of the group. Although regarded as part of Fiji since it was ceded to the British Crown in 1881, Rotuma has its own distinct language and people. Fiji is called 'Viti' by the Fijians who refer to themselves as 'iTaukei' or owners.

Fiji had been a British Crown Colony since 1876, and it retained this status during most of the period while field work for this study was being carried out. It then became an independent Dominion within the Commonwealth as from 10 October 1970.

The Fiji Handbook (1980, p.39) says that the estimates of the number of islands in the Fiji group vary from 300 to 500, depending on which small rocky islets and sand cays are included. Derrick (1956, p.3) names 361 islands. There are more than 300 islands of an area of 2.59 sq km or over, of which not more than 100 are permanently inhabited. The total land area is about 18,376 sq km, of which the two main islands of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu account for 10,381 sq km and 5,538 sq km respectively. The chiefly island of Bau, the dialect of which is the subject of this study, lies off the south-east coast of Viti Levu, to which it is connected by mudflats at low tide. Bau covers 8 hectares and had a population of 265 at the time of the 1976 Census (Fiji Handbook, 1980: p.275).

The 1976 Census showed (Fiji Handbook, 1980: p.25) that out of a total multiracial population of 557,068, the indigenous Fijians numbered 259,932. The Indian population, many of whom were descended from indentured labourers brought from India to Fiji between 1879 and 1916, numbered 292,896. The balance of the population was made up of Europeans and half-Europeans, Chinese, Rotumans and other Pacific Islanders.

Outside urban and industrial areas, Fijians generally live in villages, of which there were 1080 scattered throughout 14 provinces in 1953 (Roth, 1953: p.144) when my initial field work was well under way. By the time I had left Fiji, I had visited about half the villages at least once.
There are many local dialects or languages still spoken by Fijians. Capell and Lester (1941: p.34-37) contrasted some lexical items in Western and Eastern Viti Levu and Vanua Levu dialects, and some syntactic features of nine dialects from various parts of the group. Schütz (1963: p.61-72) analysed the consonant systems of the dialects of informants from 105 villages, and reduced the number of such systems to thirteen. Pawley and Sayaba (1971, p.407) point out that 'no one knows exactly how many Fijian communalects there are, but it is certain that the total number runs into hundreds'. Whatever the number may be, Schütz, and Pawley and Sayaba show that the dialects can be divided into two main groups - the Western group and the Eastern group - divided geographically by a line running more or less north to south across the main island of Viti Levu.

The Bauan dialect which is the subject of this study falls into the Eastern group. It is the prestige dialect of the three villages on the chiefly island of Bau and of the villages on the nearby Kaba Peninsula where Milner carried out much of his field work.

Use of the Bauan dialect has spread throughout the Fiji group, through the influence of officials, school teachers and church dignitaries as well as radio, newspapers and social necessity. It has become the dialect generally used by and comprehensible to Fijians who have moved from their villages to urban and industrial areas or who have been born and bred in such areas. Now that Bauan has become such a widespread medium of communication, Arms (1974,p.4) suggests that it should be termed 'standard Fijian'. Indeed I have noted that it is equally common to refer to the dialect as 'Fijian' (na vosa vaka'iti) or to 'Bauan' (na vosa vakaBau).

While confirming that 'the Fijian dialects belong to the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) family of languages', Pawley (1971,p.411) says that the exact position of Fijian within this family has been a matter of some argument'. Milner says (1971,p.412) that there is 'good reason to believe that the features of Bauan which are reminiscent of Polynesian, both lexically and grammatically, are the result of relatively recent borrowings which have been superimposed on a different type of language structure which is even more marked in the western dialects of Fiji and is characteristic of the languages of Melanesia'.

Grace, on the other hand, acknowledges (1959,p.64) that it is clear from the works of Dempwolff that Fijian, Sa'a and the Polynesian languages show an impressive number of innovations in common. He
accumulated a considerable corpus of phonological, lexical and grammatical
evidence in support of his proposal (1959,p.1) that "the extra-Polynesian
languages to which Polynesian is most closely related are the languages
of Fijian and Rotuman; i.e., that Fijian, Rotuman and Polynesian constitute
a sub-group within the Austronesian family". He called (1959,p.65) this
sub-group Eastern Austronesian.

Pawley and Sayaba who had the advantage over Grace of working
with their ow: first-hand evidence from Fiji say (1971,p.411) that
"most scholars are now agreed that Fijian is a member of the Oceanic
branch of Austronesian, which includes many of the languages of
Micronesia and Melanesia, together with the Polynesian group. Further-
more, there is increasing agreement about its position within the
Oceanic group. The closest relatives of Fijian appear to be the
Polynesian languages and certain languages of the New Hebrides-Banks
archipelago and the South-East Solomon, and perhaps Rotuma. All these
languages have been assigned to a sub-group called Eastern Oceanic."

It is to be hoped that the place of Bauan and other Fijian
dialects in the Austronesian family will become clearer as other
dialects are studied in depth and information is published. On the
other hand, it could well be that detailed information about these
dialects will show such a diverse patterning of phonological, lexical
and syntactic features that the relationship of Fijian to other
languages will become an increasingly complex question. A more profitable
line to take may be to study divergent Fijian dialects in depth and then
to compare individual dialects with non-Fijian languages.

Fijian dialects, especially Bauan, have been commented on and
analysed by a wide variety of people. Suffice it for the purpose of
background t: this study if four studies of Bauan are acknowledged.

Hazlewood's 'A Compendious Grammar of the Feejeean Language
with Examples of Native Idioms' was published in 1850. He did not get
very far beyond describing units larger than words, and his short
account of word order is not very satisfactory. Churchward's 'A new
Fijian grammar' was published in 1941. His explanation of introductory
particles and conjunctions is significant, but one searches virtually
in vain for any account in depth of syntax beyond the level of the
phrase. Biggs and Nayacakalou describe (1958,p.80) Milner's 'Fijian
Grammar' as "perhaps the first complete grammar of a Melanesian or
Polynesian language to be written by a professional linguist". Milner
lays the foundations of his description of Fijian on a system of bases and particles. I believe that it is clearer if one bases the description on a system of noun phrases and verb phrases. Milner and then Cammack in his 'Bauan Grammar' submitted for his doctoral thesis in 1962, are concerned with phrases and clauses, but neither has treated inter-clausal relationship in any significant detail.

This present study of Fijian deals fairly briefly with the noun phrase (Chapter 1), analysing 'non-possessive' and 'possessive' noun phrases; and with the verb phrase (Chapter 2). In Chapter 2, I have freely followed Pawley, Arms and Foley and I acknowledge their insights which my data generally support. In Chapters 3 and 4, I have discussed clauses and the internal organisation of clauses, concerning myself especially with role-marking devices, such as verbal suffixes and prepositions before a noun. The remaining chapters deal with inter-clausal relationships - relative clauses in Chapter 5; 'causative' constructions in Chapter 6; verb serialisation and complementation in Chapter 7; subordinate clauses in Chapter 8; and coordinate clauses in Chapter 9. I have concerned myself especially with ambiguities and devices for disambiguating. The study is essentially synchronic and descriptive. I have used the official Fijian orthography, which includes the following conventions:

- B ... voiced bilabial stop, preceded by homorganic nasal
- C ... voiced dental fricative
- D ... voiced dental stop, preceded by homorganic nasal
- G ... velar nasal
- Q ... voiced velar stop, preceded by homorganic nasal.
1. THE NOUN PHRASE

1.1 Introduction

A noun phrase consists essentially of a nominal particle or article which precedes a noun. For example:

(1.1)(a) na vale
  particle n
  com.art. house
  the house.
(b) ko Leka
  particle n
  prop.art. Leka(name of person)
  Leka.

The particle na marks a common noun, and is the common article. na is the usual form. na may be used at the beginning of a clause.

The particle ko marks a proper noun, and is the proper article. ko is the usual form. ko may be used at the beginning of a clause, or in the environment of velars.

1.1.1 The noun slot of a noun phrase may be filled not only by a common or proper noun (see example (1.1)(a) and (b)), but also by a pronoun, (example (1.2) (a)), or by an adjective or a verb (see example (1.2) (b) and (c)), which become nominalised by the article na. What distinguishes a noun phrase from other syntactic constructions is the use of the article. For example:

(1.2)(a) ko koya art + pronoun
  prop.art. P.P.
  he.
(b)(i) na ca (ii) na temata ca art + adj
  adj n adj
  com.art. bad art. man bad
  evil. the bad man.
(c)(i) na gunu (ii) e ra gunu art + verb
  v 3pl v
  art. drink c.i. scn drink
  the drink. they drink.

In (a), an independent pronoun is the head of the noun phrase. In (b), the adjective ca which modifies the noun in (ii) is the head of the noun phrase in (i). In (c), the verb gunu which is marked by the verbal particles e ra in (ii) is the head of the noun phrase in (i).
1.2 Noun phrases may be divided into two main types -
(a) the non-possessive NP;
(b) the possessive NP.

What distinguishes a possessive noun phrase from a non-possessive one is the use of a possessive pronoun. For example:

(1.3)(a) na wai
n
art water
the water.

(b) na noqu vale
Is n
art poss. house
my house.

(c) na taci -gu
n Is
art y. brother poss.
my younger brother (man speaking).

In (a), there is no possessive pronoun. In (b), there is an independent possessive pronoun noqu between the article and the noun. In (c), the possessive pronoun -gu is a suffix.

1.3 Non-possessive NP

1.3.1 The non-possessive noun phrases may be divided into the following syntactic constructions:

(a) noun modification, in which at least one modifier must be present; (see 1.3.2)
(b) noun juxtaposition, in which two nouns or noun phrases are juxtaposed; (see 1.3.3) and
(c) noun connection, in which two nouns or noun phrases are connected by a particle (see 1.3.4).

1.3.2 Noun modification

A noun phrase may be modified by a following adjective or deictic, or by a preceding or following numeral or indefinite form, as follows:

(modifier) article N (modifier(s))
numeral (1.3.2.4) adjective (1.3.2.1-2)
indefinite (1.3.2.5) deictic (1.3.2.3)
numeral (1.3.2.4) indefinite (1.3.2.5)
1.3.2.1 Adjectives

(1.4) (a) na vuaka vulavula
   n  adj
   art pig  white
   the white pig.

(b) na vusi damudamu cudrucudru
   n  adj  adj
   art cat  red  angry
   the angry red cat.

(c) na vatu loaloa momokiti
   n  adj  adj
   art stone  black  round
   the round black stone.

(d) na vatu momoki'i loaloa
   n  adj  adj
   art stone  round  black
   the black round stone.

The modifying adjective always follows the noun, as in the above examples. The ordering of multiple adjectives is semantically conditioned. The quality regarded as more permanent comes closer to the noun, as in (b). In (c) and (d), the same adjectives modify the same noun, but the reversed order of the adjectives reflects the attitude of the speaker to the object modified. In (d), the speaker is referring to a black stone as opposed to say a white stone, in an area, such as a beach, where most stones are round. In (c), the speaker is referring to a round stone as opposed to say an oblong stone in an area, such as an old volcano, where there is basalt. In (c), loaloa is regarded as more permanent than momokiti. In (d), it is regarded as more permutable.

A modifying adjective may be modified by a modifying particle.

1.3.2.2 Adjectival modification: rui 'too much' and sara 'very'

(1.5) (a) e dua na tamata rui voravorā
   num. n  adj
   one  art person  tyrannical
   too tyrannical a person.

(b) e dua na vosa balavu sara
   num. n  adj
   one  art speech  long
   a very long speech.

(c) e dua na bilo rui lailai sara
   num. n  adj
   one  art cup  small
   much too small a cup.
The modifying particle *rui* precedes the adjective – see (a). It indicates 'too much', a degree of the quality beyond that expected by the speaker.

The modifying particle *sara* follows the adjective – see (b). It indicates 'very'.

Both particles can be used to modify the same adjective – see (c).

If a noun is modified by a series of adjectives, only the final one can be modified by a particle. For example:

(1.6)(a) \[ e \text{ dua} n \text{ ko}l\text{i} \text{ vulavula cudru cudru} \text{ sara} \]
\[ n \text{ adj} \]
\[ \text{one art dog white angry} \]
\[ \text{a very angry white dog.} \]

1.3.2.3 Deictics: *ogo* this; *oqori* that; *koya* (that over there)

(1.7)(a) \[ n \text{ vuaka ogo} \]
\[ \text{art pig this} \]
\[ \text{this pig (near the speaker).} \]

(b) \[ n \text{ gauna makawa koya} \]
\[ \text{art time old that} \]
\[ \text{those olden days (remote from the time of speaking).} \]

(c) \[ n \text{ gata lekaleka oqori} \]
\[ \text{art snake short that} \]
\[ \text{that short snake (the addressee was talking about).} \]

The modifying deictic always follows the noun and its modifying adjective, if there is one. The form of the deictic may indicate a spatial (in (a)), a temporal (in (b)) or a speech act (in (c)) relationship between the time or event described and the speaker or the addressee and their speech act.

*ogo* relates to a place near to the speaker, or to a time or event occurring at about the time when the speaker is speaking, or to a time or event to which the speaker is referring.

*oqori* refers to a place near to the addressee, or to a time or event occurring a short while either before or after the speaker is speaking, or to a time or event to which the addressee is referring.

*koya* refers to a place far from either the speaker or the addressee, or to a time or event occurring a long time after or usually, before the speaker is speaking, or to a time or event to which neither the speaker nor the addressee has been referring up to the time it is mentioned.
1.3.2.4 Numerals

A numeral may precede or follow the noun phrase. For example:

(1.8) (a) _e tini_ na vuaka
         ten  art pig
ten pigs.
(b) na vuaka _e tini_
     art pig  ten
     the ten pigs.

The numeral precedes the noun phrase, if the noun phrase is indefinite, as in (a). It follows a definite noun phrase, as in (b).

(1.9) _e le va_ na tamata
      num.  n
      person. art person
      four persons.

If the noun phrase is indefinite and human, the human classifier _le_ is placed between _e_ and the numeral root - in (1.9), the numeral root is _va_. Compare with (1.11).

(1.10) (a) na tamata liga dua
        n  n  num
        art person  one
        the one. art person.
(b) na vale katu lima
    n  n  num
    art house fathom five
    the five-fathom house.
(c) na bogi walu
    n  num
    art night eight
    the "eight night" wind.

If the noun which is modified is itself part of a whole object (in (a), the arm is part of a man), or if it refers to a measure of space (in (b), the length of a house) or of time (in (c), a number of nights), the modifying numeral root follows directly after the noun - _e_ is deleted. This construction is also used with _lewe_ inhabitant (as in na lewe ni koro: the village population).

For example:

(1.11) na _lewe va_ na tamata
     n  num  n
     art  four art person
     the four persons.
In this construction the two noun phrases na lewe va and na tamata are in apposition (see 1.3.3).

This construction is used if the second noun phrase is definite and human. Compare with (1.9).

1.3.2.5 Indefinite: e vica few; e vuga many; e so some.

An indefinite modifier na: precede or follow the noun phrase. For example:

(1.12)(a) e vica na ibe
   few art mat
   a few mats.

(b) na ibe e vuga
   n art mat many
   the many mats.

As with numerals (example (1.8)), the indefinite precedes the noun phrase, if the noun phrase is indefinite, as in (a). It follows a definite noun phrase, as in (b).

e vica and e vuga usually modify countables, and are themselves modified by le (example 1.9), if the modified noun is human. Non-countables are only modified by e so, but countables are also sometimes modified by this indefinite. le is not used with e so. For example:

(1.13)(a) e le vuga na gone
   human many n
   class art child
   many children.

(b) e so na sucu
   some art milk
   some milk.

(c) e so na tamata
   some art person
   some persons.

The use of e so in (c) is acceptable, but e vica or e vuga would be preferred. Only e so would be acceptable in (b), because milk is non-countable, and neither e vuga nor e vica could occur.

1.3.3 Noun juxtaposition

A noun phrase may be followed by another juxtaposed noun phrase or noun. For example:
1.3.3.1 Article N article N

(1.14) (a) au kila na koro o Vitawa
ls v tson com n prop n
scm know art village art Vitawa
I know the village of Vitawa.
(b) au domona na luvegu ko Jone
ls v tson com n lspos prop n
scm love art child art Jone
I love my son Jone.
(c) e kavahoko na mataqali ko Matanikorovatu
adj com n prop n
c.i extinct art mataqali art Matanikorovatu
The Matanikorovatu mataqali (social group) is extinct.

In each of these examples, a noun phrase in the form article N is followed by a noun phrase in the same form. The second NP is usually proper and the article is not deleted. The two noun phrases are juxtaposed. The speaker refers to the second noun phrase in order to identify more precisely the first phrase.

1.3.3.2 Article N N

(1.15) (a) au via gunuva e dua na bilo wai
ls v tson n n
scm want to drink num art cup water
I want to drink a cup of water.
(b) au a kania e dua na veleti vuaka
ls v tson n n
scm put eat num art plate pork
I will eat a plate of pork.
(c) au via volia e dua na itui ika me'u tavuteketaka
ls v tson n n lscom v
scm want to buy num art string fish to fry
I want to buy a string of fish to fry.
(d) au a tara e dua na vale kau
ls v tson n n
scm past build num art house wood
I built a wooden house.

In each of these examples, an article na is followed by a succession of two nouns. The second noun is always common and is never preceded by an article. Both nouns have objects of reference which the speaker has in mind. The speaker is equally concerned with both objects of reference. Indeed, the verbs of (a), and (b) and (c) - gunuva (drink), kania (eat), and tavuteketaka (fry) - are evidence that the speaker is primarily concerned with the second noun - wai (water), vuaka (pork) and ika (fish) - rather than the first - bilo (cup),
veleti (plate), and itui (string). Typically the first noun is a container such as a cup, plate or sack, and the second noun describes what is contained at the time of reference.

1.3.4 Noun connection

A noun phrase may be connected to another noun phrase or to another noun by a connecting particle.

1.3.4.1 Article N con. article N

A noun phrase may be connected to a second noun phrase by the conjunctive particle kei 'and', or the disjunctive particle se 'or'.

For example:

(1.16) (a) na koli kei na kalavo
art dog art rat
the dog and the rat.

(b) na uto se na dalo
art breadfruit art taro
breadfruit or taro.

(c) ko Mere kei Luisa
prop n n
art Mere Luisa
Mere and Luisa.

(d) ko Suva se Nausori
prop n n
art Suva Nausori
Suva or Nausori.

If the second NP is common, the article na is retained. See (a) and (b)

If it is proper, the article ko is deleted. See (c) and (d)

(1.17) (a) ko Vitawa kei Narewa kei Naivuvuni
prop n n n
art Vitawa Narewa Naivuvuni (names of villages)
Vitawa, Narewa and Naivuvuni.

(b) na suka se na sucu se na sovu
com n com n com n
art sugar art milk art soap
sugar, milk or soap.

If more than two NPs are connected, it is usual to connect each pair of NPs by a particle.

(1.18) (a) na vusi lailai kei na ka levu
n adj art n
art cat little thing big
the big cat and the little one.
If either particle connects NP with a shared head noun, then \( \text{kā} \) thing replaces this noun in the second and any succeeding NPs. If the shared NP is common, the common article \( \text{na} \) is retained in each NP. If it is proper, \( \text{ko} \) may be optionally retained after \( \text{se} \). It is obligatorily deleted after \( \text{kei} \), perhaps in order to avoid a sequence of velars.

1.3.4.2 Art N rel. N

A noun preceded by an article may be connected to a second noun by the relating particle \( \text{ni} \). The second noun is usually common and may be non-human (1.19)(a-d) or human (e?) and (?) but may be proper and non-human. The article of the second noun is always deleted. For example:

(1.19)(a) \( \text{na bilo ni tī} \)

art cup tea
the teacup.

(b) \( \text{iyalayala ni koro} \)

art boundary village
the village boundary.

(c) \( \text{na bai ni vuaka} \)

art fence pig
the pig fence.

(d) \( \text{na vale ni kau} \)

art house wood
the woodshed.

(e) \( \text{na icibaciba ni alo} \)

art jumping-off spirit place
the place where spirits jump off into the spirit world.

(f) \( \text{e me vaka na ibulibuli ni tanata na yalobula} \)

c.i. just as art form person art ghost
\( \text{ka basika mai v} \)

coer and appear here
the ghost which appeared here seemed to have a human form.
In each of these examples, the second noun is common. The speaker has in mind an object of reference for the first noun but the second noun is non-referential, as far as the speaker is concerned. He has in mind a cup of the kind that is used for tea, but he is not concerned whether there is any tea in it (a). In (b), he has in mind a boundary of the kind that is suitable for a village (which may not yet have been established). One can have a fence of the kind suitable for pigs, but no pigs (c). The same principles apply to (d), (e) and (f). (a) and (c) may be contrasted with (1.15) (a) and (d) - glossed as a cup of water/a cup for water; a house of wood/a house for wood.

In each of the following examples, the second noun is proper but non-human:

(1.20) (a) e dua na waqa ni Viti
num art canoe Fiji
A Fiji-kind of canoe
(b) e dua na bu ni Ovalau
num art drinking coconut Ovalau (place)
An Ovalau-kind of drinking coconut.
(c) e dua na turaga ni Bau
num art chief Bau (place)
a Bau-kind of chief.

Again the speaker has in mind primarily an object of reference for the first noun, and he is less concerned about the object of reference of the second noun. The speaker has in mind a canoe of the kind that is built and used in Fiji; a drinking coconut of the kind that is grown and drunk on the island of Ovalau; and a chief of the kind that lives on the chiefly island of Bau.

In each of the following examples, the first noun is of the kind that is usually marked by obligatory possession. The second noun is common and non-human.

(1.21) (a) au via kania e dua na yava ni toa
ls v tsom n n
scm want to eat num art leg chicken
I want to eat a chicken leg.
(b) au via kabata e dua na dela ni vanua
ls v tsom n n
scm want to climb num art top land
I want to climb a mountain top.
(c) au laki betia e so na drau ni kau
is v v tsom n n
scm go to pick some art leaf tree
I go to pick some leaves.

(d) ni rau sota na tana ni ga
3 dual v n n
when scm meet art father duck
When two ducks meet.....

(e) e ra dau kania na lewe ni tamata o ira na qase e liu
3pl v tsom n n art 3pl n
c.i. scm habit eat art flesh person p.p.art old before man

The old men in the olden days used to eat human flesh.

Again, in these examples, the speaker has in mind an object of reference for the first noun. However, as far as he is concerned the second noun is non-referential. He has in mind an object which is of the kind that is part of another object ((a) - (c)), or a relation of another object (d). The second noun is usually non-human-(e) is not really a counterexample, because tamata is being treated as if it was non-human.

1.3.4.3 The relating particle ni connects two nouns, both of which are usually common. The second may be proper but non-human. The speaker focuses on the object of reference of the first noun, and the second noun is non-referential, or, in the case of proper noun, is of less concern to the speaker.

1.4 Possessive NP

1.4.1 So-called possessive NP can express the relationship between the thing "possessed" and the "possessor" at three levels of contrast:

(a) obligatory-optional "possession";
(b) "dominant-subordinate" relationship;
(c) "edible-drinkable" semantic classification.

A possessive NP includes a possessor suffix. The form of this suffix indicates the number and person of the possessor.

A possessive NP also includes a classifier which indicates the relationship between the thing possessed and the possessor. The classifiers are:

∅ obligatory possession;
no- optional possession; dominant relationship;
ke- optional possession; subordinate relationship; edible classification;
me- optional possession; subordinate relationship; drinkable classification;
1.4.2 **Obligatory-optional "possession"**

Nouns may be classified as those which may be optionally possessed and those which must be obligatorily possessed.

An optionally possessed noun, if in a possessive NP, must be preceded by one of the classifiers no-ke-me—a possessor suffix. For example:

(1.22) (a) na no - na vale
     dom. 3s n
     art house
     his house.

(b) na me - da ti
     drink. lplincl.n
     art tea
     our tea.

(c) na ke - mu uvi
     ed. 2s n
     art yam
     your yam.

An obligatorily possessed noun has a Ø classifier and Foley (personal communication) has suggested that a possessor suffix cannot stand alone after the Ø classifier. It is attached as a suffix to the possessed noun.

(1.23) (a) na tina - qu
     n 1s
     art mother
     my mother.

(b) na yava - mu
     n 2s
     art leg
     your leg.

(c) na drau - na
     n 3s
     art leaf
     its leaf.

Obligatory possessed nouns fall into semantic categories of parts of wholes, including kinship terms and body parts. However, not all nouns falling into these categories are obligatorily possessed. Some 'tabu' words such as toitoi clitoris, or words for body exudation such as dule earwax do not take the possessor suffix. With some words, the

1 The full table of these classifiers and suffixes is set out at paras 162 (c) (d), (e) of Milner (1972:79).
2 I find evidence for this analysis in some Western dialects, where the possessor suffix is attached as a prefix to the possessed noun. e.g. In Nadroga, na guta1
     art 1s n my grandfather
The use of the suffix is optional - *na nona uti* - *na utina* his penis. With other words, the meaning will change depending on whether the construction for optional or obligatory possession is used - *na yacaqu*, my name(obligatory)and *na noqu yaca*, my namesake(optional possession).

1.4.3 "dominant-subordinate" relationship

The form of the classifier in the "possessive" indicates the relationship of the "possessor" to the "possessed", when the "possessed" is optionally "possessed". For example:

\[(1.24)\]
\[(a)\] au rogoca na nona itukutuku
\[ls v tsom art dom3s n\]
\[1cm hear message\]
\[I hear his message (which he brings).\]
\[(b)\] au rogoca na kena itukutuku
\[ls v tsom sub3s n\]
\[scm hear art message\]
\[I hear the message about him.\]

\[(1.25)\]
\[(a)\] au vakaraica na nona yaqona
\[ls v tsom dom3s n\]
\[scm look at art kava\]
\[I look at his kava (which he planted).\]
\[(b)\] au vakaraica na kena yaqona
\[ls v tsom sub3s n\]
\[scm look at art kava\]
\[I look at the kava presented on his behalf.\]

\[(1.26)\]
\[(a)\] e a kaciwi ira vata na nona turaga ni kato o Roko Tui Bā
\[v ts 3pl dom3s n\]
\[ci, past om tog- art chief rel.village Roko Tui Bā(title call ether\]
\[The Roko Tui Bā called his village chiefs together (the chiefs over whom he has authority).\]
\[(b)\] e ra via gunu yaqona mai Bau na kena turaga
\[3pl v n\]
\[scm want drink kava at Bau art chief\]
\[Its chiefs want to drink kava on Bau (the chiefs with authority over Bau).\]

\[(1.27)\]
\[(a)\] ogō na matai. e mai vai na nona vale?
\[deic n\]
\[3s n here art carpen- c.i where?art dom house ter.\]
\[Here is the carpenter. Where is his house? (which he built)\]
\[(b)\] ogō na vuaka. e mai vai na kena vale?
\[deic n\]
\[3s n here art pig. c.i. where? art sub house\]
\[Here is the pig. Where is its house? (the house for it to live in).\]
In the (a) examples, the possessive *nona* has the classifier *no*-.. The possessor is the actor, being active, formative or influential towards the things "possessed". In the (b) examples, the possessive *kena* has the classifier *ke*-.. The possessor is the patient, being acted upon, characterised or influenced by the possessed.

This contrast in meaning of the classifiers *no-* and *ke-* is even clearer in the following examples:

(1.28) (a)  
\[
\text{au na talanoataka na nona vakarusa} \text{ na koro} \\
ls \text{ v tsom dom3s v ts cm vaka n} \\
scm fut tell art destroy art village
\]

I will tell about his destruction of the village (his destroying the village).

(b)  
\[
\text{au na talanoataka na kena vakarusai na koro} \\
ls \text{ v tsom sub3s v ts n} \\
scm fut tell art destroy art village
\]

I will tell about the destruction of the village (the village's destruction).

In (a), *no-* in the possessive *nona* indicates that the unspecified "possessor" was active in his relation to the "possessed" - *vakarusa* na koro his destruction of the village.

In (b), *kena* indicates that *na koro* the village which is the "possessor" was passive in relation to the "possessed" - *vakarusa* its destruction. In this example, the form of the classifier correlates with the mood of the verb: *no-* and active mood; *ke-* and passive mood. With *no-*, the "possessor" is actor; with *ke-*, the "possessor" is patient.

The contrast in meaning of these classifiers is equally clear in the following examples:

(1.29) (a)  
\[
\text{au a raica na nona lako yani} \\
ls \text{ v tsom dom3s v} \\
scm past see art qo away
\]

I saw his departure (he is going).

(b)  
\[
\text{au a raica na kena sele} \\
ls \text{ v tsom sub3s v} \\
scm past see art be castrated
\]

I saw its castration (it is being castrated).

---

¹ Compare Tongan. Churchwood (1953 p.81)
In (a), *nona* shows that the "possessor" was the subject of a nominalised intransitive actor-experiencer oriented verb, and was therefore active in relation to the "possessed" *lako yani*. In (b), *kena* shows that the "possessor" was the subject of a nominalised intransitive patient-oriented verb, and was therefore passive in relation to the possessed *s_ele*. In these examples, the form of the classifier correlates with the type of verb (actor-experiencer subject oriented, or patient subject oriented): *no-* and actor-experiencer subject verb; *ke-* and patient subject verb.

The uses of *nona* and *kena* have been shown to correlate with active or passive moods (examples (1.28) and with actor-experiencer or patient oriented verbs (examples 1.29).

1.4.4 "Edible-drinkable" semantic classification

There are certain semantic categories of nouns which can be marked by the classifier *ke-* as being edible or by *me-* as being drinkable. This marking of the possessive to indicate the semantic classification of the possessed may only be applied when the possessor has a 'subordinate' relation to the possessed. A dominant relation is still marked by the *no-* classifier. For example:

\[(1.30)\]
\[
(\text{a}) \quad \text{kauta mada mai na nona ika} \\
\text{v tsom d3s n} \\
\text{bring please here art fish}
\]
\[
\text{please bring his fish (he caught).}
\]

\[
(\text{b}) \quad \text{kauta mada mai na kena ika} \\
\text{v tsom ed.3s n} \\
\text{bring please he: e art fish}
\]
\[
\text{please bring his fish (for him to eat).}
\]

\[(1.31)\]
\[
(\text{a}) \quad \text{laki takia na nona wai} \\
\text{v v tsom d3s n} \\
\text{go draw art water}
\]
\[
\text{go and draw his water (he will use to wash in).}
\]

\[
(\text{b}) \quad \text{laki takiana muna wai} \\
\text{v v ts d3n drink.3s n} \\
\text{go draw art water}
\]
\[
\text{go and draw his water (for him to drink).}
\]

In the (a) examples, the possessor is seen as being active towards the thing possessed and this relationship is marked by *no-* as being dominant.

---

1 see sections 2.2 and 3.2.2.
In (1.30)(b), the fish is seen as something being prepared for the possessor. The possessor is in a subordinate relationship to the possessed. In (1.31)(b), the water is seen as something being prepared for the possessor. Again the possessor is in a subordinate relationship to the water. Because of this subordinate relationship, it is possible to mark the semantic classification of the fish and the water. ika is of the edible classification and is marked by ke-. wai is of the drinkable classification and is marked by me.

The form of classifier in the possessive may vary between no- and ke-, according to the relationship of the possessor to the possessed. It may vary between ke- and me-, according to the semantic category of the possessed. See Table 1 in which the three contrasts described in 1.4.2., 1.4.3, and 1.4.4 are summarised.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive NP</th>
<th>obligatory possession</th>
<th>optional possession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>∅ dominant relationship</td>
<td>subordinate relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no- edible classification</td>
<td>drinkable classification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ke-</td>
<td>me-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4.5 Expanded possessive NP

The possessive NP construction can be expanded, so that the possessor is specified. This can be done by an appositional construction or by the use of the relating particle i.

1.4.5.1 Appositional construction

In this construction, the possessor NP follows the possessed NP in apposition, and the possessive suffix in the possessed NP is coreferential with the specified possessor. For example:

(1.32)(a)  
au sega ni tara rawa na uluna na turaqa  
ls v v ts v n 3s n  
scm not compl.touch be.able art head art chief  
I cannot touch the chief's head.
This construction is used when both NP are common. In (a), the possessed NP is obligatorily possessed. In (b) and (c), possession is non-obligatory. In (b), the possessor na turaga is 'dominant'; in (c), the possessor na koro is 'subordinate'.

1.4.5.2 relating particle i construction

In this construction, the possessor NP follows the possessed NP, and the two NP are connected by the relating particle i preceded by a classifier. For example:

(1.33) (a) oqo na luve na koro deic n dom3s n here art chief here is its chief (the chief with authority over it).

(1.34) (a) oqo na la na koro koro deic n dom3s n here art chief here is its chief (the chief with authority over it).

(1.35) (a) oqo na koro koro deic n dom3s n here art chief here is its chief (the chief with authority over it).

This construction is used when the second noun is proper. The (a) examples show unspecified possessors; the (b) examples are corresponding clauses expanded to show specified possessors.
In the (a) examples, the possessive suffix has been attached to the classifier. In the (b) examples, there is no possessive suffix but there is a relating particle which is attached to the classifier. The classifier indicates the relationship between the possessor and the possessed - dominant in (1.34)(b) and subordinate in (1.35)(b).

Where the particle becomes attached to the classifier , the back vowel fronts to and so . This construction is only used in the singular. Otherwise the appositional construction is used. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
(1.36) & \quad \text{ratou yaco mai na luvedrau ko Pita ko} \ Mere \\
& \text{c.i. 3pauc v n 3dual} \\
& \text{scm} \ 	ext{arrive here art child poss art Pita con.} \ Mere \\
& \text{the children of Pita and Mere arrive.}
\end{align*}
\]

Table 2 summarises the possessive constructions described in section 1.4.2-5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>obligatory possession</th>
<th>optional possession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unspecified posseSSor</td>
<td>dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na ulu na</td>
<td>na nona vale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>her head</td>
<td>her house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specified posseSSor</td>
<td>na ului Mere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper</td>
<td>Mere's head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specified posseSSor</td>
<td>na uluna na turaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common</td>
<td>the chief's head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. THE VERB PHRASE

2.1 Introduction

A verb phrase consists essentially of a verbal particle which precedes a verb, and a subject concord marker which comes between the verbal particle and the verb. If the verb is transitive, there is also a transitive suffix to the verb and there may be an object marker which follows the transitive suffix. For example:

(2.1)(a) e ratou gunu
v.p. scm drink
c.i.
They (few) drink (intransitive).

(b) e rau gunu+va
v.p. 3dual v tsom
c.i. scm dr.vn
They (few) drink (transitive).

In these examples, the verbal particle is the clause introducer e.

This will be described in section 2.3. In (a) the subject concord marker is the third person paucal ratou. In (b), it is the third person dual rau. The verb in each example is gunu. In (a), it is in the intransitive form. In (b), it is in the transitive form, being modified by the transitive suffix -vi. The object marker in (b) is the suffix -a, before which the vowel i of the transitive suffix is deleted.

What distinguishes a verb phrase from other syntactic constructions is the use of a verbal particle. By the use of this verbal particle, it is possible to verbalise adjectives or nouns. For example:

(2.2) (a) e vulavula
v.p. adj
it is white.

(b) e bogi
v.p. n
c.i. night
it is night.

(c) e kā ni madaā
v.p. n n
c.i. thing rel. shame
it is a matter of shame.

2.2 Categories of verb

Following Foley (1976: pp157/8) and Aris (1974), I have divided verbs into two main categories:

(a) actor-experiencer oriented verb,
(b) patient oriented verb.
The first category includes verbs which generally describe action or a state of mind or body. The role of the subject of an intransitive verb is actor or experiencer. For example:

\((2.3) (a)\)  
\(e \ \text{ratou} \ \text{cici} \)  
\(\text{v.p. 3 pauc v} \)  
\(\text{c.i. scm} \ \text{run} \)  
\(\text{they run.} \)

\((b)\)  
\(e \ \text{rau} \ \text{cudru} \)  
\(\text{v.p. 3dual v} \)  
\(\text{c.i. scm} \ \text{angry} \)  
\(\text{they are angry.} \)

\((c)\)  
\(e \ \text{ra} \ \text{moce} \)  
\(\text{v.p. 3pl v} \)  
\(\text{c.i. scm} \ \text{sleep} \)  
\(\text{they sleep.} \)

Typical verbs in this category are:

- rai  see  vala  fight
- sau  pay  soro  ask
- xere  be afraid  taro  ask
- masu  pray  toro  approach
- vana  shoot  kere  ask for
- dabe  sit  kana  eat
- vodo  ride  vuli  learn
- raqa  flirt with  soli  give
- kata  bite  bale  fall
- regu  kiss  sara  look at
- ravu  strike  lako  go

The second category includes verbs which generally describe process or a state resulting from a change of state. The role of the subject of an intransitive verb is patient. For example:

\((2.4) (a)\)  
\(e \ \text{dresu} \ \text{na} \ \text{isulu} \)  
\(\text{v.p. v n} \)  
\(\text{c.i. tear} \ \text{art cloth} \)  
\(\text{the cloth tears (is torn).} \)

\((b)\)  
\(e \ \text{kama} \ \text{na} \ \text{vale} \)  
\(\text{v.p. v n} \)  
\(\text{c.i. burn} \ \text{art house} \)  
\(\text{the house burns (is burnt).} \)

In these examples, the verb describes an ambiguous event - a process or a state resulting from a change of state.

\(^1\) see section 3.2.2. for the syntactic test which determines the category of a verb.
In these examples, the verb describes a state resulting from a change of state.

Typical verbs in this category are:

- dola open
- sere undo
- musu break
- bola split
- vavi roast
- rogo hear
- dromu sink
- sogo close
- sele castrate, cut
- taki draw (water)
- cavu pull up
- boko extinguish
- cola carry
- kau carry
- oti finish
- vuki turn over

The verb may be either intransitive or transitive. If it is transitive, it is modified by a transitive suffix. If it is intransitive, there is no special marking. For example:

**intransitive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>run</td>
<td>cici + vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>moce + ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break</td>
<td>musu + ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>vana + taki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I will discuss the transitive suffix in section 2.4.

### 2.3 Verbal particle and subject concord marker

There are several verbal particles which are used to introduce a clause. Chapter 6 will discuss verbal particles me 'so that'; ni 'when'; ke 'if'; and de 'lest' which introduce subordinate clauses. The verbal particles ka, sa and e which introduce relative clauses are discussed in chapter 5. In a verb phrase, each of these particles precedes the subject concord marker which in turn precedes the verb.

In a main clause, the introductory verbal particle is the subject concord marker if the subject is first or second person. For instance:
(2.6)(a)  (k)au gunu
        ls v
        scm drink
        I drink.

(b)  (k)edatou gunu
        lpauc inc v
        scm drink
        we drink.

(c)  keimami gunu,
        lpl ext v
        scm drink
        we drink

(d)  (k)onĩ gunu
        2 pl v
        scm drink
        you drink.

The dropping of the (k) in (a),(b) & (d) is optional in the 1 sing, 1 inclusive and 2 persons, but not in 1 exclusive (c).

If the subject is third person, there is a clause introducing particle e which precedes the subject concord marker which precedes the verb. For example:

(2.7)(a)  e ratou gunu
          v.p. 3pauc v
          c.i. scm drink
          they drink.

(b)  e ra gunu
          v.p. 3pl v
          c.i. scm drink
          they drink.

(c)  e ŋ gunu
          v.p. v
          c.i. scm drink
          it drinks.

Milner (1972, p54) sets out the full set of subject concord markers in his paragraph 112, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIRST PERSON EXCLUSIVE</th>
<th>INCLUSIVE</th>
<th>SECOND PERSON</th>
<th>THIRD PERSON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k)au'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(k)o</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keĩrau</td>
<td>(e)daru</td>
<td>(k)odrau</td>
<td>(e)rau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRIAL (my paucal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keitou</td>
<td>(e)datou</td>
<td>(k)o dou</td>
<td>(e)ratou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(my paucal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keimami</td>
<td>(e)da</td>
<td>(k)o ni</td>
<td>(e)ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I differ from him in 1 inclusive and 3 person columns. My data are (k)edaru, (k)edatou, (k)eda as 1 dual, paucal and plural subject concord markers for a main clause; and rau, ratou and ra as 3 dual, paucal and plural.
If Milner's data are correct, it could be said that the clause introducing particle e is used with the third person and the first person inclusiv: subjects. If mine are correct and my informants say they are, then e is only used with the third person. Foley (1976, p56) explains the use of the clause introducing particle e when the subject is third person, in terms of a reanalysis of the 3 person singular concord marker. He points out that most Eastern Oceanic languages have a basic word order of subject-verb-object, but that Fijian innovated a basic word order of verb-object-subject. The expressed noun phrase subject shifted from left to right but the pronominal concord marker did not. It remained stranded to the left. Ultimately the 3 singular pronominal concord marker e was reanalysed as an introducing particle and the new third singular pronominal concord marker was e. With the first and second persons as subjects, the previous word order SVO was retained in Fijian because there is no expressed noun phrase to shift to the right. If Milner's data about 1 inclusives are correct, Foley's analysis is even more convincing. The preceding daru, datou, da as well as the preceding rau, ratou, ra can both be interpreted as the same clause introducing particle, being reanalysed as such from the form of the 3 singular subject concord marker before Fijian innovated from SVO to VOS. My data do not support this interpretation of e and 1 inclusive.

The number of the 3rd person subject concord marker depends on whether the subject is human or non-human. For example:

(2.8)(a) e ra gunu (na gone lalai) 3pl v n adj non-sing
c.i. scm drink art child little
they/the little children drink.

(b) e ə bale (na vunikau lekaleka) 3s v n adj sing
c.i.scm fall art tree short
it/the short tree falls.

(c) e ə gunu (na cikinovu balabalavu) v n adj
c.i. scm drink art centipede long
they/the long centipedes drink.

(d) e (ra) gunu na vusi lalai1 3pl v n adj
c.i. scm drink art cat little
the kittens drink.

If the subject is human, the number of the concord marker is the same

1 non-singular form of balavu or lalai
as the number of the subject (as in (a)). If the subject is non-human and not associated closely with humans by the speaker, the subject concord marker is always Ø (as in (b) and (c)), irrespective of the number. If the non-human subject is closely associated with humans by the speaker, the subject concord marker optionally indicates the number of the subject (as in (d)).

2.4 Transitive suffix and object marker

2.4.1 If the verb in the verb phrase is transitive, it is marked as such by a transitive suffix. There are two transitive suffixes:

(a) -Ci, as in rai 'see'...rai-ci
(b) -Caki, as in vala 'fight'...valataki

C represents any consonant including Ø. Such a suffix follows immediately after the root of the verb. With many verbs, it is possible to modify the root with either of these transitive suffixes. For instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Transitive Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cici</td>
<td>-Ci</td>
<td>'run'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masu</td>
<td>-Caki</td>
<td>'pray'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vana</td>
<td>-Cari</td>
<td>'shout'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The functions of these suffixes will be discussed in section 4.40.

2.4.2 If the verb in the verb phrase has been modified by a transitive suffix, this stem can be followed by an independent object marker which marks an object of any person or number other than the 3rd person singular. I discuss the 3 singular object marker in section 2.4.3.

For example:

(2.9) (a) e ratou raici ira (na gone/na ose) 3pauc v ts 3pl n n c.i. scm see om art child art horse they see them (the children/the horses).
(b) e ra kilai kemuni 3pl v ts 2pl c.i. scm know om they know you.
(c) e rau valataki keda 3dual v ts 1pl incl c.i. scm fight for om they fight for us.

---

1 see Milner (1972, para 114 on p55)
In (a), the 3pl object marker *ira* obligatorily marks the plural human object *na gone* the children; and optionally marks the plural non-human object *na ose* the horses. The condition for the use of the plural marker for *na ose* is whether the speaker closely associates the horses with humans. When the speaker does not, he uses the 3 singular object marking suffix *-a* (see example (210)(e)).

In (b), the object marked is 2 plural. In (c), the object marked is 1 plural inclusive.

2.4.3 When the object is 3 person singular, the stem of the transitive verb can be modified by the 3 singular object marking suffix *-a*, as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>root + t.s.</th>
<th>root + t.s. + om</th>
<th>final stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>vana</td>
<td>vana + taki</td>
<td>vanataka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>rai</td>
<td>rai + ci</td>
<td>rai + a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>dola</td>
<td>dola + vi</td>
<td>dolava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be able</td>
<td>rava</td>
<td>rava + ɔi</td>
<td>rava + ɔi + a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strike</td>
<td>ravu</td>
<td>ravu + ɔi</td>
<td>ravu + ɔi + a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that certain morphophonemic changes may occur when a verb root is being modified by both a transitive suffix and the object marking suffix *-a*. The changes occur within these rules -

(a) If the transitive suffix is ɔi and the final vowel of the root of the verb is back and non-low, the ɔ of the suffix becomes non-syllabic before the object marker *-a*, as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>root + t.s.</th>
<th>root + t.s. + om</th>
<th>final stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>vana</td>
<td>vana + taki</td>
<td>vanataka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>rai</td>
<td>rai + ci</td>
<td>rai + a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>dola</td>
<td>dola + vi</td>
<td>dolava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be able</td>
<td>rava</td>
<td>rava + ɔi</td>
<td>rava + ɔi + a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strike</td>
<td>ravu</td>
<td>ravu + ɔi</td>
<td>ravu + ɔi + a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) If the transitive suffix is ɔi and the final vowel of the root of the verb is the low vowel *-a*, the ɔ of the suffix disappears before the object marker *-a* and the object marker assimilates with the final vowel of the root of the verb, as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>root + t.s.</th>
<th>root + t.s. + om</th>
<th>final stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>vana</td>
<td>vana + taki</td>
<td>vanataka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>rai</td>
<td>rai + ci</td>
<td>rai + a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>dola</td>
<td>dola + vi</td>
<td>dolava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be able</td>
<td>rava</td>
<td>rava + ɔi</td>
<td>rava + ɔi + a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strike</td>
<td>ravu</td>
<td>ravu + ɔi</td>
<td>ravu + ɔi + a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Otherwise if the transitive suffix is -Caki or -Ci, then the ɔ of the suffix disappears before the object marker *-a*, as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>root + t.s.</th>
<th>root + t.s. + om</th>
<th>final stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>vana</td>
<td>vana + taki</td>
<td>vanataka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>rai</td>
<td>rai + ci</td>
<td>rai + a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>dola</td>
<td>dola + vi</td>
<td>dolava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be able</td>
<td>rava</td>
<td>rava + ɔi</td>
<td>rava + ɔi + a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strike</td>
<td>ravu</td>
<td>ravu + ɔi</td>
<td>ravu + ɔi + a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[1\] The final vowel is a short front ɔ, and the ts is ɔi, the two short front vowels become a long front vowel i. e.g. muri - ɔi + muri.
Now that the rules for the morphophonemic changes have been explained, I will discuss the uses of the 3 singular object marking suffix -a.

The following examples illustrate the constraints on its uses:

(2.10) (a) au raica (na vatu lailai / na gone)  
ls v tsonm  n  adj  n  
scm see 3s  art  stone  little  child

I see it/ him (the little stone) (the child).

(b) au valatak (na koro / na gone)  
ls v tsonm  n  n  
scm fight 3s  art  village  child

I fight for it/ him (the village) (the child).

(c) au kumuna (na veivatu)  
ls v tsonm 3s  n  
scm collect  art  coll. stone  
I collect them (the stones).

(d) au vakamatea (na cikinovu)  
ls v .  tt  n  
scm kill 3s  art  centipede

I kill it (the centipede)/them (the centipedes).

(e) e ratou raica (na ose lelevu  
3 pauc v tsonm  art  n  adj  
c.i.  scm  see 3s  art  horse  big
they see them (the big horses).

In (a) and (b), the 3 singular object marking suffix -a marks a non-human singular object (na vatu lailai the little stone, na koro the village) or a human singular object (na gone the child): in (a) it follows a-Ci suffix, in (b), it follows a-Caki suffix. In (c), the suffix marks a non-human non-singular object. In (d), it marks a non-human object, the number of which is ambiguous. In (e), it marks a non-human non-singular object. In (e), the speaker does not choose to associate horses with humans. However in example (2.9)(a), he does choose to do so.

The object marking suffix -a obligatorily marks -
(i) any inanimate object; and
(ii) any animate object not associated by the speaker with humans.

In either case, the object may be singular or non-singular. The suffix -a optionally marks the singular number of -
(i) any human object; and
(ii) any animate object associated by the speaker with human.

In either case, an alternative construction is the use of the

1 non-singular form of lelevu
independent 3 singular human pronoun kova (see section 3.2.3).

The suffix -a also optionally marks -
any non-singular animate object associated by the
speaker with humans.

An alternative construction is the use of an independent concord
marker of the same number as the object (see example (2.9)(a)).
3. CLAUSES

3.1 Introduction

Clauses may be divided into two main types:
(a) predicative clauses, being clauses which include a verb phrase. For example:

(3.1)(a) e yali na vusi
        v n
c.i. lost art cat
the cat is lost.

(b) e raica na vale na gone
        v tson n n
c.i. see art house art child
the child sees the house.

(c) e vulavula na koli
        adj n
c.i. white art dog
the dog is white.

(d) au raica
        ls v tson
scn see
I see it/him.

(b) equational clauses, being clauses which include noun phrases but no verb phrase. For example:

(3.2)(a) na yaca ni koro ogo ko Vitawa
        n n deic n
art name rel. village this art Vitawa
the name of this village is Vitawa.

(b) o iau na itaukei ni vale koyah
        ls n n deic
art P.P. art owner rel. house that
I am the owner of that house.

3.2 Predicative clauses

3.2.1 Predicative clauses may be divided into two main classes:
(a) intransitive clauses, being clauses of which the verb is intransitive - that is, the verb stem is not modified by a transitive suffix;
(b) transitive clauses, being clauses of which the verb is transitive - that is, the verb stem is modified by a transitive suffix.

3.2.2 Intransitive clauses

An intransitive clause must have a verb phrase with an
intransitive verb, and an optionally expressed subject noun phrase in that order. For example:

(3.3)(a)  
\( e \text{ ra moce (na gone)} \)  
3pl v com. n  
c.i. scm sleep art child  
they sleep/the children sleep.

(b)  
\( e \emptyset \text{ tagi (o Pita)} \)  
3s v prop n  
c.i. scm cry art Pita  
he/Pita cries.

(c)  
au moce  
ls v  
scm sleep  
I sleep.

(d)  
koní gunu  
2pl v  
scm drink  
you drink.

Example (a) consists of the verb phrase \( e \text{ ra moce} \) and optionally the subject noun phrase \( \text{na gone} \). If \( \text{na gone} \) is omitted, the clause consists solely of \( e \text{ ra moce} \) they sleep, and the subject of the clause is the 3 plural pronominal concord marker \( \text{ra} \). If \( \text{na gone} \) is included, it is the expressed subject noun phrase. It functions as the subject of the verb. The subject marker \( \text{ra} \) is in concord with the number and person of the subject. The clause is introduced by the clause introducing particle \( e \).

Example (b) has a 3 singular subject. The same principles of analysis apply to (b) as to (a). However since the subject is human, it would be optional but more usual, if \( o \text{ Pita} \) is omitted, for the subject of the verb to be the human 3 singular independent pronoun \( \text{koya} \) preceded by a proper article - \( e \emptyset \text{ tagi o koya} \): he cries. There are therefore 3 options if the subject of a clause is human (or regarded by the speaker as human) and 3 singular. For example:

(3.4)(a)  
\( e \emptyset \text{ tagi o Pita} \)  
Pita cries. subject is proper noun \( o \text{ Pita} \)

(b)  
\( e \emptyset \text{ tagi} \)  
he cries. subject is pronominal concord marker \( \emptyset \)

(c)  
\( e \emptyset \text{ tagi o koya} \)  
he cries. subject is anaphoric independent pronoun \( o \text{ koya} \)

(3.3)(a) and (b) and (3.4) exemplify the ops if the subject of a clause is 3rd person. The clauses in (3.3)(c) and (d) consist simply of
verb phrases, of which the first and second person concord markers are the subjects. The clause introducing particle e does not introduce clauses with first or second person subjects. Therefore it is not used in these examples.

There is therefore no great difficulty in identifying the subject NP of an intransitive verb. Nor is it difficult to determine the role of the subject. This will depend on whether the verb is an actor-experiencer oriented verb or a patient oriented verb. For example:

(3.5)(a) e cici na tagane
       v n
c.i. run art man
the man runs.

(b) e cudru na turaga
     v n
c.i. angry art chief
the chief is angry.

(c) e dola na katuba
     v n
c.i. open art door
the door is open.

In (a) cici is an actor oriented verb, and the subject is actor.
In (b) cudru is an experiencer oriented verb, and the subject is experiencer.
In (c) dola is a patient oriented verb, and the subject is patient.

The syntactic test to determine whether a verb is actor-experiencer oriented or patient oriented is to see whether the subject of an intransitive clause remains the subject of a corresponding transitive clause. The subject of an actor-experiencer oriented intransitive verb remains the subject of a transitive verb. However the subject of a patient oriented intransitive verb becomes the object of a transitive verb. For example:

(3.6)(a) e dabe na gone
        v int. n
c.i. sit art child
the child sits.

(b) e dabeca na ibe na gone
     v tsom n n
c.i. sit art mat child
the child sits on the mat.

(3.7)(a) e dresu na isulu
         v int. n
c.i. tear art cloth
the cloth tears.
The subject of an intransitive actor-experiencer oriented verb never has the role of patient. For example:

(3.8) (a) e tatavu na marama
   c.i. roast art woman
   the woman is roasting.

(b) e tavuna na ika na marama
   c.i. roast art fish art woman
   the woman is roasting the fish.

With tatavu, the subject always does the roasting and is never roasted. On the other hand, the subject of a patient oriented verb never has the role of actor-experiencer. For example:

(3.9) (a) e vavi na vuaka
   c.i. bake art pig
   the pig is baking.

(b) e vavia na vuaka na marama
   c.i. bake art pig art woman
   the woman bakes the pig.

With intransitive vavi, the subject is always baked and never does the baking.

3.2.3 Transitive clauses

A transitive clause must have a verb phrase with a transitive verb, an optionally expressed object noun phrase and an optionally expressed subject noun phrase, preferably in that order. For example:

(3.10) (a) e ra dresuka (na isulu) (na gone) 3pl v tsom n c.i. scm tear art cloth art child
   the children tear the cloth/they tear it.

(b) e ɔ raica (na gone) (ɔ Pita) 3s v tsom n c.i. scm see art child art Pita
   Pita sees the child/he sees him/her.

(c) au raici Pita 1s v ts n
   scm see Pita
   I see Pita.

(d) koni kilai ira (na vulagi) 2pl v 3s 3pl n
   scm know cm art guest
   you know the guests/you know them.
Example (a) consists of the verb phrase *e ra dresuka*, the optionally expressed object noun phrase *na isulu* and the optionally expressed subject noun phrase *na gone*. If the object noun phrase *na isulu* is omitted, the clause will be *e ra dresuka ... na gone* the children tear it. The object of the clause although not expressed as a noun phrase is marked by the 3 singular object marking suffix of the verb *-a*. If *na isulu* is included in the clause, it is the expressed object noun phrase. It functions as the object of the verb and is marked as a 3 singular object of the verb by the suffix *-a*.

Example (b) has a third singular human object: *na gone*. The same principles and options apply to (b) as to (a). It would also be optional since the object is human, to omit *na gone* and to substitute as the object of the verb the human 3 singular independent pronoun *koya*. There are therefore three options, if the object of a clause is human (or regarded by the speaker as human) and 3 singular. For example:

(3.11)(a) e Ø raica na gone Pita. object is *na gone*.
(b) e Ø raica ... o Pita. object is marked by the suffix *-a*.
(c) e Ø raici koya o Pita. object is *koya*.

Example (3.10)(c) has a proper noun as an object: Pita. If a proper noun phrase is the object of a verb with a transitive suffix, the proper article *ko* is dropped, there is no object marker and the noun becomes partly incorporated with the transitive verb. (See section 4.1). If Pita is omitted, then either *au raica* or *au raici koya* may be used.

Example (d) consists of a verb phrase *koni kilai ira* and an optionally expressed object NP *na vulagi*. If the NP is omitted, the clause will be simply *koni kilai ira* you know them. The object though not expressed by a noun phrase is marked by the 3 plural independent object marker *ira*. If *na vulagi* is included in the clause, it is the expressed object NP, it functions as an object and it is still marked by the object marker *ira*.

The principles and options in respect of the subjects of these transitive clauses are the same as those in respect of the subjects of intransitive clauses - see examples (3.3)(a) - (d).

3.2.4 Word order

The preferred word order of a transitive clause is V O S. This word order is optional if there is no ambiguity in the situation.
described by the clause. For example:

(3.12) (a) e ra dresuka na isulu na gone
       3pl v tsom n n
c.i. scm tear art cloth art child
(b) e ra dresuka na gone na isulu
       3pl v tsom n n
c.i. scm tear art child art cloth

Both mean 'the children tore the cloth', since 'the clothes tore the child' is semantically unlikely. Also

(3.13) e ra dredrevaka na turaga na gone
       3pl v tsom n n
c.i. scm laugh at art chief art child

would mean unambiguously 'the chiefs laugh at the child', because it would be culturally unlikely for 'the children to laugh at the chief'.

VOS word order is obligatory, if there is ambiguity in the situation described by the clause. For example:

(3.14) e raica na taqane na yalewa
       v tsom n n
c.i. see art male art female

can only mean 'the woman saw the man' and

(3.15) e raica na yalewa na taqane
       v tsom n n
c.i. see art female art male

can only mean 'the man saw the woman'.

Only in the case of the personal interrogative o cei? who?
does the subject come obligatorily before the verb.

For example:

(3.16) o cei a vakamatea na vuaka?
       v tsom n
       past kill art pig

Who has killed the pig?

That (3.16) is a clause level construction is shown by the absence of a clause introducing particle such as e between: cei & a o cei seems to function in very much the same way as a subject concord marker in the singular.

Optionally in the singular and obligatorily in non-singular, o cei functions as the head noun of a relative clause. For example:

(3.17) (a) o cei ka ratou lako mai e nanoa?
       3 pauc v
coord scm come here yesterday
Who was it who came here yesterday?
(b) o cei ka ra tū?
       3pl stand
Who are there?
Who was it who killed the pig?

(3.17) (a) - (c) are really examples of the use of o cei at the sentence level, with an introducing particle ka coming between cei and a. See 5.9 & 9.1.1. It is also at the sentence level that it is nowadays optional to place a noun phrase other than a personal interrogative as a subject before a verb. For example:

(3.18) na gone e ra a dresuka na isulu
      art child scm past tear art cloth

it was the children (not someone else) who tore the cloth.
The clause introducer e is used, and this shows that the noun phrase na gone is outside the clause and functions as the first part of a sentence. Older informants suggest that this construction is based on the influence of English, and is a recent development in Fijian.

3.3 Equational clauses

With some clauses, the two noun phrases can be optionally reversed without a change of meaning. For example:

(3.19)(a) na yaca ni koro oqo ko Vitawa
        n  n deic n art name rel. village this art Vitawa
(b) ko Vitawa na yaca ni koro oqo

are both glossed as 'the name of this village is Vitawa' or 'Vitawa is the name of this village'.

With other clauses, there seems to be a preferred order.

(3.20) o iau na itaukei ni vale koya
       ls n  n deic art pro art owner rel. house that
       I am the owner of that house.

especially if the first NP is a pronoun. With other clauses, the order of NP is obligatory. For example:

(3.21) o cei na yacamu
       n  2s art who? art name poss
       What is your name?

(3.22) a cava na vuna?
       n  3s poss art what? art reason
       What is the reason?

The order is obligatory, if the first NP is an interrogative.
4. INTERNAL ORGANISATION OF CLAUSES

4.1 Introduction

Foley (1976: pl73 et seq) shows that there is an interrelationship between the form of the verb and its object on the one hand, and the degree of referentiality of the object on the other hand. My evidence supports this. For example:

(4.1) (a) au gunu wai
ls v n
scm drink water
I drink water.
(b) au raici Pita
ls v ts n
scm see Pita
I see Pita.
(c) e ra raici au
3pl v ts ls
c.i. scm see p.p.
they see me.
(d) au raica na vale nei Jone
ls v tsom n n
scm see art house of Jone
I see Jone's house.
(e) au gunuva e dua na bilo wai
ls v tsom n n
scm drink num art cup water
I drink a cup of water.

In (a), the object wai is generic. It has no article and is simply incorporated in the verb phrase au gunu. The verb has no transitive suffix or object marker. The clause is an intransitive one with the object incorporated in the intransitive verb. It can be shown that a generic object noun has been incorporated in a verb phrase if -

(i) a verbal particle can be placed after the incorporated noun;
or (ii) a transitive suffix can be placed after the incorporated noun.

For example:

(4.2) (a) moni gunu yaqona mada e na nogu vale
me+2pl v n verbal prep ls n
scm drink kava particle in art poss house
would you please drink kava at my house.
(b) au tau+yavutaka na koro mai Vatukacevaceva
ls v n tsom n prep place-name
scm lay found- art village at
I lay the foundation of the village at Vatukacevaceva.

In (a), the verbal particle mada comes after the noun yaqona, and this demonstrates that yaqona is incorporated in the verb phrase moni gunu mada.

In (b), the transitive suffix -taka comes after the noun yavu, and this demonstrates that yavu is incorporated in the verb tau.
In (4.1)(b), the object *pita* is a proper noun with a high degree of referentiality. It has no article and is partly incorporated in the verb phrase. The verb has a transitive suffix but no object marker. The clause is a transitive one with the object partly incorporated in the transitive verb.

The same principles apply to (c), in which the object is the personal pronoun *au*.

In (4.1)(d) and (e), the objects are common and specific. In (d), the object is definite. In (e), the object is indefinite. Such objects with a lower degree of referentiality form noun phrases separate from the verb phrase. The verb however has a transitive suffix and an object marker in concord with the object noun phrase.

The higher the degree of referentiality as far as Fijian is concerned, the less marking there is on the verb. This interrelationship can be summarised in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>degree of referentiality</th>
<th>form of verb and noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proper nouns</td>
<td><em>V</em> + <em>TS</em> <em>N</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specific common nouns</td>
<td><em>V</em> + <em>TS</em> + <em>OM</em> <em>NP</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Foley (1976:loc.cit) suggests that Fijian regards proper nouns and pronouns as objects with a high degree of referentiality, and specific common nouns as objects with a low degree. With the former, the verb is marked simply with a transitive suffix. With the latter, it is marked with an object marker as well as a transitive suffix. Fijian also recognises an intermediate degree of referentiality of certain common nouns, for which the verb is marked with a transitive suffix. Such nouns are typically human or other count-nouns. For example:

(4.3)(a)  
\[\ldots \text{ I pay (my) debts.}\]

(b)  
\[\ldots \text{I plant taro.}\]

(c)  
\[\ldots \text{I love children}\]
### Common Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proper Noun</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Specific Singular</th>
<th>Specific Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>human</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTS N</td>
<td>VTS P.P.</td>
<td>VTS + a (NP)</td>
<td>VTS + ira (NP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTS koya</td>
<td>au kilai iko</td>
<td>VTS koya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTS + a</td>
<td>I know you</td>
<td>au kaciva (na gone)</td>
<td>au kacivi ira (na gone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au kilai Semi</td>
<td></td>
<td>au kacivi koya</td>
<td>I call the children/zm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au kilai koya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au kilā</td>
<td>I know Semi/him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-human but animate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTS N</td>
<td>VTS P.P.</td>
<td>VTS + a (NP)</td>
<td>VTS + ira (NP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTS + a</td>
<td>VTS + a</td>
<td>VTS koya</td>
<td>VTS + a (NP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTS koya</td>
<td></td>
<td>au kacivi Vusi</td>
<td>au kaciva na vusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au kaciva</td>
<td>au kilā</td>
<td>au kacivi koya</td>
<td>au kacivi ira na vusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au kacivi koya</td>
<td>I know them</td>
<td>I call the cat/it</td>
<td>I call the cats/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I call Pussy/her/it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTS N</td>
<td>VTS + a</td>
<td>VTS + a (NP)</td>
<td>VTS + a (NP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTS + a</td>
<td>au kilā</td>
<td>au dreta (na dali)</td>
<td>au raica (na vatu lelevu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au kilai Narata</td>
<td>I know them/it</td>
<td>I pull the rope/it</td>
<td>I see the big stones/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au kilā</td>
<td>I know Narata/it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(name of village)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this construction, the noun is partly incorporated in the transitive verb, so there is no need for an object marker or a common article. The following table summarises the interrelationship between the degree of referentiality of the object, the place of the object in the human/inanimate dichotomy and the form of the verb.
4.2 Subject/object identification

If both the subject and object of a transitive verb are expressed as noun phrases, there is generally no great difficulty in identifying which is which.

If a noun phrase includes the proper article ko, it must be the subject of the clause. If it is the object, the article is dropped. For example:

(4.4) e raica na qase o Pita
       v tsom n n
       c.i. see art old man art Pita

can only be glossed as 'Pita sees the old man' and not 'the old man sees Pita'. Firstly, o Pita can only be the subject for the reason just given. Secondly, the word order would disambiguate the functions of the arguments, even if the second argument had been, say, na vona. In the case of ambiguity, the word order must be VOS.

If a noun occurs without an article, it must be the object of the clause. For example:

(4.5) e raici Pita na qase
       v ts n n
       c.i. see Pita art old man

can only be glossed as 'the old man sees Pita' and

(4.6) e lomani gone na turaga
       v ts n n
       c.i. love child art chief

can only mean 'the chief loves children' and not 'the child loves the chief'.

However, the function of a single common noun phrase in a transitive clause may be ambiguous. For example:

(4.7) e ra kania na bulumakau
       3pl v tsom n
       c.i. scm eat art cattle

may be optionally glossed as 'the cattle eat it' or 'they eat the cattle'. In this example, na bulumakau may function as either the subject of the verb or the object. The object marking suffix -a may mark na bulumakau as the object if the speaker does not associate cattle with humans. If the speaker chooses the associate cattle with humans, the 3pl. subject marker ra could be in concord with na bulumakau, functioning as the subject.

Similarly

(4.8) e ra raici ira na turaga
       3pl v ts 3pl n
       c.i. scm see om art chief
could be glossed either as 'they see the chiefs' or 'the chiefs see them'. If ra is in concord with na turaga, then this NP functions as a subject and ira marks an unexpressed object. If ira marks na turaga, then it functions as object and ra is in concord with an unexpressed subject.

In neither example is it possible to disambiguate linguistically the function of the expressed NP. With (4.7), it is more usual for ra to mark a human than a "humanised" subject, and it is more likely that 'they eat the cattle' is the intended gloss. But (4.8) is completely ambiguous, with a human NP as the expressed NP.

4.3 Floating Quantifiers

4.3.1 In an intransitive clause, the quantifier kece all or taucoko whole, can be launched from the subject noun phrase into the verb phrase. For example:

(4.9) (a) e ra lako mai na gone kece mai Vunitogoloa
3pl v  n
   c.i. scm come here art child all from Vunitogoloa
   All the children come from Vunitogoloa.

(b) e ra lako kece mai na gone mai Vunitogoloa
   v  art n  prep n
   The children all come from Vunitogoloa.

It can also be launched within a noun phrase such as o ira na turaga kece
3pl n
art p.p. art chief all
to o ira kece na turaga or from such a NP to the verb phrase:

(4.10) (a) e ra lako mai o ira na turaga kece
3pl v  3pl n
   c.i. scm come here art P.P. art chief all
   all the chiefs come here.

(b) e ra lako mai o ira kece na turaga
all the chiefs come here.

(c) e ra lako kece mai o ira na turaga
   the chiefs all come here.

4.3.2 In a transitive clause, these quantifiers can be launched from the object NP, if the object is expressed as an NP. If the object is not expressed as a NP, the quantifier cannot be floated from a subject NP. For example:

(4.11) (a) e ra vakamatea na vuaka kece na tagane
3pl v  tsom n  n
   c.i. scm kill art pig all art male
   the men kill all the pigs.
(4.11)(b) e ra vakamatea kece na vuaka na tagane
3pl v tsom n n
c.i. scm kill all art pig art male
the men kill all the pigs.

However, a quantifier cannot be floated from the subject NP of a transitive clause: For example

(4.12) (a) e ra vakamatea na vuaka na tamata kece
3pl v tsom n n
c.i. scm kill art pig art male all
all the men kill the pig(s).
(b) e ra vakamatea na tamata kece
3pl v tsom n
c.i. scm kill art male all
all the men kill them.

In these examples the expressed or implied object blocks the floating of the quantifier in the subject NP. It would therefore be ungrammatical to say:

(4.13) e ra vakamatea kece na vuaka na tamata
3pl v tsom n n
c.i. scm kill all art pig art male
if this is to be glossed 'the men all kill the pigs', it can only mean 'the men kill all the pigs' (example(4.11)(b).

4.4 Role Marking by Suffix

4.4.1 In section 2.2, I discussed the obligatory roles of the subject of intransitive clauses. I pointed out that the role of the subject depended on whether the verb was an actor-experiencer verb or a patient verb. I will now discuss the options open for the roles of the subject and the object of transitive active clauses. The options available for the object depend on an interrelation between the category of the verb and the type of suffix. There are few options available for the subject. In sections 4.4.2, 4.4.3 and 4.4.4, I have generally followed the ideas put forward by Foley (1976) who in turn followed Arms (1974). My own independent evidence as given here supports their ideas.

4.4.2 Role of subject

In all transitive active clauses, the subject has the role of actor or experiencer. For example:

(4.14) (a) e taura na vatu na gone(actor experiencer verb)
3pl v tsom n n
v c.i. take art stone art child
the child takes the stone.
(4.14) (b) e mosita na mavo na tagane
v tsom art n n
c.i. be in pain wound art male
the man is in pain on account of the wound.

In these examples, the subject is actor in (a) and experiencer in (b).

(4.15) (a) e sogota na katuba na gone (Patient verb)
v tsom n n
c.i. close art door art child
The child closes the door.

(b) e rogoca na kaile na tagane
v tsom n n
c.i. hear art shout art male
The man hears the shout.

In these examples, the subject is actor in (a) and experiencer in (b).

The role of the subject in transitive passive-like clauses will be discussed in section 4.60.

4.4.3 Role of object

The role of the object depends firstly on the category of the verb and secondly on the type of transitive suffix.

4.4.3.1 patient oriented verbs with -Ci suffix

The majority of verbs of this category take only a -Ci suffix. The role of the object of such a verb with such a suffix is Patient.

For example:

(4.16) (a) au takiya na wai
ls v tsom n
scm draw art water
I draw the water (e.g. from the well).

(b) au bogoca na itukutuku
ls v tsom n
scm hear art message
I hear the message.

4.4.3.2 patient oriented verbs with -Caki suffix

In the very few examples of verbs in this category which I have come across, the role of the object of such a verb is Instrument.

For example:

(4.17) au takiyaka na vokete
ls v tsom n
scm draw art bucket
I draw (e.g. the water) with the bucket.

1 see section 2.4.1 for explanation of C
4.4.3.3 **actor-experiencer oriented verbs with -Ci suffix**

Compared with patient oriented verbs, very few of which optionally have a -Ci suffix or a -Caki suffix, there are many actor-experiencer verbs which optionally have either suffix. If an actor-experiencer verb has a -Ci suffix, the role of the object of such a verb with such a suffix is Goal or Locative. For example:

**goal** (4.18)(a)  
\[
\text{au cudruva na gone,}  
\text{ls v tsom n}  
\text{scm angry art child}  
\text{I am annoyed with the child.}
\]

(b)  
\[
\text{au laveta na nomu vosa}  
\text{ls v tsom 2s n}  
\text{scm art poss speech}  
\text{I give effect to your speech.}
\]

(c)  
\[
\text{au vana na manumanu}  
\text{ls v tsom n}  
\text{scm shoot art bird}  
\text{I shoot (at) the bird.}
\]

(d)  
\[
\text{au ciciyga na koro}  
\text{ls v tsom n}  
\text{scm run art village}  
\text{I run to the village.}
\]

(e)  
\[
\text{au soroyga na turaga}  
\text{ls v tsom n}  
\text{scm apologise art chief}  
\text{I apologise to the chief.}
\]

**locative** (f)  
\[
\text{au dabecga na ibe}  
\text{ls v tsom n}  
\text{scm sit art mat}  
\text{I sit on the mat.}
\]

4.4.3.4 **actor-experiencer oriented verbs with -Caki suffix**

If an actor-experiencer verb has a -Caki suffix, the role of the object of such a verb with such a suffix is Cause, Instrument, Comitative, or Benefactive. For example:

**Cause** (4.19)(a)  
\[
\text{au cudruvaka na kena duka}  
\text{ls v tsom 3 sing n}  
\text{scm angry art poss dirt}  
\text{I am angry because of its dirt.}
\]

(b)  
\[
\text{au lavetaka na nomu vosa}  
\text{ls v tsom 2s n}  
\text{scm copy art poss speech}  
\text{I copy from your speech.}
\]
In these examples, the same verbs are used as in examples (4.18)(a-d); but different suffixes are used. The actual choice of role within the options depends on the semantics of the verb itself.

4.4.4  -Ci, -Caki compared

With patient oriented verbs, -Ci marks the role of Patient. With actor-experiencer oriented verbs, it marks the role of Goal or Locative.

With patient oriented verbs, -Caki marks the role of Instrument. With actor-experiencer oriented verbs, it marks the roles of Cause/ Source, Instrument, Comitative or Benefactive.

4.5  Role marking by Preposition

A preposition marking a noun phrase may also determine the role of that NP in a clause. The prepositions e or mai mark location - e marks location near to the speaker. mai marks location distant from the speaker. The preposition ki marks direction towards. For example:

(4.20)(a)  e  dabé  e na ibe  na  gone  
            v  n  n
  c.i. sit  prep  mat  art  child  
  the child sits on the mat.

(b)  e  cici  ki  na  waga  na  gone  
        v  n  n
  c.i. hurry  prep  art  canoe  art  child  
  the child hurries to the canoe.

(c)  e  lako  ki  na  koro  na  tagane  
        v  n  n
  c.i. go  prep  village  art  male  
  the man goes to the village.

In these examples, the prepositional phrase following an intransitive
verb corresponds to the object noun phrase following a transitive verb in the following corresponding examples:

(4.21)(a) e dabeca na ibe na gone
v tsom n n
c.i. sit art mat art child
the child sits on the mat.

(b) e ciciva na waqa na gone
v tsom n n
c.i. hurry art canoe art child
the child hurry to the canoe.

(c) e lakova na gone na tagana
v tsom n n
c.i. go art child art male
the man goes for the child.

In (4.16) (a) and (4.17) (a), the difference in meaning is between partiality and totality. This is illustrated by the following:

(4.22) ni'u via dabeca na ibe, kua ni lobia ka kauta yani
ls v tsom n v tsom n
because scm want sit art mat, don't coord carry away
Because I want to sit on the mat, don't fold it up and take it away.

(4.23) au sega ni via Jabe e na ibe ka ra dabe tiko kina
ls v n coord
scm neg want to sit prep art mat
I don't want to sit on the mat on which the children are sitting.

In (4.22) the speaker is referring to the mat as a whole. In (4.23), he is simply referring to a free area of the mat on which he might have gone to sit, except for the fact that he did not want to sit beside the children who were sitting on other parts of the same mat.

In (4.20) (b) and (4.21) (b), the contrast between partiality and totality is not so obvious. In (4.24) the speaker wishes to make it quite clear that the child is hurrying, not dawdling, to the canoe.

In (4.21c), the speaker wishes to say that the child is hurrying to the canoe, not to say the bus.

In (4.20) (c) and (4.21) (c), there is a difference in the meaning of the clauses. In both clauses, the object is the goal. In (4.20) (c), the speaker is referring to the village as the goal towards which the man is moving. However in (4.21) (c), the speaker is using lakova in a special way like an idiom. He is referring to a special ceremony na (lakovi), in which a member of the father's social group will go to the mother's social group to arrange for an illegitimate child to be registered as a member of the father's group instead of remaining a member of the mother's group.
It is also possible to use the preposition mai from or an instrument to mark a noun phrase with a cause or instrument role. For example:

(4.24)(a) au cudru mai na kena duka
ls v 3s n
scm angry prep art poss dirt
I am angry because of its dirt.

(b) au vanavana e na dakai
ls v n
scm short prep art gun
I shoot with the gun.

However transitive constructions such as (4.19)(a) and (b) which correspond to (4.24)(a) and (b) are preferred. The use of the prepositional phrase is explained by my older informants as being based on literal translations from English.

4.6 Passive-like Clauses

So far I have discussed transitive active clauses in which the subject has the role of actor or experiencer. I will now discuss transitive passive-like clauses in which the subject has the role of patient or potentially any other role except that of actor and experiencer. The verb has a transitive suffix, but since there is no object, the verb no longer requires an object marker. Fijian requires that if an actor is to be expressed, this role must be that of the subject of a clause. Since the subject in the passive-like clause is already committed to a role other than actor, the actor cannot be expressed, only implied in such a clause. A passive-like transitive clause implies a human agent. For example:

(4.25)(a) e nuvi na yaqona
v ts n
c.i. drink art kava
the kava is drunk.

(b) e dolavi na katuba
v ts n
c.i. open art door
the door is opened.

(c) e masulaki na gone
v ts n
c.i. pray art child
the child is prayed for.

In these examples, the speaker wishes to point out that the event described in the clause took place as the result of the action of some outside human agent. Since an actor can only fill the subject slot,
no specific reference to the actor is allowed in passive-like constructions such as examples (a), (b) or (c). The agent therefore remains implied.

A passive-like clause can include an expressed instrument.

For example:

(4.26) e vakamatei na vuaka e na moto
c.i. kill art pig prep art spear
the pig was killed with the spear.

If a non-human animate is the agent, it can be expressed in a prepositional phrase if the speaker regards it as a non-human instrument. But such a construction is not often used. For example:

(4.27) e kati na gone e na kolI
c.i. bite art child prep art dog
the child was bitten by the dog.

This passive-like construction can be used with both actor-experiencer verbs (example (4.25)(a)) and patient verbs (example (4.25)(c)).

4.7 Spontaneous and Instrumental Prefixes

4.7.1 In order to understand the meaning of the transitive passive-like constructions, it would be helpful to contrast them with intransitive constructions including spontaneous prefixes and instrumental prefixes.

4.7.2 Spontaneous prefixes

The speaker may use a patient-oriented verb to "ascribe" an event. He may not be concerned whether the event described in a clause took place as the result of some outside agent or whether it occurred spontaneously without the efforts of any outside agent. In this case, the speaker would use the unmodified root of the patient-oriented verb.

For example:

(4.28)(a) e sere na dali
c.i. loosen art rope
the rope is loosened/is loose.

(b) e dresu na isulu
c.i. tear art cloth
the cloth tears/is torn.

If, however, the speaker is concerned that the event occurred spontaneously, the intransitive patient-oriented verb root will be modified by a spontaneous prefix. For example:
(4.29)(a) e tasere na dali v n
c.i. loose art rope
the rope unties (spontaneously).

no outside human agent

(b) e kadresu na isulu v n
c.i. tear art cloth
the cloth tears (spontaneously).

no outside human agent

If, however, the speaker had been concerned that the event took place as the result of an outside human agent, he would have used the passive-like transitive construction:

(4.30)(a) e sereki na dali v ts n
c.i. loose art rope
the rope is loosened (by an outside human agent).

(b) e dresuku na isulu v ts n
c.i. tear art cloth
the cloth is torn (by an outside human agent).

4.7.3 Instrumental prefix lau-

With a limited number of verbs, the semantics of which involve an instrument, a speaker may indicate concern that an event took place as the result of an unexpressed instrument by using the instrumental prefix lau- with one of these verbs in intransitive form. For example:

(4.31)(a) e lausele na m Gö v n
c.i. castrate art goat
the goat was castrated (by an instrument).

(b) e laurabo na manumanu v n
c.i. sling at art bird
the bird was hit (by a stone from a sling).

If the speaker had been concerned that the event took place as the result of an outside human agent, he would have used the transitive passive-like construction:

(4.32)(a) e selevi na m Gö v ts n
c.i. castrate art goat
the goat was castrated (by a human).

(b) e raboti na manumanu v ts n
c.i. sling art bird
the bird was hit by a slingstone (slung by a human).
This instrumental prefix can also be applied to verbs such as ru curse, and roba slap. Examples of this derived use of the suffix are:

\[(4.33)(a)\] e lauru na yalewa  
\[c.i.\] cure art woman  
the woman was cursed.

\[(b)\] e lauroba na gone  
\[c.i.\] slap art child  
the child was slapped.

With verbs involving the use of an instrument (such as examples (4.31) or the "use" of something regarded as an instrument (such as examples (4.33)), the evidence from my corpus shows that there is a general correspondence between those that can take the verbal instrumental prefix lau- and those that can take the nominal instrumental prefix i-:

- cut sele  lausele na isele  knife
- sling rabo  laurabo na irabo  sling
- curse ru  lauru  na iru  curse
- slap roba  lauroba na iroba  slap

The instrumental prefix lau- is developing into a passive-like prefix:\n
\[(4.31)(a)\] e laurai na yanuyum:  
\[c.i.\] see art island  
the island is visible.

\[(b)\] e laukoda na ika  
\[c.i.\] eat raw art fish  
the fish is edible raw.

\[(c)\] e laukavoro na iloilo  
\[c.i.\] spon.break art glass  
the glass is brittle (liable to break spontaneously).

In example (c), is modified by both the instrumental prefix lau- and the spontaneous prefix ka (see 4.5.2)

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1 In Bauan lau means "able to be" or "likely to be". In Western dialects, a corresponding prefix lei- is used as a passive prefix with many more verbs than in Bauan - e.g. Ra. e lei'amani na i'uku'uku the message has been heard.
4.8 Collective Prefix vei-

The prefix vei- has a core meaning of collectivity when applied to nouns: na veikau the forest.

When applied to intransitive verbs, it has a collective meaning. A number of people are doing the same thing: e ra veicage they are playing football.

When applied to transitive verbs, it has a reciprocal meaning. A number of people are doing the same thing to each other: e ra veicaqeti they kick each other. e rau veitinani they are her ts and child.

When applied to a verb with a suffix -yaki, it has a distributive meaning: A number of people do the same thing but in different directions: e ra veilakoyaki they go in different directions. It also means that the same person can do one thing but in different directions: au veiraiyaki I look around in different directions.
5. RELATIVE CLAUSES

5.1 Introduction

Relative clauses are postnominal. A relative clause is always introduced by a particle, being either:

(a) ka, a verbal coordinating particle; or
(b) e, a declaratory clause introducing particle; or
(c) sā, a contrasting clause introducing particle; or
(d) me, a complementiser.

The introducing particles are considered further in section 5.9.

Relativisation may be marked by either:

(a) nominal deletion; or
   (5.2)
(b) an anaphoric personal pronoun; or
   (5.3)
(c) an anaphoric possessive pronoun; or
   (5.6)
(d) the oblique human anaphoric particles kava with him and
   vua to him; or the oblique inanimate anaphoric particle
   kina(5.7); or
(e) a verbal suffix
   (5.8)

5.2 Nominal deletion

When the subject of the verb in the relative clause is the argument which is relativised, relativisation is marked by nominal deletion. No nominal form of the subject is expressed. However, a subject concord marker follows the introducing particle of the relative clause. For example:

(5.1)(a) e moce tiko na gone ka ņ lako mai e na yakavi
    v v n scm v n
c.i sleep cont.art coord come here in art afternoon
The child who came this afternoon is sleeping.
(b) au domona na yalewa ka ņ a lako yani ki Suva
    ls v tsom n scm v n
    scm love art woman coord past away to Suva
I love the woman who went to Suva.
(c) au raica na vale ka ņ bale e na cagilaba
    ls v tsom n coord v n
    scm see art house fall in art hurricane
I saw the house which fell in the hurricane.
(d) e na vakametai na koli ka ņ katia na gone
    v ts n scrv tsom n
c.i.fut kill art dog coord bite art child
the dog which bit the child will be killed.
In these examples, the relativised subject is singular and human (in (a) and (b)), inanimate (in (c)) and animate but non-human (in (d)). In each example, the subject concord marker in the relative clause is \( \emptyset \) (marking 3 singular).

(5.2) (a) e rau moce tiko na gone ka rau lako mai e na yakavi c.i.3dual sleep cont. art child 3dual come her in art after
The two children who came in the afternoon are sleeping.

(b) au domoni rau na yalewa ka rau a laako yani ki Suva
I love the two women who went to Suva.

(5.3) au raica na vuniniu lelevu\(^1\) ka \( \emptyset \)bale e na cagi
I saw the big coconut palms which fell in the wind.

(5.4) (a) au rerovaka na gata Lalabalavu\(^2\) ka \( \emptyset \) tiko e na veicõ
I fear the long snakes which live in the grass.

(b) e (rau) lasa vei au na vusi lalai ka (rau) qito vata e na ihe
The two kittens which play together on the mat amuse me.

In these examples, the relativised subject is non-singular and human. When the subject is human, the subject concord marker always indicates the number. In each of these examples, the number of the subject is dual, and this is indicated by the dual subject concord marker.

The number of the relativised subject in this example is shown by the non-singular form of the adjective lelevu to be non-singular. But the concord marker is \( \emptyset \).

1 non-singular form of levu.
2 non-singular form of balavu
3 non-singular form of laailai
If the subject is regarded by the speaker as not usually associated with humans, the subject concord marker is $\emptyset$. For instance, snakes would not be treated as humans. So, in (a), although the non-singular form of the adjective balabalavu shows that the number of the relativised subject to be non-singular, the subject concord marker is obligatorily $\emptyset$.

If however the subject may be regarded by the speaker as being usually closely associated with humans, the form of the subject concord marker is optional. For instance, kittens are commonly associated with humans. So, in (b), the non-singular form of the adjective lalai shows the number of the subject to be non-singular, and the form of the subject concord marker is optionally the dual rau. If the speaker did not regard the kittens as closely associated with humans, the form of the concord marker would be $\emptyset$. If the speaker did regard the kittens as "human", the form of the concord marker would be rau.

5.3 Anaphoric personal pronouns

When the object of a transitive verb in a relative clause is the argument which is relativised, relativisation is optionally marked by the 3 singular independent anaphoric personal pronoun koya, if the object is human or, sometimes, if it is animate. Otherwise no nominal form of the object is expressed. There is always an object marker unless relativisation is marked by koya. In which case, koya is partly incorporated with the verb in the relative clause and there is no object marker.

For example:

(5.5) (a) au reguca tiko na yalewa ka' u domoni koya
ls v tsom v n 1s v 3s 3s
scm kiss cont. art female coord love p.p.

I am kissing the woman whom I love.

(b) au reguca tiko na yalewa ka 'u domona
ls v tsom v n scm v tsom
scm kiss cont. art female coord is love

I am kissing the woman whom I love.

In these examples, the relativised object is human and singular. In (a), relativisation is marked by the independent 3 singular pronoun koya which as usual is partly incorporated with the transitive verb. domoni has a transitive suffix but no object marker because the object koya has been partly incorporated in the verb.

In (b), relativisation is not marked by the independent pronoun and no nominal form of the object is expressed. However domona is
not only by the transitive suffix, but also by the 3 singular object marker -a.

Both (a) and (b) are glossed in the same way, and both constructions are equally common without any apparent difference in meaning.

(5.6) (a) au a kilai rau na gone ka ra buluti rau na wekadrau
ls v ts om art n coord scm v ts om art n 3dual
scm past know 3dual child 3pl bury 3dual relative poss

I knew the two children whom their relatives buried.

(b) au qaravi ira na vulagi ka'u sureti ira me ra lako mai
ls v ts om art n 3pm v ts om scm v prep
scm look after 3pl guests intro invite 3pl to 3pl come

I look after the guests whom I invite to come.

In these examples, the relativised object is human and non-singular. When the object is human, the object marker if present always indicates the number. In (a), the object is dual and the object marker is the dual marker rau. In (b), it is plural and the marker is the plural marker ira.

(5.7) (a) au raica na waqa levu ka ra taya na matai
ls v tsom n adj pl coord 3pl v tsom n
scm see art canoe big scm make art carpenter

I see the big canoe which the carpenters made.

(b) au raica na waqa levu1 ka ra taya na matai
ls v tsom n adj pl coord scm v ts art n
scm see art canoe big 3pl carpenter

I see the big canoes which the carpenters made.

In these examples, the relativised object is inanimate. In (a) the object is singular. In (b), it is non-singular, as indicated by the non-singular form of the adjective lelevu which modifies the head noun.

In each example, the object marker obligatorily appears in the form -a. In (a), the alternative construction with kova (see example (5.5)) is not possible, because kova only refers to humans and under certain circumstances (see (5.7A) (b)) to other animates. As for (b), the non-singular forms of the object marker are not used with inanimate objects.

In the following examples (5.7A) and (5.8), the relativised object is animate but non-human.

(5.7A) (a) au a vakania na vusi lailai ka ra qarava na gone
ls v tsom n adj s coord 3pl v tsom n
scm past feed art cat little scm art child

I fed the kitten which the children look after.

1 non-singular form of levu
In these two examples, the relativised object is singular. In (b), relativisation is marked by the independent 3 singular anaphoric personal pronoun *koya*. In (a), relativisation is not marked by the pronoun. The comments on the construction are the same as on the construction in examples (5.5)(a) and (b) where the object relativised was human.

Both (5.7A)(a) and (b) are glossed in the same way. The choice of construction depends on the attitude of the speaker to the object. The more closely the speaker associates the object with humans, the more likely it is that relativisation may be marked by the independent pronoun. The choice of construction is therefore conditional and not so free as in the case of human objects (see examples (5.5)(a) and (b)).

*Koya* essentially refers to humans but may refer to other animates regarded by the speaker as closely associated with humans.

(5.8)(a) au a vakamatea na qio lelevu1 ka' u a siwata ls v tsom n adj 1sgcm v tsom scm past kill art shark big coord past fish

I killed the big sharks I caught.

(b) au a vakania na vusi lalai1 ka rau garava na gone ls v tsom n adj coord 3dual v tsom art n scm past feed art cat little scm look after child

I fed the little cats which the two children look after.

(c) au a vakania na vusi lalai1 ka rau garavi ira na gone ls v tsom n adj coord scm v ts om n scm past feed art cat little 3dual after 3pl art child

I fed the little cats which the two children look after.

In these three examples, the relativised object is non-singular. In (a) and (b) the object marker *-a* does not indicate the number of the object which in each example is shown to be non-singular by the non-singular form of the adjective modifying the head noun. In (c) however the 3 plural object marker *ira* does indicate the number of the object as plural.

Again, the form of the object marker depends on the attitude of the speaker to the object. If the non-singular object is regarded by the speaker as not usually associated with humans, the object marker is obligatorily *-a*. For instance, sharks would not be treated as humans. So in (a), the object marker would always be *-a*.

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1 non-singular forms of *levu* and *lailai*. 
If however the non-singular object may be regarded by the speaker as closely associated with humans as in the case of kittens, the form of the object marker is optional. In (b), the speaker does not regard the kittens as human, and the concord marker is -a. However, in (c), the speaker does regard the kittens as human, and the concord marker is ira.

The examples (5.5) - (5.8) show that the marking of a relativised object is conditioned by (i) whether it is human (or animate and regarded as closely associated with humans) or inanimate (or animate but regarded as not closely associated with humans), and (ii) whether it is singular or non-singular.

5.4 Possible ambiguities

Conditions for ambiguity

Under certain conditions which I will describe in this section, it may not be possible to tell from the syntax of a sentence containing a relative clause whether a noun phrase following the verb in the relative clause functions as the subject or the object of that verb. Such ambiguity may depend on whether the head noun of the relative clause and the noun phrase which follows the relative verb are human or non-human, singular or non-singular, common or proper. If it is proper, ambiguity cannot arise because a noun phrase marked with the proper article ko can only be the subject (see section 4.2).

For example:

\[(5.9)\]

\[\text{(a) au raici rau na tagane ka rau reguci rau na yalewa} \]

\[\text{ls v ts 3dual n} \quad \text{3dual v ts 3dual n} \]

\[\text{scm see om art male coord scm kiss om art female} \]

'I saw the two men who kissed the two women.'

or 'I saw the two men whom the two women kissed.'

Conditions for ambiguity arise if the head noun and the argument in the relative clause are both human and the same number. In (5.9) they are both human and dual. It is not possible to tell whether the scm rau of the relative clause marks na tagane or na yalewa. Nor is it possible to tell whether the object marker rau of the relative clause marks na yalewa or na tagane.

In this example:

\[(5.10)\]

\[\text{au raica na gone ka tarā na cikinovu} \]

\[\text{ls v tscm n coord v tscm n} \]

\[\text{scm see art child .touch art centipede} \]

can mean either 'I saw the child who touched the centipede(s)', or 'I saw the child whom the centipede(s) touched'.
Conditions for ambiguity can also arise if the head noun is human and singular, and the argument in the relative clause is non-human (either singular or non-singular). In (5.10), the head noun is human and singular. It is not possible to tell whether the non-human argument in the relative clause is singular or non-singular. The $ subject concord marker in the relative clause could mark either na gone or na cikinovu. The -a object marker of the relative verb could mark either na cikinovu or na gone. The subject or object marker of a non-human argument may be the same as the marker of a singular human argument.

In these examples:

(5.11) au raica na koli ka vakacemuria na gone
ls v tsom n v tsom n
scm see art dog coord chase art child
could mean either 'I saw the dog(s) which chased the child.' or 'I saw the dog(s) which the child chased.'

(5.12) au raica na koli loaloa ka vakacemuria na kā vulavula
ls v tsom n adj v tsom n adj
scm see art dog black coord chase art thing white
could mean either 'I saw the black dog(s) which chased the white one(s)' or 'I saw the black dog(s) which the white one(s) chased'.

Conditions for ambiguity can also arise if the head noun is non-human (either singular or non-singular) and the argument in the relative clause is either human and singular, or non-human (either singular or non-singular).

In (5.11) and (5.12) it is not possible to tell whether the non-human head noun is singular or non-singular. In (5.12) the argument in the relative clause may be singular or non-singular. The $ subject concord marker in the relative clauses in both examples could mark either na koli or na gone (in 5.11) or na kā vulavula (in 5.12). The -a object marker in the relative verbs in both examples could also mark the same arguments. The subject marker and the object marker as the same for such alternatives.

Examples (5.9) - (5.12) cannot be disambiguated from the syntax of the sentence or from the semantics of the verbs or the arguments in the sentence. With many other sentences, it is not possible to determine from the syntax alone the function of an argument in a transitive relative clause. But the meaning of the sentence can often be disambiguated at the sentence level, when the semantics of the verb or the noun phrase in the relative clause are taken into account. For example:
5.13 au raica na vunikau ka taya na cauravou
ls v tsom n v tsom n
scm see art tree coord cut art youth
can only mean 'I saw the tree which the youth cut down', although it is not possible to tell from the syntax of the relative clause alone whether na cauravou functions as the subject or object of the verb taya.

Similarly in the sentence

(5.14) e liwa oti na cagilaba ka vakabalea na vale
v v n v tsom n
c.i blow finish art hurricane coord fall art house

The hurricane which made the house fall has finished blowing

the object or subject function of na vale is syntactically ambiguous.

However, the sentence can only mean 'the hurricane which made the house fall has finished blowing'.

5.5 "Disambiguating"

5.5.1 It is sentences such as (5.9) - (5.12) which are truly ambiguous, both syntactically and semantically. In this section, I will discuss syntactic means which are available for disambiguating such sentences.

5.5.2 If the head noun and the argument in the relative clause are both human and the same number, the function of such an argument in the relative clause can be disambiguated.

5.5.2.1 Such an argument functioning as a subject can be disambiguated by the use of an independent personal pronoun as the head of a noun phrase in apposition to the subject noun phrase. I will give two examples of ambiguous sentences and then show how they can be disambiguated.

(5.15) au raica na tagane ka reguca na yolowa
ls v tsom n v tsom n
scm see art male coord kiss art female
can mean either 'I saw the man who kissed the woman.' or 'I saw the man whom the woman kissed.' The sentence is truly ambiguous.

(5.16) e ra cici mai na gone ka ra domoni ira na turaga
3pl v n c.i coord 3pl v ts 3pl n
c.i.scm run here art child scm love on art chief
can mean either 'the children who love the chiefs ran here' or 'the children whom the chiefs love ran here'. In the relative clause, ira could ambiguously refer anaphorically back to na gone in the main clause or forward to na turaga in the relative clause. It is also an ambiguous sentence.

It is however possible to make quite clear that a human argument in a relative clause is functioning as a subject by expanding the noun phrase. The human subject noun phrase can be preceded by a personal
pronoun acting as the head of a noun phrase in apposition to the following noun phrase. The original common NP can be expanded to the form -  

ko  Personal Pronoun na Noun

The personal pronoun would be in concord with the number of the noun of the apposed common noun phrase. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>common NP</th>
<th>expanded NP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko koya na yalewa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>art woman</td>
<td>art p.p. art woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

see example (5.15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>common NP</th>
<th>expanded NP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko ira na turaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>art chief</td>
<td>art 3pl art chief</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

see example (5.16) na turaga

Example (5.15) could be disambiguated as follows:

(5.17) au raica na tagane ka reguca o koya na yalewa

I saw the man whom the women kissed.

The alternative constructions reguca or reguci koya parallel the alternative constructions given in examples (5.5) (a) and (b). I will discuss in section 5.5.2.2 the disambiguation of (5.15), if na yalewa is the object.

Example (5.16) could be disambiguated as follows:

(5.18) e ra cici mai na gone ka ra domoni ira ko ira na turaga

ko ira na turaga is the subject of the relative clause marked by the scm ra. The object marker ira refers anaphorically back to the head noun na gone.

5.5.2.2 If the head noun and a noun phrase in the relative clause are both human and singular, the function of the noun phrase as the object of the verb in the relative clause can be disambiguated. This can be done by marking the noun of the noun phrase with the proper article ko instead of the common article na, if there is no doubt in the minds of the speaker and the hearer as to the identity of the person referred to in the noun phrase.

As the object of a transitive verb, the noun of the resulting proper noun phrase ko N becomes partly incorporated in the transitive verb and ko is deleted. For example instead of saying
(5.15) au raica na tagane ka reguca na yalewa
ls v tsom n coord v tsom n
scm saw art man who kiss art woman
I saw the man who kissed the woman.

It is also possible to say:

(5.19) au raica na tagane ka reguci yalewa
ls v tsom n coord v tsom n
scm see art man kiss woman
I saw the man who kissed the woman.

In these examples, na yalewa has become ko yalewa, and ko yalewa has become partly incorporated with the transitive verb reguca. Because of the partial incorporation, there is no requirement for an object marker. The resulting construction in (5.19) is reguci yalewa. This construction is rarely used.

5.5.3 If the head noun is human and singular, and the argument in the relative clause is non-human, the function of such an argument can be disambiguated.

5.5.3.1 Such an argument functioning as a subject can be disambiguated by the use of the 3 singular independent personal pronoun koya as an object marker. For example, I have already explained that -

(5.10) au raica na gone ka tarā na cikinovu
ls scm v tsom n coord v tsom art n
I saw the child who touched the centipede(s)
whom the centipede(s) touched
can be ambiguous, and that na cikinovu can function as subject or as object in the relative clause.

But the sentence -

(5.20) au raica na gone ka tarai koya na cikinovu
ls v tsom n v ts som n
scm see art child coord touch p.p. art centipede
would almost certainly mean 'I saw the child whom the centipede(s) touched' rather than 'I saw the child who touched the centipede' (marked by koya as singular). In the first meaning, koya refers anaphorically back to na gone. In the second meaning, it refers anaphorically forward to na cikinovu. But koya refers especially to humans and only optionally to animals and then only if closely associated with humans. It is therefore much more likely that in this sentence, koya refers to na gone, and it is the first meaning which is intended by the speaker.

5.5.3.2 The absence of koya in (5.10) as repeated immediately before (5.20) suggests that

(5.10) au raica na gone ka tarai na cikinovu
ls scm v tsom n v ts som n
I see art child coord touch art centipede
means 'I saw the child who touched the centipede' rather than
'I saw the child whom the centipede touched'.

When the object marker of the relative verb is -a, it is more likely that the non-human argument in a relative clause is functioning as object and that the subject of the relative verb is the human head noun.

5.5.4 If the head noun is non-human (either singular or non-singular) and the argument in the relative clause is hur.n and singular, the function of such an argument can be disambiguated.

5.5.4.1 In contrast to 5.5.3.1, such an argument functioning as an object can be disambiguated by the use of the 3 singular independent personal pronoun koya as an object marker. For example -

(5.21) au taukena na kolī ka ⁶ kunea na gone
ls v tsom n v tsom n
scm own art dog coord scm found art child

could mean either 'I own the dog(s) which found the child' or
'I own the dog(s) which the child found'. In this example, the subject and object markers are such that they can ambiguously mark na kolī as a singular or non-singular subject or object of kunea, or na gone as the singular subject or object.

But the sentence -

(5.22) au taukena na kolī ka kunei koya na gone
ls v tsom n v ts 3s n
scm own art dog coord find p.p. art child

is most likely to mean 'I own the dog which found the child'. koya, the essentially human pronoun, is most likely to be used to refer anaphorically to human object na gone than to non-human subject na kolī.

5.5.4.2 Again in contrast to 5.5.3.2, the absence of koya in (5.21) suggests that -

(5.21) au taukuna na kolī ka kunea na gone
ls v tsom n v tsom n
scm own art dog coord find art child

means 'I own the dog(s) which the child found', rather than 'I own the dog(s) which found the child'.

When the object marker of the relative verb is -a, it is more likely that the non-human head noun is functioning as object and that the subject of the relative verb is the human argument in the relative clause.
5.5.5 If the head noun and the argument in the relative clause are both non-human, it is not possible to disambiguate the function of the argument, except by circumlocution, by completely altering the sentence or adding to the sentence.

For example, repeating (5.12) -

(5.11) ai raica na koli isalos ka vakatamuria na ka vulavula le v tsox n adi v tsox n adi
sum see art dog black coord chase art thing white

...can only be disambiguated by such restructuring as -

(5.12a) avakatamuria na koli vulavula na koli isalos ka'u raica past v tsox n adj adj
sum see art dog white art thing black coord sum see

The black dog which I saw had chased the white one.

5.5.6 Since non-singular subject markers and object markers usually mark human entities, unless an animate entity is regarded as human, it is very doubtful if a listener would regard the following sentence as ambiguous -

(5.23) ai raica na sikanovu ka ra tarak na gone is v tsox n napi v tsox n
sum see art centipede coord sum touch art child

would almost certainly mean 'I saw the centipede which the children touched' rather than 'I saw the centipedes which touched the child'.

This is because the subject concord marker ka is much more likely to mark the human na gone than the non-human na sikanovu.

In the same way -

(5.24) ogu na gone ka kunau rau a koli kau
delis n vsi final n
this art child coord find in art dog

is much more likely to mean 'these are the two children whom the dog found' rather than 'this is the child who found the two dogs'. In this example the object marker rau is more likely to mark the human na gone than the non-human na koli. In this example, rau not only disambiguates the function of the argument in the relative clause but also specifies the number of the head noun - the number of the head noun cannot be identified from the main clause 'ogu na gone'. Here is 'an the children'.

5.6 Anaphoric possessive pronouns

5.6.1 When the argument to be relativised is the "genitive" or "possessor", relativisation is obligatorily marked by an anaphoric possessive pronoun. No other nominal form of the argument to be relativised is expressed in a relative clause.
The form of pronoun depends on whether the object to be relativised is characterised by optional or obligatory possession. For example:

(5.25) (a) au raica na nona vale (optional possession)
ls \( v \) tscm 3s n
scm see art poss house
I see his house.
(b) au kilä na wekana (obligatory possession)
ls \( v \) tscm n 3s
scm know art reltation poss.
I know his relation.

5.6.2 If an object is characterised by optional possession and such possession is marked by an independent possessive pronoun, a main clause can show such possession in two constructions, as exemplified by -

(5.26) (a) e nona na vale
3 sing n
c.i. poss. art house
the house is his.
or
(b) au raica na nona vale
ls \( v \) tscm 3s n
scm see art poss house
I see his house.
or
(c) e nona vale
3s n
c.i. poss. house
It is his house.

In (5.26) (a), the possessive pronoun is excluded from the noun phrase of the object possessed. In (5.26) (b), it is included in the noun phrase. In (5.26) (c) it is included in the extended verb phrase, in which the noun vale is verbalised.

5.6.2.1 Either of these possessive constructions, the excluded and the included, can be used when genitives of objects marked by optional possessives are relativised. These constructions are shown in the following sentences:

(5.27) (a) e cici mai na tagane ka nona na vale c ra tam na v 2
3s n c.3pl \( v \) tscm n
c.i. run here art man coord poss. house scm build art youth
the man whose house the young men built runs here.
(b) e cici mai na tagane ka ra tari na nona vale na v
3pl \( v \) tscm 3sing n n
. c.i. run here art man coord scm build art poss house art youth
the man whose house the young men build runs here.

1 see section 1.4.2.
2 this second relative clause is introduced by the particle e (see 5.33) in order to avoid a sequence of ka...ka.
(5.28)(a) au raica na turaga ka ra nona na sotia
  is v tsom n  scm 3sing n
  scm see art chief coord 3pl poss art soldier
  e ra vakamatei e na ivalu
  c.i. 3pl v ts art n
  scm kill in war

I saw the chief whose soldiers were killed in the war.

(b) au raica na turaga ka ra vakamatei na nona sotia
  v tsom n  scm v ts 3 sing n
I see art chief intro 3pl kill art poss. soldier
  e na ivalu
  n in art war

I saw the chief whose soldiers were killed in the war.

In the (a) examples, the anaphoric possessive pronoun nona which refers back to the singular noun phrase na tagane (in 5.27)(a) and na turaga (in 5.28)(a) is excluded syntactically from the noun phrase of the object possessed.

It functions as the predicate of the relative clause introduced by the particle ka. In each example, the object possessed is a noun phrase functioning as the subject of the relative clause. The object possessed in (5.27)(a) is na vale and in (5.28)(a) is na sotia. Since na sotia is plural, the subject concord marker preceding nona in (5.28)(a) is 3rd person plural. These may be defined as relative possessive clauses. In each example, the relative possessive clause is followed by a second relative clause. In (5.27)(a), the subject of the relative possessive clause functions as the object of the second relative clause. The verb of the second relative clause is transitive and the object marker -a of the verb in the second relative clause (tarâ+â+a−tarâ)
  tsom
is in concord with the object (an inanimate entity, na vale the house).

In (5.28)(a), the subject of the relative possessive clause functions as the subject of the second relative clause. The subject concord marker ra of the verb in the second relative clause is in concord with the subject (a human plural entity, na sotia the soldiers).

In the (b) examples, the anaphoric possessive pronoun nona which refers back to the singular noun phrases na tagane (in 5.27)(b)) and na turaga (in 5.28)(b)) is included syntactically in the noun phrase of the object possessed. The resulting "possessed noun phrase" functions as the object of the verb in the relative clause: in (5.27)(b) - that is, na nona vale his house - but as the subject of the verb in the relative clause in (5.28)(b) - that is, na nona sotia his soldiers. Since the
subject of the verb in the relativised construction in (5.27) (b) is animate, the object marker of this transitive verb appears accordingly with the transitive suffix as -a. Since the object of reference of the subject of the verb in the relativised construction in (5.28) (b) is human and plural, the subject marker of this verb appears accordingly as 3rd plural ra.

5.5.2.2 The form of the classifier morpheme of the possessive pronoun in relative clauses depends on the same semantic contrasts as in possessive phrases in main clauses. For example -

responsible (5.29) (a) au raica na tagane ka nona na vale e ra tara na cauravou

I see the man whose house the youths are building.

(b) au raica na tagane ka ra tara na nona vale na cauravou

I see the man whose house the youths are building.

not responsible (5.30) (a) au kilai na gone ka kena na iyaloyalo o kitaka

I know the child whose picture you took.

(b) au kilai na gone ka o kitaka na kena iyaloyalo

I know the child whose picture you took.

edible (5.31) (a) au doka na turaga ka kena na kakana au vakasaqara

I respect the chief whose food I cooked.

(b) au doka na turaga ka u vakasaqara na kena kakana

I respect the chief whose food I cooked.

drinkable (5.32) (a) au dokai ira na vulagi ka medra na yaqona au vakarausta

I respect the guests whose kava I prepared.

(b) au dokai ira na vulagi ka f l u vakarausta na medra yaqona

I respect the guests whose kava I prepared.

These examples show the two alternative constructions for relativised

1 see sections 1.4.1-2
Genitives applied to each level of semantic contrast of possession:

```
optional
  dominant
  nona
  subordinate
  kena
  edible
  drinkable
  kena
  mena
```

5.6.3 If the object to be relativised is marked by obligatory possession, only one construction is available to mark relativisation of the genitive of such an object. Since possession is marked by a suffix, the possessive pronoun does not have an independent syntactic function. It cannot therefore be used in a relative construction similar to those exemplified in examples (5.27)(a) or (5.28)(a).

5.6.3.1 The only option for relativisation is a construction similar to those exemplified in examples (5.27)(b) and (5.28)(b). For example:

(5.33)(a) e ru cic i mai na vei watini ka ratou vakamatei na luvedu
scm v 3pauc.v tsch child poss

The husband and wife whose children were killed, hurried here.

(b) au taya na vunikau ka yaga na drauna
ls v tsom n adj n 3sing
scm cut art tree coord useful art leaf poss insep

I cut down the tree the leaves of which are useful.

(c) au cati rau na vei watini ka 'u mokuti iratou na luvedu
ls v ts 3dual n ls v 3dual n 3dual
scm hate om art husband & coord scm hit om art poss child

I hate the husband and wife whose children I hit.

(d) au taya na vunikau lelevu1 ka 'u a betia na vuana
ls v tsom n adj ls past v tsom n 3sing poss
scm cut art tree big coord pick art fruit

I cut down the big trees of which I had picked the fruit.

1 non-singular form of levu
In (a) and (b), the 3rd person dual possessive pronominal suffix -drau refers back to the dual human noun phrase na veivatini husband and wife. In (a), na luvedrau - their children is the subject of the relativised clause introduced by ka and the subject marker ratou is in concord with the number and person of the human subject. In (c), na luvedrau their children is the object of the transitive verb in the relativised clause, mokuti. The object marker of mokuti is iratou which is in concord with the number (paucal) and person of the human object.

In (b) and (d), the possessive suffix -na refers back to the inanimate noun phrase na vunikau which is singular in (b) but plural in (d).

In (b), na drauna - the leaves, is the subject of the relativised clause introduced by ka. Since na drauna though plural is inanimate, the subject marker is Ø. In (d), na vuanu - the fruit, is the object of the transitive verb with relativised clause, betia - pick. Although na vuanu is plural, it is inanimate, and so number is unmarked by the object marker of the verb -a (betia + Ø + a — betia).

5.7 Oblique anaphoric pronouns and particles

5.7.1 When the argument to be relativised is marked by a preposition or the human directional particle vei or the comitative particle kei, relativisation is marked by either:

(a) an anaphoric personal pronoun marked in the same way as the argument to be relativised; or

(b) the oblique human anaphoric particles vua - to him or kaya - with him; or

(c) the oblique inanimate anaphoric particle kina.

For example:

**Prep. + (5.34) (a)**

\[ \text{au raici iratou na yalewa ka 'u solia ki vei iratou na ika} \]
\[ \text{ls v ts om n coord scm give prep human p.p fis} \]
I saw the woman to whom I gave the fish.

**dir.hum.part.+N (b)**

\[ \text{au raici rau na gone ka 'u solia vei rau na drega} \]
\[ \text{ls v ts om n coord scm give human p.p chewing gum} \]
I saw the two children to whom I gave the chewing gum.
special (5.34) (c) au raica na gone ka 'u solia \textit{vua} na dr̈-ga
\textit{particle human} ls v tsom n ls v tsom n
scm see art child coord give art chewing gum
I saw the child to whom I gave the chewing gum.

special (d) au taya na waqa ka ra vodo mai \textit{kina} na vulagi
\textit{particle} ls v tsom n coord 3pl v n
\textit{inanimate} scm made art canoe scm ride here art guest
'I made the canoe in which the guests rode.'

5.7.2 Two conditions determine the construction for marking the relativisation of arguments in oblique positions other than the genitive: whether an object is human or inanimate, and whether it is singular or non-singular. In (5.7.2.1 - 4) I will explain the conditions, and in (5.7.3.1 - 5), I will give examples and such further explanation as may be necessary.

5.7.2.1 If the object to be relativised is human and non-singular, relativisation is marked by an independent anaphoric personal pronoun preceded by either

(a) the human directional particle \textit{vei} and, optionally, by a preposition; or

(b) the comitative particle \textit{kei}.

See (b) examples in section 5.7.3.1 and 5.7.3.2, and example (5.45).

5.7.2.2 If the object to be relativised is human and singular, relativisation is marked by either:

(a) an oblique human anaphoric particle \textit{vua}
preceded, optionally, by a preposition; or

(b) the comitative human anaphoric particle \textit{kaya}.

See (a) examples in sections 5.7.3.1 and 5.7.3.2, and example (5.44).

5.7.2.3 If the object to be relativised is inanimate, relativisation is marked by the oblique inanimate anaphoric particle \textit{kina}.

\textit{kina} is used with both singular and non-singular inanimate arguments. See (c) examples (singular) and (d) examples (non-singular) in sections 5.7.3.1, 5.7.3.2, 5.7.3.3 and examples (5.39) - (5.42) and (5.46).

5.7.2.4 If the object to be relativised is animate but non-human, the attitude of the speaker to the object determines the manner of marking relativisation. The closer the speaker associates the object with humans, the more likely he is to relativise as if the object was human. See (e) examples (singular) and (f) examples (non-singular) in sections 5.7.3.1 and 5.7.3.2, and examples (5.47) and (5.48).

5.7.3 I will now give the examples to illustrate the conditions as
explained in sections 5.7.2.1 - 4, taking the oblique cases as follows:
goal (5.7.3.1), source (5.7.3.2), instrument (5.7.3.3), locative/temporal (5.7.3.4) and comitative (5.7.3.5).

5.7.3.1 Goal Marking

human (5.35)(a) au raica na gone ka solia (ki)vua na ivola o Pita
      ls v tsom n coord v tsom n art n
      scm see art child give to art letter Pita

      (prep)+vua
      I saw the child to whom Pita gave the letter.

human (b) au raici ira na gone ka solia (ki)vei ira na ivola o Pita
      ls v ts 3pl n coord v tsom hum. 3pl art n art n
      scm see om art child give to dir. p.p. art letter(5)art(n)
      I saw the children to whom Pita gave the letter(s).

inanimate (c) au kilā na koro ka lako yani kina o Pita
      ls v tsom v n
      kina
      I know the village to which Pita went.

inanimate (d) au kilā na du i koro ka ra du i soko lesu kina na vulā
      ls v tsom differ n coord 3pl v n
      kina
      I know the different villages to which the guests are sailing back.

animate (e) sa mate na kolī ka 'u solia (ki)vua na sui
      cont v n coord ls v tsom n
      scm dead art dog scm give art bone
      The dog to which I gave the bone is dead.

optional.kina/vua

non-singular (f) e (ra)mate na kolī ka 'u solia (ki)vei ira na sui
      c.i.3pl v n coord ls v tsom hum 3pl n
      scm dead art dog scm give p.p. art bone
      The dogs to which I gave the bone(s) are dead.


The use of ki before vua or vei is optional, but it is more
usual to omit it especially if it is obvious from the semantics of the
situation that goal is intended. In (5.35)(a) and (b), the use of kina
would not be grammatical. In (c) and (d), the use of a personal anaphoric
or pronoun would not be grammatical. In (e) and (f), either kina or a
personal anaphoric pronoun may be used, depending on how the speaker
views the dog. If kina is used in (f), the 3pl scm ra would not be
used in the main clause. If (ki) vei ira is used, ra would also be used.
7.3.2 Source Marking

**human** (5.36) (a) au raica na gone ka taura mai vua na ivola o Pita
ls v tsom n coord v tsom. n n
scm see art child take from art letter art Pita
mai vua
I see the child from whom Pita took the letter.

**human**
(b) au raici ira na gone ka taura mai vei ira na ivola o Pita
ls v tspl n coord v tsom hum.3pl n art n
scm see scm art child take from dir.p.p.art letter Pita part.

**inanimate**
(c) au kilâ na koro ka lesu mai kina o Pita
ls v tsom n coord v n
scm know art village return here art Pita
kina
I know the village from which Pita returned.

**inanimate**
(d) au kilâ na dui koro ka ra dui lesu mai kina na gone
ls v tsom n coord v n
differ n
scm know art different village coord 3 pl differ n
return here art child
kina
I know the various villages from which the children have returned.

**animate**
(e) sa mate na kolî ka 'u taura mai vua na sui
c.i.v n coord ls v tsom n
cont dead art dog take from art bone
non-human

**optional kina/mai vua**

**animate**
(f) e (ra) mate na kolî ka 'u taura mai vei ira na sui
3pl v n coord ls v tsom hum.3pl n
scm dead art dog take from part.p.p. art bone non-human

**optional kina/mai vei P.P.**

The dog from which I took the bone is dead.

The use of mai before vua or vei is obligatory. In (5.36) (a) and (b) the use of mai vua is obligatory and the use of kina vei ira would not be grammatical. In (c) and (d) the use of kina is obligatory; and in (e) and (f) the use of kina is optional. In (b), the options are ra...kina or a...mai vei ira, for the scm of the main clause and the form of relativisation. Kina is also used in the following examples of the relativised source being cause rather than person or place form:

(5.37) (a) au vakadinadinataka na veileti ka cudru kina na turaga
ls v tsom v n
scm witness art quarrel coord angry art chief
I witnessed the quarrel about which the chief was angry.

(b) o kilâ na vuna ka 'u lako yani kina ki Suva?
scm v tsom n coord ls v n
2s know art reason scm go away to Suva
Do you know the reason for which I went to Suva?
(5.37) (c) sa Otto na matetaka ka ra mate kina na gone
cont finish art flu intro scm dead art child
The flu which the children died of is finished.

(d) au vakamatea na koli ka ra dau re kina na gone
ls v tsom n intro 3pl v intro scm habit fear art child
I killed the dog which the children were afraid of.

5.7.3.3 Instrument Marking

(5.38) (a) No examples
(b) Inanimate

(c) au a kunea na isole ka vakamatei kina na gone
ls v tsom n coord v ts n
scm past find art knife kill art child
I found the knife with which the child was killed.

(d) e gata na isele laalai ka rau vakamatei iratou kina na gone
(c.i) adj n adj coord 3dual v ts 3dual
non-singular sharp art knife little scm kill om
child
The little knives with which the two old men killed the
children are sharp.

(e) No examples
(f) Since an agent if expressed can only occupy the subject position,
there is no way in which a clause glossed as 'I saw the man by whom
the child was killed' or 'I saw the dog by which the child was bitten',
can be formed. So (a) and (b) examples are not available for human
singular and non-singular.

The use of kina in (c) and (d) is obligatory. It is semantically
improbable that an animate non-human would be the object relativised,
even if regarded a an inanimate. It is grammatically possible but
regarded by my informants as highly unusual to say something like
(5.38A) oyo na gata ka vakamatei kina o Semi
deic art n coord v ts n
here art snake kill art Semi
Here is the snake by which Semi was killed.

Such a sentence would imply that a snake had been deliberately used by
an unexpressed agent to kill Semi. I have, therefore, indicated in
example (5.38) that no example is available under (e) and (f) for
animate, non-human singular and non-singular relativisation.
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1.7.3.4 Locative/temporal Marking

Locative (5.39) 

sā vakarusaia na koro ka vakaitiko kina o Jone

The village in which Jone stayed has been destroyed.

(5.40) au raica na lbe ka ra dabe toka kina na gone lalai*  

I saw the mat on which the small children squatted.

(5.41) kauta mada mai na kato lelevu ka qaravi kina na noda isulu  

Please bring here the big boxes in which our clothes are kept.

Temporal (5.42) 

au sega ni guilecava rawa na gauna dādā ka'u a tauvimate kina  

The hot months during which the heavy rain falls are over.

Again, the use of kina is obligatory in all these examples, and is used whether the location or the time relativised is singular or plural.

5.7.3.5 Comitative Marking

With goal marking (section 5.7.3.1) and source marking (section 5.7.3.2), the alternative methods of relativisation were by (ki)vua, if the argument to be relativised was human and singular; (ki) vei + personal pronoun, if the argument to be relativised was human and non-singular; or kina if the argument was inanimate.

With comitative marking, the alternative methods of relativisation are by kaya, if the argument to be relativised is human and singular; by kei + personal pronoun, if the argument to be relativised is human and non-singular; or by kina if the argument is inanimate. The same principles for determining the method of relativisation of animates but non-human, apply in the case of comitative marking as in the other categories of case marking described so far. Since there are additional points to discuss in this section, I will describe human relativisation under examples (5.44) for singular, (5.45) for non-singular; inanimates under (5.46) and animate non-human under (5.47), singular under (5.48)

---

1 lelevu, lalai are plural forms of levu and lailai
The following examples illustrate comitative marking:  

(5.44) (a) lesu tale na cauravou ka keirau dau veivacu kava again n coordinual exc v c.i return art youth scm habit box  

The young man with whom I used to box has gone back.  

(b) au domona na yalewa ka keirau n vakawati kava ls v tsom n coordinual excl v scm love art woman scm fut marry  

I love the woman whom I am going to marry.  

(c) oqo na gone ka keirau na lako vata kaya ki na koro deic n coordinual v n this art child excl scm fut go together to art village  

This is the child with whom I will go to the village.  

These examples show that the subject marker of the verb in the relative clause is in concord with the subject and with the comitative argument of the relative verb, if it is a reciprocal verb (veivacu in (5.44) (a) and veivale in (5.45) (a)); or a verb which semantically has a comitative argument (vakawati in (5.44) (b)); or a verb which has a comitative particle vata in (5.44) (c) and (5.45) (b)).  

(5.46) (a) oqo na ivola ka ra cici kina na gone lalai ki na koro deic n coordinpl v n adj art n this art letter scm run art child little to art village  

These are the letters with which the little children ran to the village.  

(b) au a volia na matau ka kaka cake kina na gone ki na dolana is v tsom n v prep n scm buy art axe coord climb up child to art top  

I bought the axe with which the child climbed to the top.  

It is interesting to note that in (b), the subject concord marker is in concord with a human subject na gone, and there is an inanimate comitative argument kina. The inanimate argument does not affect the number of the
subject marker of a comitative verb and so the form of the marker is

(a) ogō na kolī ka cici vata kina na gone
diec n coord v n
this art dog run together art child
kina/kaya

This is the dog with which the child runs.

(b) ogō na kolī ka rau cici vata kaya na gone
diec n coord 3dual v n
this art dog scm run together art child
kina/kaya

This is the dog with which the child runs.

In example (5.48) (b), kei iratou includes the anaphoric 3rd pauc personal pronoun iratou which refers back to na kolī kece all the dogs. The subject concord marker of the relative verb is ra 3rd plural, in concord with ko ira na gone. In (5.47) (a), the subject concord marker ō is in concord with the relative subject argument na gone and the relativised comitative argument kina. In (5.47) (b), the marker rau is in concord with the subject and the relativised comitative argument kaya. This is quite consistent with the overall requirement that the subject concord marker of a verb which has a comitative particle vata is in concord with both the subject and the comitative argument. In (5.47) (a), na kolī is relativised with an inanimate relative particle kina and is regarded by the speaker as inanimate. The number of the subject marker of the relative verb is not affected by the inanimate comitative argument. It remains in concord with the number of the subject na gone which is singular. The subject concord marker of the verb in the relative clause is therefore ō. On the other hand, in (5.47) (b), na kolī is relativised with the human relative oblique pronoun kaya, being regarded by the speaker as human.

The number of the subject marker of the relative verb is therefore affected by the human comitative argument as well as the number of the subject. The subject concord marker of the verb in the relative clause is therefore dual (singular subject + singular optional comitative argument).

1 Non-singular form of lalai
In certain situations, there is an option as to which method of relativisation may be used in marking comitative arguments. Examples (5.47(a) and (b) show that kina or kaya can be used optionally to relativise a comitative argument, of which the entity is animate but non-human.

Examples (5.35) and (5.36) (c) and (f) show that the same option is open for relativising a goal argument or a source argument. In these examples, the determining factor seems to be the attitude of the speaker to the object, depending on whether the speaker associates or disassociates the objects with humans.

In examples (5.47(a) and (b), however, another interesting determining factor can be observed. The semantics of the situation determine whether kaya or kina is used, depending on whether the child is carrying the dog and the dog should be regarded as a mere accompaniment, or whether the dog and the child are running together, and they should be regarded as joint agents. In the former situation, kina would be used. In the latter situation, kaya would be used.

### Summary of oblique relativisation (except genitives)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sing.</td>
<td>non-sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>(ki)vuā (ki)vei Pro¹</td>
<td>kina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>mai vuā mai vei Pro¹</td>
<td>kina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td></td>
<td>kina</td>
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<td>Loc. temp.</td>
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<td>kina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>kaya</td>
<td>kei Pro¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relativisation of oblique animate non-humans may be carried out by the inanimate oblique marker kina or by the human single oblique markers (ki) mai vuā and kaya or by the human non-single oblique markers (ki) mai vei Pro¹ depending on whether the entity is regarded as inanimate or human. Such a condition may be met in the case of comitative marking by showing whether the comitative entity is a mere accompaniment (such as being carried about) or whether it is a joint agent (doing something that the subject entity is also doing).

¹ Pro is an anaphoric independent non-singular personal pronoun.
Case Marking by suffix

From 5.7.3.1 - 5.7.3.5 I discussed the relativisation of Goal, Source, Instrument, Locative/Temporal and Comitative, and case marking by preposition or particle preceding or forming part of the pronoun. In relative structures as in simple declaratory structures, case can also be marked by the transitive suffix attached to the verb. The following corresponding pairs of sentences indicate case marking of arguments in relative clauses, by both methods -

**Goal**

(5.49) (a) oqo na koro ka 'u cici kina
deic n coord n v
this art village is run

This is the village to which I ran.

(b) oqo na koro ka 'u ciciva
deict n coord n v tson
this art village is run to

This is the village which I ran to.

**Source**

(5.50) (a) au vakadinadinata na veileti ka cudru kina na turaga
ls v tson n coord n v
scm witness art quarrel angry art chief

I witnessed the quarrel about which the chief was angry.

(b) au vakadinadinata na veileti ka cudruvaka na turaga
ls v tson n coord v tson
scm witness art quarrel angry art chief

I witnessed the quarrel which the chief was angry about.

**Instrument**

(5.51) (a) oqo na dakai ka 'u vana kina
deic n ls v
this art bow coord n v
scm shoot

This is the bow with which I shoot.

(b) oqo na dakai ka 'u vanatakata
deic n v tson
this art bow coord ls v shoot with

This is the bow I shoot with.

**Loc./Temporal**

(5.52) (a) au tevuka na ibe ka na dabe kina na turaga
ls v tson n coord n v
scm spread art mat fut sit art chief

I spread out the mat on which the chief will sit.

(b) au tevuka na ibe ka na dabea na turaga
ls v tson n coord v tson n
scm spread art mat fut sit on art chief

I spread out the mat which the chief will sit on.

**Comitative**

(5.53) (a) oqo na gone ka ra cici vata kava na tagane
deic n coord p1 v
this art child scm run together art man

this is the child with whom the man run.
In examples (5.49) (b) and (5.52) (b) the transitive suffix -Ci has a similar meaning to the preposition implied in the special anaphoric particle kina in the (a) version. In the (b) version, the argument relativised is the object of the transitive verb in the relative clause, no nominal form of the relativised argument appears and deletion occurs. In the (a) version, the argument relativised is a prepositional phrase, and the relativisation is marked by the special anaphoric particle kina.

In examples (5.50) (b) and (5.51) (b), the transitive suffix -Caki has a similar meaning to the preposition implied in the particle kina in the (a) versions. Again, in the (b) versions, the argument relativised is the object of the transitive verb in the relative clause and deletion occurs. Whereas in the (a) versions, the argument is again a prepositional phrase, and relativisation is marked by the particle kina.

In (5.53) (b), the transitive suffix -Caki has a similar meaning to the comitative (vata)kei in the (a) version.

The conditioning factors which determine which of these two methods of marking relativisation is the one to use, are the same as those which determine the similar choice to be made in simple declaratory clauses such as -

(5.54) (a) e dabeka na iibe na gone
c.i. sit on art mat art child
The child sits on the mat.

(b) e dabeka na iibe na gone
tsom n n

c.i. sit on art mat art child
The child sits on the mat.

These clauses would correspond to the following relative clauses:

(5.55) (a) na iibe ka dabeka kina na gone
n coord v n
art mat sit art child
the mat on which the child sits.

(b) na iibe ka dabeka na gone
n coord v tsom n
art mat sit on art child
the mat which the child sits on.

1 See section 4.5
5.9 Relative clause introduction

5.9.1 Relative clauses may be introduced by the verbal coordinating particle ka; the declaratory clause introducing particle e; the contrasting clause introducing particle sa; or the complementiser me.

5.9.2 The commonest relative clause introducer is ka, as shown in most of the examples in this chapter.

5.9.3 The declaratory clause introducing particle e is also commonly used to introduce a relative clause, especially in the environment of velars, either in the main clause or in the relative clause or if the preceding introductory particle has been ka.

For example:

(5.56) (a) au kacivi ira na yalewa e ra via lako ki na koro  
  ls v ts 3pl n 3pl v n  
  scm call om art woman scm want to go to art village  
  I call the women who want to go to the village.

(b) au a kunea na isele e vakamatei kina na vuaka  
  ls v tsom n v ts obl n  
  scm past find art knife kill inart art pig  
  I found the knife with which the pig was killed.

(c) ogō na turaga ka nona na vale e ra tāra na cauravou  
  deic n 3s n 3pl v tsom n  
  this art chief intro poss art house scm build art youth  
  This is the chief whose house the young men built.

5.9.4 The contrasting clause particle sa introduces relative clauses which are intended to provide semantic contrasts. For example:

(5.57) (a) e na yabaki sa oti , in contrast to  
  prep n in art year finish  
  last year.  

(b) e na yabaki sa bera mai  
  prep n in art year "not yet"  
  next year.

5.9.5 The complementiser me occasionally introduces a relative clause, when it is necessary to express the idea of expectancy or intention.

For example:

(5.58) (a) ogō na isele me taya kina na dovun  
  deic n me v tsom obl n  
  chic art knife sācut inart part cane  
  This is the knife with which you should cut the cane.

1 The choice between e and ka as an introducing particle is dependent on the phonetic environment rather than a difference in meaning.
(5.58)(b) au raica na gone me cici yani ki na koro
ls v tson n n
scm saw art child run away to art village
I saw the child who should run to the village.

5.10 Ordering of the Head Noun

5.10.1 In a sentence comprising a main clause and a relative clause, there is a strong preference for the arguments of the main clause to be ordered as follows:

Verb NP Head NP + relative clause

For example:

(5.59)(a) e raica na vale na tagane ka cici mai e na noa
v tson n n
C.i. see art house male coord run here yesterday
The man who ran here yesterday sees the house.

(b) e kilä na tagane na sica ka mate kina na gone
v tson n n
C.i. know art male art day coord die obl. art child mort.
The man knows the day on which the child died.

In example (a), the subject of the main verb is the head noun of the relative clause. In example (b), it is the object of the main verb which is the head noun of the relative clause. Neither example is ambiguous as to whether the head noun is the subject or the object of the main verb. Example (a) is not only semantically unambiguous. It also follows the preferred main clause argument order VOS. Example (b) does not follow the preferred argument order. It is VSO and not VOS.

Each example thus shows the preferred argument order for a relative sentence consisting of a main clause followed by a relative clause — that is —

Verb NP Head NP + relative clause.

In example (a), this relative sentence preferred order of arguments corresponds to the main clause preferred order of arguments which is VOS. In example (b), the relative sentence preferred order of arguments does not correspond to the main clause preferred order of arguments. However, when there is no ambiguity in the semantics of the situation described in the main clause, some freedom of order of arguments is allowed. Hence in example (b), the relative sentence preferred order may be reconciled with the main clause argument order, since the semantics of the situation are unambiguous.

In this section, I will consider how the relative sentence
preferred order may be reconciled with the main clause argument order, in the event of the semantics of the situation described in the sentence being ambiguous. The problem is to show how to form a sentence in Fijian corresponding to the English 'The woman saw the man who came from the village'. The point at issue is how to determine whether a noun phrase which has been relativised is functioning as the subject or the object of a verb in the main clause.

5.10.2 There is no difficulty in determining the function of the head noun phrase in the following relative sentences:

\[(5.60)\]
(a) \text{au raica na vatu ka ciu mai li v tscm n v scm see art stone coord fall here}

I saw the stone which fell.

(b) \text{e cici mai na gone ka rawata na nona veitarogi v n coord v tscm 3s n c.i. run here art child pass art poss.p. exam}

The child who passed his exam ran here.

In both examples, there is only one argument in the main clause expressed as a full noun phrase. It is only a full noun phrase that can be relativised, since it is not possible to relativise a noun which has been incorporated in a verb. Incorporation implies that the noun is generic. Relativisation implies that the noun is particular. So incorporation and relativisation are incompatible. For example:

\[(5.61)\]
\text{e ra gunu yaqona ka vakacabori vei ira 3pl v n v ts hum. 3pl c.i.scm drink kava coord present dir. p.p. part.}

is not possible.

In \[(5.60)\] (a), the head noun of the relative clause functions as the object of the transitive verb in the main clause. In (b), it functions as the subject of the intransitive verb in the main clause. There is syntactically no ambiguity as to the function of the relativised noun, when only one full NP is expressed in the main clause.

5.10.3 Nor is there any difficulty in determining the function of the head noun phrase in the following relative sentences:

\[(5.62)\]
(a) \text{e tomika la vatu na gone ka rawata na nona veitarogi v tscm n n coord v tscm 3s poss n c.i. pick up art stone art child pass art exam}

The child who passed his exam picked up the stone.

(b) \text{e kariva na yalewa na tagane ka rawata na nona veitarogi v 55 n n v tscm 3s poss n c.i. call art girl art boy coord pass art exam}

The boy who passed his exam called the girl.
In both examples, there are two arguments in the main clause expressed as full noun phrases. In (5.62)(a), the head noun of the relative clause functions as the subject of the main verb, as evidenced by both the semantics of the situation and the preferred main clause argument order VOS. In (b), the head noun functions as the subject of the main verb, as evidenced by the obligatory main clause argument order VOS. The argument order is obligatory because the semantics, the situation are ambiguous at the sentence level. Either the boy could have called the girl or the girl could have called the boy.

5.10.4 Nor is there any difficulty in determining the function of the head noun phrase in the following relative sentences:

(5.63) (a) e kilā na tagane na siga ka mate kina na gone v tsom n n c.i. know art male art day coord die part:art child

The man knows the day on which the child died.

(b) e raica na gone na isele ka vakamatei kina na kolī v tsom n n v ts obl. n c.i. see art child art knife coord kill part:art dog

The child saw the knife with which the dog was killed.

In both examples, the head noun phrase functions as the object of the main verb, as evidenced by the semantics of the situation. But in neither example is the argument order VOS.

If the examples had been restricted to Verb NP NP (without the relative clause), the semantics of the situation would have allowed complete freedom of argument order:

(5.64) (a) e kilā na siga na tagane or v tsom n n c.i. know art day art male

(b) e kilā na tagane na siga v tsom n n c.i. know art male art day

(5.65) (a) e raica na isele na gone or v tsom n n c.i. see art knife art child

(b) e raica na gone na isele v tsom n n c.i. see art child art knife

Whatever the argument order, (5.64) would be glossed as 'the male knows the day', and (5.65) would be glossed as 'the child sees the knife'.
But once the noun phrases *na siga* and *na isole* are relativised, the freedom of argument order is restricted by the relative sentence preference order of

Verb NP Head NP + relative clause.

The order of (5.63)(a) and (b) is therefore determined by the relative sentence preference order constraint. This constraint can be applied without difficulty in the absence of ambiguity of the function of the head noun. Ambiguity is avoided by the semantics of the situation.

5.10.5 Nor is there any difficulty in determining the function of the head noun in the following relative sentence:

(5.66)  e raica na tagane na yalewa ka l. i mai e na noa v tsom n n coord
        c.i. see art male art female run here yesterday

The female who ran here yesterday saw the male.

In this example, the head noun phrase functions as the subject of the main verb. In the simple main clause -

(5.67)  e raica na tagane na yalewa v tsom n n
c.i. see art male art female

it is semantically ambiguous as to which argument is the subject and which is the object. But since the semantics of the situation will not allow free argument order, the obligatory main clause argument order constraint of VOS applies. The order of (5.66) is therefore determined by the main clause argument order. Application of this constraint corresponds to the application of the relative sentence preference order constraint. So no difficulty arises as to which constraint is to prevail.

5.10.6 Difficulty may arise when there are two full noun phrases in a main clause, one functioning as the subject of a transitive verb and one functioning as the object. If semantics do not identify the subject or the object, the main clause argument order constraint should apply. However, if the argument to be relativised is the object, the relative sentence preference order constraint would then clash with the required VOS order.

I will consider as an example of this quandary, the sentence corresponding to the English 'the woman saw the man who came from the village'. If the VOS constraint is applied, the Fijian gloss would be:

(5.68)  e raica na tagane ka lavo mai na koro na yalewa v tsom n coord
        art n n
c.i. see art male come from village art female
If however the relative sentence constraint is applied, the gloss would be:

(5.69) e raica na yalewa na tagane ka kako mai na koro
tsom n n coord v n
c.i. see art female art male come from art village

(5.69) would however be glossed as 'the man who came from the village saw the woman', because the VOS constraint is obligatory and stronger then the relative sentence constraint.

5.10.7 In order to form a sentence which would have the intended meaning of 'the woman saw the man who came from the village', two alternative constructions were suggested by my informants.

When there is freedom of argument order VOS, the strong preference for head NP + rel to follow NP in a relative sentence suggests that there is a preference to end a clause with a "heavy" phrase rather than a 'light' one. The first alternative construction is to make the subject noun phrase "heavier":

(5.70) e raica na tagane ka kako mai na koro o koya na yalewa
tsom n coord v n art p.p
c.i. see art male come from art village art female

She the woman saw the man who came from the village.

The subject NP is made "heavier" by the preceding personal pronominal phrase o koya which is in apposition to na yalewa.

Another alternative is to anglicise the construction and put the subject first:

(5.71)1 na yalewa e raica na tagane ka kako mai na koro
n v tsom n v
art female c.i.see art male coord come from art village

This alternative was less acceptable to my more conservative informant, although he agreed that the adoption of this anglicised construction is taking place in Fijian.

A compromise solution was suggested:

(5.72)2 e raica o koya na yalewa na tagane ka kako mai na koro
v tsom 3s n n
art p.p.art female art male coord v art n

c.i. see c.i. see art female art male coord come from art village

When preceded by the personal pronominal phrase o koya, the appositional phrase o koya na yalewa, with the proper article o retained, cannot be the object and must be the subject. The sentence is therefore syntactically unambiguous. Nevertheless it sounded unnatural to my informant.

1 'the woman she saw the man who came from the village.'
2 'she the woman saw the man who came from the village.'
CAUSATIVE AND SIMILAR CONSTRUCTIONS

6.1 Introduction

Fijian has a prefix vaka-~vā/-velar, which has several functions. These include -

(a) causative: the prefix can modify a verb, an adjective or a noun. For example -

modified verb

6.1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(6.1)(a)</th>
<th>e cici na gone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unmodified verb</td>
<td>v n c.i. run art child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The child runs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) e vakaciciva na gone na qase

modified verb

| v tsom n n c.i. run art child art old man |
| The old man made the child run. |

modified adjective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(6.2)(a)</th>
<th>na waqa balavu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unmodified adjective</td>
<td>n adj art canoe long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the long canoe.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) e balavu na waqa

modified adjective

| c.i. long art canoe |
| The canoe is long. |

(c) e vakabalavutaka na waqa na matai

modified adjective

| c.i. long art canoe art carpenter |
| The carpenter lengthens the canoe. |

modified noun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(6.3)(a)</th>
<th>na isala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unmodified noun in noun phrase</td>
<td>n art hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the hat.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) e vakaisala na turaga

modified noun

| c.i. hat art chief |
| The chief wears a hat. |

(c) e vakaisalataka na turaga na qase

modified noun

| n tscm n n c.i. hat art chief art old man |
| The old man makes the chief to wear a hat. |
(b) **intensifying**: the prefix can *intensify* a verb. For example -

(6.4)(a) e bokoca na cina na gone v tsom n n c.i. put out art lamp art child

The child puts out the lamp.

(b) e vakabokoca na cina na gone v tsom n n c.i. put out art lamp art child

The child extinguishes the lamp.

(c) **delocutive**: the prefix can modify a word which can be used as an independent utterance or greeting such as 'io' 'yes!'; or 'vinaka' thank you/well done!

For example:

(6.5)(a) io

unmodified word in independent utterance yes

(b) e vakalo na tagane n c.i. yes art man

The man said 'yes'.

(c) e vakaiotaka na yalewa na uagane tsom n n c.i. yes art woman art man

The man said 'yes' to the woman.

(d) **attributing**: the prefix can modify a noun, or adjective or numeral. For example -

modified noun

(6.6)(a) ko Viti n n art Fiji

Fiji (b) na vosa vakauViti n n art speech art Fiji

the Fijian language.

(6.7)(a) na vanua n n art land art land

the land

(b) na itovo vakavanua n n art behaviour art land

customary behaviour.
modified adjective

(6.8)(a) levu
unmodified adj. adj
great.

(b) au lomani koya vakalevu
modified adj. ls v ts 3s adj
scm pity D.P. great
I pity him/her very much.

modified numeral

(6.9)'(a) (e)ono
unmodified numeral num
six

(b) vakaono
modified numeral num
six times.

I will now describe more fully the uses and meanings of vaka-, and will attempt to determine whether there is evidence for any underlying meaning of the prefix as it occurs in its various uses.

6.2 Causative meaning of vaka- + verb

6.2.1 General

The prefix vaka- can modify some verbs in a clause, if the speaker wishes to make quite clear that the situation expressed in a corresponding clause with an unmodified verb was caused by someone or something other than the subject of the unmodified verb. For example -

(6.10)(a) e dabe na gone
v n
c.i. sit art child
The child sits.

(b) e vakadbeca na gone na tinana
v tsom n n 3s poss
c.i. sit art child art mother
The mother makes her child sit down.

(6.11)(a) e rere na gone
v n
c.i. afraid art child
The child is afraid.

(b) e vakarere na gone na veicavu
v tsom n n
c.i. afraid art child art boxing
The boxing made the child afraid.
(6.12) (a) e bale na vale
      v  n
c.i. fall art house
The house falls down.
(b) e vakabalea na vale na cagilaba
      v tsom n  n
c.i. fall art house art hurricane
The hurricane made the house fall down.

(6.13) (a) e sarava na meke na gone
      v tsom n  n
c.i. look at art meke art child
The child looked at the meke (song/dance).
(b) e vakasarava na turaga na gone ki na meke
      v tsom n  prep  n
c.i. look at art chief art child to art meke
The chief made the child look at the meke.

In the (a) examples, the speaker describes a situation in which an actor does something (6.12; 6.13); an experiencer experiences something (6.11); or a patient suffers something (6.12). The speaker is only concerned with the situation as it occurs. In the (b) examples, the speaker is concerned that the situation expressed in the clause was caused by someone (6.12; 6.13) or something (6.11; 6.12) other than the subject of the corresponding (a) example. The instigator of the situation is the causer. The subject of the corresponding (a) example is the 'cause'.

6.2.1.2 The functions of arguments in a clause with a verb modified by the prefix vaka- do not correspond uniformly with the functions of arguments in a corresponding clause with an unmodified verb. For example -

(6.14) (a) e cici na gone
      v  n
c.i. run art child
The child runs.
(b) e vakaciciva na gone na qase
      v tsom n  n
c.i. run art child art old man
The old man makes the child run.

(6.15) (a) e kania na dalo na gone
      v tsom n  n
c.i. eat art taro art child
The child eats the taro.
(b) e vakania na tinana na gone e na dalo
      v ts n  n
      boss n  n
c.i. eat art mother art child prep art taro
The mother makes the child eat the taro.
In these examples, the subject in a clause with an unmodified verb corresponds to either the object in a clause with a verb modified by vaka- (na gone in (6.15) (a) and (b)), or to a prepositional phrase (na gone in (6.16) (a) and vua na gone in (6.16(b)).

The object in a clause with an unmodified verb may either correspond to the object in a clause with a modified verb (na kau in (6.16) (a) and (b)) or to a prepositional phrase (na dalo in (6.15) (a) and e na dalo in (6.15) (b)).

Correspondences between the functions of noun phrases in clauses with unmodified verbs and similar noun phrases in clauses with modified verbs may be summarised as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>unmodified verbs</th>
<th>modified verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>functions of noun phrases</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I shall show that the patterning of correspondences is based not on free variation but on whether the verb is actor-experiencer oriented (see 6.2.3.2) or patient-oriented (see 6.2.3.4).

6.2.1.3 It is possible to find causative clauses which correspond to intransitive clauses (clause with subject) or to "transitive" clauses (ones with subject and object (see 6.2.3.1)), but not to "ditransitive" clauses (clauses with subject, object and indirect object). For example -

intransitive clause

(6.18) (a) e moce na gone
v n
c.i. sleep art child
The child sleeps.

(b) e vakamocera na gone na tinana
v tsom n n 3s
c.i. sleep art child art mother poss.
The mother makes her child sleep.
transitive clause

(6.19)(a) e vulica na meke na gone
v tsom n n
  c.i. learn  art meke art child
The child learns the meke.

(b) e vakavulica na tinana na gone e na meke
v tsom n 3s poss n n
  c.i. learn  art mother" art child prep art meke
The mother makes her child learn the meke.

I shall describe causative clauses corresponding with intransitive clauses in section 6.2.2; and clauses corresponding with transitive clauses in section 6.2.3. In section 6.9.2, I shall offer possible explanations for Fijian not having causative clauses corresponding to such 'ditransitive' clauses as -

(6.20) e solia na ivola na gone vuc na qase
v tsom n n hum. n
  c.i. give  art letter art child dir.  art old man part.
The child gives the letter to the old man.

6.2.2 Intransitive clauses

6.2.2.1 The correspondence between intransitive clauses and corresponding causative clauses is generally of a uniform pattern, whether the verb be actor-experiencer oriented or patient oriented. For example -

(6.21)(a) e moce na gone
v n
  c.i. sleep art child
The child sleeps.

(b) e vakamocera na gone na tinana
v tsom n n 3s poss
  c.i. sleep art child art mother
The mother causes her child to sleep.

(6.22)(a) e bale na vunikau
v n
  c.i. fall art tree
The tree falls.

(b) e vakabaleta\textsuperscript{1} na vunikau na cagilaba
v tsom n n
  c.i. fall art tree art hurricane
The hurricane causes the tree to fall.

(6.23)(a) e rogo na itukutuku
v n
  c.i. is heard art message
The message is heard.

\textsuperscript{1} this is an alternative form vakabalea
(6.23)(b) e vakarogoya na itukutuku na turaga
v tsom n n
c.i. is heard art message art chief
The chief causes the message to be heard.

In each example, the subject of the intransitive verb corresponds to the object of the causative verb. The causative subject may be human (6.21), (6.23) or non-human (6.22).

6.2.2.2 The transitive suffix of most causative verbs corresponds with the transitive suffix of the transitive verb when unmodified by the prefix vaka-, if it exists. For example, such transitive clauses corresponding to the causative clauses in examples (6.21), (6.22), and (6.23)(b) are -

(6.24) e mocera na ibe na gone
v tsom n n
c.i. sleep on mat art child
The child sleeps on the mat.

(6.25) e baleta na vale na vunikau
v tsom n n
c.i. fall art house art tree
The tree falls on the house.

(6.26) e rogoça na itukutuku na gone
v tsom n n
c.i. hear art message art child
The child hears the message.

Examples (6.21) and (6.24), (6.22) and (6.25) have identical transitive suffixes for the verb when modified by vaka- or when the verb is simply modified by a -Ci form of transitive suffix. This is generally the pattern with actor-experiencer verbs.

But examples (6.23) and (6.26) show that the transitive form of the patient oriented verb rogo has a transitive suffix which is different from the transitive suffix used when the verb is modified by vaka-.
The transitive suffix for rogo- in (6.26) is -Ci. Whereas when rogo- is causativised, the suffix is -yi.

6.2.2.3 With some verbs, the verb does not occur with a simple transitive suffix -Ci. But the causative form of the verb is vaka - V - Ci (in many verbs, the C is  châu). For example -

(6.27)(a) e duri na qase
v n
c.i. sit up art old man
The old man sits up.

(b) 1duria

---

1 v Ci does not exist
Transitive clauses

6.2.3.1 What I refer to simply as a transitive clause is a clause which must have two arguments - the subject and the object. The role of the object will depend on the semantics of the verb and the choice of transitive suffix. The vast majority of transitive clauses in Fijian are of this sort. A very few transitive clauses are ditransitive clauses which must have three arguments - the subject, an object NP and an object prepositional phrase. They will be considered in section 6.9.2.

The correspondence between arguments of transitive clauses and of corresponding causative clauses varies, depending on whether the verb is an actor-experiencer oriented verb or a patient oriented verb.

6.2.3.2 I will first consider the correspondence between such clauses, where the verb is an actor-experiencer oriented verb. For example -

(6.27)(c) e vakaduria na gase na cauravou
causative
v tscm n art n
c.i. sit up art old man young man
The young man makes the old man sit up.

(6.28)(a) e rere na yalewa
v art n
c.i. is afraid woman
The woman is afraid.
(b) ḫ rere
but rerevaka: is afraid of
(c) e vakarerea na yalewa na cagilaba
v tscm n n
 c.i. is afraid art woman art hurricane
The hurricane makes the woman afraid.

\[1\] V Ci does not exist, only V Caki
In these examples, the subject of the transitive clause becomes the object of the causative clause, and the object of the transitive clause becomes a prepositional phrase.

The only counter examples I could find to this general correspondence was —

(6.32) (a) e  

raica na vale na turaga  
v tsom n n n  
c.i. see art house art chief  

The chief sees the house.

(b) e vakaraitaka na qase na vale vua na turaga.  
v tsom n n n n n  
c.i. see art old man art house part art chief  

The old man makes the chief see the house.

rai is an actor-experiencer verb, but this exception to the general patterning of correspondences between arguments of actor experiencer verbs and the fact that in this case the correspondences follow the patterning of patient verb (section 6.2.3.4) may be explained by the fact that verbs of perception behave unusually and that the chief in (b) has a passive role to play. He simply opens his eyes and the house is there to see.

6.2.3.3 The transitive suffix in the transitive clause is generally the same as in the corresponding causative clause. The meaning of the preposition in the prepositional phrase in the causative clause corresponds with the semantics of the transitive suffix of the verb in the corresponding transitive clause as I explain below. For example:

goal (6.33) (a) e  

lasata na turaga na vulagi  
v tsom art n n  
c.i. be congenial to chief art guest  

The guest is congenial to the chief.

(b) e vakalasata na qase na vulagi vua na turaga.  
v tsom n n n n  
c.i. be congenial art old man art guest part art chief  

The old man makes the guest be congenial to the chief.
Examples (6.29) – (6.33) show that if the transitive suffix of the (a) transitive clauses is -Ci, the transitive suffix of the corresponding (b) causative clauses is also -Ci. Examples (6.34) and (6.35) show that if the transitive suffix of a transitive clause is -Cak1, the transitive suffix of the corresponding causative clause is also - Cak1. The examples show that the consonant of -Ci -Cak1 usually remains the same. (6.34) is an exception.

Example (6.30) (a) has a transitive suffix -Ci. The semantics of the verb and form of the transitive suffix show that the transitive suffix has a locative meaning. The preposition in the prepositional phrase in the corresponding causative (b) example is the locative particle e. In example (6.31) (a), the transitive suffix has a goal meaning, and the preposition in the prepositional phrase in the corresponding causative (b) clause is ki.

The other examples illustrate the same principle that the meaning of the preposition in a causative clause corresponds with the meaning of the transitive suffix in the corresponding transitive clause.
6.2.3.4 I will now consider the correspondence between transitive and causative clauses, where the verb is patient-oriented. For example-

(6.37) (a) e colata na kau na gone
            v tsom n n
c.i. carry art wood art child

the child carries the wood.

(b) e vakacolata na gase na kau vua na gone
            v tsm n n hum n
            c.i. carry art old man art wood dir. art child

The old man makes the child carry the wood.

(6.38) (a) e kauta na taga suka na ose
            v tsm n n n
            c.i. carry art sack sugar art horse

The horse carries the sack of sugar.

(b) e vakauta na causavou na taga suka ki na ose
            v tsm n n n
            c.i. carry art young man art sack sugar prep art horse

The young man makes the horse carry the sack of sugar.

In these examples, the subject of the transitive clause becomes the prepositional phrase of the causative clauses, and the object of the transitive clause remains the object of the causative clause.

6.2.3.5 The correspondence between the transitive suffixes of verbs in transitive and corresponding causative clauses is not so regular when the verb is patient-oriented as when it is actor-experiencer oriented. For example -

(6.39) (a) e rogoca na itukutuku na gone
            v tsm n n
            c.i. hear art message art child

The child hears the message.

(b) e vakarogoya na gase na itukutuku vua na gone
                v tsm n n hum n
c.i. hear art old man art message port. art child

The old man makes the child hear the message.

In this example, the transitive suffix is -ci in the transitive clause and -yi in the causative equivalent. The corresponding suffixes have different consonants.

However in examples (6.37) and (6.38), the corresponding suffixes are the same in both transitive and corresponding causative clauses.
6.2.4 The examples given in this section 6.2 show the patterning of correspondences between arguments in intransitive or transitive clauses on the one hand and corresponding causative clauses on the other.

The patterning of correspondences may be summarised as follows -

(a) **subject** correspondences

(i) intransitive clauses (all verbs) corresponding causative clauses

subject ———— object

(ii) transitive clauses (A/E verb)

subject ———— object

(iii) transitive clauses (P verb)

subject ———— preposition-marked object.

The subject of an intransitive or transitive clause always corresponds to the object or preposition-marked object of a corresponding causative clause.

(b) **object** correspondences

(i) transitive clause (A/E verb) corresponding causative clause

object ———— preposition-marked object

(ii) transitive clause (P verb)

object ———— object

The object of a transitive clause always corresponds to the preposition-marked object or object of a corresponding causative clause.

In tabular form, the correspondences are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-causative argument</th>
<th>intrans./caus. correspondences</th>
<th>trans(A/E)/caus. correspondences</th>
<th>trans(P)/caus. correspondences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>object</td>
<td>object</td>
<td>preposition-marked object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>preposition-marked object</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the subject and object arguments of a non-causative clause always correspond with either the object or preposition-marked object of a corresponding causative clause, I will now suggest a possible explanation for the differences in the correspondences.

The role of the most important argument of an actor-experiencer verb is that of actor-experiencer. The role of other arguments may
be source, locative, goal, etc. The role of the most important argument of a patient verb is that of patient. The role of the arguments is usually actor-experiencer.

In a causative construction, the causer always fills the subject slot. The most important argument of a non-causative construction becomes the object of a corresponding causative construction. Any other nuclear argument of a non-causative construction becomes a prepositional phrase in a corresponding causative construction.

So, in a causative intransitive construction, the subject of the intransitive construction becomes the object of the corresponding causative construction, i.e. the subject of the causative construction.

In a causative transitive construction, the subject of an actor-experiencer verb in a transitive construction becomes the object of a corresponding causative construction. The object of the verb in the transitive construction therefore becomes a prepositional phrase in the causative construction.

However, if the verb is patient oriented, it is the object of the verb in a transitive construction which is the most important argument. This then becomes the object of the corresponding causative construction. Therefore the subject of the patient verb in the transitive construction can only become a prepositional phrase.

This is illustrated by the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>actor-experiencer verb</th>
<th>patient verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-causative</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intrans. trans.</td>
<td>intrans./trans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object</td>
<td>prep. phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object</td>
<td>subject phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The role of the most important argument of an actor-experiencer verb is actor-experiencer. The role of that of a patient verb is patient.

2 The roles of other arguments of an actor-experiencer verb are locative, goal, source, etc. The role of other arguments of a patient verb is especially actor-experiencer.
6.3.1 The prefix vaka- can modify some adjectives when functioning as verbs in a clause, if the speaker wishes to make quite clear that the situation expressed in a corresponding clause with verbal adjective unmodified by vaka- was caused by someone. For example -

(6.40) (a) e balavu na waqa

adjective

balavu
c.i. long

long

The canoe is long.

(b) e vakabalavutaka na waqa na matai

adj
tsom

n

n
c.i. long

art canoe

art carpenter

The carpenter makes the canoe long.

(6.41) (a) e yaga na isele

adjective

yaga

c.i. useful

useful

The knife is useful.

(b) e vakayagataka na isele na gone

adj
tsom

n

n
c.i. useful

art knife

art child

The child makes the knife useful.

(6.42) (a) e marautaka na meke na gone

adjective

marau

c.i. happy

happy

art meke

art child

The child is happy because of the meke.

(b) e vakamarautaka na gase na gone c na meke

adj
tsom

n

n
c.i. happy

art old man

art child

prep

art meke

The old man makes the child happy because of the meke.

As in section 6.2 dealing with vaka-+verb, the speaker is only concerned with the situation as it occurs in the (a) examples. In the (b) examples, the speaker is concerned that the situation was caused by someone, the instigator or causer.

6.3.2 Adjectives as attributes or expressions of feelings

Adjectives which modify nouns as attributes can function as intransitive verbs in intransitive clauses. Such adjectives do not generally function as transitive verbs in transitive clauses, and if they do, there is usually some semantic change. For example -
Adjectives which modify nouns as feelings can function as intransitive or transitive verbs in intransitive or transitive clauses as appropriate.

For example -

(6.44) (a) e marau na gone
adj n
c.i. happy art child
The child is happy.

(b) e marautaka na meke na gone
adj tsom n n
c.i. happy art meke art child
The child is happy because of the meke (song/dance).

An adjective functioning as a verb in a causative clause is always modified by the transitive suffix -taki as well as the prefix vaka-.

For example -

(6.45) e vakavincottaka na gone na ivakatawa
adj tsom n n
C.i. good art child art lay preacher
The lay preacher made the child good.

(6.46) e vakamarautaka na qase na gone e na meke
adj tsom n n
C.i. happy art old man art child prep art meke
The old man made the child happy because of the meke.

6.3.3 In the case of those adjectives which can function as intransitive verbs in intransitive clauses, (see examples (6.40) and (6.41)), the correspondence between arguments of such intransitive clauses and arguments of corresponding causative clauses is the same as between arguments with intransitive verbs in intransitive clauses and corresponding causative clauses (section 6.2.2.1). The subject of the intransitive clause corresponds to the object of the causative clause when modified by -taki.

6.3.4 In the case of those adjectives which can function as transitive verbs in transitive clauses (see examples (6.42) (a) and (6.43) (b)), the correspondence between arguments of such clauses and corresponding
causative clauses (see (6.45) and (6.46)), is the same as for clauses with actor experiencer oriented verbs (see section 6.2.3.2). The subject of the transitive clause corresponds to the object of the causative clause, and the object of the transitive clause corresponds to the preposition-marked object of the causative clause.

6.3.5 The patterning of correspondences between arguments in intransitive clauses and when they occur transitive clauses, of which the verbal is an adjective, and corresponding causative clauses is always:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-causative clause</th>
<th>causative clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object</td>
<td>preposition-marked object</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4 Causative Meaning of vaka-+ noun

6.4.1 The prefix vaka- can modify some nouns. Such a modified noun can function as a verb in a clause, when marked by a verbal particle. The resulting verb can be further modified by the transitive suffix -taki and object marker. For example -

(6.47) (a) e vakaisala na turaga
noun na isala c.i. hat art chief
the hat

The chief puts a hat on.
(The chief makes himself wear a hat.)

(b) e vakaisalataka na turaga na qase
c.i. hat art chief art old man
The old man made the chief put a hat on.

(6.48) (a) e rau vakavale na veiwatini
noun na vale c.i. scm house art married couple
the house

The married couple are housed.
(The married couple made themselves be housed.)

(b) e vakavaleletaki rau na veiwatini na turaga
c.i. house om art married couple chief
The chief provides the married couple with a house.
(The chief made the married couple be housed.)

In order to describe the meaning of vaka- in the (a) examples, it is probably most helpful to contrast these examples with such clauses as -

(6.49) e dua na nona isala na turaga
num 3sing n n
c.i. one art poss hat art chief
The chief has a hat.
(6.50) e dua na nodrau vale na veiwatini  
num 3dual n n  
c.i. one art poss house art married couple  
The married couple have a house.

In (6.49) and (6.50) the speaker is concerned that the possessor(s) possess(es) something and is not concerned about the effort involved in obtaining the possession or the physical relationship between the possessor and the possessed.

In (6.47)(a) the speaker is concerned that the chief has made the effort to put a hat on and that the hat is actually on the chief. In (6.48)(a) the speaker is concerned that the married couple have made the effort to obtain a house and that they are actually living in it (not allowing someone else to live in it). There is thus a causal element and an element of effort to bring about the resulting relationship between the chief and the hat (in (6.47)(a)) and between the married couple and their house (in (6.48)(a)). The causal meaning of vaka- in the (b) examples of (6.47) and (6.48) is quite clear.

6.5 Intensifying Meaning of vaka-

6.5.1 The prefix vaka- can modify certain verbs in a clause, if the speaker wishes to make quite clear that the situation expressed in a corresponding clause with an unmodified verb was deliberately brought about by someone making a special effort. For example -

(6.51)(a)  
e bokoca na cina na gone  
v tsom n n  
c.i. put out art lamp art child  
The child put out the lamp.

(b)  
e vakabokoca na cina na gone  
v tsom n n  
c.i. put out art lamp art child  
The child extinguished the lamp.

(6.52)(a)  
e raica na vale na turaga  
v tsom n n  
c.i. see art house art chief  
The chief sees the house.

(b)  
e vakaraica na vale na turaga  
v tsom n n  
c.i. see art house art chief  
The chief inspects the house.

(6.53)(a)  
e dromuca na vatu na gone  
v tsom n n  
c.i. sink art stone art child  
The child sinks the stone.
In the (a) examples, the speaker describes a situation in which the actor does something. The speaker is only concerned with the situation as it occurs. In the (b) examples, the speaker is concerned that the actor has made a deliberate effort either by special exertion in (6.51) and (6.52): or by repeating the action several times in (6.53) and (6.54).

These examples show the use of *vaka-* (intensifying) with both patient oriented verbs (special exertion in (6.51) and repetition in (6.53)), and actor-experiencer verbs (special exertion in (6.52) and repetition in (6.54)). *Vaka-* (intensifying) is used mostly with patient verbs, whereas *vaka-* (causative) is used mostly with actor-experiencer verbs.

6.5.2 In a few cases, the same verb can be modified by *vaka-* causative or by *vaka-* intensifying. For example -

(6.53) (b)  e vakadromuca na vatu na gone
            v tsom n n
            c.i. sink art stone art child

The child sinks the stone several times.
(The child sinks the stone and pulls it out again, and repeats this process several times.)

(6.54) (a)  e tavuna na vuaka na marama
            v tsom v n
            c.i. roast art pig art woman

The woman roasts the pig.

(b)  e vakatavuna na vuaka na marama
     v tsom n n
     c.i. roast art pig art woman

The woman keeps on basting the pig as it is roasting.

(6.55) (a)  e sarava na meke na gone
            v tsom n n
            c.i. watch art meke art child

The child watches the meke.

(b)  e vakanasarava na qase na gone ki na meke
     v tsom n n
     c.i. watch art old man art child prep art meke

The old man makes the child watch the meke.

(c)  e vakanasarava na meke na gone
     v tsom n n
     c.i. watch art meke art child

The child watches the meke very carefully.

(6.56) (a)  e lako ca na koro na tamata
            v tsom n n
            c.i. go art village art person

The person goes to the village (on a ceremonial visit).
(6.56) (b) e vakalakova na turaga na tamata ki na koro
causative v tsom n n n
c.i. go art chief art person prep art village
The chief makes the person go to the village.

(c) e vakalakova na koro na tamata
intensifying (repeated) v tsom n n n
c.i. go art village art person
The person frequents the village.

The semantics of the event described in the sentence usually indicate the meaning of vaka-.

6.5.3 Very occasionally, it is possible to use vaka- causative and vaka- intensifying together in the same word. For example, the verb moko embrace, can be modified by the intensifying prefix vaka-:

vakamoko embrace tightly
This verb can be nominalised, and modified by the prefix i-:

na ivakamoko the brassiere.
This noun can function as a verb modified by the causative suffix vaka- (see section 6.4) in both an intransitive and transitive clause -

(6.57) (a) e vakaivakamoko o Mere
caus. int. / prefix / art n
c.i. prefix / embrace Mere
Mere put on a brassiere.
(Mere makes herself wear a brassiere.)

(b) e vakaivakamokotaki Mere ko Luisa
caus. int: v ts n n
C.i. embrace Mere art Luisa
Luisa makes Mere wear a brassiere.

Generally a succession of vaka-, whatever the meaning, is not found in the same word. No example of a succession of vaka- with the same meaning has been identified by me.

6.5.4 Comparison of word order - causative and intensifying

In causative constructions, the order of arguments is free if there is no ambiguity as to which is the causer and which the causee. If there is possible ambiguity, the causer (in the subject argument) precedes the causee. For example -

(6.58) (a) e vakabalea na vale na caqilaba
caus. v tsom n n
c.i. fall art house art hurricane.

(b) e vakabalea na caqilaba na vale
caus. v tsom n n
C.i. fall art hurricane art house
must both be glossed 'the hurricane caused the house to fall', because there is no ambiguity. There is possible ambiguity in the next example, so the causer/causee order requirement prevails.
(6.59)  e vakanina na tagane na yalewa e na dalo
       v tsom n n n
c.i. eat art male art female prep art taro
can only mean 'the man caused the woman to eat the taro'.

(6.60)  e vakan Mere na tagane e na dalo
       v ts n n n
nc.i. eat Mere art male prep art taro
can only mean 'the male caused Mere to eat the taro', because
Mere is identified as the causee object by the rule that partly incorporates
Proper Noun objects with the verb. This rule is stronger than the causer/causee
order requirement.

In intensified clauses, that is, clauses with a verb modified
by the prefix vaka- functioning as an intensifier, the order of
arguments is free provided that there is no ambiguity as to which is
the subject and which the object. If there is possible ambiguity, the
object as usual comes after the verb and precedes the subject. This
is the opposite to the required word order in causative clauses. For
example -

(6.61)  e vakanabe na tagane na yalewa e na ibe
       v tsom n n n
causative
c.i. sit art man art woman prep art mat
The man causes the woman to sit on the mat.

(6.62)  e vakanabu na tagane na yalewa e na ibe
       v tsom n n n
intensified
c.i. leave art man art woman prep art mat
The woman abandons the man on the mat.

6.3.5 As well as by modifying actor verbs by the prefix vaka-, there
are other ways by which the speaker can make it clear that the situation
was brought about by someone making a special effort. These are by
modifying certain verbs by reduplication of the root, by the suffix
-1/raki or by a combination of these ways. It is also possible to
use vaka- as well as one of these other ways. For example -

(a)  (i) livia 
    pour out liquid in a small stream
    -raka
    (ii) liviraka 
        pour out liquid in a large stream
    R
    (iii) livilivivia 
        pour out liquid into many streams
(b)  (i) katia 
    bite
    R
    (ii) katikatia 
        keep biting
    R+ -laka
    (iii) katikatilaka 
        keep biting viciously
(c)  (i) otiva
    finish
    vaka-
    (ii) vakaotiva 
        complete
    vaka+R
    (iii) vaka+otiotiva 
        finish completely
6.6 Delocutive Function of vaka-

6.6.1 The prefix vaka- can modify a small number of words each of which can be used independently as an utterance or greeting (a locutive). Such a word when so modified can function as a delocutive verb (see Benveniste, 1971: p. 239). Such words include io, yes,; more, good-bye/night; bula, hello; vinaka, thank you, well done; yadra, good morning.

6.6.2 Except for io, these words can be used in clauses with the causative prefix as well as with the delocutive prefix. For example -

(6.63) (a) au vakabulai Jone
ls v ts n
scm caus. live Jone
I caused Jone to live.
(I revived him; I saved him.)

(b) au vakabulataki Jone
ls locu ts n
scm utter: 'hello' Jone
I said 'hello' to Jone.

(6.64) (a) au vakamoceri Mere
ls v ts n
scm cause sleep Mere
I made Mere go to sleep.

(b) au vakamocetaki Mere
ls locu ts n
scm utter 'goodbye' Mere
I said 'good-right,' 'good-bye,' to Mere.

(6.65) (a) au vakavinakataki Mere
ls ts n
scm caus. good Mere
I caused Mere to be good.

(b) au vakavinakatik Mere
ls locu ts n
scm utter Mere
I said 'thank you,' 'well done,' to Mere.

(6.66) (a) au vakayadrati Mere
ls v ts n
scm caus wake up Mere
I made Mere wake up.

(b) au vakayadrataki Mere
ls locu ts n
scm utter: Mere
I said 'good morning' to Mere.

1 Also 'au vakavinavinakati Mere' I thanked Mere
6.6.3 The word io is only used with vaka-delocutive. For example -

(6.67)  

\[
\text{au vakaiotaki Semi} \\
\text{ls locu ts n} \\
\text{scm utter: Semi} \\
\text{I said 'yes' to Semi.}
\]

For those words which can be used with both vaka-causative and vaka-delocutive, there is a change in meaning, although the meanings are closely related, e.g. moce: sleep, 'good-night'; vadra: wake up, 'good morning'.

6.6.4 When modified by the prefix vaka-delocutive, a word can function as either a transitive or an intransitive verb. For example -

(6.68) (a)  

\[
\text{au vakamocetaki Mere} \\
\text{ls locu ts n} \\
\text{scm utter: Mere} \\
\text{I said 'good-night' to Mere.}
\]

(b)  

\[
\text{au vakamoce (vei Mere)} \\
\text{ls locu hum. n} \\
\text{scm utter: dir.Mere prep} \\
\text{I said 'good-night' (to Mere).}
\]

(6.69) (a)  

\[
\text{au vakaiotaka na gone} \\
\text{ls locu tsom n} \\
\text{scm utter: art child} \\
\text{I said 'yes' to the child.}
\]

(b)  

\[
\text{au vakaio (vua na gone)} \\
\text{ls locu hum. n} \\
\text{scm utter: dir. art child} \\
\text{I said 'yes' (to the child).}
\]

When functioning as a transitive verb, these words are always modified by the transitive suffix -t.

6.7 'Attributing' Meaning of vaka-

6.7.1 The prefix vaka- can modify adjectives, nouns and pronouns, and numerals. Such modified forms can function as qualifiers of the verb of the verb phrase or of the noun of the noun phrase. Examples of a qualified verb are:

(6.70)  

\[
\text{e lako mai vakamalua na gone} \\
c.i. come here \text{ slow art child} \\
\text{The child came here slowly.}
\]

(6.71) (a)  

\[
\text{e qito vāgone na cauravou} \\
c.i. play \text{ wild art young man} \\
\text{The young man played childishly.}
\]
Examples of a qualified noun are:

(6.74) (a) au dokā na itovo vakaturaga
         ls v tso; n
         scm respect art custom chief
I respect chiefly customs.

(b) au kilā na vosa vakaViti
         ls v tso; n n
         scm know art speech Fiji
I know Fijian.

Examples (6.70) - (6.73) show how a verb may be qualified, and examples (6.74) (a) and (b) show how a noun may be qualified by another noun. In each example, the qualifying form modified by the prefix vaka- marks the attributing to the qualified form of the quality of the form which it modifies.

6.7.2 The qualifying form can in turn be modified further by a modifier (see section 1.3.2) or be further qualified by a form modified by vaka. For example:

(6.75) (a) e cici mai wākolī lialia o Semi
         v n adj n
         c.i. run here dog mad art Semi
Semi runs here like a mad dog.

(b) e gone vakaitovo vakaturaga o Jone
         n n n
         c.i. child custom chief art Jone
Jone is a child with chiefly manners.

In (a) the adjective lialia modifies the noun kolī, and the verb cici is qualified by the modified noun phrase. In (b) the noun itovo is qualified by the noun turaga, and the noun gone is qualified by the qualified noun phrase vovo vakaturaga.
6.8 Comparison of Meanings and Functions of vaka-

6.8.1 I have now described the meanings and functions of vaka- in section 6.2 (causative + verb), 6.3 (causative + adjective) 6.4 (causative + noun); 6.5 (intensifying); 6.6 (delocutive) and 6.7 (attributing).

An analysis of each of these meanings and functions as undertaken in the sections which I have quoted suggests that there are some semantic features in common between some of such meanings and functions.

6.8.2 The causative and intensifying meanings share semantic features of especial and deliberate effort on the part of the subject that a situation should be brought about either by someone else (causative) or by the subject (intensifying). For instance in

(6.76) e raica na vale na cauravou
v tsom n n
 c.i. see art house art young man

The young man sees the house

there is not necessarily any action or effort required on the part of the young man to see the house. He may simply open his eyes and chance to see the house. But in

(6.77) e vakaraitaka na qase na vale vua na turaga
v tsom n n hun. n
 c.i. cause:see art oldman art house part art chief

The old man makes the chief see the house

there is a deliberate effort on the part of the old man to bring about a situation whereby the house is seen by somebody else. Similarly in

(6.78) e vakaraica na vale na cauravou
v tsom n n
 c.i. see art house art young man

The young man inspects the house

this is a deliberate effort on the part of the young man to bring about a situation whereby the house is seen by himself.

6.8.3 The "delocutive" meaning shares with the 'causative' meaning the semantic features of a deliberate effort on the part of the subject that the situation should be brought about whereby an utterance is actually uttered. The subject has caused the utterance to be made. It shares some features with the "adverbial" meaning, in that the utterance is said in a certain manner.
6.8.4 Any connection between the semantic features of vaka- adverbial and the other uses of vaka- is not very clear. It could be pointed out that some of the semantic features of modified causative adjectives and nouns resemble those of modified adverbial adjectives and nouns.

For example -

(6.79) (a) e vakaisala o Jone
   n   n
c.i. hat art Jone
Jone is wearing a hat

(b) e vakabalavutaka na waqa na matai
   adj tsm n n
c.i. long  art canoe art carpenter
The carpenter lengthens the canoe

show that Jone and the canoe have become altered in a certain manner. They have become lengthened and behatted.

6.9 Valence increasing

6.9.1 The modification of a verb by the causative prefix vaka- increases the number of nuclear arguments required for such a verb. For example -

(6.80) (a) e cici na gone  one argument
   v   n
c.i. run art child
The child runs.

(b) e vakaciciva na gone na qase  two arguments
   v tsm n n
c.i. cause:run art child art old man
The old man makes the child run.

(6.81) (a) e sarava na meke na gone  two arguments
   v tsm n n
c.i. watch art meke art child
The child watches the meke.

(b) e vakasarava na qase na gone ki na meke  three arguments
   v tsm n n
c.i. cause:watch art old man art child prep art meke
The old man makes the child watch the meke.

Vaka- is a valence increasing marker.

6.9.2 Fijian does not allow a verb to have a valence of more than three. It is for this reason that a ditransitive verb cannot be modified by the causative prefix vaka-.

A possible explanation for the limit of three for the valence of any verb is that any increase in valence brought about by the modification of the verb by vaka- causative would result in a cumbersome series of prepositional phrases as core arguments. For instance -
(6.82) (a) e solia na vatu na gone vua na qase
  v tson v n hum. n
c.i. give art stone art child dir. art old man part.
The child gave the stone to the old man.

has the maximum acceptable number of arguments (that is, three). Any
attempt to causativise this clause by modifying solia (give) with the
prefix vakā- would increase the valence to four arguments, two of
which would be noun phrases and two would be preposition-marked phrases. Thus

*(6.83) e vakasolia na tinana na gone vua na case e na vatu
  v tson n n prep hum. n prep n
c.i. give art mother art child part. art old man art store

The mother made the child give a stone to the old man.

This series of prepositional phrases seems to be too cumbersome for
Fijian. Such an event as described in the gloss of (6.83) would have to be
described in Fijian by a sentence comprising a main clause and a comp-
lementary clause. See section 7.2.
7. VERB SERIALISATION AND COMPLEMENTATION

7.1 Introduction

Standard Pijian has three verb serialisation and complementation constructions, exemplified as follows -

(a) verb serialisation in the form \( V \) \( V \)

(7.1) \( au \) \( lako \) \( yani \) \\
\( ls \) \( v \) \( v \) \\
\( scm \) \( go \) \( am \) \( able \) \( part. \)

I am able to go away.

(b) complementiser construction in the form \( V \) \( complementiser \) \( V \)

(7.2) \( au \) \( bese \) \( ni \) \( lako \) \( yani \) \\
\( ls \) \( v \) \( v \) \\
\( scm \) \( refuse \) \( compl \) \( go \) \( part. \)

I refuse to go away.

There are four complementisers: \( ni \) that; \( me \) to; \( se \) whether; \( de \) but.

(c) nominalisation construction in the form \( V \) \( NP \)

(7.3) \( au \) \( vakarautaka \) \( na \) \( noqu \) \( lako \) \( yani \) \\
\( ls \) \( v \) \( tsom \) \( ls \) \( v \) \\
\( scm \) \( prepare \) \( art \) \( boss \) \( go \) \( part. \)

I prepare for my departure.

7.2 Verb Serialisation

7.2.1 Each verb in a verb serialisation construction may occur as an independent verb in a clause. For example:

(7.4) (a) \( e \) \( cakacaka \) \( o \) \( Tomasi \) \\
\( v \) \( n \) \\
(2.1) \( c.i. \) work \( art \) \( Tomasi \)

Tomasi works.

(b) \( e \) \( oti \) \( na \) \( ivalu \) \\
\( v \) \( n \) \\
(2.1) \( c.i. \) finish \( art \) \( war \)

The war is finished.

(c) \( e \) \( cakacaka \) \( oti \) \( o \) \( Tomasi \) \\
\( v \) \( v \) \( n \) \\
(2.1) \( c.i. \) work \( finish \) \( art \) \( Tomasi \)

Tomasi finished working.

In a verb serialisation construction, all the verbs have the same subject.

They also have the same verbal particles. For example:

(7.5) (a) \( e \) \( na \) \( tekiV \) \( na \) \( ivalu \) \\
\( v \) \( n \) \\
(2.1) \( c.i. \) fut. \( begin \) \( art \) \( war \)

The war will begin.
(7.5) (b) e na rawa na ivale
V
n
c.i. fut. be possible war
The war will be possible.

(c) e na tekivu rawa na ivale
V
V
n
c.i. fut. begin be possible art war
The war will be able to begin.

There is no future tense marker na repeated between tekivu and rawa.
No verbal particle occurs before any verb in a series except before the first verb in that series.

7.2.2 It is possible to find various combinations of forms of verbs in verb serialisation constructions. For example:

(a) transitive verb + transitive verb

(7.6) au taura rawata na ika
ls v tsom v tsom n
scm hold have power art fish
over
I keep hold of the fish.

(b) intransitive verb + transitive verb

(7.7) au viri tura na moto e na qole
ls v v tsom n
n
scm put stand up art spear prop art earth
I put the spear to stand up on the ground.

(c) transitive verb + intransitive verb

(7.8) au gunuva tiko na yaqona
ls v tsom v n
scm drink continue art kava
continue to drink the kava.

(d) intransitive verb + intransitive verb

(7.9) au vakara lako yani
ls v
v
scm ready go part.
I am ready to go away.

I will discuss each of these serials of verb forms, drawing attention to syntactic or semantic features and to constraints that may apply.

7.2.3 Transitive verb + transitive verb

There are not many examples of this serial in my corpus. For example.

(7.10) (a) (i) au taura na ika
ls v tsom n
scm hold art fish
I hold the fish.
In constructing a series of verbs, each of which is modified both by the transitive suffix and the object marker, only a very limited number of verbs is available for either the first verb or the second verb. For the first verb, I am aware of only taura hold; kauta carry; and raica see. For the second verb, volita go round about, can follow any of these three verbs. Rawata have power over, and calaka or silika lose control over, can follow either taura or tita.

In a series of any combination of these verbs, each verb retains its own independent meaning, as illustrated by examples (7.10)(a) and (b). The expressed object of this serialisation construction always follows the final verb, unless it is a proper noun or a delimited common noun. In these cases, it follows the first verb. The object marker of the first verb is deleted (see section 4.1).

For example:

(7.10) (ii) au rawata na ika
ls v tsom n
scm hold on art fish
to
I hold on to the fish.

(iii) au taura rawata na ika
ls v tsom v tsom n
scm hold have power art fish
over
I keep hold of the fish.

(b)(i) au raica na koro
ls v tsom n
scm see art village
I see the village.

(ii) au volita na koro
ls v tsom n
scm go round art village
the boundary
I go round the village boundary

(iii) au raica volita na koro
ls v tsom v tsom n
scm see go round art village
the boundary
I look at the village as I walk around its boundary.
In these examples, the second verb in the series retains the object marker. This is one of the constructions for a sentence with a transitive verb and an unexpressed personal object. The alternative construction in which the object marker is deleted and the object is the third singular independent human pronoun koya is not found. (see section 3.2.3 ).

This construction then consists of a series of verbs with transitive suffixes. Only the final verb has an object marker as well as a transitive suffix. The expressed object is a proper noun or a delimited common noun, and it follows the first verb in the series.

I have one example of this construction, in which the object is a common NP and follows the final verb:

(7.12) au tauri volita na taga suka
ls v ts v tsom n n
scm hold go round art sack sugar
the boundary

I hold onto the sack of sugar by its edge.

The first verb tauri has a transitive suffix but no object marker.
The final verb volita has both transitive suffix and object marker.
The object na taga suka is a common NP.

This construction is not generally acceptable, especially by my older informants who say:

(7.13) au taura volita na taga suka
ls v tsom v tsom n n
scm hold go round art sack sugar
the boundary

I hold onto the sugar sack by its edge.

The construction illustrated by example (7.12) is an intermediate construction between that illustrated by examples (7.10)(a) and (b) in which all verbs in the series retain both transitive suffix and object marker, and the construction discussed in the next section.

7.2.4 Intransitive verb + transitive verb

In this construction, the final verb in the series has both a transitive suffix and an object marker. The first verb in the series has neither object marker nor transitive suffix. For example:

(7.14)(a)(i) au raica na ligamu
ls v tsom n 2s
scm see art arm poss.
I see your arm.

(ii) au kivita na ligamu
ls v tsom n 2s
scm glance to art arm poss.
one side
I glance to one side at your arm.
In constructing a series of verbs, the first of which has no transitive suffix or object marker and the second of which has both, a limited number of verbs is available for either the first verb or the second verb. The independent meaning of both verbs is retained in the series, and this restricts the possibilities for the choice of verbs in the series. For example, sevata to make an error in, can follow wili read or count; kila recognise; rogo hear; or taro ask. The resulting serialisation constructions have the following meanings:

wilisevata misread or miscount; kila sevata fail to recognise; rogo sevata mishear; taro sevata ask in error. In this case serialisation with the second verb sevata is fairly productive.

In the following examples, serialisation with the first verb viri put, is fairly productive. viri can precede tikora put in a place; tura stand up; kotora lay down; tokara put up on. The resulting serialisation constructions have the following meanings:

viritikora put down in a place an object of any shape; virikotora lay down an object of length; viritura stand up an object of length; viritokara put up on a higher place an object of any shape.

The expressed object of this serialisation construction always follows the final verb, whether it be a common noun phrase, a proper noun or a delimited common noun. For example:

(7.15)(a) au rai volita na koro
common NP
ls v v tsom n
scm see go round art village
the boundary
I look at the village as I walk round the boundary.
(Compare with (7.15). (b) (iii), which has the same meaning.)

(7.15) (b) au kilasevati Pita
proper noun
ls v v ts n
scm know fail to Pita
recognise
I fail to recognise Pita.

c (c) au virituri bai
delimited
ls v v ts n
scm put stand fence
up
I put up fences.

Since there is no possible way in which the object can come between
the two verbs, this construction may be defined as a tight serialisation
construction, or indeed regarded as a compound.

It should be constrained with the construction described in
section 7.2.3 which is a loose serialisation construction in which the
object can come between the two v-verbs. It is parallel to this loose
serialisation construction in that the verbs in the series retain the
same meaning as they have in sentences in which they occurred independently.
The following section concerns constructions which are the syntactic
opposite to those described in this section.

7.2.5 Transitive verb + intransitive verb

In this construction, the first verb in the series has both
a transitive suffix and an object marker. The following verbs in the
series has neither object marker nor transitive suffix. For example:

(7.16) (a) (i) au gunuva na tī
common noun
ls v tsom n
scm drink art tea
I drink the tea.

(ii) e oti na tī
v n
c.i. finish art tea
the tea is finished.

(iii) au gunuva oti na tī
ls v tsom v n
scm drink finish art tea
I finish drinking the tea.

(b) (i) au viria na bai
ls v tsom n
scm put art fence
I put the fence somewhere or somehow.
In constructing a series of verbs, the first of which has a transitive suffix and an object marker and the second of which has neither, the number of verbs available for the second verb is very limited. The second verb would be a member of a small and delimited class of verbs which are, in my corpus, rawa able; oti finish; tiko, tū continue; toka continue, fairly; and koto just about. The verbs rawa and oti have the same meaning, whether they occur independently or in series. See examples (7.5)(b) and (c) for rawa and (7.15) (a)(i) and (iii) for oti. The other verbs have a semantic shift. For example:

(7.17) (a)(i) e tiko e dua na vuaka e na loma ni bai
v n num n prep n rel.n
c.i. is situated art pig in art inside fence
There is a pig inside the fence.
(ii) e cakacaka tiko o Tomasi
v v n
c.i. work continue art Tomasi
Tomasi continues to work (for a long time).
(b)(i) e toka e na ibe na gone
v n n
n prep art mat art child
The child squats on the mat.
(ii) e vakarau toka na gone
v v n
c.i. ready fairly art child
The child is more or less ready (but not as ready as he should be).
(c)(i) e koto e na ibe na gone
v prep n n
c.i. lie on art mat art child
The child lies on the mat.
(ii) e buta koto na kakana
v v n
c.i. cook just about art food
The food is just about cooked (and it soon will be).
The use of members of this small class of verbs in order to fill the slot of the second member of a series of verbs in the construction \(v \text{tsom } v\) is fully productive, and the verb which can fill the first slot is only limited by the semantics of the resulting combination.

The semantic shift for some of these second verbs may be summarised as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rawa oti</th>
<th>tiko</th>
<th>tu</th>
<th>toka</th>
<th>koto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>independent</td>
<td>able</td>
<td>finish</td>
<td>is situated</td>
<td>stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in series</td>
<td>able</td>
<td>finish</td>
<td>continue</td>
<td>continue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These verbs may be divided into two categories - those that undergo semantic shift and those that do not.

In this construction, the expressed object always follows the final verb, unless it is a proper noun or a delimited common noun. In these cases, it follows the first verb, and the object marker is deleted. For example:

(7.18) (a) (i) au taura rawa na taga
common noun phrase
ls v tsom v n
scm hold am able art sack
I am able to hold the sack.

(ii) au tauri Pita rawa
proper noun
ls v ts n v
scm hold Pita am able
I am able to hold Pita.

(iii) au tauri taga rawa
delimited
common noun
ls v ts n v
scm hold sack am able
I am able to hold sacks.

(b) (i) au lomana tiko na gone ni sala
rel.mood
ls v tsom v n
csm pity continue art child
I continue to pity the illegitimate child.

(ii) au lomani Mere tiko
delimited
common noun
ls v ts n v
scm pity Merz continue to
I continue to pity Mere.

(iii) au lomani gone ni sala tiko
delimited
common noun
ls v ts n n v
scm pity child rel.mood continue to
I continue to pity illegitimate children.
Since it is possible for the object, if it is a proper noun or a
delimited common noun, to come between the two verbs, this construction
may be defined as a loose serialisation construction.

It should be contrasted with the construction described in
section 7.2.4 which is a tight serial construction in which the object
can never come between the verb. It is parallel to the loose serial-
isation construction described in section 7.2.3 in that the object can
come between the two verbs under similar circumstances. In the con-
struction described in section 7.2.3, each verb in the series retains
its independent meaning. In the construction described in this present
section, when certain verbs (rawa and oti) occur in series, they
retain their independent meanings. However, certain other verbs (tiko,
tu, toka, and koto) undergo a semantic shift when they occur in series
in any position other than the first of the series. For example, contrast:

(7.19) (a) au tiko rawa e Bau
ls v v n
scm stay am able prep. Bau (name of island)
I am able to stay on Bau.

(b) au gunuva tiko na yagona
ls tsom v n
scm drink continue art kava
I continue to drink the kava.

The following section concerns constructions which are different
syntactically from any of the constructions described so far. However,
they have some of the semantic features of each.

7.2.6 Intransitive verb + intransitive verb

In this construction, neither verb in the series has either an
object marker or a transitive suffix. It is this syntactic feature
which contrasts this construction with the other three constructions
discussed in section 7.2.3 (transitive verb + transitive verb), section
7.2.4 (intransitive verb + transitive verb) and section 7.2.5 (transitive
verb + intransitive verb). In these other constructions, when one verb
has a transitive suffix, it is convenient to identify this as the main
verb. When two verbs in series both have transitive suffixes, both
function as main verbs in conjunction.

But in a series of two intransitive verbs it is possible for
ambiguities to arise if one verb cannot be identified as the main verb.
For example:

(7.20) (i) au tu
ls v
scm stand
(7.20)(ii) au vakarau
ls v
scm am ready
I am ready.

(iii) au vakarau tu
ls v v
scm am ready stand/continue can mean either
I am ready to stand. or
I continue to be ready.

The transitive sentences corresponding to (iii) could be either, for instance:

(7.21)(a) au vakarau tura na ilavo mai na bage
ls v vsom n prep n
scm am ready place art money in art bank
I am ready to place the money in the bank.

or, for instance:

(b) au vakaratuka la noqu lako ki Bau
ls v vsom ls v prep n
scm prepare continue art poss go to Bau
I continue to prepare for my journey to Bau.

If (7.20)(iii) was an intransitive sentence corresponding to (7.20)(b), then vakarau would function as a main verb and tu (functioning as other than the main verb) would have the shifted meaning of 'continue to' (see section 7.2.5 and example (7.16)(b)(iii) with the explanation that follows.)

If however (7.20)(iii) was an intransitive sentence corresponding to (7.21)(a), then tu would function as a main verb and would have its independent meaning (example (7.16)(b)(ii)) of 'stand', and vakarau would function other than as a main verb.

Not all constructions of the type intransitive verb + intransitive verb are ambiguous, because it is possible to identify the main verb either practically or semantically. For example:

(7.22) au gunu ti oti
ls v n v
scm drink tea finish
I finish drinking tea.

In this example, the object ti of the main verb gunu is generic. So (see section 4.1) the main verb has neither object marker nor transitive suffix. The object is regarded as being incorporated in the verb phrase, and any other verb that follows the main verb in serial also follows the incorporated object of the main verb.
Also for example:

(7.23)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{au lako rawa mai} & \\
\text{ls v v} & \\
\text{scm come able here} & \\
\text{I can come here.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

can only mean 'I can come here'.

However, the quandary of the gloss of (7.20)(iii) cannot be disambiguated either syntactically or, with ease, semantically. It can be disambiguated phonetically:

(7.24) (a)  
\[
\text{au vakarau} \tilde{\text{u}}
\]

means  
'I am ready to stand',

whereas

(b)  
\[
\text{au vakarau } \tilde{\text{u}}
\]

means  
'I continue to be ready'.

The rise in pitch occurs in the main verb.

These constructions therefore fall into two main categories:

(a) those in which both serial verbs retain the meanings which they have when they occur independently, and

(b) those in which one of the verbs undergoes a semantic shift.

For example:

(7.25) (a)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{au rai kivi} & \\
\text{ls v v} & \\
\text{scm see glance to one side} & \\
\text{I look sideways.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(compare (7.14) (a)(iii))

(b)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{au gunu oti} & \\
\text{ls v v} & \\
\text{scm drink finish} & \\
\text{I finish drinking} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(compare (7.16) (a)(iii))

(c)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e dodonu toka na duru} & \\
\text{v v n} & \\
\text{c.i. straight squar/art house post} & \\
\text{more or less} & \\
\text{The house post is more or less straight.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(d)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e tekivu koto na meke} & \\
\text{v v n} & \\
\text{c.i. begin lie/just art meke} & \\
\text{about} & \\
\text{The meke is just about to begin.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The first category exemplified by (a) and (b) have semantic features similar to the serial constructions discussed in section 7.2.3 and 7.2.4, in which both verbs in a series retain their independent meanings.

However, the second category exemplified by (c) and (d) have semantic features similar to some of the serial constructions discussed.
in 7.2.5, especially examples (7.16)(b) and (7.17). In all these examples, the second verb in the series is *tiko, tū, toka, or koto*, and in all cases there is a semantic shift from the meanings of the verb when it occurs independently or as a main verb.

7.2.7 I have so far considered pairs of verbs in series. It is possible to have more than two verbs in a verb serialization construction. For example:

(7.26) (a)  au a gunuva oti rawa na tī ls past v tsom v v
scm drink finish be able art n
tea

I was able to finish drinking the tea.

(b)  au gunuva tiko rawa na tī ls v tsom v v
scm drink continue be able art n
tea

I am able to continue drinking the tea.

(c)  au gunuva rawa tiko na tī ls v tsom v v n
scm drink able continue art tea

I continue to be able to drink the tea.

(d)  e na tini rawa koto na cakacaka ni mataka v v v
n
v c. i. fut. complete able just about art work

The work can just about be finished tomorrow.

In theory, there is no limit to the number of verbs in a verb serialization construction. In practice, the number is seldom more than three occurring in the following order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vakarau</th>
<th>main</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb oti rawa tiko tū toka koto rawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As noted in examples (b) and (c), the semantics of the event determine the precise order of the verbs.

If a verb in the series has an object, whether it be incorporated or delimited or proper or expressed as a common NP, the syntax of the construction is similar to that already described in section 7.2.5. That verb is clearly the main verb. For example

(7.27) (a)  e vakarau gunu tī tiko o Mere i. ready drink tea continue art Mere

Mere is ready to continue to drink tea.

(b)  e saumi dinau oti rawa o Semi

Semi is able to finish paying (his) debts.
Examples (7.27) (a) and (c) are ambiguous, but can be disambiguated by a rise in pitch.

(a) e vakarau raici Tomasi rawa o Mere

means 'Mere is ready to be able to see Tomasi'.

(b) e vakarau raici Tomasi rawa o Mere

means 'Mere is able to continue drinking tea'.

Similarly

(a) e gunuva tiko rawa na Mere

means 'Mere continues to be ready to drink tea'.

(b) e gunuva tiko rawa na Mere

means 'Mere is ready to continue drinking tea'.

In these examples, the verbs gunu and raici are main verbs. Each main verb is modified by two other verbs, one of which may be said to modify directly, the other indirectly. Of the two modifying verbs, the one marked by the higher pitch directly modifies the main verb.

7.3 Complementiser construction

7.3.1 Fijian has four complementiser particles me to/that, ni that, se whether, de not to. Each of these particles functions as a verbal particle to introduce a complement which always follows the matrix in a complement construction. me means that the speaker has strong expectation that the situation in the complement will happen. It also means that the speaker intends to bring about the situation. For example:

(a) au nuitaka me na lako yani o Semi

I hope that Semi will go away.

(b) au a vakaroti Semi me lako yani

I ordered Semi to go away.

ni means that the speaker has some expectation that the situation in the complement will happen, or has some basis of truth for saying that
The situation has or is happening. There is no intention on the part of the speaker. For example:

(7.31) (a) au vakabauta ni a tauvimat o Semi e na yabaki sa oti
scm believe past sick art Semi art year last
I believe that Semi was sick last year.
(b) e bese ni laga sere o Mere
scm refuse sing song art Mere
Mere refuses to sing songs.

se means that the speaker is uncertain whether the situation in the complement is true or not true. For example:

(7.32) au guilecava se a lako mai o Semi
scm forget past come here art Semi
I forget whether Semi has come.

de means that the speaker has strong expectations that the situation in the complement (usually unpleasant) will not happen. It also means that the speaker intends to take steps that some unpleasant situation should not happen. For example:

(7.33) (a) au rerevaka de 'u na bula
scm fear scm fut. live
I am afraid that I will not live.
(b) au lomaocaoca de 'u lutu
scm anxious scm fall
I am anxious not to fall.

The meanings of these four particles may be summarised in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factive</th>
<th>Strong positive expectation</th>
<th>Weak positive expectation</th>
<th>Uncertainty</th>
<th>Strong negative expectation</th>
<th>Intention not to happen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>de</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.1 The form of the subject-concord marker which follows one of these complementisers is usually the short one, if there is one. For example:

(7.34) (a) (kedatou nuitaka me dotou na gunu yaqona
incl hope incl art drink kava
scm scm
We hope that we will drink kava.
(7.34) (b) au vakabauta ni 'u na lako yani
ls v tsonm ls v
scm believe scm fut. go away
I believe that I will go
(c) au via kila se drau a tea na dalo
ls v tsonm 2dual v tsonm n
scm want to know scm past plant art taro
I want to know whether you two planted the taro.

7.3.2 Complementiser me to, that

This complementiser has a form mo used with a second person
subject concord marker:

mo singular
modrau dual
modou paucal
moni plural

7.3.2.1 A sentence may contain a matrix, followed by a complement
introduced by the complementiser me - mo. For example:

(7.35) (a) au kila me na lako yani o Semi e na tolu na kal n o
ls v tsonm v n prep
scm know fut. go away art Semi art 3 o'clock
I know that Semi (is all ready and) will definitely
go at three o'clock.
(b) e tukuna o Semi me na lako mai o Pita walega ogó
v tsonm n v
c.i. tell art Semi .ut. come here Pita just now
Semi said that Pita (is all ready and) will definitely
come just now.
(c) e besetaka na turaga me ra na lako mai na gone
v tsonm n 3pl v n
c.i. refuse art chief scm fut. come here art child
The chief refused to allow the children to come.
(d) au vakadreka na gone me na lako mai
ls v tsonm n v
scm art child fut. come here
I urge the child to come here.

These are examples of strong expectation. The following examples illustrate
intention. Intention and strong expectation that something will or will
not happen are very similar concepts.

(7.36) (a) au kerea me 'u na lako yani
ls v tsonm ls v
scm ask scm fut. go away
I ask that I should go.
In each of these examples, the matrix verb has a transitive suffix, whether it has an expressed object NP (7.35) (d) or a preposition-marked nominal object (7.36) (p) or no expressed nominal object. The subject of the matrix verb occurs in the matrix. The future tense marker na usually marks the complement.

7.3.2.2 Matrix verbs which may be followed by complements introduced by the complementiser me, may be grouped into certain semantic classes. It is then a semantic constraint of such verbs when used in such constructions which may determine questions of co-referentiality between arguments in the matrix and the complement. For example:

(7.37)(a) e vakaugeti Pita na turaga me na vakamatea na vuaka verbs of urging v ts n  n v tsom n c.i. urge Pita art chief fut. kill art pig

The chief urged Pita to kill the pig.

(b) e ra vakadreti au na qase me 'u na lako yani 3pl v ts ls n 1s v part c.i.scm urge p.p. art old man scm fut go away

The old men urged me to go away.

(c) au nakitaka na qase me na lako mai na luvena tagane 3s n  n v n poss n scm induce art old man fut. come here art child male

I induced the old man to allow his son to come.

The object of a matrix verb in the semantic class of 'urging' is expressed or implied, and is usually co-referential with the subject of a complement introduced by me. In (c), the subject of the complement is na luvena (the old man's son) and is regarded as being equivalent to co-referential with his father, by implication that he is in a subordinate social position to his father. In the same way, a herald would be regarded as being "co-referential" with his chief.

(7.38)(a) au vakaroti Pita me na lako mai na luvena tagane verbs of requesting/give v ts n  n v n 3s n scm order Pita fut. come here art child poss. male

I ordered Pita to allow his son to come here.

(b) au kerea me 'u na gunu yagona verbs of asking v tsom 1s v n scm ask scm fut. drink kava

I asked that I should drink kava.
I gave the order that Semi should kill the pig.

The object of a matrix verb in the semantic class of requesting or ordering is sometimes expressed or implied. It is expressed in (a).

In which case the constraints on coreferentiality are the same as those pertaining to example (7.37)(c). No specific object is expressed or implied in (7.38)(b), (c), and the subject of the complement verb in (b) is coreferential with the subject of the matrix verb. The subject of the complement verb in (c) is not coreferential with any argument in the matrix.

7.3.2.3 For other semantic classes of verbs, there may be no particular constraint on whether or not an argument in the complement should or should not be coreferential with an argument in the matrix. For example:

(7.39)(a) au tukuna vei Tomasi me na lako mai 1s v tsom hum. n v scm tell dir. Tomasi fut. come here part.
I told Tomasi to come here.

(b) au tukuna vei Tomasi me 'u na lako yani 1s v tsom hum. n 1s v scm tell dir. Tomasi scm fut. go away part.
I told Tomasi that I would go away.

(c) au tukuna vei Tomasi me na lako mai na qase 1s v tsom hum. n v n scm tell dir. Tomasi fut. come here art old man part.
I told Tomasi that the old man should come here.

In (a), the subject of the complement verb is coreferential with the preposition-marked object of the matrix verb. In (b), the subjects of both the matrix and the complement verbs are coreferential.

In (c), the subject of the complement is not coreferential with either the subject or the preposition-marked object of the matrix verb.

7.3.2.4 I turn now to the syntax of a complement construction with a matrix clause followed by a complement clause introduced by the complementiser me.

If both clauses include a similar noun or noun phrase, the similar nominal is obligatorily expressed in the first clause, the matrix, and obligatorily deleted in the second clause, the complement. For example -
In (a), the object of the matrix verb is the same as the subject of the complement verb; the subject of the matrix in (b) is the same as the subject of the complement. The coreferential noun or noun phrase in the complement is deleted in each example.

7.3.2.5 Even if nouns or noun phrases are deleted in the complement, the verb in the complement is still obligatorily marked by the appropriate subject concord marker or object marker.

In examples (7.40)(a) and (b), the deleted subject of the complement is 3 singular in each case, and in each case the 3 singular subject concord marker occurs.

In (7.41)(b), the deleted object of the complement is 3 dual, and the 3rd dual object marker is retained obligatorily in the complement.

In (7.41)(a), the deleted object of the complement is 3 singular, but because the object is human, it is more usual to use the 3 singular anaphoric pronoun ko koya instead of the 3 singular object marker. Also it would be optional to say:

The two children begged that the chiefs should excuse them.
Examples (7.40) (a) and (b) showed that the deleted subject of the complement verb can be coreferential with the subject or the object of the matrix verb. If both the subject and the object of the matrix verb are expressed nouns or noun phrases or (in the case of the object) prepositional phrases, the argument closest to the matrix verb is coreferential with the subject of the complement verb. For example -

(7.43)

(a) e vakarota na gone na qase me na lako mai

v tsom n n v

c.i. order art child art old man fut. come here

The old man ordered the child to come here.

(b) e vakaroti Pita o Semi me na lako mai

v ts n n v

c.i. order Pita art Semi fut. come here

Semi ordered Pita to come.

(c) e kerea vei Mere o Pita me na requci koya

v tsom hum. n n v ts 3s

c.i. beg part. Mere art Pita fut. kiss p.p.

Pita asked Mere to kiss him (Pita).

(d) e kerea o Pita vei Mere me na requci koya

v tsom n hum. n v ts 3s


Pita asked Mere that he should kiss her (Mere).

In these examples, the argument closest to the matrix verb in (b) is a noun (Pita) functioning as an object of the verb; in (a), it is a common noun phrase (na gone) also functioning as an object of the verb; in (c), it is a prepositional phrase (vei Mere); and in (d), it is a proper noun phrase (o Pita) functioning as the subject of the matrix verb. In each example, it is the argument nearest to the matrix verb which is coreferential with the deleted subject of the complement verb.

This principle can also be applied in order to disambiguate possessive anaphoric pronouns in arguments in the complement. For example:

(7.44)

(a) e tukuna vei Tomasi o Mere me na tagomaka na nona kolī

v tsom hum. n n v tsom poss. n

c.i. tell part. Tomasi art Mere fut. look art 3s dog

Mere told Tomasi that he should look after his dog.

(b) e tukuna o Mere vei Tomasi me na tagomaka na nona kolī

v tsom n hum. n v tsom poss. n

c.i. tell art Mere part. Tomasi fut. look after 3s dog

Mere told Tomasi that she would look after his dog.

In these examples, it is the argument in the matrix nearest to the complement which is coreferential with the possessive anaphoric pronoun nona in the object noun phrase of the complement.
Mere told Tomasi that he should look after his own dog.

If the possessor is coreferential with the subject of the complement verb, the noun phrase which includes the anaphoric possessive pronoun is extended by the obligatory reflexive modifier + an anaphoric personal pronoun. In the examples, the possessor in the extended noun phrase na nona koli vakaikoya is coreferential with the subject of the complement. In (a), the possessor subject is coreferential with vei Tomasi. In (b), it is coreferential with o Mere.

7.3.2.8 When a complement is introduced by the complementiser me, the verb in the matrix has a transitive suffix. The semantic features of certain classes of verbs show that the complement is in an object-like relationship with such verbs when they occur in the matrix of a complement construction. For example:

(a) au vinakata e dau na bilo bia ls v tsom num. n n scm want one art glass beer
  I want a glass of beer.

(b) au vinakata me lako mai o Semi ls v tsom n n scm want come here art Semi
  I want Semi to come here.

In the (b) example, there is no expressed or implied noun or noun phrase as object of the matrix verb. The complement stands as the direct object of the matrix verb. The semantic features of the verb do not allow for an indirect object.

(a) au vakadreta na gone ls v tsom n scm urge art child
  I urged the child.

(b) au vakadreta me lesu tale mai na gone ls v tsom n n scm urge return back here art child
  I urged that the child should come back here.
With verbs such as *vakadreta*, the semantic features allow the object to be either the goal, as in (a) and (c), or the complement as in (b). In (b), there is no expressed or implied noun or noun phrase as object of the matrix verb. If the object is the goal, it is expressed as a noun or noun phrase. In (c), the subject of the complement is coreferential with the object of the matrix *na gone* and is deleted (compare example (7.43)(a)).

7.3.2.9. Verbs of some semantic classes may take either a direct object expressed as a noun or noun phrase or an indirect object expressed as a prepositional phrase. For example -

(7.48)(a)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{au sauma na nomu taro} \\
\text{ls v tsom 2s n} \\
\text{scm reply art poss question} \\
\text{I reply to your question.}
\end{align*}
\]

(b)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{au sauma vei Tomasi} \\
\text{ls v tsom n} \\
\text{scm reply to Tomasi} \\
\text{I reply to Tomasi.}
\end{align*}
\]

(c)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{au sauma vei Tomasi me na lesu tale mai o Pita} \\
\text{ls v tsom n v} \\
\text{scm reply to Tomasi fut.return back here art Pita} \\
\text{I reply to Tomasi that Pita should come back again.}
\end{align*}
\]

(d)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{au sauma me na lesu tale mai o Pita} \\
\text{ls v tsom v} \\
\text{scm reply fut. return back again art Pita} \\
\text{I reply that Pita should come back again.}
\end{align*}
\]

In this example, the object of (b) is a goal which is expressed as a prepositional phrase. The direct object in (a) is expressed as a noun phrase.

7.3.2.10 Examples (7.47)(b) and (7.48)(d) show that the complement can stand in an object-like relationship to the verb in the matrix. By re-ordering the arguments in the complement it is possible with certain semantic classes of matrix to achieve a semantic constrast in the complement. For example -

(7.49)(a)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{au vinakata me na lako yani na gone} \\
\text{ls v tsom v n} \\
\text{scm want fut. go away art child} \\
\text{I want the child to go away.}
\end{align*}
\]
In the (b) examples, the subject of the complement has been raised as the object of the motive to come before me, in order to indicate semantic contrast. These complement constructions have the same semantic contrast as the following independent constructions:

$$\text{(7.51)(a)} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
\text{me} & \text{lako mai o Pita} \\
V & N \\
\text{let come her art Pita} \\
\text{Let Pita come here!}
\end{array}$$

$$\text{(b)} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
\text{o Pita me} & \text{lako mai} \\
N & V \\
\text{art Pita} & \text{come here} \\
\text{Let Pita (not someone else) come here!}
\end{array}$$

7.3.2.11 The raising of the subject of the complement to the object of the matrix only occurs with verbs which semantically do not require a human goal such as vinakata want, or which have a human goal expressed in a prepositional phrase (such as yalataka promise). It cannot occur with a verb which has a human goal expressed as a noun phrase (such as vakarota order). For example -

$$\text{(7.52)(a)} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
e & \text{vinakati Pita na qase me na lako mai} \\
v & T N \\
c.i. want Pita art old man fut. come here \\
The old man wanted Pita (not someone else) to come here.
\end{array}$$

$$\text{(b)} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
e & \text{yalataki Pita na yalewa me na lako mai} \\
v & T N \\
c.i. promise Pita art woman fut. come here \\
The woman promised that Pita (not someone else) would come here.
\end{array}$$

If the semantic contrast in the complement had not been required, the object of the complement (Pita in both examples) would not have been raised and the sentence would have been:
(7.53) (a)  

\[ e \quad \text{vinakata na qase me na lako mai o Pita} \]
\[ v \quad \text{tsom} \quad n \quad v \quad n \]
\[ \text{c.i. want art old man fut. come here art Pita} \]

The old man wanted Pita to come here.

(b)  

\[ e \quad \text{yalataka na yalewa me na lako mai o Pita} \]
\[ v \quad \text{tsom} \quad n \quad v \quad n \]
\[ \text{c.i. prom. art female fut. come here art Pita} \]

The woman promised that Pita would come here.

If in contrast with the situation described in examples (7.52) (b) and (7.53) (b), the situation to be described had been that the female had made a promise to Pita that he should come, the sentence would be:

(7.54)  

\[ e \quad \text{yalataka vei Pita na yalewa me na lako mai} \]
\[ v \quad \text{tsom} \quad \text{hum.n} \quad n \quad v \]
\[ \text{c.i. prom. part.Pita art female fut. come here} \]

The woman promised Pita that he should come here.

With a verb such as yalataka, the human goal is expressed as a prepositional phrase, and the complement stands in an object-like relationship to the verb in the matrix. (7.54) is glossed as 'the woman promised Pita that he should come' in accordance with the word order rule stated in section 7.3.7.6. The argument closest to the matrix verb is coreferential with the subject of the complement verb.

If the verb in the matrix has a human goal expressed as a noun phrase (not as a prepositional phrase), the subject of the complement cannot be raised to the object of the matrix in order to show the semantic contrast exemplified by (7.52) (b) and (7.53) (b). Vakarota order, differs from yalataka promise, in this respect. For example:

(7.55)  

\[ e \quad \text{vakaroti Pita o Semi me na lako mai} \]
\[ v \quad \text{ts} \quad n \quad n \quad v \]
\[ \text{c.i. order Pita art Semi fut. come here} \]

Semi ordered Pita to come here.

This example is repeated from example (7.43) (b), and may be contrasted with

(7.56)  

\[ e \quad \text{yalataki Pita na yalewa me na lako mai} \]
\[ v \quad \text{ts} \quad n \quad n \quad v \]
\[ \text{c.i. prom. Pita art female fut. come here} \]

The woman promised that Pita (not someone else) would come here.

as repeated from (7.50) (b), and with (7.54).
7.3.3 Complementiser ni that

7.3.3.1 A sentence may contain a matrix clause, followed by a complement clause introduced by the complementiser ni. For example -

(7.57) (a) au bese ni vakamatea na vuaka
\( \text{ls} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{tsom} \quad \text{n} \)
\( \text{scm} \text{refuse} \text{kill art pig} \)
I refuse to kill the pig.

(b) au a kaya ni 'u na lako yani
\( \text{ls} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{ls} \quad \text{v} \)
\( \text{scm} \text{past say} \text{scm art to away} \)
I said that I would go.

(c) au tukuna vei Tomasi ni a lesu tale mai o Pita
\( \text{ls} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{tsom} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{v} \)
\( \text{scm} \text{tell to Tomasi past return back here art Pita} \)
I told Tomasi that Pita had returned.

(d) au vakabauti Mere ni ra lomani koya na gone laiai
\( \text{ls} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{ts} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{adj} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{ts} \quad \text{3s} \quad \text{n} \)
\( \text{scm believe Mere scm love p.p. art child little} \)
I believe Mere that the little children love her.

In (a) and (b), the matrix verb is intransitive, but in (c) and (d) it is transitive. There is no constraint on the tense marker in the complement.

7.3.3.2 Matrix verbs which may be followed by complements introduced by the complementiser ni, may be grouped into certain semantic classes. It is then a semantic constraint of such verbs when used in such constructions which may determine questions of coreferentiality between arguments in the matrix and the complement. For example -

(7.58) (a) e ra bese ni lako yani na turaga
\( \text{refusing} \quad \text{3pl} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{c.i. scm} \text{refuse go away art chief} \)
The chiefs refuse to go away.

(b) e ra voeleka ni luvu mate na gone
\( \text{beginning/nearly} \quad \text{3pl} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{c.i. scm} \text{nearly drown die art child} \)
The children nearly drowned.

(c) keitou tekivu ni gunu yaqona
\( \text{1pauc.} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{exc. scm begin drink kava} \)
We begin to drink kava.

(d) e tovolea na turaga ni lako yani
\( \text{trying} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{tsom} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{c.i. try art chief go away} \)
The chief tries to go away.

---

1 non-singular form of laiai
When the matrix verb is intransitive, the subject of the matrix verb is always coreferential with the subject of the complement verb. This constraint does not apply if the same verb is transitive. Indeed in the case of bese/besetaka, the constraint for the transitive form is that the subject of the matrix is never coreferential with the subject of the complement. For example:

(7.59) e besetaka na gone me na lako mai o koya v tsom n v 3s c.i. refuse art child fut. come here art p.p.
The child refused to allow him (someone other than the child) to come.

7.3.3.3 I now turn to the syntax of a complement construction with a matrix clause followed by a complement clause introduced by the complementiser ni.

If the subjects of both clauses are obligatorily coreferential, a semantic contrast in the situation described by the sentence determines whether the subject as expressed by a noun phrase should come in the matrix or the complement. For example -

(7.60)(a) e bese ni lako yani na turaga v v n c.i. refuse go away art chief
The chief refuses to go.
(b) e bese na turaga ni lako yani v art n v c.i. refuse chief go away
The chief refuses to go (but others don't refuse).

(7.61)(a) e ra na saga ni vakamatea na vuaka na turaga 3pl v tsom v tsom n n c.i.scm art try kill art pig art chief
The chiefs will try to kill the pig(s).
(b) e ra na saga na turaga ni vakamatea na vuaka 3pl v tsom n v tsom n c.i.scm art try art chief kill art pig
The chiefs will try (but others won't try) to kill the pig(s)

This syntactic contrast in the position of the expressed subject noun phrase reflects a semantic contrast. Where the subject NP occurs with the matrix verb, there is a contrastive relationship between such an NP and other NP implicit from the situation. Where the subject NP occurs with the complement verb, no such contrastive relationship is intended.

If the subject of the matrix and the complement clauses are
obligatorily coreferential and the shared subject is expressed as a noun phrase, the subject concord marker and any other marker between ni and the complement verb are deleted (example (7.61).

If the subjects of both clauses are obligatorily coreferential, and there is no expressed NP in the sentence, another form of syntactic contrast reflects the semantic contrast just described. For example:

(7.62) (a)  au bese ni lako
    ls v v
    scm refuse go
    I refuse to go.
(b)  au bese ni'u lako
    ls v  ls v
    scm refuse scm go
    I refuse (but others agree) to go.

(7.63) (a)  au na saga ni lako yani
            ls  v  tsom v
            scm fut.try go away
            I will try to go.
(b)  au na saga ni'u lako yani
            ls  v  tsom ls v
            scm fut. try scm go away
            I will try (but others won't) to go.

In the (a) examples, the subject concord marker is deleted in the complement. In the (b) examples, it is retained. Where the subject concord marker is retained in the complement, there is a contrastive relationship between the subject and other persons implicit from the situation. Where the subject concord marker is deleted, there is no such contrastive relationship.

This account of syntactic contrast and contrastive relationship refers only to the matrix verbs so far exemplified. Such contrastive relationship is shown by a slightly different method of syntactic contrast, in the case of some other matrix verbs which have obligatorily coreferential subjects in the matrix and the complement. For example:

(7.64) (a)  e ra voleka ni luvu mate na gone
            3pl v v v n
            c.i.scm nearly drown die art child
            The children nearly drowned.
(b)  e sa voleka ni ra luvu mate na gone
            v  3pl v v n
            c.i. contr nearly scm drown die art child
            The children nearly drowned (but others did not).
In the (a) examples, the subject concord marker is deleted in the complement. In the (b) examples, the subject concord marker is retained in the complement and the subject of the matrix becomes 3rd person singular. The complement seems to stand in a subject-like relationship to the matrix. Compare the (b) sentences with sentences like:

(7.66) (a) e sa voleka na laga sere
contr v v n
c.i. nearly art sing song
The sing-song draws near (in time).

(7.66) (b) e sa tekvu na laga sere
contr v v n
c.i. begin art sing song
The sing-song begins.

7.3.3.4 In section 7.3.3.3, I have described the syntax of complement constructions with matrix verbs of certain semantic classes. In these constructions, the complementiser is always ni and never me. On the other hand, there are matrix verbs of certain semantic classes which have no such semantic constraints on the form of the complementiser. In such cases, the determining factor as to whether the complementiser in ni or me is the speaker's attitude to the situation described in the complement. For example -

(7.67) (a) e rau vakabauta o Semi kei Mere ni rau na vakawati
3dual v 3/5 n con. n 3dual v
c.i.scm believe art Semi Mere scm art get married
Semi and Mere believe that they will marry (probably/sometime or other).

(b) e rau vakabauta o Semi kei Mere me rau na vakawati
3dual v 3/5 n con. n 3dual v
c.i.scm believe art Semi Mere scm fut. get married
Semi and Mere believe (with strong expectation) that they will get married (immediately).

(7.68) (a) au tukuna vei Semi ni 'u na lako yani
ls v tsom n ls v
scm tell to Semi scm art go away
I tell Semi that I will be going sometime or other (probably) (I'm not yet ready).
(7.68b) au tukuna vei Semi me 'u na lako yani walega ogó
ls v tsm n ls v
scm tell to Semi scm fut go away just now
I tell Semi that I will go right now (definitely)
(I'm all ready).

(7.69a) e yalataka na yalewa na tagane ni na lako mai ni mataka
v tsm n n v
scm promise art female art male fut. come here tomorrow
The female promised that the male (not someone else)
will come tomorrow (probably).

(b) e yalataka na yalewa na tagane me na lako mai ni matak:
v tsm n n v
scm promise art female art male fut. come here
The female promised that the male (not someone else)
would definitely be coming tomorrow.

In the (a) examples, ni is used to indicate expectancy on the part of
the speaker that the situation described in the content will happen.
In the (b) examples which are virtually minimal pairs with the (a)
examples, me marks intention to bring about the situation (7.67) or
strong expectation that the situation in the complement will happen.
(7.68) and (7.69). In these examples, the syntactic constraints on
the complement with ni are similar to those already described in
section 7.3.2 in respect of me. For instance, in (7.69)(a), the
matrix verb yalataka is not a verb whose subject is obligatorily
coreferential with the subject of the matrix. Contrastive relationship
is not marked by the construction used in such sentences as (7.60) and
(7.61) but rather by the construction used in such sentences as (7.52).

7.3.3.5 A few matrix verbs which occur in verb serialisation constructions,
as described in section 7.2, may occur with the complementiser ni.
For example:

(7.70a) e vakarau lako yani o Tomasi
v v n
scm ready to go away art Tomasi
Tomasi is ready to go away.

(b) e vakarau ni lako yani o Tomasi
v v n
scm prepare to go away art Tomasi
Tomasi prepares to go away.

(c) e vakarau o Tomasi ni lako yani
v n v
scm prepare art Tomasi go away
Tomasi prepares to go away (but other do not).
With the change of construction in (7.70) (a) and (b), there is a change of meaning of the verb in the matrix. There is no change of meaning in the matrix verb in (7.71). In a serial construction, the matrix verb vakarau precedes the complement verb (7.70) (a) and the matrix verb rawa follows (7.71) (a). But whenever one of these matrix verbs which can be used in a serial construction is used in a complementiser construction, it always precedes the complement verb (7.70) (b) and (7.71) (b). The other matrix verbs used in serial construction such as oti, tiko, or koto (see section 7.2.5) do not occur in complementiser constructions.

7.3.4 Complementiser se whether

A sentence may contain a matrix clause, followed by a complement clause introduced by the complementiser se. For example:

(7.72) (a) au guilecava se a vakamata na vuka o Semi lsv tsom past v n scm forget kill art pig art Semi
I forget whether Semi killed the pig.

(b) keitou besea tiko se keitou na lako ki na koro lpauc. v tsom v n exc. scm discuss exc. scm art go to art village
We are discussing whether to go to the village.

(c) e via kila o Semi se a lako mai o Pita v tsom n v c.i. want know art Semi past come here art Pita
Semi wants to know if Pita has come here.

In each of these examples, the matrix verb is transitive. The subject of the matrix verb occurs in the matrix. The complement stands in an object-like relationship to the matrix verb.

7.3.4.1 Se means that the speaker is uncertain whether the situation in the complement is true or not. The verb in the matrix with a

The intransitive verb rawa is not acceptable in this construction.
complement introduced by se is typically in the semantic class of enquiring (such as taroga, ask; via kila, want to know). In which case the complementiser is always se, as determined by the semantics of the matri. verb. See example (7.72) (c).

On the other hand, the semantics of the situation may decide whether the complementiser should be me, ni or se. For example:

(7.73) (a) keitou bosea tiko me na vakarau vakamau o Mere lpauc. v tsom v v get n exc.scm confer cont. fut.is ready married art Mere

We were conferring about Mere getting ready to get married.

(b) keitou bosea tiko se vakarau vakamau o Mere lpauc. v tsom v v get n exc.scm discuss cont. is ready married art Mere

We were discussing whether Mere is ready to get married.

(7.74) (a) au guilecava ni a lako ki Suva o Sereima ls v tsom v place n scm forget past go to Suva art Sereima

I forgot that Sereima had gone to Suva.

(b) au guilecava se a lako ki Suva o Sereima ls v tsom v n n scm forget past go to Suva art Sereima

I forgot whether Sereima has gone to Suva.

In (7.73) (a), the situation shows that the speakers were quite sure that Mere was about to get married and they had every intention that she should do so and a strong expectation that she would do so. In (b), the matter of Mere's marriage is still uncertain. There is a somewhat similar difference in the attitude of the speaker to the situations in (7.74) (a) and (b).

7.3.4.2 Example (7.72) (c) and the following discussion show the construction of what may be glossed as indirect yes/no questions. Se is also used to introduce complements which may be glossed as indirect wh questions. For example:

(7.75) (a) au via kila se na lako mai na turaga ninaica ls v tsi v n scm want to know fut.come here art chief when?

I want to know when the chief will come here.

(b) e vakataroga vei Pita o Semi se a lako ki vei o Mere v tsom n n v c.i. ask to Pita art Semi past go to where? Mere

Semi asked Pita where Mere had gone to.

(c) au vakataroga se o cei a raica na nogu koli ls v tsom who? v tsom ls n scm ask past see art poss dog

I ask who has seen my dog
(7.75)(d) au vakataroga vei Pita se cava na mataqali ika e a si wat ls v tsom n c. i. past v to scm ask to Pita what? art kind fish past fish
I asked Pita what sort of fish he caught.

7.3.5 **complementiser de not to**

A sentence may contain a matrix clause, followed by a complement clause introduced by the complementiser de. For example:

(7.76)(a) au qarauna de 'u na lutu ls v take tsom ls v scm precaution scm fut. fall
I take precautions so as not to fall.

(b) au taqayataka de 'u na lutu ls v tsom ls v scm worry scm fut fall
I am worried lest I fall.

(c) au rerevaka de na raici au o Semi ls v tsom v ts ls n scm fear fut. see p.p.art Semi
I am afraid that Semi may see me.

In each of these examples, the matrix verb is transitive. The subject of the matrix occurs in the matrix. The complement stands in an object-like relationship to the matrix verb.

7.3.5.1 de means that the speaker has strong expectations that the situation in the complement (usually unpleasant) will not happen. It also means that the speaker intends that the unpleasant situation in the complement should not happen, and takes steps to prevent it. The verb in the matrix with a complement introduced by de is typically in the semantic class of fearing (rerevaka) or taking precautions (qarauna). The choice of complementiser with such verbs will not depend wholly on the semantics of the verb but rather on the semantics of the situation. For example:

(7.77) au taqayataka (i) de 'u na lutu is glossed

(ii) se

(iii) ni

(iv) me

(i) with de I am worried lest I fall.

(ii) with se I am worried whether I will fall.

(iii) with ni I am worried that I will fall sometime or other.

(iv) with me I am worried that I am about to fall right now.

---

1 my informants say that se is not deletable.
7.3.6 **Comparison of meaning of complementisers**

The examples I have given show that the four complementisers me, ni, se and de form a kind of semantic chain, ranging from positive intention to bring about some situation to negative intention that an unpleasant situation should not occur.

The semantics of the verb may constrain the choice of complementiser, as with verbs of urging (for instance vakaugeta in example (7.37)(a)), or ordering (for instance vakarota in example (7.38)(a)). Where there is a number of alternative possible complementisers for any single verb, the choice of a complementiser depends on an interrelationship between the semantics of the verb in the matrix and the attitude of the speaker to the situation expressed in the complement. The following is a recapitulation of the semantics of the complementisers, using a contrasting summary:

- **me** means intention on the part of the speaker to bring about the situation expressed in the complement, or a strong expectation that it will happen.
- **ni** means some expectation on the part of the speaker that the situation in the complement will happen, or some grounds for stating that it is true.
- **se** means uncertainty on the part of the speaker that the situation in the complement will or has happened, or uncertain grounds for stating that it is true.
- **de** means intention on the part of the speaker not to bring about the situation expressed in the complement, or a strong expectation that it will not happen.

This confirms the semantic chain proposed in section 7.3.1, which is repeated for convenience:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strong positive expectation</th>
<th>Weak factive positive</th>
<th>Strong neg. expectation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intention to happen</td>
<td>Expectation</td>
<td>Uncertainty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td></td>
<td>de</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4 **Nominalisation**

7.4.1 A sentence may contain a matrix verb followed by a nominalised complement in the form -

common article possessive pronoun nominalised verb

For example -
7.4.2 A nominalised complement may stand in a subject-like or object-like relationship to the matrix. When standing in the latter, the complement may be expressed as a noun-phrase, either marked or unmarked by a preposition. For example:

(a) e kā ni marau vei au na nomu lako mai

(b) au via vakamaclatata na nomu lako mai

(c) au vakaqeta na gone e na nona tovolea vakaukaa

7.4.3 Whether or not the subject of the complement is expressed, the possessive pronoun in the nominalised complement is in concord with the subject. For example -

(a) au vakarautaka na nodra mai gunu yaquina (na turaga)

(b) e ra vakarautaka na noqu lako yani na turaga

7.4.4 If the subject of the complement is expressed as a noun phrase, this subject noun phrase will occur after the noun phrase which contains the nominalised verb of the complement. For example:

(a) au vakarautaka na nona lako mai na turaga

I make preparations for the chief's arrival.
(7.82) (b) au vakarautake na nona lako mai o Semi

In a nominalised complement with an expressed subject NP, the possessor NP occurs in full even if it is a proper noun (example (b)). This is different from a possessive construction with a proper noun possessor, such as na nona vale: his house.

In (a) the possessor NP occurs in full even if it is a proper noun (example (b)).

This nominal complement construction is also used if the nominalised verb in the complement has an object, whether that object be a full NP, or whether it be partly incorporated in a transitive verb or in an intransitive verb. For example:

(7.83) (a) object full NP

I know about Semi's eating the taro.

(b) incorporated with trans. verb

I know about Semi paying debts.

(c) incorporated with intrans. verb

I know about Semi eating taro.

The construction in (7.84) should be contrasted with, for instance:

in which the possessive pronoun in the nominalised verb part of the complement is nona, being in concord with a subject not expressed as a full NP. There is a second embedded possessive construction na dalo nei Semi.

7.4.5 The form of the first morpheme of the possessive pronoun in the nominalised verb part of the complement depends on the active or passive role of the subject of the complement. For example:

(7.45) (a) au nuitaka na nodra vakarusä na koro na meca

I express my hopes about the enemy destroying the village.
(7.85) (b) au nuitaka na kena vakarusaia na korom 3s v tsom ts n scm hope art poss. destroy art village sub.
I express my hopes about the village being destroyed.

(7.86) (a) au nuitaka na nona qaga o Semi e na veivacu 3s v tsom n n scm hope art poss. win art Semi prep art boxing dcm.
I express my hopes about Semi winning in the boxing.

(b) au nuitaka na kena vakarusaia o Korolevu e na tsom koro 3s v tsom n n scm hope art poss. destroy art Korolevu prep art war sub.
I express my hopes about Korolevu being destroyed in the war.

This construction is used whether the subject of the nominalised complement is a common noun (7.85) or a proper noun (7.86). This is in accord with the principle illustrated by (7.82).

7.4.6 Tense markers na future, and a past, and particles such as via want to (which come before the verb) are retained in nominalised complements. For example:

via

(7.87) (a) au nuitaka na nomu want to na iako mai ni mataka 2s v tsom 2s v scm hope art poss. fut. come here tomorrow wanting to come here tomorrow.
I express my hopes about your coming here tomorrow.

(b) au vakamatalakata na nona a tauvimate want to 3s v tsom 3s scm explain art poss. past. ill I explain about his being sick in the past.

7.4.7 Semantics of nominalised complements

The nominalised complement is becoming an increasingly popular construction due probably to the influence of English, and some informants use it in free variation with the complementiser construction without a change of meaning. For example:

(7.88) (a) au vakadonuya ni na lako mai o Semi want to lako mai o Semi 3s v tsom n n scm consent comp fut. core here art Semi I consent that Semi should come here.

(b) au vakadonuya na nona na lako mai o Semi want to lako mai o Semi 3s v tsom 2s v n scm consent art poss. fut. come here art Semi I consent to Semi coming here.

But this more general use is not acceptable to more conservative informants. They would confine the use of the nominalised construction to a more restricted range of verbs such as vakarautaka, nuitaka, vakamatalakata, vakaceta and kila, as used in examples (7.78) - (7.87). They would
also maintain that there is a change in meaning of the verb in the complement, between a sentence with a nominalised verb construction and a corresponding sentence with a construction introduced by a complementiser or a serial verb construction. For example -

(7.89) (a) serial verb

au vakaraun lako yani ki na bose
ls v v n
scm ready go away prep art council

I am ready to go to the council.

(b) nominalisation

au vakarautaka na nogu lako yani ki na bose
ls v tsom ls v n
scm prepare art poss.go away prep art council

I make my preparations for my going to the council.
(e.g. I prepare my speech.)

(7.90) (a) complementiser

au nuitaka ni ko na lako mai ki na bose
ls v tsom 2s v n
scm hope comp.fut. come here prep art council

I hope that you will come here to the council.
(e.g. that your journey will be pleasant and you will be comfortable.)

(b) nominalisation

au nuitaka na nomu na lako mai ki na bose
ls v tsom 2s v n
scm hope art poss. fut. come here prep art council

I express my hopes for your coming to the council.
(e.g. that your journey will be pleasant and you will be comfortable.)

There is a change in meaning of the verb between the (a) and (b) examples, as shown in the glosses (and bracketed explanations). But (7.79) (b) shows that the correspondence between change of construction and change of meaning of the verb is not consistent. In (7.70) and (7.89) the change of meaning of the verb comes with a change of construction from serial verb to both the nominalised construction and the complementiser introduced construction. In (7.90), the change of meaning of the verb comes with a change of construction from complementiser introduced construction to nominalised construction.
8. SUBORDINATING PARTICLES

8.1 Introduction

8.1.1 Fijian has four particles which function as verbal particles to introduce subordinate clauses. These particles and their rough glosses are: me 'so that'; ni 'when, because'; ke 'if'; and de 'lest'.

me means that the main clause event happens in order that the subordinate clause event can happen. For example:

(8.1) au na solia vei Semi na ivodovodo, me ra na lako ls v 3pl n n v scm fut. give to Semi art fare scm fut. come
rawa mai na gone v here n be able art child

I will give Semi the fare, so that the children will be able to come.

me marks intention on the part of the speaker to bring about the event in the subordinate clause.

ni means that the main clause event happens at the time of or as the result of the subordinate clause event. For example:

(8.2) au na solia vei Semi na ivodovodo, ni ra via lako mai ls v 3pl n n v scm fut. give to Semi art fare, scm want come here
na gone n art child

I will give Semi the fare, when the children want to come.

ni marks some expectation on the part of the speaker that the event in the subordinate clause will happen. There is no intention.

ke means that the main clause event is conditional on the subordinate clause event. For example:

(8.3) au na solia vei Semi na ivodovodo ke m via lako mai na Gone ls v 3pl n n v scm fut. give to Semi art fare scm want here n art child

I will give Semi the fare, if the children want to come.

ke marks uncertainty on the part of the speaker as to whether the event in the subordinate clause has happened or will happen. There is no intention.

de means that the main clause event happens in order to prevent the subordinate clause event.

(8.4) au na gara una, de 'u na bukete ls v take ls v scm fut. precautions scm fut. pregnant

I shall take precautions lest I should become pregnant.
de marks expectation on the part of the speaker that the event in the subordinate clause may happen and would be unpleasant; and intention to prevent it happening.

The meaning of these four subordinating particles may be summarised in the following chain:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>volitional</th>
<th>positive expectation</th>
<th>uncertainty</th>
<th>volitional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intention to bring about event.</td>
<td>expect that event will happen.</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.1.2 Clause order

In a subordinate construction, the main clause usually comes before the subordinate clause. However the order of these clauses may be reversed without a change in meaning. Thus the order of the clauses in examples (8.1) - (8.4) may be reversed as follows:

(8.5) (a) me ra na lako rawa mai na gone, au na solia vei Semi na ivodovodo

So that the children will be able to come, I will give Semi the fare.

(b) ni ra via lako mai na gone, au na solia vei Semi na ivodovodo

When the children want to come, I will give Semi the fare.

(c) ke ra via lako mai na gone, au na solia vei Semi na ivodovodo

If the children want to come, I will give Semi the fare.

(d) de 'u na bukete, au na qarauna

Lest I should become pregnant, I will take precautions.

The syntax of each clause in these examples is exactly the same as in the corresponding examples (8.1) - (8.4). In none of these examples is there a shared noun phrase.

If, however, a noun phrase is shared in both the main clause and the subordinate clause, that noun phrase must be expressed only in the first clause whatever the order of the clauses. For example:

(8.6) (a) e na kavoro e dua na bilo, ke luku v num n

If a cup falls, it will break.

(b) ke luku e dua na bilo, e na kavoro v num n

If a cup falls, it will break.

Each example can be classed as 'if a cup falls, it will break'. In (a)
the main clause comes before the subordinate clause. In (b), the clause order is reversed but in each example the shared subject noun phrase appears in the first of the clauses. Similarly the following examples:

(8.7) (a) au na solia na ika vei Semi, ni ko tavutektaka oti ls v ɔɔ n n 2s v v
scm fut give art fish to Semi when scm fry finish

(b) ni ko tavutektaka oti na ika, au na solia vei Semi 2s v v n ls v ɔɔ n
when scm fry finish art fish scm fut give to Semi
can each be glossed as 'I will give the fish to Semi, when you finish frying it'. In these examples, the shared noun phrase is the object of both clauses. It again appears in the first clause in each example.

These same principles apply, with the shared noun phrase is the subject of one clause and the object of the other. For example:

(8.8) (a) e na kumuna vata na veivatu na gone, me qaqi rawa 3pl v ɔɔ together coll n n -- v v
scm fut collect art stone art child that be able

(b) me qaqi rawa na veivatu, e ra na kumuna vata na gone 3pl v ɔɔ together n
that crush be able art stone ci scm fut collect together art child

Both examples may be glossed as 'the children will collect the stones together, so that they can be crushed'. In these examples, the shared noun phrase is na veivatu. In the main clause it is the object of kumuna. In the subordinate clause, it is the subject of the serial verb qaqi rawa. In each example, it only appears in the first of the two clauses.

The shared noun phrase will be marked by an object marker or a subject concord marker of the same number in each clause, depending on its function in the clause. For example:

(8.9) (a) au na vakani ira na gone, ke ra cici mai ls v ts 3pl n 3pl v v
scm fut. feed om art child scm hurry here
I will feed the children, if they hurry here.

(b) e ra na kana rawa na gone, ke 'u kaciv i ra waloga ɔɔ 3pl v v ɔɔ art n ls v ts 3pl
scm fut. eat be able art child scm call om now
The children will be able to eat, if I call them now.

In (a) the shared noun phrase is na gone, the children.

If the subject noun phrase is shared in both clauses, the same subject concord marker must appear in both clauses. Likewise, if the shared noun phrase is the object, the same object marker must appear in both clauses. For example:
(8.10) (a)  e ra na gunu yaqona rawa na turaga, ke ra cici mai v n v n 3pl v c.i scm fut. drink kava be able art chief 3pl v
scm hurry here
The chiefs will be able to drink kava, if they hurry here.
(b)  ke ra cici mai na turaga, e ra na gunu yaqona rawa 3pl v n 3pl v n v
scm hurry here art chief, c.i.scm fut drink kava be able
If the chiefs hurry here, they will be able to drink kava.

(8.11) (a) au na vakani ira na gone, ke 'u kunei ira ls v ts 3pl n 1s v ts 3pl fut.feed om art child find om
I will feed the children, if I find them.
(b)  ke 'u kunei ira na gone, au na vakani ira 1s v ts 3pl n 1s v ts 3pl find om art child, c.i.scm fut. feed om
If I find the children, I will feed them.

In (8.10) (a) and (b), the shared subject noun phrase is na turaga plural. In both main and subordinates, whatever their order, the 3 plural subject concord marker ra appears. Similarly in (8.11) (a) and (b), the shared object noun phrase is na gone plural. Again the 3 plural object marker ira appears in both clauses, whatever their order. Na gone is object of the main clause and subject of the subordinate clause. Since the main clause comes first, na gone is maintained in this clause but is deleted in the subordinate clause. Nevertheless the plural subject marker ra in concord with the deleted plural subject noun phrase remains.

Similarly in (b), the shared plural noun phrase na gone is subject of the main clause and object of the subordinate clause. Although the noun phrase is deleted in the second of the two clauses, the third plural object marker ira remains in the subordinate clause.

8.2 Particle me 'so that'

A sentence may contain a main clause and a subordinate clause describing a strongly expected or intended event introduced by the particle me. For example:

(8.12) (a) e cici mai na gone, me 'akis na wai v n 1s v i is c.i. run here art child, draw art water
The child hurried here, so as to draw the water.
(b)  e tu cake o Tomasi, me raici koya rawa o tinana v n 1s v 1s 3s v c.i. stand up art Tomasi, see p.f. be able art mother 3s po;
Tomasi stood up, so that his mother could see him.
(8.12) (c) au a lako ki na koro, me' u raici Tomasi rawa
ls past v ls v tit n v
scm past go to art village scm see Tomasi be able
I went to the village, so that I could see Tomasi.

(d) sa vakamatei o koya, me ra vakabulai rawa
v ts 3s 3pl v tit v
contr. kill art p.p. scm save be able
He was killed, so that they could be saved.

(e) au na solia vei iko na ose, mo vodo rawa mai
ls v tit 2s n v v
scm fut give to p.p. art horse ride can here
I will give you the horse, so that you can ride here.

(f) me takia na wai na gone, e na cici mai (o koya)
v tit n n v 3s
draw art water art child c.i. fut run here art p.p.
So as to draw the water, the child will run here.

(a) and (f) are corresponding sentences with the clauses reversed.
The shared noun phrase na gone is deleted in the second clause, whatever
the order of the clauses.

There is a shared singular noun phrase in both the main and
subordinate clauses in both the (a) and (b) examples. In each example,
it is deleted in the second clause.

In (a), the shared noun phrase na gone is subject of both
clauses. The subject concord marker in both clauses is Ø, third person
singular in concord with na gone.

In (b), the shared noun phrase o Tomasi is subject of the main
clause and object of the subordinate clause. The subject concord
marker in the main clause is Ø, and the object marker in the subordinate
clause is the 3 singular pronoun koya.

The subjects of both clauses in (c) are coreferential, and the
subject concord markers are the same au-"u, first singular.

With the second person subject marker, the particle me and the
subject marker become morphophonemically attached:
mo (singular, as in (c)); modrau (dual); modou (paucal) and moni (plural).

me can also be used with a noun phrase. For example:
(8.13) e teivaki na dalo kei na uvi, me kedra kakana
v tit n n 3pl n
c.i. plant art taro con art yam ed. food
The taro and the yams were planted, so that they
would have food' (as their food).

In this case, the common article na does not appear in the noun phrase,
since kedra kakana functions as a verb after the verbal particle me.
me can also be used with vaka-, and the expression me vaka can be glossed as 'according to' or 'just as'. For example:

(8.14) (a) e ratou na curu ki na vakamau, me vaka na veisureti
3pauc. n v n
c.i. scm fut.enter to art wedding art invitation
e ratou taura rawa
3pauc. v v
c.i. scm take able
They will go to the wedding, in accordance with
the invitation they have received.

(b) e ra na ciri ki na koro, me vaka e ra vinakata
3pl v n 3pl v
v c.i. scm fut hurry to art village c.i. scm want
They will hurry to the village, just as they wanted to.

me vaka can also be used with a noun phrase, to mean 'such as'. When used with a personal pronoun, me vaka-vakataki functions as a reflexive. For instance:

(8.15) (a) ratou dau kana kakana dina, me vaka na dalo
3pauc. v n adj n
c.i. scm habit eat food art taro
They usually eat root vegetables, such as taro.

(b) au lake mai. me vakai au
ls v
scm come here ls
I come myself or

(c) au lake mai, me vakataki au
ls

In these cases, the common article does appear in the noun phrase. The common noun phrase functions as the object of vakataki in (a). If the noun phrase is proper, it becomes incorporated with vakataki (b) and (c)).

me/te can also be used to introduce a clause which may occur alone. For example:

(8.16) (a) me 'u vako mada
ls v part
scm go please
May I go please?

(b) me ra kauta mada mai na ika
3pl v n part n
scm bring please here art fish
May they please bring the fish here.

When such a clause is introduced by me, it is usually glossed as an imperative. For example:
A sentence may contain a main clause and a subordinate clause, describing an expected event introduced by the particle ni. For example:

(8.18) (a) au na solia vei Sem! na ika ogo, ni lako mai 1s v ts com n n v scm fut give to Semi art fish this come here
I will give Semi the fish, when he comes.

(b) ni ra lako mai na gone, au na garavi ira 3pl v n 1s n v ts 3ohv
scm come here art child scm fut look after
When the children come, I will look after them.

(c) ni ko cati au , au na sega ni vukei iko 2s v ts 1s 1s v coord ts 2s
scm hate p.u. scm fut neg. help P.D.
Because you hate me, I will not help you.

(d) au lomani Semi, ni a sega ni rawata na nona veitarog; 1s v ts n compl.v tsom 3sing n
scm pity Semi, past. neg. pass art pass exam
I am sorry for Semi, because he did not pass his exam.

There is a shared singular noun phrase in both the main and subordinate clauses in both the (a) and (d) examples. In the (b) example, the shared noun phrase is plural. In each example, the shared noun phrase is deleted in the second clause, being subordinate in (a) and (d), and main in (b).

In (a), the shared noun phrase o Semi is the prepositionally marked (kilevei) object of the main clause and the subject of the subordinate clause. In (b), na gone is the subject of the subordinate object of the main clause (which in this example is the second of the two clauses). In (d), o Semi is the object of the main clause and subject of the subordinate clause.

In (a), since the shared noun phrase functions in the first clause as a prepositionally marked object, there is no object marker in concord with o Semi. In (d), since the shared noun phrase is
marked by a proper article, o Semi, when it functions as the object of the main verb, it becomes partly incorporated with the verb and so there is no object marker.

In (c), the 2 singular subject of the subordinate clause (which comes first) is coreferential with the object of the main clause. Also the first singular object of the first clause is coreferential with the subject of the second clause. In each clause in these examples the marker appropriate to the number of the subject or object appears.

In (a) and (b), ni is glossed as 'when'. In (c) and (d), it is glossed as 'because'. This difference is gloss is apparent from the semantics of the situation.

Ni may be glossed equally appropriately as 'when' (temporal) or 'because' (causal) in many sentences. For instance:

(8.19)(a) e a rarawa sara o Semi, ni lako yani o Mere
past adj n v n
v c.i. sad very art Semi, go away art Mere
Semi was very sad, when/because Mere went away.

(b) e na tiko duadua o Semi, ni na laki vuli ko Mere
v v n
v c.i. fut. stay alone art Semi, fut. go to learn art Mere
Semi will be all alone, when/because Mere will go to school.

This similarity between such glosses is not restricted to Fijian. Foley pointed out that Thompson and Lonsacre have drawn attention to the same phenomenon in English. 'When' and 'because' have much in common semantically in English. 'He stayed in bed he was ill' expresses a situation to which the choice of one of the subordinating particles 'because' or 'when' adds little to one's understanding of the situation. In Fijian, the particle ni can be glossed freely as either a temporal or a causal subordinating particle and is used to express either meaning.

If one of these two meanings has to be made clearer, it is possible to disambiguate the sentence by substituting a temporal or a causal phrase for the particle ni. For example:

(8.20)(a) e a rarawa sara o Semi e na gaura e lako yani king na
past adj n prep n v
v c.i. sad very art Semi at art time go away at which
Semi was very sad at the time when the child went away.

(b) e a rarawa sara o Semi, e na vuku ni nona lako yani
past adj n prep art rel. 3s n
v c.i. sad very art Semi for cause of p.p. go away art
Semi was very sad, because of the child's departure

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1 In an unpublished manuscript of which Foley had a copy and which he showed to me
(0.20) (c) e na rarawa sara o Semi, baleta na nona lako yani na gona
adj v trsv 3s v n c.i.f. sad very art Semi art poss go away art chi
Semi was very sad, because of the child’s departure.

In (a), e na gauna ... kina ‘at the time’ corresponds as a
prepositional temporal phrase to the particle ni temporal.

In (b), e na vuku ni NP is the first part of a complex
for the cause/sake
prepositional phrase (e na vuku ni nona lako yani). It is a prepositional
for the sake of her departure
causal phrase which corresponds to the particle ni causal.

In (c), baleta is a transitive verb balet + ta ‘mean’. It too
corresponds to the particle ni causal.

It would be more usual to use ni (with both its temporal and
causal semantic components) than phrases like e na gauna...kina,
e na vuku ni or baleta. Even though, diachronically, the use of these
phrases may have its origins based on Anglicisations, synchronically
their use nowadays as temporal and causal introducing expressions is
generally acceptable.

8.4 Particle ke if

8.4.1 A sentence may contain a main clause and a subordinate clause
describing an uncertain event introduced by the particle ke. For example:

(8.21) (a) ko na raja na wniku, ke ko rai ki liu
2s fut see 3art tree 3s look to front
You will see the tree, if you look ahead.

(b) o ra na sega ni vakadinata, ke ra raja e dua na domobu-
c.i.3pl fut neg,compl believe 3pl see 3s one art ghost
combl
They will not believe it, if they see a ghost.

(c) au na vakamatə na koli, ke ka ki Vusi
is fut. kill 3s art dog bite Pussy
I will kill the dog, if it bites Pussy.

(d) e na kavoro e dua na biło, ke lytu
c.i.fut.break one art cup, fall
A cup will break, if it falls.

(e) au na slija 3pa ika 3go vei Vusi, ke ko sega ni kania,
Is fut give art fish this to Pussy. 3s neg,compl eat 3s
I will give this fish to Pussy, if you don’t eat it.

ke means that the speaker is uncertain whether or not the situation
in the subordinate clause will happen. If it does happen, the situation
in the main clause which is conditional on the situation in the subordinate clause, will happen. There is always a future marker in the main clause.

The main clause usually comes before the subordinate clause, but the order of these clauses may be reversed without a change of meaning. For example, compare (8.21)(a) with:

(8.22) ke ko ra ki liu, ko na raicə na vuŋikau  
2s look to front 2s fut see 3s art tree  
scm  
If you look ahead, you will see the tree.

8.4.2 A sentence may contain a subordinate clause introduced by the particle **ke + vaka**, and a main clause. For example:

(8.23)(a) ke vaka ko sega ni via 1ako ki Suva, mo tiko ga eke  
2s neg. want go to Suva, 2s stay here  
scm comple  
If you don't want to go to Suva, you should stay here.

(b) ke vaka mo via rawaŋa na nomu veitarogi, mo dau wi li iβa  
2s want pass 2s art 2s poss. exan 2s habit read book  
scm to  
If you want to pass your exam, you should read books.

(c) ke vaka me sega ni turana o Semi, ia e mata ni vanua ga  
3s neg. chief art Semi, but c.i. herald  
scm comple  
If Semi is not a chief, he is a herald.

(d) ke vaka e sega ni lako ki Suva o Semi, e na rairai tiko o  
c.i. neg. compl go to Suva art Semi c. fut. probably  
If Semi does not go to Suva, he will probably stay here.

**ke vaka** means that the speaker is even less certain whether or not the situation in the subordinate clause will happen, than if **ke** is used alone. The situation in the main clause is conditional or contingent on the situation in the subordinate clause. No special tense marker has to occur in either the subordinate or the main clause.

The subordinate clause usually comes before the main clause, but the order of these clauses may be reversed without a change of meaning. For example:

(8.24) mo tiko ga eke, ke vaka ko sega ni via 1ako ki Suva  
2s stay here 2s neg. want go to Suva  
scm  
You should stay here, if you don't want to go to Suva.

8.4.3 A sentence may contain a subordinate clause introduced by **ke** and a main clause introduced by the particle **ke**. For example:

(8.25)(a) ke o a lako ki Suva e na noa, ke o a raicə  
2s past go to Suva yesterday 2s past see here  
scm  
If you went to Suva yesterday, you would have seen here (and you may have)
In these examples, the speaker regards the event in the subordinate clause as hypothetical. If the event did (and it may have) or does (and it may) occur, the event in the main clause could have happened or may happen. The subordinate clause must come before the main clause, when both clauses are introduced by ke...ke.

8.4.4 A sentence may contain a subordinate clause introduced by ke vaka, and a main clause introduced by ke. For example:

(8.26) (a) ke vaka o a lako ki Suva e na noa, ke ko a raici Mere
2s past v n 2s past v ts n
scm go to Suva yesterday, scm see Mere
If you had gone (but you didn't) to Suva yesterday, you would have seen Mere.

(b) ke vaka me ra a cakacaka e na siga tsucoko,
3pl past v n
scm past work on art day whole,
ke sa wawale sara na yagodra
emph. adj. n 3pl tired very art body poss.
If they had worked all day, their bodies would have been very sore. (but they didn't)

(c) ke vaka mo a taura na noqu ivola, ke ko a sega ni lako mai
c.i past v ia 1s n 2s past v
scm o 2s receive art poss.letter scm neg. come here
If you had received my letter, (but you didn't), you wouldn't have come.

In these examples, the addition of vaka means that the speaker regards the situation in the subordinate clause as being not merely hypothetical, but counterfactual. If the situation had occurred, the situation in the main clause would have happened. The situation in the subordinate clause didn't happen and so the situation in the main clause didn't happen either. The past marker in the subordinate clause is obligatory.
When the subordinate clause is introduced by ke vaka and the main clause is introduced by ke in the same sentence, the subordinate clause usually comes before the main clause. But the order of clauses may be revised without a change of meaning. For example:

(8.27) ke ko a raici Mere, ke vaka o a lako ki Suva e na noa
2s past v ts n
scm past see Mere, scm past v n
go to Suva yesterday
You would have seen Mere, if you had gone to Suva yesterday
(but you didn't go).

8.4.5 ke...ke and kevaka...ke contrasted

For ease of reference I will cite again the following examples of minimal pairs of contrasting sentences. In the (a) examples, the introductory particles for the subordinate clause and the main clause are both ke. In the (b) examples, the introductory form of the subordinate clause is ke vaka and the introductory particle of the main clause is ke.

(8.28) (a) ke o lako ki Suva e na noa, ke o a raici Mere.
If you went to Suva yesterday, you would have seen Mere.
(and you may have)
(b) ke vaka o a lako ki Suva e na noa, ke o a raici Mere.
If you had gone to Suva yesterday, you would have seen Mere.
(but you didn't)

(8.29) (a) ke ra a cakacaka e na siga taucoko, ke sa na
3pl past v n
scm work on art day whole, contfut
wawale sara na yagodra
adj. n 3pl
tired very art body pass
If they have been working all day (and they may have been),
their bodies will be very tired.
(b) ke vaka ra ra a cakacaka e na siga taucoko, ke
3pl v n
past work on art day whole,
sa wawale sara na yagodra
adj. n 3pl
tired very art body pass
If they had been working all day (but they hadn't),
their bodies would have been very tired.

In the (a) examples, the speaker is describing a conjectural situation. He is not sure whether or not the event in the subordinate clause happened or didn't happen.
In the (b) examples, the speaker is describing a counterfactual situation. He is quite certain that the event in the subordinate clause did not happen. In the (a) examples, the subordinate clause could have been introduced by *ke vaka*, and the event described in it would become counterfactual. In the (b) examples, the subordinate clause could have been introduced by *ke*, and the event described in it would become conjectural.

In the (b) examples with *ke vaka...ke*, the speaker is sure that the event in the subordinate clause did not occur. In the corresponding (a) examples, with *ke...ke*, the speaker is not sure.

7.5 Comparison of ni and ke

In order to get a better understanding of the meaning of these particles, a comparison of the meaning of otherwise similar pairs of sentences will be made. For example, compare:

(8.31)(a) e na rarawa na gone, ni sā mate na vusi adj n v n c.i. fut sad art child contr. die art cat
The child will be sad, when the cat is dead.

(b) e na rarawa na gone, ke sā mate na vusi adj n v n c.i. fut. sad art child contr. die art cat
The child will be sad, if the cat dies.

In the (a) example, the likelihood is that the cat will die at some unspecified time and when that event takes place, then the child will be sad. In the (b) example, the possibility is that the cat may or may not die in the immediate future and if the cat were to die (but it may not), then the child will be sad.

Again, compare the following examples:

(8.32)(a) e na domobula e dua na tamata, ni raica e dua na yalobula adj n v n num n c.i. frighten one art man see one art ghost
A man gets frightened when he sees a ghost.

(b) e na domobula o Tomasi, ke raica e dua ... yalobula adj n v n num n c.i. frighten art Tomasi, see one art ghost
Tomasi will be afraid, if he sees a ghost.

(8.33)(a) e na cemuria e dua na vusi e dua na koli, ni raica v n num n num n c.i. chase one art cat one art dog, see
A dog will chase a cat, when it sees one.
(8.33) (b) e na cemurë Vusi o Raki, ke raica 
  fut v tin n v tsom
  c.i.f. chase Pussy art Raki see
  (dog's name)
Raki will chase Pussy, if he sees her.

(8.32) (a) means what will generally happen, in the event of a person seeing a ghost. In the Fijian cultural environment, it is quite usual for persons to see ghosts. (8.32) (b) means what is likely to happen, in the possible particular event of Tcma si seeing a ghost.

(8.33) (a) again describes what is generally likely to happen in any situation when a dog sees a cat. The (b) example refers to a particular dog and a particular cat; and describes what may happen in the possible event of one seeing the other.

The (a) examples are generalisations; the (b) examples are particularisations. A generalisation reflects a more likely situation than a particularisation does.

By contrasting these pairs of otherwise similar sentences, it is possible to see that ni means that the speaker considers that there is a greater likelihood of the event taking place than if ke is used. ke means that the speaker is in some doubt as to whether the particular situation will take place at an expected time.

8.6 Particle de in case, lest

A sentence may contain a main clause and a subordinate clause describing a possible but unintended unpleasant event introduced by the particle de. For example:

(8.34) (a) au a vuni e vale, de kunei au o Semi 
  ls v n v ts ls n
  scm hide at house, find p.p.art.Semi
  I hid at home, lest Semi should find me.
(b) au na kauta tani na kolû, de kati Semi 
  ls v tsom n v ts n
  scm fut.carry away art dog bite Semi
  I will take away the dog, lest it should bite Semi.
(c) au na wawa eke, de ko vinakati au 
  ls v 2s v ts ls
  I will wait here, in case you want me (but I very much hope you won't)
(d) tava matua, de bula 
  v tsom v
  hold tight escape
  Hold it tight, lest it escapes!
de means that the speaker has strong expectations (as in (c)) or intention (in (a), (b) and (d)) that the situation in the subordinate clause might but should not happen. The main clause activity is oriented towards ensuring that this unpleasant thing does not happen.

The usual order of clauses in a sentence is for the subordinate clause to follow the main clause. But this order may be reversed without a change of meaning. For example:

(8.35) (a) de kunei au o Semi, au a vuni e vale
v tsa 1s n 1s past 1n
find p.p.art Semi scm hide art house
Lest Semi should find me, I hid at home.

(b) de kati Semi na koli, au na kauta tani
v tsn n 1s v tsom
bite Semi art dog, scm fut. carry away
Lest the dog should bite Semi, I will take it away.

8.7 Independent clauses

At the beginning of section 8.1, I described me, ni, ke and de as verbal particles which introduce subordinate clauses. In sections 8.2 to 8.6, I proceeded to give examples to illustrate the use and meaning of those particles in subordinate clauses.

In examples (8.16) and (8.17), I showed how me/mo is used as a verbal particle to introduce a clause which occurs alone as an independent clause. de and ke may also be used in the same sort of independent construction. For example:

(8.36) (a) de vi...ka me biu
adj v
good throw
It may be better for it to be thrown away.
(it would be unpleasant if it isn't)

(b) de yali beka
v
lost perhaps
It may perhaps be lost (it would be unpleasant if it is).

In (a), the speaker considers that if the object is not thrown away, something unpleasant will happen. In (b), the speaker considers that something may perhaps be lost but it shouldn't be. It would be unpleasant if it were lost. In both examples, the speaker sees the possibility of something undesirable happening, and states his intention or volition that it should be prevented from happening.
In these examples, *ke* means that there is some doubt about the situation in the clause, but also some wish on the part of the speaker that the situation should happen.

The subordinating particle *ni* does not occur as a verbal particle which introduces an independent clause.

### 8.8 Relationship between Complementisers and Subordinating Particles

The following table summarises the meanings of the complementisers me, ni, se and de, as described in section 7.4.1; and of the subordinating particles me, ni, ke and de, as described in section 8.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>strong positive</th>
<th>weak positive</th>
<th>strong negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>expectation/ intention</td>
<td>expectation</td>
<td>certainty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>complementisers</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>ni</th>
<th>se</th>
<th>de</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subordinating particles</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>ni</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>de</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*ke* cannot be used as a complementiser in a sentence like 'au sega ni kita, se'u na lako ki Suva' I don't know if I will go to Suva.

Some of these particles also introduce main clauses, as shown as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause introducing particle</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>de</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

This leaves two gaps in the matrix - clauses introduced by particles which should mean "weak positive expectation" and "strong positive expectation". Examples of clauses with the former meaning are -

(8.37) (a) ke rawa beka possible perhaps
If only it was possible!

(b) ke 'u kita mada gâ
1s know only
If only I knew!

(8.38) (a) e na lako mai o Semi e na yabaki mai muri v n c.i.fut.come art Semi in art year next
Semi will come next year.

(b) e ra na gunu yangona na turaga ni mataka 3pl v n c.i.scn fut drink kava art chief tomorrow
The chiefs will drink kava tomorrow.
The clause introducing particle  sa fills the gap in the matrix fur. a particle meaning 'weak positive expectation'.

Examples of clauses meaning "strong positive expectation" are:

(8.39) (a)  sa bula vinaka na turaga
  contr. health good art chief
  The chief is in good health.

  (b)  sa moce koto na gona
  contr. sleep cont. art child
  The child is sound asleep.

  (c)  sa noda itavi me da vuken ira na qase
  contr. lpl n lpl v ts 3pl n poss duty inc. hold om art old
  It is our bounden duty to help the old people.

The clause introducing particle  sa fills the gap in the matrix for a particle meaning "strong positive expectation".

The full table of introducing particles is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intention</th>
<th>strong positive expectation</th>
<th>weak positive expectation</th>
<th>uncertainty</th>
<th>strong negative expectation</th>
<th>intention to prevent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>de</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Main/independent clause introducing particle
B. Subordinate clause introducing particle
C. Complementiser
9. COORDINATING PARTICLES

9.1 Introduction

9.1.1 Fijian has three particles which coordinate clauses or sentences. These particles and their rough glosses are: ka 'and'; se 'or'; and ia 'but'.

ka and se may occur between two coordinated clauses in a sentence. ia may occur between two sentences.

ka is a clause-level conjunctive particle. For example:

\[(9.1) \quad e \; a \; gunu \; yaqona \; o \; Semi \; e \; na \; noa \; ka \; na \; gunu \; ti \; o \; Mere \]
\[\text{past} \quad v \quad n \quad r \quad v \quad n\]
\[\text{c.i.} \; \text{drink} \; \text{kava} \; \text{art} \; \text{Semi} \; \text{yesterday} \; \text{fut} \; \text{drink} \; \text{tea} \; \text{art} \; \text{Mere} \]
\[\text{ni mataka} \quad \text{tomorrow}\]

Semi drank kava yesterday and Mere will drink tea tomorrow.

ka means that the speaker considers that the events described in the two clauses coordinated by this particle are compatible. Each event can happen or can have happened.

Both events are expected to happen or have happened.

se is a clause-level disjunctive particle. For example:

\[(9.2) \quad ko \; \text{si'a} \; gunu \; yaqona \; se \; kana \; vuaka?\]
\[\text{2s} \quad v \quad n \quad v \quad n\]
\[\text{scm warr} \; \text{drink} \; \text{kava} \; \text{eat} \; \text{pork} \; \text{to}\]

Do you want to drink kava or eat pork?

se means that the speaker considers that the events described in the two clauses coordinated by this particle are incompatible. Only one of the events can happen or can have happened. Only one event is expected to happen or have happened. There is doubt as to which alternative will happen or has happened.

ia is a sentence-level disjunctive particle. For example:

\[(9.3) \quad e \; a \; kacivi \; Mere \; o \; Semi, \; ia \; e \; a \; sega \; ni \; lako \; mai\]
\[\text{past} \; v \quad \text{is} \; n \quad n \quad \text{past} \; v \quad v\]
\[\text{c.i.} \; \text{call} \; \text{Mere} \; \text{art} \; \text{Semi} \; \text{c.i.} \; \text{neg.compl.come here}\]

Semi called Mere but she didn't come.

ia means that the speaker considers that, of the events described in two sentences coordinated by this particle, the event in the first sentence is expected, but the event in the second sentence is not expected.

1 The relative clause introducing particle ka is discussed in 5.9.
2 The noun phrase disjunctive particle se is discussed in 1.3.4.1.
The meaning of these three particles may be summarised in the following chain -

compatible situation incompatible situation incompatible situation
positive expectation uncertainty negative expectation

ka se ia

Expectation relates to the event in the second of two clauses or sentences in a coordinated construction.

9.1.2 Deletion of shared forms

9.1.2.1 If a noun phrase is shared in clauses coordinated by ka or se, that noun phrase must be expressed only in the first of the clauses.¹

For example:

(a) e dolo mai e dua na gata ka vakamatea o Semi num n v tsom n
c.i.crawl here one art snake kill art Semi
A snake crawled here and Semi killed it.

(b) e dolo mai e dua na gata ka kati Semi num n v ts n
c.i.crawl here one art snake bite Semi
A snake crawled here and bit Semi.

(c) e via laki gol o Semi se tei dalo? v v art n v ts n
c.i.want go fishing Semi plant taro
Does Semi want to go fishing or plant taro?

(d) au na tavutetaka na ika ka kania o Semi ls v tsom n v tsom n
scm.fut. fry art fish eat art Semi
I will fry the fish and Semi will eat it.

(e) se'u na vakani Semi se 'u na vāqunuva' tson
ls v ts n ls v vi koya
scm.fut. feed Semi scm.fut. make ts ls
Either I will feed Semi or I will make him drink.

(f) au na kacivi Semi ka na lako mai o koya
ls v ts n v ls
I will call Semi and he will come here.

In (a), the shared noun phrase e dua na gata is the expressed subject of the first clause and the deleted object of the second. In both (b) and (c), the shared noun phrase is the subject of both clauses - e dua na gata in (b), and o Semi in (c). In (d), the shared noun phrase na ika is the object of both clauses. In (b) - (d), the shared noun phrase is deleted in the second clause. In (e), the shared noun phrase

¹ compare 5.1 - nominal deletion in relative clauses.
phrase o Semi is the object of both the first clause and the second clause. It is expressed in the first and being a proper noun is partly incorporated in the verb. In the second, it is deleted. The verb of the second clause can either be affixed by the TS + CM or by the TS + 3 singular independent pronoun. In (f), the shared noun phrase o Semi is the object of the first clause and is partly incorporated in the verb It is the subject of the second clause, where it is deleted. But since it is human, it is replaced by the third singular human independent pronoun in the subject noun phrase o koya.

9.1.2.2 If any shared particles such as subject concord marker, tense marker or 'wish' marker occur before the verb (whether shared or not) in both clauses and if the subjects of both clauses are coreferential, it is optional either to retain all the shared particles and the verb or to delete all the shared particles coming before the verb. For example:

(9.5)(a) e ra via lako mai na gone ka ra via lako yani na gone
3pl part v n 3pl part v

The children want to come and the old man want to go.

(b) e ra na via lako mai na gone ka(ra na via) lesu
3pl part part v n 3pl part part v

c.i.scm fut. want come here art child scm want go away art old

tale ni mataka
to
again tomorrow

The children will want to come here and they will want to go back again tomorrow.

In (a), the subject of the two coordinated clauses are not coreferential - na gone....na gone. So deletion of shared forms is blocked.

However in (b), the subjects of the two clauses are coreferential. na gone is expressed in the first clause but deleted in the second. It is therefore optional whether to retain or delete all the shared particles coming before the verb in the second of the two coordinated clauses - ra na via.

If the verb is also shared, it is also deleted, provided that the preceding particles are deleted. Any shared particles coming after a deleted shared verb are also deleted. If there are particles after the shared verb and if these particles are not shared, the shared verb cannot be deleted. If the shared verb is not deleted, the shared preceding particles cannot be deleted. For example:
9.1.2.3 (9.6)(a)  au na lakō rawa yanī ki Suva ka'u na lakō rawa mai ki Ba
is part v v part.  is part v v part
scm fut. go able to away to Suva scm fut. go able here to Ba
I shall be able to go to Suva and I shall be able to
come to Ba.

(b)  au na lakō rawa yanī ki Suva ka('u na lakō rawa yanī ki) B
is part v v part n  is part v v part
scm fut. go be able away to Suva scm fut go be able away to B
I shall be able to go to Suva and (I shall be able
to go to) Ba.

In (a), the subject of both coordinated clauses are coreferential, the
subject concord marker au - 'u and the tense marker na are shared, and
the verbs lakō rawa are shared. But there is a particle coming after
each verb, and that particle is not shared. It is yanī in the first
clause and mai in the second. Because the form of particle is not
shared, it cannot be deleted. Because the particles cannot exist
independently, the verbs on which they depend cannot be deleted (even
though the verbs are shared). Since the verbs are shared but not
deleted, the particles before the verbs cannot be deleted. So the
construction in (a) is obligatory.

(b) is syntactically the same as (a), except that the post-
verbal particles are shared. In this case it is optional whether to
delete or retain the shared forms 'u na lakō rawa yanī ki in the second clause.
If the shared forms are deleted, the second verb is no longer there.
All that remains after the ka is the noun Ba. The full sentence would
therefore be:

(9.7)  *au na lakō rawa yanī ki Suva ka .... Ba.
is part v v part. n  n
scm fut. go be able away to Suva Ba
As the coordinating verbal particle ka is no longer followed by a verb,
the sentence is ungrammatical. What is left comprises two noun phrases -
Suva and Ba - and therefore, the connecting nominal particle kei must
occur:

(9.8)  au na lakō rawa yanī ki Suva kei Ba
I will be able to go to Suva and Ba.

9.1.2.4 (9.9)  au a besē ni lakō ki Suva ka('u a) soga(ni)
is part v v past comp. v  n  is part w
scm' refuse go to Suva scm fut neg.compl.
(besē ni lakō) ki Ba
v  comp'y n
refuse go to Ba

1 the preposition ki is also common to both clauses, and its deletion
is optional.

2. See 1.3.4.1.
In the previous example, the complement construction lake rawa v v consisted of serial verbs. In this example the complement construction bese ni lake consists of the matrix verb bese, the complement verb v compl. v lake and the complementiser particle ni. The whole complement construction is shared in both clauses in the sentence. The subjects of both clauses are coreferential. The only verbal form not shared is the negative construction. Provided that the constraints for optional deletion which have been described so far can be met, optional deletion can occur with a negative construction, so that only the negative sega ni remains:

au a bese ni lake ki Suva ka...sega(ni) ki Bua.

Once bese ni lake has been deleted, the negative matrix verb sega no longer has a complement. So the complementiser ni becomes syntactically redundant.

However a tendency, not acceptable to my older informants, is to retain ni. Such a retention complies with the constraint that only shared forms may be deleted. sega ni is not a shared form, and therefore it may be argued that ni should be retained, even though redundant. The "retention" rule is becoming stronger than the "redundancy" rule.

9.2 Particle ka and

9.2.1 A sentence may contain two or more clauses coordinated by the verbal particle ka. For example:

(9.10)(a) e a lesu mai Suva o Semi e na noa ka na lake part v from n n partw c.i.past return Suva art Semi yesterday fut. go ki Nausori ni mataka to Nausori tomorrow

Semi returned from Suva yesterday and will go to Nausori tomorrow.

(b) e rau butuka e dua na gata na gone ka kati rau c.i.3dual v tsom num n n v ts 3dual scm tread on one art snake art child bite om

The two children trod on a snake and it bit them.

(c) e ra kunei rau na gone o ira na gase ka rau 3pl v ts3dual n art3pl n 3dual c.i.scm find cm art child p.p. art old man vaka vinakataki ira v ts 3pl thank cm

The (many) old men found the two children and they (two) thanked them (many).
ka may occur between two intransitive clauses (a), or transitive clauses (b) and (c). The subjects of the clauses may be coreferential (a); or the subjects and objects may be coreferential (b) and (c). The clauses may be a mixture of intransitive or transitive. There may be any mixture of coreference of arguments or there may be no coreference.

9.2.2 (9.11) e na lako mai o Semi ka na gunu ti ka na lesu tale c.i.fut. come here art Semi fut. drink tea art kava again yan; v n v n v again yan;

Semi will come here, drink tea and go back again.

The particle ka occurs between any two clauses in a sentence. Example (9.11) shows ka occurring twice as a clause-level conjunctive particle in a sentence which has three clauses.

In the examples of the use of ka given in section 9.1 and in the above examples, it will be noted that in each example, the events in each clause are compatible. The speaker is aware that both of the events can happen and he expects or intends that both will happen. He uses ka to express his expectancy that both events actually happen.

9.2.3 In some situations in sentences, it is possible to reverse the order of the clauses coordinated by the particle ka, without a change in meaning. For example:

(9.12)(a) au gunu tī ka gunu yaqona o Tomasi l s v n v n n s e m drink tea drink kava art Tomasi
I drink tea and Tomasi drinks kava.

(b) e gunu yaqona o Tomasi ka'u gunu tī v n n l s v n c.i. drink kava art Tomasi s e m drink tea Tomasi drinks kava and I drink tea.

(9.13)(a) e domona na noda vusi ko'1 Sera ka cata o'1 Sereina v tsom lpl.inc.n n v tsom n c.i. love art poss. cat art Sera hate art Sereima Sera loves our cat and Sereima hates it.

(b) e cata na noda vusi ko'1 Sereima ka domona o'1 Sera v tsom lpl.inc. n n v tsom n c.i. hate art poss. cat art Sereima love art Sera Sereima hates our cat and Sera loves it.

In these examples, the situation in the (a) and (b) versions are the same. The situation in the first part of each (a) version is as expected as the situation in the second part. The speaker is not concerned whether the situations in each part take place at the same time or at different times.

1 The more or less free variation of the forms of the proper article ko o is constrained by its relative position to a preceding velar. So ko Sera in (a) is o Sera in (b) after ka domona.
The main difference between the (a) and (b) versions of examples (9.12) and (9.13) is a syntactic one involving either the clause introducing particle e or the form of the 1s subject concord marker au- 'u.

If the subject of the first clause in the sentence is 3s, the particle e is expressed as in examples (9.12) (b) and (9.13) (a) and (b). If the subject of the second clause is 3s, the particle e is not expressed as in examples (9.12) (a) and (9.13) (a) and (b).

If the subject of the first clause of the sentence is 1s, the form of the concord marker is au as in example (9.12) (a). If the subject of the second clause is 1s, the form of the concord marker is 'u as in example (9.12) (b).

9.2.4 In other situations in sentences, a change in the order of the coordinated clauses may result in a slight change of meaning. For example:

(9.14) (a) e a lako ki Suva o Tomasi ka 'u a lako ki Nausori past v n n 1s v n c.i. go to Suva art Tomasi scm past go to Nausori

I went to Nausori but Tomasi went to Suva.

(b) au a lako ki Nausori ka lako ki Suva o Tomasi 1s v n v n n shm past go to Nausori go to Suva art Tomasi

Tomasi went to Suva but I went to Nausori.

In these examples, the semantics of the situation described in each sentence involve a slight element of unexpectedness in one of the events described in each pair of clauses. My informant insisted that the event in the first clause is less expected than the event in the second clause in each sentence. This is reflected in the glosses. The second clause of the gloss introduced by 'but' is the first clause of the Fijian. ka means that the speaker considers that the event in the first clause of two clauses coordinated by ka is slightly less expected than the event in the second clause. The order is the opposite to that in English, when two clauses are coordinated by 'but'.

9.2.5 In other situations in sentences, a change in the order of the coordinated clauses would result in a significant change of meaning. For example:

(9.15) (a) e rai ci Sera o Tomasi ka reguci koya v ts n n v ts 1s c.i. see Sera art Tomasi kiss p.p.

Tomasi saw Sera and kissed her.
The speaker intends to show that the situation in the first clause took place before the situation in the second. A reversal in the order of the clauses implies a chronological reversal of events.

A speaker can therefore show a chronological order of events, by the order of clauses coordinated by **ka** and the semantics of the respective verb.

9.2.6 A speaker can also contrast chronological relationship between two events, the second of which happened after the first, by marking the verb of the clause describing the second event with a special particle. For example -

(9.16)  
\[
(9.16) \begin{align*}
\text{au na tei dovu ni kua ka } ('u na') & \text{laki goli ni mataka} \\
\text{ls fut plant cane today} & \text{ls fut go' fish tomorrow}
\end{align*}
\]

I will plant cane today and (I will) go fishing tomorrow.

In this example, no particle marks the verb of the second clause because the speaker does not intend to suggest that the event in the second clause is in any way dependent on the event in the first clause. He is simply giving a chronological diary of events that he expects will take place.

On the other hand, the particle **mani** as a natural result, or the particle **gai** as an intended result, may mark the verb in the second clause. Each comes after the subject concord marker and tense marker and before the verb stem. For example -

(9.17) (a)  
\[
(9.17) \begin{align*}
\text{au na tei dovu vakalevu ka } ('u na) & \text{mani yutuniya} \\
\text{ls fut v } & \text{ls fut adj}
\end{align*}
\]

I will plant a lot of cane, and as a natural result, (I will) become rich.

(b)  
\[
(9.17) \begin{align*}
\text{au na tei dovu vakalevu ka } ('u na) & \text{gai yutuniya} \\
\text{ls fut v } & \text{ls fut adj}
\end{align*}
\]

I will plant a lot of cane, and as an intended result, (I will) become rich.

---

deleteable. Subject coreferential with subject of first clause. If subject marker deleted, **na** being in common with **na** in first clause is also deleted.
(9.18) (a) e gone vuku o Mere ka mani rawata na nona veitarogi
  n adj n v tsom 3s n
c.i.child clever Mere pass art poss. exam
Mere is a clever child and as a natural result
passed her exam.
(b) e a cakacaka vakaukaua o Sera ka mai rawata na nona vei-
  v adv n v tsom 3s n
c.i. work hard art Sera pass art poss. exam
Sera worked hard and as an intended result
passed her exams.

9.2.7 ka is essentially a coordinating particle, and cannot introduce
the first clause as well as the second clause. A sentence like -
(9.19) *ka gunu yaqona c Semi ka gunu ti o Mere
  n n
Semi drinks kava and Mere drinks tea.
is not acceptable in standard Fijian.

9.3 Particle se or

9.3.1 A sentence may contain two or more clauses coordinated by the
particle se. For example:
(9.20) (a) e ra sā gunu ti oti na turaga se sā bera?
  3pl contr. v n v art n contr. v
c.i.scm drink tea finish chief not yet
Have the chiefs finished drinking tea or not yet?
(b) ko via lako mai ni mataka se (ko via) tiko gā e vale?
  2s v 2s v
c.m want come here tomorrow c.m want stay just at home
do you want to come here tomorrow or (do you want to)
stay at home?
(c) me da laki goli e na bogi se laki sarasara i valovalo
  lpl.incl v n v n
intro.scm go to fish at night go to watch photograph
Let us either go fishing tonight or go to the cinema.
(d) e via lako mai o Semi se sega?
  v n v
c.i.want come here art Semi neg.
Does Semi want to come here or not?

se usually occurs between two clauses in sentences which are not declaratory.
(a), (b) and (d) are interrogative. (c) is a proposal. In (c), the
subjects of the two clauses are coreferential and so the particle da
can be deleted in the second clause. But the compound verbs laki goli
and laki sarasara i valovalo are not shared. If a verb is compound,
a shared part of the verb cannot be deleted. If the whole compound is shared, only then can the verb be deleted.

9.3.2 (9.21) mo wilika e dua na ivola se laki qoli se gunuva
2s v tson:nu:n n v v v tson
me+o read one art book go fishing drink
na yaqona ka vɔ n
art kava coord v

Please read a book or go fishing or drink the rest of the kava.

se occurs between any two clauses in a sentence. Example (9.21) shows se occurring twice as a clause level disjunctive particle in a sentence which has three clauses, the first being transitive, the second intransitive and the third transitive.

In all these examples, the events in the two or more coordinated clauses are incompatible. The speaker is aware that only one of the events can happen or can have happened. He expects or intends that only one event can happen or has happened. He uses se to express his uncertainty as to which of the possible events has happened or will happen.

9.3.3 In some sentences, the particle se introduces two coordinated clauses. For example:

(9.22)(a) se'u na lako ki Suva se('u na) tiko gā e vale
ls fut v n ls fut v n
scm go to Suva scm stay at house

Either I will go to Suva or I will stay at home.

(b) se'u a lako ki Suva se('u a) tiko gā e vale,
ls past v n ls past v n
scm go to Suva scm stay at house,
au sã sega ni guilecavi iko rawa
ls contr v compl v 2s v
scm neg forget cm be able

Whether I went to Suva or (I) stayed at home,
I would not be able to forget you.

In these two declaratory sentences, se introduces the first of two coordinated clauses and acts as a disjunctive particle between them. (a) is marked in the future tense. In (b), the coordinated clauses are both marked in the past tense - the second clause optionally. In such declaratory sentences, the speaker wishes to make it quite clear that he expects one of two possible compatible events to happen or to have happened. He is in complete doubt as to which event will happen or has happened.
9.3.4 In most situations in sentences, it is possible to reverse the order of clauses coordinated by the particle se, without a change in meaning. For example:

(9.23) (a) ko via tiko gā e vale se(ko via) lako mai ni mataka?
    2s v n 2s v
    scm want stay just at home scm want come here tomorrow
to
do you want to stay at home or (do you want to) come here tomorrow?
(b) ra da laki saraara iyaloyalo se laki goli e na bogi
    lpl.inc. v v n v v
    intro. scm go look at photograph go to fish at night
    let us go to the cinema or go fishing tonight.
(c) se'u na tiko gā e vale se ('u n lako ki Suva
    1s fut. v n 1s : n
    scm stay just at house scm go go to Suva
    either i will stay at home or (i will) go to Suva.

(a) corresponds with (9.20) (b); (b) with (9.20) (c); and (c) with (9.22) (a).
In each case the clauses are the same but the order is reversed. In all cases of corresponding pairs of examples, the meaning remains the same.

9.3.5 It is only in sentences in which the second clause is the negative of the first that the order of the clauses may not be reversed. For example:

(9.24) *e seqā ni via lako mai o Semi se via lako mai (o koya)
    neg. v v
    c.i. compl. want to come here Semi want to come here
    is the unacceptable sentence corresponding to (9.24) (d) but with clauses reversed.
Similarly,

(9.25) (a) e ra sā tera ni gunu ti oti na turaga se ra sā gunu ti
    3pl v v n v
    c.i. cont. cont. concl. drink tea finish chief cont. cont. drink tea
    have the chiefs not yet finished drinking tea or have they finished?
would not be acceptable and it would be necessary to reverse the order of the clauses, so that the negative one follows the corresponding positive one:

(b) e ra sā gunu ti oti na turaga se sā bera?
    3pl v v n n
    c.i. cont. cont. drink tea finish art chief cont. cont. not yet
    have the chiefs finished drinking tea or not yet?
9.3.6 It may be helpful to summarise various uses of se. They are as follows -

(a) nominal coordinating particle

(9.26)(a) na dalo se na Kumala

art taro art sweet potato

The taro or the sweet potato.

(b) ko Pita se ko Tomasi

art Pita art Tomasi

Pita or Tomasi.

(b) complementiser particle

(9.27)(a) au taroa vei Semi se via lako ki Nausori na turaga

ls v 3pl v 3pl v n n

scm ask to Semi want to go to Nausori art chief

I asked Semi whether the chief wants to go to Nausori.

(b) au via kil se o cei na gone ka lako mai e na noa

ls v 3pl v 3pl v

scm want to know who art child coord come here yesterday

I want to know who the child is who came here yesterday.

(c) verbal coordinating particle

(9.28) se ra lako se 'u na lako

3pl v 3pl v

scm go scm fut. go

Either they go or I will go.

Throughout the various syntactic constructions in which se occurs, there is a common semantic element of uncertainty. That uncertainty is applied to the choice of alternative possible objects expressed by nominals, or of alternative possible events expressed especially by verbals, or of whether or not a possible event should occur.

9.4 Particle ia, but, yet, nevertheless

9.4.1 In a series of two or more sentences, the second or any sentence other than the first sentence may begin with the particle ia.

For example:

(9.29)(a) e matata vakasigalevu ni a raica o dua na yalebula c.m

adj c.i. clear as midday c.o.o! past v t.zom num n

It is perfectly obvious that Semi saw a ghost, yet nevertheless he didn't believe it.
These three examples show quite clearly that \textit{ia} is not a clause coordinating particle like \textit{ka} and \textit{se}. When \textit{ka} or \textit{se} is used, the clause introducing particle \textit{e} is deleted. When \textit{ia} is used, the clause introducing particle is retained. The function of \textit{ia} in Fijian syntax is at a higher level than clause coordinators like \textit{ka} and \textit{se}. I therefore describe it tentatively as a particle, not necessarily as a coordinating particle, which operates at sentence level rather than at clause level.

9.4.2 The deletion rules and constraints which apply to such coordinating constructions as those discussed in section 9.1.2 (in respect of \textit{ka} and \textit{se}) do not apply in the case of a construction which begins with \textit{ia}. For example:

(a) \[
e ra \ v ia \ lako \ ki \ Suva \ ni \ mataka, \ _e \ ra \ via \ v \ n\ 
3pl \ c.i.scm \ want \ go \ to \ Suva \ tomorrow \ c.i.scm \ want \ to\lesu \ tale \ mai \ ni \ bera \ ni \ 'u \ lako \ yoni \ kina \ v \ ls \ v \ obl.\come back here \ before \ c.o. \ go \ away \ rel(to \ there)\They \ want \ to \ go \ to \ Suva, \ but \ nevertheless \ they \ want \ to \ come \ back \ before \ I \ go \ there.\]

(b) \[
u \ sega \ ni \ via \ lako \ ki \ Suva, \ _a \ au \ sega \ ni \ via \ ls \ v \ compl. \ v \ n\ 
ls \ v \ compl.\scm \ neg. \ want \ to \ go \ to \ Suva \ scm \ neg. \ want \ to\ tiko \ ga \ e \ vale \ v \ n\stay \ just \ at \ house\I \ do \ not \ want \ to \ go \ to \ Suva, \ but \ nevertheless \ I \ don't \ want \ to \ just \ stay \ at \ home.\]

In (a), if the particle at the beginning of the second part of the example had been \textit{ka}, \textit{e} would have been obligatorily deleted and \textit{ra via} would have been optionally deleted. Similarly in (b), \textit{au} would have obligatorily become \textit{'u} and \textit{'u sega ni via} could have been optionally deleted.
But, in these two examples as given, no such deletion is possible.

9.4.3 The meaning of *ja* becomes clearer by contrasting it with *ka* in otherwise similar examples, such as

(9.31) (a) au via gunu ti ka sega ni via gunu 1 o Semi
ls v n v compl. v n
scm want drink tea neg. want to drink art Semi
I want to drink tea but (not unexpectedly) Semi
does not want to drink.

(b) au via gunu ti, ja e sega ni via gunu 1 o Semi
ls want to drink tea c.i. neg. want to drink art Semi
comp. I want to drink tea but (quite unexpectedly) Semi
does not want to drink.

(9.32) (a) au a kerei Semi me laga sere, ka bese (o koya)
ls v ts n compl. v n v 3s
I asked Semi to sing but (not unexpectedly) he refused.

(b) au a kerei Semi me laga sere, ia e bese (ni kitaka) (o koya)
ls v ts n compl. v n
 SCM past ask Semi sing song c.i.
I asked Semi to sing, but (quite unexpectedly) he
refused (to do so).

(9.33) (a) au a tovolea vakaukaua ka u 2 sega ni rawata rawa na noqu vo;
ls v 3 adv ls v 3 adv v 3 adv v 3 adv
 SCM past try hard SCM neg. pass be able poss. exam
I tried hard but (not unexpectedly) I was not able
to pass my exams.

(b) au a tovolea vakaukaua, ia au a sega ni rawata rawa na noqu;
ls v 3 adv ls past v 3 adv v 3 adv
 SCM past try hard SCM neg. pass be able art
veitarogi
n
exam
I tried hard but (quite unexpectedly) I was not able to
pass my exams.

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1 The examples such as (9.4) (a) - (d) have common noun phrases in two clauses but expressed only in the first clause. In these examples, there is a common noun incorporated with the verb in each clause (ti) but the noun is only expressed in the first clause.

2 The tense marker a may or may not be included. It is less likely to occur in (a) in connected clauses, the first of which already is marked with a. It is more likely to occur in (b), in independent sentences.
In these examples, it is possible to alternate ka and ia (with appropriate syntactic changes). The choice of particle (and associated construction) depends on the speaker's degree of expectancy that the event in the clause or sentence following the particle is likely to happen. ia means that it is considered very unlikely that the event should occur. Positive expectation and uncertainty are marked by different particles (ka and se). These particles begin similar syntactic structures in which the clause introducing particle is omitted and deletion is part-obligatory, part-optional. Negative expectation is marked by the particle ia. This particle begins a syntactic structure in which the clause introducing particle is retained and deletion is not generally possible.

9.4.4 Other elements in the meaning of ia becomes clear from the following examples which show changes in mood or changes in topic:

(9.34) (a) au na lako ki Suva, ia moni lako ki Nausori
   ls v n 2pl v n
   scn fut go to Suva merci go to Nausori
   I will go to Suva, but you should go to Nausori
   (b) au via gunu ti , ia sa va ka e vei ko iko?
   ls v n contr 2s
   scn want to drink tea how about art P.P.
   I want to drink tea, but how about you?

In these examples, ia marks a change from declaration to imperative in (a) and to interrogation in (b). ka could not occur. In these examples, ia marks a change of mood between sentences.

9.4.5 (9.35) (a) tikotiko ga kina o Tuinakauvadra, ia dua na
   'once upon a time' art Tuinakauvadra one art
   siga sa lomana me na lako ki Bua.
   day contr minds compl fut go to Bua poss
   Once upon a time lived Tuinakauvadra well,
   one day, he decided to go to Bua.
   (b) lo gori tale sa na inaki ka tu vei koda; ia, o dau
deic n coord 1pl inc
   that also art intention is to P.P. c.i. habit
   duidui ga na sala eda muia, me rava kina na inaki veori
   n 1pl subj v 2pl:
   different art path inc follow possible art aim that
   That is also our aim. We only differ as to the
   paths to follow to achieve that aim.

In these examples, ia marks a change of topic.

9.4.6 This meaning is apparent when ia is used at the beginning of a series of sentences. For example, the following text of a discourse

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1 Milner (p. 118) quotes an article by Fatu Siriraka Bkuna published in Na Mata 1988:112. The translated text above follows Milner (p. 113).
has been broken down into six series of sentences (referred to as (a) - (f)):

(9.36)(a) I, a via lako yani ki Suva e na macawa sa oti contr.

want go away to Suva at art week finish

I wanted to go to Suva last week.

(b) Ia, au sega ni kunea rawa na noqu ivodovodo, ka 'u is neg.compl find able art my fare, 1s mani kerei Sem me yalovinaka, me solia mada mai vei au accordingly ask Semi be kind, compl give please to me e tolu na silinI '. Au a kekeke vakatelu se vaka-va 3 art shilling. 1s past ask 3 times or 4 times.

ka bese ga ni tokona na noqu ikerekece koya refuse just compl agree to art my request art is p.p.

I could not find my fare, and so I asked Semi to be kind and please let me have three shillings. I asked three or four times, but he simply refused to agree to my request.

(c) Ia, e na siga Monite, e a lako mai o Semi ki na on art day Monday, c.i. past come art Semi to art neitou vale ni kuro ka solia vei Nau e dua na ilavo lovu, exc. poss: house rel. not give to Mum one art money big

ka 'u mani rawata rawa na noqu ivodovodo 1s so get be able art 1s. poss fare.

On the Monday, Semi came to our kitchen and gave Mum a large sum of money, and so I was able to get my fare.

(d) Ia, e na siga e tarava, e a tau mai na uca, ka a ya ki on art day c.i. follow, c.i. past fall here art rain past

tu ga na noqu iviu, ka 'u mani tu deo ca e vale, completely art ls umbrella, ls so stay firm just at house, poss.

ka'u voleka ni tagi e na noqu rarawa bibi.

1s nearly comple cy in art ls sorrow heavy.

Next day, rain fell, but I had lost my umbrella and so I had to stay at home. I nearly wept with remorse.

(e) Ia, e na tini na kaloko, e a curu mai ki na koro at art 10 art clock c.i. past enter here to art village e dua na motoka, ka mai kele e na mata ni neitou val one art car came stop at art front rel. exc. house pos.

ka'u laki vodo kina me 'u lako rawa ki Suva.

1s go to ride obl. subj is go be able to Suva.

(in it)

At ten o'clock, a car came to the village and stopped in front of our house. I went and got in, so as to go to Suva.
After ten minutes, a tyre burst, and I walked back to the village. I couldn’t restrain my sorrow and I just went on crying because I couldn’t go to Suva.

The topic of series (a) is a statement of intention which sets the scene for the whole of the story. In (b), the topic is the loss of fare, and all the statements are associated with this topic. In (c), the topic is the arrival of Semi, and all the statements refer to events associated with this topic. In (d), the topic is the fall of rain, and all the statements are associated with this topic. In (e), the topic is the arrival of a car, and the statements are all concerned with the consequence of this arrival. In (f), the topic is the split tyre, and the statements in the paragraph are associated with this topic. Within each series of sentences, the second or any other sentence is connected (to the previous one in the series) by ka, indicating expectancy of what happened. But each series after the introductory sentence (a) begins with ia. There is a close interrelationship between ia and the change of topic from that of the preceding series of sentences to that of the following series of sentences which begins with ia. This passage makes it quite clear that ia marks a change of topic at the sentence level.
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