# *Fijian reflexes of the Proto Austronesian phonemes*

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## 1 Background

Fijian is a chain of closely related languages, spoken in the Fiji Islands, numbering some thirty or more. The standard language is based on the dialect spoken on Bau and has influenced the other languages of Fiji. In this paper we will cite principally forms of Wayan, the Fijian spoken on Waya island, for the reason that a substantial dictionary has been prepared in manuscript form by Pawley and Sayaba (n.d.), which is more accurate and reliable than the small dictionaries of Bauan which are available to English speakers or those who have not done first-hand field work. In this paper we cite forms from Bauan when no Wayan cognates are listed in our sources.

The Fijian languages have been given a comparative study in some detail by Geraghty (1983). This reliable and entirely sensible work has provided the clues to solving many of the mysteries as to the historical origins of irregularities which the data presented. Indeed, one of the reasons for focusing on the Proto Austronesian (PAn) origins of the current Fijian forms is that a great deal of information is available on the vocabulary of the Fijian languages and the relationships of the forms to each other, a factor which renders these languages among the most important for providing data for a reconstruction the Proto Austronesian phonology and vocabulary.

A theme which runs through Geraghty's work, which is crucial to our understanding of the history of the forms which we study here, is that the thirty or more Fijian languages, together with Polynesian and perhaps also Rotuman to the east of Fiji, form a chain of dialects such that innovations have spread one at a time over all or part of the area. Some innovations are found only in the western areas, some are found only in the eastern Fijian dialects, and indeed a number of innovations have affected only eastern Fijian dialects and Polynesian languages, so that in fact the eastern Fijian dialects have many features in common with Polynesian as opposed to the western dialects (Geraghty 1983:354–382). If we were to list all the Fijian reflexes for each PAn etymon we would have a fairly sizeable number of doublets. In this study the doublets are mentioned only episodically, where the mention of these in some way clarifies how a certain change is to be viewed. The dialectal diversity and

John Lynch, ed. *Issues in Austronesian historical phonology*, 209–227.
Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, 2003.

the way in which the forms spread over the area on an individual basis account for a certain number of the double reflexes of single PAn phonemes which are manifested in the data. A more important source of the double reflexes, however, is the consonant gradation (that is, certain morphophonemic processes) which characterise the whole of the Oceanic group (see §2.1).

## 2 Changes which characterise Fijian in general

Chart 1 shows the Fijian consonant system as found in Wayan and Bauan. We present the transcription with the phonetic realisation in brackets in those cases where the realisation diverges from the sounds normally symbolised by the letter or letter sequences.

**Chart 1:** Wayan and Bauan consonants[1]

| plain | v | t | c [ð] | r | k | kw |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| prenasal | b [mb] | d [nd] | s | dr [ndr] | q [ŋg] | qw [ŋg$^{w}$] |
| nasal | m | n | | | g [ŋ] | gw [ŋw] |
| semi-vowel, liquid | w | l | y | | | |

### 2.1 Consonantal gradation

The term *consonant gradation* refers to a process which characterises the whole Oceanic group whereby the stop consonants and **c* may in initial and medial position manifest double reflexes in the same etymon. One of the reflexes is derived from a prenasalised consonant and the other from the consonant without prenasalisation. The same etymon may have a prenasalised reflex in one language and a plain reflex in another, or even in the same language the same etymon may be reflected in two lexemes, one of which contains the prenasalised grade consonant and another of which contains the plain grade consonant. In none of the Oceanic languages are the prenasalised grades reflected with prenasalised consonants in all positions, and in Fijian the prenasalised grade is reflected by a prenasal only in the reflexes of the velar stops **k* and **g*. Chart 2 shows the oral and the prenasalised grades of reflexes in Fijian. (The details of the developments are discussed in §4.1ff.)

**Chart 2:** Consonant gradation in Fijian

| PAn | *b, *p | *t | *d | *c, *j | *k | *g |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fijian oral | v | t | r | c | k | k-, -c- |
| Fijian prenasalised | b [mb] | d [nd] | dr [ndr] | s | q [ŋg] | q- [ŋg-], -s- |

[1] The labio-velars /k$^{w}$/, /g$^{w}$/, and very marginally /q$^{w}$/ are found in only some of the Fijian languages. They occur in Wayan, but not in Bauan, and only in few forms inherited from PAn.

## 2.2 Tendencies to form disyllabic roots

Fijian words which are not atonic (i.e. those that are not stressless) have a minimum of two morae; that is, they cannot have simply a short-vowel nucleus, but must have minimally a long vowel (written here as a double vowel). This means that monosyllabic roots which were inherited, or which developed by medial consonantal loss and subsequent contraction (§2.6), must be disyllabised or minimally have the short-vowel nucleus lengthened:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **gem* 'grab in fist' | > | *qoom-i* 'take hold of s.t. in hand' |
| **teɣeb* 'having a full measure, plenty' | > | *too* 'have plenty of water in it, thick not runny' |

These monosyllabic roots may also disyllabise in other ways, as they do in other Austronesian languages: by doubling the monosyllable, by treating an affixed form as the root, or by adding a prothetic vowel of the same quality as the vowel of the root.[2] Examples are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **deɣeqec* 'move vigorously and rapidly | > | *roro* (< **ro*) 'flow, run in a stream' |
| **tan* 'set a trap' | > | *tai* (< **ta + i*) 'snare, trap to catch land animals' |
| **nem* 'six' | > | *ono* 'six' (< **noo* < **no*) |

Further, roots of more than two syllables may be disyllabised by the process of syncope or other types of syllable loss. However, this process affects only some of the inherited roots of more than two syllables. Many of the inherited trisyllabics are retained as such. Principally, the disyllabisation takes place when there is the loss of a medial consonant (**ɣ*, **q*, **s* — see §4.2ff.). Examples are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **baqeɣu* 'new' | > | *vou* 'new' (< **beu* < **beqeɣu* [with weakening of the first syllable — see last paragraph in this section]), |
| **aɣúsu* '*Casuarina equisetifolia*' | > | *cau* 'k.o. *Casuarina* (Bau)' (< **auu* [with loss of **-ɣ-* and **-s-* plus accreted *c-* — see §4.3]) |

Contraction does not invariably take place. The accentual pattern of the root may be the determining feature, but this is not certain. The following form, which does not manifest contraction, seems to have had the same accentual pattern as **aɣúsu* cited immediately above:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **sabáɣat* 'strong monsoon' | > | *cavaa* 'windstorm' |

In some cases of roots with three or more syllables (but not all), the first syllable is lost to form a root of one less syllable (disyllabic root in the case of a trisyllabic, and trisyllabic in the case of roots of four syllables):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **siɣejaq* 'weary' | > | *oca* 'tired' (Bau) (< **ɣejaq*) |
| **qasulípa* 'millipede' | > | *aliva* 'millipede' |
| **qalíma* 'hand' | > | *lima* 'hand' |
| **aluten* 'glowing stick' | > | *lito* 'wave a firebrand to keep it alight' |
| **ɣuqañay* 'male' | > | *ta-gwane* 'male' (cf. fn. 13) |

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2 The addition of the prothetic vowel may in fact be an example of metathesis (§2.3) which took place following the process of vowel lengthening: that is, CVV > VCV.

In one case the first two syllables of a trisyllabic seem to have been lost:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **qaɣicam* 'k.o. fern with reed-like stem' | > | *caca* 'k.o. fern: *Phymatodes longipes*' (Bau) |

In one case the first syllable of a disyllabic root seems to have been lost:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **qinep* 'spend night' | > | *noo* 'sit, stay, occupy space' |

However, some trisyllabic roots continue as trisyllabics, although the antepenult in that case may be weakened. In the first two of the following examples the antepenult is weakened, but in the other examples all three syllables are retained with no weakening. Weakening of the penult was also assumed for the development of **baqeɣu* 'new' to *vou* 'new', given at the beginning of this paragraph:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **bitáquɣ 'Calophyllum inophyllum'* | > | *betau* 'k.o. tree: *Mammea odorata*' |
| **palawud* 'go to sea' | > | *volau* 'boat shed' |
| **taliŋa* 'ear' | > | *taliga* 'ear' |
| **qañítu* 'supernatural spirit' | > | *anitu* 'spirit, supernatural being' |
| **qabuca* 'large social grouping' | > | *avusa* 'descent group, clan' |
| **tambuɣi* 'triton shell' | > | *tavui* 'triton, helmet shell' |

## 2.3 Metathesis

Metathesis is a minor process in the history of Fijian, but there are forms that clearly show metathesis. The following forms show consonantal metathesis:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **basaq* 'wet' | > | *sava* 'wash, cleanse' |
| **caliw* 'give in exchange' | > | *soli* 'be given'(< **cawli*) |
| **sacaŋ* 'gills' | > | *see* 'gills' |
| **tusuj* 'knee' | > | *turu* 'knee' (< **turus* < **tusur*) |

We assume syllabic or vocalic metathesis in some forms:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **becuɣ* 'sated' | > | *vuuse* 'sated' (dialectally, *vuse*) |
| **qasulipan* 'millipede' | > | *aliva* 'millipede' (< **suqalipan* with loss of the first syllable) |
| **jiɣuc* 'sprinkle' | > | *sui* 'be watered, sprayed' |

## 2.4 Consonant clusters

Fijian permits only open syllables, and there are no consonant clusters. The prenasalised stops listed in Chart 1 function as phonemic units. No clusters develop by doubling monosyllabic roots, for these lose the root-final consonant in the first syllable of the resulting form:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **bedbed* 'wind around' | > | *vovot-i* 'be wrapped in a sling to carry' |
| **dapdap 'Erythrina* spp.' | > | *rara 'Erythrina*' |

PAn medial nasal-plus-consonant clusters may be inherited as prenasalised consonants, or they may be simplified.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **cuŋkit* 'poke' | > | *cukit-a* 'dig up with stick' (Bau) |
| **leŋkung* 'bent' | > | *loku* 'bent, twisted, folded' |
| **pantaɣ* 'platform, flat extension of house' | > | *vata* 'shelf, platform' |
| **senti* 'stop' | > | *oti* 'finish, complete, end' |
| **tambuɣi* 'triton shell' | > | *tavui* 'triton, helmet shell' |
| **ambay* 'wave the arms' | > | *abe* 'walk with the arms swinging' |
| **lampin* 'wrapper' | > | *labi* 'bundle of fish wrapped for cooking' (Bau) |
| **paŋudañ* 'pandanus' | > | *padra* 'pandanus' (< **pandan* < **paŋdan*) |
| **waŋkaŋ* 'boat' | > | *waqa* 'boat' |

Nasal clusters which arise from the doubled monosyllabic roots are always simplified:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **diŋdiŋ* 'wall, partition' | > | *riri* 's.t. which blocks off the wind' |

## 2.5 Development of labiovelars

Proto Oceanic (POc) developed labio-velars **p*$^{w}$, **b*$^{w}$ and **m*$^{w}$, often reflected as labials with a velarised *w*-off-glide (Lynch 2002), and some of these labio-velars occur in forms which are reflected in Fijian. In one case these labio-velars are reflected as such in Wayan, but not in Bauan, where they lose their off-glide. Otherwise, they are reflected sometimes with a labial or sometimes with a velar articulation. No rules can be specified which predict how the labio-velars develop. Apparently the forms with labio-velars in POc developed in different ways in different areas, and these forms spread individually. The following list gives forms with PAn etymologies that developed POc phonemes with labio-velar articulations and that are reflected in Fijian:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **belaq* 'split' | > | POc **b*$^{w}$*elaq* | > | *bola* 'split' (but Bauan *kola* with a velar articulation) |
| **beɣek* 'pig' | > | POc **b*$^{w}$*oRok* | > | Viti Levu *qoo* 'pig' |
| **taw + mata* | > | POc **tam*$^{w}$*ata* | > | *tamata* 'man, person' |
| **taw + maɣuqañay* | > | POc **tam*$^{w}$*aqane* | > | *tamwane* 'male' |
| **um + inum* 'drink' | > | POc **m*$^{w}$*inum* | > | *gunu*[3] 'drink'(Bauan) |
| **qúmaŋ* 'hermit crab' | > | POc **qum*$^{w}$*aŋ* | > | *uga* 'hermit crab' |

## 2.6 Sequences of vowels

Vowel sequences which were inherited or which developed by the loss of intervocalic consonants were contracted: like vowels became single vowels which may be long or short depending on whether the root is monosyllabic or not (see §2.2) or depending on other conditions which have not been determined:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **daɣat* 'open area' | > | *raa-raa* 'open fields' |
| **beɣecay* 'oar' | > | *voce* 'paddle a canoe' |
| **ɣabi* 'evening' | > | *ei avi* 'in the evening' |
| **juɣuq* 'broth' | > | *suu* 'broth' (Bau) |

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3 The *w*-off-glide affected the following vowel before being lost.

Sequences of **a* followed by **u* (or which developed as such) became **au* and then, if there was no affix or the root was not trisyllabic, changed further to /o/ as inherited /aw/ did (§3.5.3):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **dasuwen* 'leaf' | > | *roo* 'leaf' (< **daun*)[4] |
| **jaɣum* 'needle' | > | *i-sau* 'needle' (Bau) |
| **bitáquɣ 'Calophyllum inophyllum'* | > | *betau* 'k.o. tree: *Mammea odorata*' |

**y* was apparently lost between **a* and **u* (§3.5.3), and the development of the resulting **au* was similar to that of the preceding paragraphs:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **kasiw* 'wood, tree' | > | *kau*[5] 'wood, tree' (Bau) (< **kayu* < **kaiw*) |
| **isekan* + **qisu* 'fish + shark' | > | *ikoo* 'shark' (< **ikau* < **ikayu* < **ika iu*)[6] |

To explain the following form we additionally assume that the sequence **awa* which developed was treated like **au*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **qañiɣuwan* 'honey bee' | > | *oni* 'k.o. bee' (< **awn* + *i* < **awan* + *i* < **ayuwan* + *i* < **ayiuwan* + *i*) |

We also assume that a sequence **aui* > /au/:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **kaweit* 'hook' | > | *kaut-i* 'catch s.t. on a hook' (from **kauit-i*) |

Sequences containing **e* assimilated to the first vowel of the sequence if this first vowel was stressed (that is, occurred in a form without a suffix), but to the second vowel of the sequence if the stress fell on the second vowel (that is, occurred in a suffixed form)[7] (Geraghty 1983:162):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **jaqet* 'bad' | > | *caa* 'bad' |
| **iqeɣuŋ* 'nose' | > | *g-icu* 'nose' |
| **iseq* 'urine' | > | *m-ii* 'urinate'[8] |
| **tuqed* 'stand upright' | > | *tuu* 'stand, be upright' |

The following forms occurred suffixed, and the stress fell on the **e*. The reflex shows assimilation to the second vowel:

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4 Bauan reflects *rau* 'leaf'. Presumably this is a reflex which developed from a suffixed alternant, where *rau* was pronounced in two syllables with accent on the second, before the suffix, whereas *roo* develops from a monosyllabic alternant appearing in the unsuffixed form, which then underwent lengthening of the vowel nucleus as a monosyllabic root (§2.2)

5 The development of /au/ is explained by the fact that the form which was generalised was found in compounds, where it would have a reflex containing /au/ because of the accentuation. This root has a reflex *kai* in Wayan, which is probably not directly inherited.

6 The occurrence of /o/ rather than /au/ may be explained by the fact that the stress was on the first syllable. This does not explain why the /o/ was lengthened, however. For that there is no explanation.

7 Stress in Fijian falls on the penult of the phonological word. That is, if the root is unsuffixed, the stress falls on the penult of the root, but if the root is suffixed, the stress moves away from the penult — to the final syllable of the root if the suffix has one syllable.

8 Blust (1983–84) reconstructs PAn **miqmiq* to account for this form, on the basis of forms shaped /mimiq/ and /mimi/ in northern Philippine languages, /meqmeq/ 'urine' in Chamorro and /mimi/ in various Oceanic languages, all of which mean 'urinate'. I believe that all these forms are cognate with forms which reflect PAn **iseq*, in the affixed form **-um- iseq*. In Fijian the contracted monosyllabic root which developed manifests a lengthened vowel nucleus, as often happens in Fijian (§2.2 above), but in the other languages referred to the monosyllabic root which developed was doubled to form a disyllabic root.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **bayeq* 'abscess' | > | *boo* 'boil'[9] |
| **seyup* 'blow' | > | *uv-i* 'be blown up' |
| **taseyup* 'blow' | > | *tuuv-i* 'blow s.t. (e.g. conch)' (< **teseyup* with weakening of the first syllable [§2.2, last paragraph]) |

## 3 Vowels and diphthongs

Except for the syncopations and vowel contractions discussed above, Fijian reflects the inherited PAn vowel system fairly faithfully. There are few changes in vowel quality conditioned by the environment.

### 3.1 **i*

**i* > /i/ in all positions.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **cici* 'k.o. mollusc' | > | *cici* 'molluscs and oysters' |
| **ipil* '*Intsia bijuga/retusa*' | > | *ivi* '*Inocarpus fagifer*' |
| **sayin* 'wind' | > | *cagi* 'wind' |
| **iqeyuŋ* 'nose' | > | *g-icu* 'nose' |
| **ciwa* 'nine' | > | *ciwa* 'nine' |

**i* > /e/ under conditions which are not totally clear. Most of the cognates of these forms in other Oceanic languages also reflect /e/, and this is a change which took place early in Proto Oceanic times. Forms which ended in **i* plus **y* or **g* show final /-e/ in Fijian.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **biybiy* 'lips' | > | *bebe* 'vagina' |
| **bukig* 'mountain, hill' | > | *buke* 'mound, hillock' |
| **tambig* 'flat vessel' | > | *tabe* 'flat open basket' |

However, there are also other cases of **i* reflected by /e/. Most of these forms also show /e/ in other Oceanic languages:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **lawi* 'tail feathers' | > | *laawe* 'tail feathers' |
| **cakit* 'painful' | > | *ma-cake* 'disease of the tongue' |
| **tebiŋ* 'edge, embankment' | > | *tebe* 'broad edge (Bau)' |
| **tuli* 'deaf' | > | *tule* 'earwax' |

In the following two forms the final *-e* gets assimilated to a preceding stressed /a/ by the rule of §2.6:[10]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **daqis* 'forehead' | > | *raa* 'forehead' (< **rae*[7]) |
| **taqi* 'faeces' | > | *taa* 'faeces' |

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9 Normally roots in Fijian had penultimate stress, but in this case we may assume on the basis of cognates in other Fijian languages that this form developed a prothetic /a/ (Geraghty 1983:§4.5.6) and that the stress moved to the prothetic vowel as contraction took place — i.e. stress moved away from the penult: **báyeq >*ábae > *abo > boo* (with loss of prothetic vowel and lengthening of the vowel nucleus in a monosyllabic root).

10 Cognates with final /e/ occur in other Fijian languages or other Eastern Oceanic languages, evidence that a form with final /e/ preceded the forms attested in Wayan.

### 3.2 **a*

**a* > /a/ except in those cases in which **a* developed into a vowel sequence which contracted (§2.6):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **qataɣ* 'liver' | > | *ate* 'liver' |
| **jalan* 'way' | > | *cala* 'way, path' |
| **qañitu* 'evil spirit' | > | *anitu* 'spirit, supernatural being' |
| **taliŋa* 'ear' | > | *taliga* 'ear' |

/a/ is lengthened in monosyllabics (§2.2). However, there are other cases where /a/ has lengthened for which there is no explanation:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **datu* 'chieftain' | > | *raatuu* 'head of clan, chief'[11] |
| **lawi* 'tail feathers' | > | *laawe* 'tail feathers' |
| **sabayat* 'strong monsoon wind' | > | *cavaa* 'windstorm' |

In a few unexplained cases **a* is reflected as /e/. In some cases this is a purely Wayan development, and eastern Fijian languages reflect /a/, but in other cases /e/ is manifested in all the attested languages.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **dawat* 'reach, get as far as' | > | *rewa* 'be able to be done' (Bau *rawa*) |
| **gali* 'dig' | > | *keli* 'be dug' |
| **luwaq* 'vomit' | > | *lue* 'vomit' (Bau *lua*) |
| **ma* 'tongue' | > | *mee* 'tongue' |
| **pan* 'bait' | > | *bee* 'bait' |
| **sacaŋ* 'gills' | > | *see* 'gills' |
| **tulak* 'push away' | > | *tulek-i* 'move s.t. by pushing or pulling' |

### 3.3 **e*

**e* is mostly reflected by /o/, except in the cases of syncope and contraction (§2.2).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **beŋi* 'night' | > | *bogi* 'night' |
| **deŋeɣ* 'hear' | > | *rogo* 'be heard' |
| **kuden* 'earthen pot' | > | *kuro* 'clay cooking pot' |
| **tebu* 'sugar cane' | > | *tovu* 'sugar cane' |
| **teken* 'stick to lean on' | > | *i-toko* 's.t. that gives support' (*tokon-i* 'support a proposition') |

In some cases **e* is reflected by /e/. The change of **e* to /o/ or /e/ may have originally been dependent on accentual conditions, and there are cases of doublets. Some of these forms also reflect /e/ in other Oceanic languages.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **buɣes* 'squirt water out of mouth' | > | *bue* 'boil, bubble up' |
| **bekbek* 'pulverise' | > | *vevek-a* 'rusty, worm-eaten' (Bau) |
| **becuɣ* 'full, sated' | > | *vuse* 'sated' |
| **liceqes* 'nit' | > | *cile* 'nit' (Bau *lise*) |
| **lepa* 'tack' | > | *leva* 'tack' |

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11 See Geraghty (1983:§4.5.6) on lengthening of the vowel nucleus in a monosyllabic root.

In one unexplained case **e* is reflected as /i/:

**betuŋ* 'k.o. bamboo' > *bitu* 'bamboo'

The sequences **ye* and **ey*[12] are reflected as /i/ and **we* is reflected as /u/:

**wasyeɣ* 'water' > *wai* 'water'
**kaweit* 'hook' > *kaut-i* 'catch s.t. on a hook' (from **kauit-i*)
**weliq* 'do again, go back' > *uli* 'reply in speech'

### 3.4 **u*

**u* > /u/ in all environments, except in vowel sequences which developed by loss of consonants (§2.6):

**búbu* 'fish trap' > *vuvu* 'fish trap with narrow funnel entrance'
**buku* 'knot, node' > *buku* 'knob, node'
**manuk* 'bird' > *manu-manu* 'bird, animal'
**qañitu* 'evil spirit' > *anitu* 'supernatural spirit'
**qudaŋ* 'crustacean' > *ura* 'crustacean'

Unstressed **u* is elided or loses its vocalic quality (i.e. > [w]) in the antepenult:

**ɣuqañay* 'male' > *ta-g-wane* 'male'[13]
**kuapu* 'grouper' > *kwavu* 'rock cod'
**kua* 'say' > *kwa-i* 'say s.t.'

In Wayan **u* is lost after /m/ in unstressed syllables. The /m/ bears a mora when loss of /u/ causes the /m/ to be final in the word.

**ñamuk* 'mosquito' > *yam* 'mosquito'
**lumu* 'soft, tender' > *ma-lum* 'weak, soft'
**lumuk* 'oily' > *lum-i* 'anoint'

In a few cases **u* is reflected as /i/. There are cases of double reflexes, one showing /i/ and the other /u/. Fijian forms which reflect /i/ from **u* for the most part have cognates with /i/ in other Eastern Oceanic languages. The conditions for the development of /i/ are unknown.

**aluten* 'glowing stick' > *lito* 'wave a firebrand to make it flare'
**caluɣ* 'watercourse' > *sali* 'flow'
**lumut* 'moss' > *lumi* 'seaweed growing on sand'
**pulec* 'twist, wind' > *viloc-i* 'wring clothes' and *vuloc-a* 'twist s.t.' (Bau)
**puceg* 'navel' > *vico-vico* 'navel'

---

12 A reflex of the sequence **ey* is attested in only one form, which is not listed for Wayan. This is the Bauan form *cago-laya* '*Zingiber zerumet*' (< POc **laqiya* – cf. Geraghty 1983:129).

13 Lynch (2002:323–327) suggests metathesis as an explanation of the form *tagwane*. That is, **taw + *mayuqañay* > **taw + *maqañay* (with the loss of the antepenult of **ɣuqañay*) > **tamwanay* (with loss of **q* and metathesis of the [w] and [m] and subsequent change of **ay* > /e/ and **m$^{w}$* > /ŋ$^{w}$/). **m$^{w}$* must be reconstructed for Proto Oceanic because many Oceanic languages reflect **m$^{w}$* in this form.

## 3.5 Diphthongs

### *3.5.1 *ay*

**-ay* is reflected as /e/:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **beyecay* 'oar' | > | *voce* 'paddle, row' |
| **matay* 'die' | > | *mate* 'die' |
| **qatay* 'liver' | > | *ate* 'liver' |
| **cakay* 'climb, ride' | > | *cake* 'climb, ascend' |

In the one example of **ay* in a monosyllabic form which is stressed, the reflex is disyllabic /ei/:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **ay* 'who?' | > | *ei* 'who?' |

### *3.5.2 *uy*

**uy* is reflected as /i/:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **culuy* 'shoot' | > | *culi* 'banana or taro sucker' |
| **sapuy* 'fire' | > | *v-avi* 'cook in earth oven' (< **pa-sapuy*) |

### *3.5.3 *aw*

When unstressed, **aw* >/o/:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **danaw* 'lake' | > | *drano* 'lake, body of water inland' |
| **laŋaw* 'a fly' | > | *lago* 'a fly' |
| **namaw* 'sheltered water, deep place in river' | > | *namo* 'pool left on reef at low tide' |

Under stress, **aw* > /au/ in roots of more than one syllable. /au/ is also the reflex when **au* develops because of loss of a medial consonant (§4.2ff.):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **lawud* 'seaward' | > | *toka-lau* 'east wind' |
| **taŋuq* 'put' | > | *tau* 'be put, given, located' |
| **taqu* 'be familiar, know' | > | *ma-tau* 'right hand', *maa-tau* 'familiar' |

When the resulting form is monosyllabic **aw* > /oo/ (§2.2, first paragraph):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **baw* 'above' | > | *boo-boo* 'shore, inland'[14] |

## 4 Consonants

Fijian reflects the PAn consonants fairly faithfully in initial and medial position with the exception of changes which have been made by all the Oceanic languages:

(1) consonantal gradation has developed (§2.1);

(2) **s* was lost without a trace.

---

14 The form with /oo/ developed, and subsequently it was doubled.

Further, Fijian made innovations together with many of the Eastern Oceanic languages:

(3) **p* and **b* merged;

(4) **j* and **c* have merged and **g* has merged with them in medial position;

(5) root-final consonants have been lost but their reflexes are frequently retained in affixed position (see §5).

Finally, Fijian underwent further consonantal developments:

(6) **ɣ* and **q* were lost entirely.

Chart 3 outlines these developments.[15] For the value of the Fiji transcriptions see Chart 1.

**Chart 3:** Fijian reflexes of PAn Consonants

| PAn | Fiji (prenasalised and plain reflexes) | PAn | Fiji |
|---|---|---|---|
| **p* | *b, v* | **ɣ* | *Ø* |
| **t* | *d, t* | **m* | *m* |
| **k* | *q, k* | **n* | *n* |
| **q* | *Ø* | **ñ* | *y, n* |
| **b* | *b, v* | **ŋ* | *g* |
| **d* | *dr, d* | **s* | *Ø* |
| **j* | *s, c* | **w* | *w* |
| **c* | *s, c* | **y* | *y* |
| **g* | *k-, -c-* | **l* | *l* |

## 4.1 Mergers

The mergers discussed here resulted in morphophonemes, not phonemes, for the resulting phonemes are in consonant gradation (§2.1) — that is, there is alternation between prenasalised and plain phonemes, over different languages or in the same language and dialect but in different lexemes.

### *4.1.1 Merger of* *p *and* *b, *mp *and* *mb

**p* and **b* merged to /b/ [mb] or /v/. Examples with /b/:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **papan* 'board, planks' | > | *baba* 'board, planks' |
| **pan* 'bait' | > | *bee* 'bait' (/ee/ explained in §3.2, last paragraph) |
| **pulut* '*Urena lobata* (a plant producing sticky material)' | > | *bulu* 'adhere, be stuck on' |
| **kapit* 'be close' | > | *kabit-i* 'adhere' |
| **lepit* 'folded' | > | *lobi* 'folded lengthwise and crosswise' (Bau) |
| **beŋi* 'night' | > | *bogi* 'night' |
| **buku* 'knot on wood, node' | > | *buku* 'knob, node' |

15 I assume a rather different phonology for PAn than is commonly assumed in the literature on the history of the An languages. See Chart IA in §2 of my paper in this volume, 'The sounds of Proto Austronesian'.

Examples with /v/:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **pat* 'four' | > | *vaa* 'four' |
| **piga* 'how many?' | > | *vica* 'how many?' |
| **paka-* 'causative prefix' | > | *vaka-* 'causative prefix' |
| **apa* 'what?' | > | *ava* 'what?' |
| **sipaɣ* 'spouse's sibling or cousin of same generation' | > | *iva* 'son-in-law' |
| **kuɣapu* 'grouper' | > | *kwavu* 'rock cod' |
| **batu* 'stone' | > | *vatu* 'stone' |
| **beɣecay* 'paddle' | > | *vose* 'paddle a canoe' |
| **biɣaq* '*Alocasia* sp.' | > | *via* 'giant taro' |
| **bulañ* 'moon, month' | > | *vula* 'moon, month' |
| **labaw* 'rat' | > | *ka-lavo* 'rat' (Bau) |
| **lebeŋ* 'bury' | > | *lovo* 'be buried, covered over' |

The prenasalised bilabial stops are mostly inherited as nasal-grade consonants:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **ambay* 'wave the arms' | > | *abe* 'walk with the arms swinging' |
| **dampaɣ* 'be flat' | > | *raba* 'broad, wide' |
| **lampin* 'wrapping' | > | *labi* 'bundle of fish tied together for cooking' |

but occasionally as plain-grade consonants (§2.4):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **tambuɣi* 'triton shell' | > | *tavui*[16] 'helmet shell, triton shell' |
| **tumpaŋ* 'pile up' | > | *tuvan-i* 'set in order, arrange' |

### *4.1.2 Merger of* *c, *j *and* *-g[17]

**c*, **j* and **-g-* merged to /s/ and /c/. Note that what we reconstruct as initial **g-* in PAn merged with **k-* rather than **c* and **j* (§4.1.3). First, examples reflecting the nasalised grade (with /s/):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **caluɣ* 'watercourse' | > | *sali* 'flow' |
| **cekcek* 'stuff, pack chock full' | > | *soso* 'stuffed, packed' |
| **cinaɣ* 'ray of light' | > | *sina* 'lamp, torch' |
| **cuɣi* 'bone' | > | *sui* 'bone' |
| **beɣecay* 'oar' | > | *vose* 'paddle a canoe' |
| **jalateŋ* 'nettle tree' | > | *salato* 'nettle tree' |
| **juɣuq* 'broth, liquid material' | > | *suu* 'broth, soup' |
| **ɣugaŋ* 'load cargo' | > | *usa* 'be shipped, carried as cargo' |

---

16 The loss of the prenasalisation after the first syllable probably has to do with its unstressed position.

17 There is evidence that Oceanic did not merge the medial PAn **-g-* with **c*. Geraghty (1986:296–298) reconstructs for Proto Central Pacific (PCP), an ancestor of Fijian, a phoneme **z* which contrasted with the reflexes of **c* (PCP **c* and **s*). He suggests (1983:155–157) that some cases of this **z* are reflexes of PAn **-g-*, and later proposes that PCP **z* reflects PAn **j* and **g* (1986:32–303). This phoneme PCP **z*, however, merges in Fijian with the reflexes of PAn **c*.

Now for examples reflecting the plain grade (with /c/):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **caŋa* 'branch' | > | *caga* 'span, vagina'; also *saga* 'crotch' (Bau) |
| **cici* 'k.o. mollusc' | > | *cici* 'molluscs and oysters' |
| **cucu* 'breast' | > | *cucu* 'suck on breast' |
| **kacaw* 'rafter' | > | *kaso* 'rafter' |
| **jalan* 'road, way' | > | *cala* 'track' |
| **jeket* 'stick' | > | *coko* 'netted, trapped, caught' |
| **qujañ* 'rain' | > | *uca* 'rain' |
| **qágan* 'name' | > | *aca* 'name' |
| **piga* 'how many?' | > | *vica* 'how many?' |

There are two forms with medial **j* which reflect a prenasalised consonant in PAn. In the first case below, the medial **nj* is reflected with /-s-/ just as the **-j-* in prenasalised grade, but in the second case **-nj-* seems to have merged with **-nd-* and produces /dr/ (as in §4.1.5). There may have been some special fact about the histories of the two forms which accounts for the difference, but the probable explanation is that one of the two etymologies is incorrect:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **banjaɣ* 'row' | > | *basa* 'level, in a line with' (Bau) |
| **tinjaw* 'look at' | > | *tidro* 'peer, watch' |

### *4.1.3 Merger of* *k *and* *g-

Initially, **g-* falls together with **k* as it does in many Austronesian languages. **k* and **g* become /k/ in the plain grade and /q/ [ŋg] in the prenasalised grade. Examples of these reflexes in the prenasalised grade:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **giliŋ* 'roll over s.t.' | > | *qili* 'be rolled, kneaded into shape' |
| **gem* 'hold in fist' | > | *qoom-i* 'grab hold of in hands' |
| **kep* 'clasp' | > | *qov-i* 'envelop s.t. so that it is completely covered' (also with the plain grade: *kov-i* 'covered') |

There are no examples of **-k-* in medial position reflected by a nasalised grade. There is one example of **ŋk* reflected with a prenasalised grade:[18]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **waŋkaŋ* 'canoe' | > | *waqa* 'canoe' |

In other cases of **ŋk*, the nasal cluster is simplified (cf. examples in §2.4). Examples of **k* and **g-* with plain-grade reflexes are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **kacaw* 'rafter' | > | *kaco* 'rafter' |
| **kep* 'clasp' | > | *kov-i* 'covered' |
| **kuku* 'fingernail, claw' | > | *kuku* 'nail, claw' |
| **likud* 'back' | > | *likur-i* 'diverge from, veer from' |
| **tuk* 'strike, peck, beak' | > | *tuk-i* 'be hammered' |
| **gilig* 'side' | > | *kili* 'side, edge' |
| **guɣita* 'octopus' | > | *kuita* 'octopus' (Bau) |

---

[18] This form is probably not inherited from PAn, but it spread through the Austronesian languages at an early enough time that it can be considered to exemplify what has happened to medial **ŋk*.

### *4.1.4 Plain and nasal reflexes of* *t

**t* has the reflex /d/ [nd] in the nasal grade:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **tales* 'taro' | > | *dalo* 'taro' |
| **teɣac* 'hard wood' | > | *doa* 'heartwood' |
| **tuqus* 'true' | > | *duu* 'right and correct' (also *tuu-tuu* 'exactly at such-and-such a time') |

but is reflected as /t/ in the plain grade:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **taɣaq* 'cut, chop' | > | *taa* 'be cut by chipping or slashing' |
| **taliŋa* 'ear' | > | *taliga* 'ear' |
| **telu* 'three' | > | *tolu* 'three' |

The sequence **nt* was simplified or it was reflected the same way as the nasal grade of **t*:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **panta* 'flat area' | > | *vata* 'shelf, platform' |
| **punti* 'banana' | > | *vudi* 'plantain' |

### *4.1.5 Plain and nasal reflexes of* *d

**d* has the reflex /dr/ [ndr] in the nasal grade and /r/ in the plain grade. First, the nasal grade:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **cedu* 'hiccough' | > | *cedru* 'gasp for air' |
| **daɣeq* 'blood' | > | *draa* 'blood, sap' |
| **dánaw* 'lake' | > | *drano* 'body of fresh water inland' |
| **dañum* 'water' | > | *dranu* 'water' |

Now for examples of the plain grade:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **dapdap* '*Erythrina* sp.' | > | *rara* '*Erythrina*' |
| **deŋeɣ* 'hear' | > | *rogo* 'heard' |
| **diŋdiŋ* 'wall, partition' | > | *riri* 's.t. which blocks from the wind' |
| **dusa* 'two' | > | *rua* 'two' |
| **kuden* 'earthenware pot' | > | *kuro* 'clay cooking pot' |
| **tuduq* 'leak, drip' | > | *turu* 'leak, drip' |

The sequence **nd* is reflected like the nasal grade of medial **-d-*:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **andak* 'go up' | > | *cadra* 'upwards' |
| **paŋudañ* 'pandanus' | > | *vadra* 'pandanus' (< **paŋdan*) |

## 4.2 Consonants which do not undergo gradation

In addition to the liquids and nasals, the consonants **ɣ*, **q*, and **s* fail to undergo consonant gradation. They disappeared without a trace in Fijian, and their loss was followed by vowel contraction (§2.6). **s* was lost prior to Proto Oceanic and to my knowledge leaves no trace in any Oceanic language. **q* was lost more recently and is reflected regularly with [ʔ] in Tongan, which is closely related to Fijian. But based on the fact that it has no nasal grade, we may deduce that **q* became [ʔ] before the phenomenon of consonant gradation

developed (Ross 1988:32). Similarly, by the same reasoning we may deduce that **ɣ* had become a spirant before the development of consonant gradation (Ross 1988:32). **ɣ* is widely reflected as [r] or [l] in many Oceanic languages, but it is lost in the Central Pacific languages.

### *4.2.1 *ɣ*

**ɣ* is lost without a trace:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **ɣuqañay* 'male' | > | *ta-gwane* 'male' (< **taw* + **mayuqañay* — cf. fn. 13) |
| **ɣabut* 'uproot' | > | *cavut-i* 'pull out' |
| **ɣebaq* 'fallen in' | > | *ova* 'fall sideways' |
| **ɣugaŋ* 'load cargo' | > | *usa* 'be shipped, carried as cargo' |
| **sabaɣat* 'monsoon with heavy wind' | > | *cavaa* 'windstorm' |
| **ñeɣab* 'yesterday' | > | *ena-noa* 'yesterday' (Bau) |
| **wiɣi* 'left' | > | *ma-wii* 'left' |

### *4.2.2 *q*

**q* is lost without a trace:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **qatay* 'liver' | > | *ate* 'liver' |
| **qulu* 'head' | > | *ulu* 'head' |
| **qeney* 'sand' | > | *one* 'sand' (in placenames — Geraghty 1983:394) |
| **basequ* 'smell' | > | *bo-i* 'smell' (Bau) |
| **tuqed* 'stand upright' | > | *tuu* 'stand, be upright' |

### *4.2.3 *s*

**s* is lost without a trace:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **sacaq* 'grind down to sharpen' | > | *aca* 'filed, grated, sharpened' |
| **sipaɣ* 'spouse's siblings or cousins of the same generation' | > | *iva* 'son-in-law' |
| **seɣup* 'blow' | > | *uv-i* 'be blown up' |
| **dusa* 'two' | > | *rua* 'two' |
| **iseq* 'urine' | > | *m-ii* 'urinate' |
| **udesi* 'last' | > | *m-uri* 'after, following' |

## 4.3 /c/ and /y/ accretion

Forms beginning with **a-* or which developed initial **a-* after the loss of **s* or **ɣ* in a few cases developed an initial /y/ which then changed to /c-/ (§4.5.3). This change probably took place in Proto Eastern Oceanic times before the loss of **q*, so that there are no examples of

this process with roots beginning with **qa-*. This process probably is a generalisation of a form with a [y] glide which developed after affixes ending in /i/ or the locative marker *i*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **aɣusu* '*Casuarina* spp.' | > | *cau* 'k.o. casuarina' (Bau) |
| **ɣabut* 'uproot' | > | *cavut-i* 'pull out' |
| **sabaɣat* 'monsoon with heavy wind' | > | *cavaa* 'windstorm' |

The process was not automatic, and in fact the number of forms which do not show *c*-accretion is far greater than those which show the accreted /c-/.[19] A study of all the examples might reveal the constraints which determined whether or not *c*-accretion could take place. Here are three examples of forms which did not undergo *c*-accretion:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **ambay* 'wave arms' | > | *abe* 'walk with the arms swinging' |
| **ɣabíi* 'night' | > | *ei avi* 'yesterday' |
| **sacaq* 'grind down to sharpen' | > | *aca* 'filed, grated, sharpened' |

In some current dialects a *y*-glide is automatically inserted before word-initial /a/. The occurrence of /y/ in these cases is non-contrastive and has nothing to do with /c/-accretion.

### 4.4 Nasals

**m*, **n*, and **ŋ* are reflected faithfully in initial and medial position by /m/, /n/, and /g/ [ŋ] respectively.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **mamaq* 'chew' | > | *mama* 'chew' |
| **manuk* 'bird' | > | *manu-manu* 'bird, animal' |
| **matey* 'dead' | > | *mate* 'dead' |
| **lima* 'five' | > | *lima* 'five' |
| **nunuk* '*Ficus benjamina*' | > | *nunu* '*Ficus*' (Bau) |
| **kan* 'eat' | > | *vaa-kan-i* 'feed' |
| **ŋucuq* 'mouth' | > | *gusu* 'mouth of animal' |
| **beŋi* 'night' | > | *bogi* 'night' |

**ñ* is reflected by /n/ except in three forms inherited from PAn. In these three forms (but only in western Fijian languages), **ñ* is reflected by /y/. In Bauan and other eastern Fijian languages, **ñ* has merged completely with **n*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **meniyak* 'oil' | > | *moya* 'brain' (< **meñak*) |
| **ña* 'third person genitive marker' | > | *ya* 'third person possessive' |
| **ñamuk* 'mosquito' | > | *yam* 'mosquito' |

The conditions for the merger of **ñ* with **n* are unknown.[20]

---

19 The accretion of /c-/ is presumed to have taken place in Proto Eastern Oceanic times (Geraghty 1983, passim). In some cases Wayan fails to show *c*-accretion where other Fijian languages do. Geraghty assumes sporadic *c*-loss, whereas I treat these forms as though they never received *c*-accretion in the ancestor of Wayan.

20 The small number of forms which reflect /y/ from an earlier **ñ* is an indication that the change of **ñ* > /n/ was not carried through to the end.

## 4.5 **l*, **w*, and **y*

The phonemes **l* and **w* were stable, but **y* is lost in some environments.

### *4.5.1 *l*

**l* is retained as /l/ initially and medially:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **laŋit* 'sky' | > | *lagi* 'sky, atmosphere' |
| **lemec* 'drown' | > | *lomoc-i* 'dunk' |
| **lima* 'five' | > | *lima* 'hand' |
| **bulañ* 'moon, month' | > | *vula* 'moon, month' |

In four cases **l* was lost unaccountably:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **qaluɣ* 'deep part of river or pool' | > | *au* 'flow, run freely' |
| **caluwaki* 'sea urchin' | > | *caawaki* 'k.o. sea urchin'[21] |
| **malu* 'be ashamed' | > | *maa-dua* 'bashful', *si-maa* 'be ashamed' |
| **tuqelañ* 'bone' | > | *tua* 'bone' (also *tula* 'branch, twig') |

There is one case in which **l* > /n/ in a syllable before another syllable beginning with /m/:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **limac* 'bail out' | > | *nimati* 'be bailed out' |

### *4.5.2 *w*

**w* is retained initially and medially as /w/ for the most part.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **waɣa* 'climbing vine' | > | *waa* 'creeper' |
| **wiɣi* 'left' | > | *ma-wii* 'left' |
| **dawat* 'reach, get as far as' | > | *rewa* 'be able to be done' |

The sequence **we* > /u/ (§3.3, last paragraph). The sequence **uwa* is reflected in the same way as **ua* — that is, there is no contrast between [ua] and [uwa].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **banuwa* 'land, place' | > | *vanua* 'land, region, community' |
| **buwaq* 'fruit' | > | *bua* 'fruit' |
| **cuwan* 'dibble stick' | > | *sua* 'stab, pierce' |

At the end of a word, **w* formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel. The only sequence found in the data with a final **w* is **-aw*, and **aw* became simplified to /o/ or /au/ according to the accentual conditions (§2.2, §3.5.3).

### *4.5.3 *y*

Initially and medially, **y* > /c/. The best evidence for /c-/ as the reflex of **y-* comes from the process of *c*-accretion (§4.3). Otherwise, there is only one example in the data. There is one example of each of **uyu* > /ucu/ and **aya* > /aca/:

---

21 The change of **au* > to /aa/ is explained in §3.5.3.

**yuyu* 'k.o. crab' > *cucu* 'k.o. fish'
**layay* 'sail' > *laca* 'sail'

However, another item shows loss of intervocalic **y*, if the Fijian form is in fact connected:[22]

**dáya* 'inland' > *raa* (in *vua i raa* 'west wind' — in Waya coming from the ocean)

Between **a* and **u*, **y* is reflected by /-c-/ in some dialects. However, in the word for 'tree' (**kasiw* > **kayu*), **y* is reflected with Ø in Bauan, as here it typically occurred followed by a word for the specific type of tree — i.e. in atonic position):

**kasiw* 'wood, tree' > *kacu* (dialectal) and *kau* (Bau) 'wood, tree'

**y* is lost after **i* — that is, there is no contrast between /iyV/ and /iV/:

**liyus* 'go around' > *liu* 'front, precede, surpass'
**piyan* 'desire' > *via* 'auxiliary expressing desire'

### 4.6 Nasal substitution

A process of nasal substitution for initial root consonants is manifested by a small number of forms. By this process stop consonants are replaced by the homorganic nasals, and roots with initial vowels have a preposed /g/ [ŋ]:

**baksaw* '*Rhizophora mucronata*' > *mako* 'k.o. tileaceous tree'
**baŋa* 'gap stand open' > *maga* 'vagina' (Bau)
**pejem* 'close eyes' > *moce* 'sleep'
**putuc* 'cut off' > *mudu* 'cut off, amputate'
**take* 'show direction' > *i-naki* 'intent'

## 5 The stops in final position

Although the stops in final position were lost in post-Oceanic times, they are retained before an affix, and for the most part (but not invariably) the root-final consonant before the suffix in the current language reflects the inherited root-final consonant. There is evidence that the root-final consonants underwent special changes before getting lost.

First, **-j* fell together with **-d*. The evidence for this is from the following form which underwent metathesis — i.e. the final **-j* became medial. It manifests the same reflex as **-d* — that is, /r/:

**tusuj* 'knee' > *turu* 'knee'

Second, the final **-d* became devoiced to /-t/ (after the word for 'knee' underwent metathesis). Both final **-d* and final **-j* are reflected as /-t/ before suffixes:

**bedbed* 'spool, wind' > *vovoti* 'be wrapped in sling to carry on back'
**penej* 'plugged up' > *vonot-i* 'stop or plug up s.t.'

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22 Further, the word for 'ginger', not attested for Wayan, is another case: it reflects /aa/ in some dialects (Geraghty 1983:129) and /aya/ in Bauan: **laqeya* 'ginger' > *cago-laya* 'ginger' (Bau) and *cago-laa* dialectally. Compare footnote 12 for an account of the development of this form.

However, there is a counter-case. The following form can be taken to have petrified the suffixed form and reflects the development of the root-final consonant as if it were intervocalic — that is, **-d-* > /-r-/:

**likud* 'back' > *likur-i* 'veer from, diverge from'

Further, final **-n* and **-ŋ* are neutralised. Evidence for this comes from the suffixed forms with final **-ŋ*, which reflect /-n/ before a suffix:

**lebeŋ* 'bury' > *lovon-i* 'cover over, bury'

Otherwise, the root-final consonants are usually reflected in the same way as they are medially in the plain grade but those that were lost are replaced by other consonants before the suffix. (Examples are given in the individual sections describing the development of each consonant phoneme.)

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