

A STUDY OF FIJIAN GRAMMATICAL PARTICLES

We cordially state we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics.

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII LIBRARY

THESIS COMMITTEE

*Albert J. Schütz*  
Chairman

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN LINGUISTICS

AUGUST 1973

By

Kakuko Shoji

Thesis Committee:

Albert J. Schütz, Chairman  
Stanley Starosta  
Andrew Pawley

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics.

## THESIS COMMITTEE

Albert J. Schütz  
Chairman

W. H. Pawley

Stanley Cavert

PREFACE

I wish to express my gratitude to the informants who supplied the valuable information for this study. The thesis is dedicated to Professor Shirô Hattori of the University of Tokyo and Professor Samuel H. Elbert, the former chairman of the Department of Asian and Pacific Languages of the University of Hawaii, in acknowledgement of the guidance that began my appreciation of Oceanic languages and culture.

2.1	Finite Sentences	11
2.1.1	Sentences with Verbs	11
	phrases with optional Aoun	
	phrases	
2.1.2	Subjects of a Sentence	12
	the Aoun	
2.2	Conjunctive Particles	11
	Co-ordinating conjunctives	
	Subordinating conjunctives	
2.3	Structure of the Yach Phrase	18
2.3.1	Verb Particles	18
	Proclitics	
	Parasitization	
	Topic (Aoun)	
	Report	
	Form (Aoun)	
	Subclitics	
	Prepositional	
	Conjunctive	
2.3.2	Topic	45
2.3.3	Verb Particles	45
	Alloids	
	Reduplicative forms	
	types of reduplication	
	function of reduplication	
	Compound forms	
2.3.4	Verbs	47
2.3.5	Verbal Affixes	46
2.3.6	Verbal Modifiers	48
2.4	Structure of Noun Phrases	75
	Particles	

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

SIGNATURE PAGE . . . . .	ii
PREFACE . . . . .	iii
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	viii
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Informants . . . . .	1
1.2 Procedure . . . . .	1
1.3 Geographic Setting of Fiji . . . . .	2
1.4 Population of Fiji . . . . .	3
1.5 Phonemes of Fijian . . . . .	3
CHAPTER II. MORPHOLOGY-SYNTAX OF FIJIAN	
2.1 Fijian Sentences . . . . .	4
2.1.1 Sentences with Verbs: verb phrase with optional noun phrase . . . . .	4
2.1.2 Subject of a Sentence and Its Number . . . . .	7
2.2 Conjunctive Particles . . . . .	11
Co-ordinating conjunctions	
Subordinating conjunctions	
2.3 Structure of the Verb Phrase . . . . .	18
2.3.1 Verb Particles . . . . .	18
Predicate	
Person-number	
Tense (past)	
Aspect	
Tense (future)	
Adverbials	
Preposed	
Postposed	
2.3.2 Bases . . . . .	45
2.3.2.1 Verbal Bases . . . . .	45
Single Bases	
Reduplicated Bases	
types of reduplication	
function of reduplication	
Compound Bases	
2.3.2.2 Verbs . . . . .	47
2.3.2.3 Verbal Affixes . . . . .	58
2.3.2.4 Verbal Modifiers . . . . .	68
2.4 Structure of Nominal Particles . . . . .	75



2.4.1	Nominal Particles . . . . .	75
	Locative-directional	
	Time	
	Co-participant	
	Indirect	
	Genitive	
2.4.2	Bases . . . . .	83
2.4.2.1	Nominal Bases . . . . .	83
	Single Bases	
	Reduplicated Bases	
	types of reduplication	
	functions of reduplication	
	Compound Bases	
2.4.2.2	Nominal Affixes . . . . .	86
2.4.2.3	Pronouns . . . . .	89
2.4.2.4	Noun Modifiers . . . . .	92
2.4.2.5	Articles . . . . .	93
2.4.2.6	Genders and Possessives . . . . .	99
2.5	Verbless Sentences:	
	Noun Phrase + Noun Phrase . . . . .	106
2.6	Movement of Phrases for	
	Emphasis . . . . .	107
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .		109

Table 1  
Size of the Fiji Islands\*

Viti Levu and numerous small islands . . .	4,053 square miles
Vanua Levu . . . . .	2,137 square miles
Taveuni and small islands . . . . .	168 square miles
Lomaiviti Group (about 12 islands in the Koro Sea, including Ovalau) . . . . .	158 square miles
Kandavu . . . . .	157 square miles
Ono . . . . .	12 square miles
Lau Group (57 islands) . . . . .	178 square miles
Yasawas (20 islands) . . . . .	

\*Zwart 1968:76

Table 2  
Total Population of the Fiji Islands\*

	<u>1956</u>	<u>1966</u>
Indians . . . . .	169,403 . . . . .	240,960
Fijians . . . . .	148,134 . . . . .	202,176
Europeans . . . . .	6,402 . . . . .	6,590
Mixed . . . . .	7,810 . . . . .	9,687
Other Islanders . . . . .	5,320 . . . . .	6,095
Rotumans . . . . .	4,422 . . . . .	5,797
Chinese . . . . .	4,155 . . . . .	5,149
Others . . . . .	91 . . . . .	273
TOTAL . . . . .	345,737 . . . . .	476,727

\*Zwart 1968: 76

Chart 1

Fijian Phonemes\*

Bilabial Labio-dental Dental Alveolar Alveo-Palatal Velar	
<u>Consonants</u>	
Stops, voiceless	p t k
Stops, voiced & prenasalized	b[mb] d[nd] q[ŋg]
Affricates	j[č]
Fricatives, voiceless	f s
Fricatives, voiced	v[β] c[ð]
Nasals	m n g[ŋ]
Laterals	l
Flaps, simple	r[r̥] or [r̥̄]
Flaps, prenasalized	dr[n̄r̥] or [n̄r̥̄]
Glides	w y
<u>Vowels</u>	
i	u plus length
e	o
	a

\*Schütz 1971: xxix-xxxii

## List of Abbreviations

art.	. . . . .	article
asp.	. . . . .	aspect
com.	. . . . .	completed
con.	. . . . .	continuous
de-emph.	. . . . .	de-emphatic
emph.	. . . . .	emphatic
exc.	. . . . .	exclusive
imp.	. . . . .	imperative
inc.	. . . . .	inclusive
obj.	. . . . .	object
poss.	. . . . .	possessive
pred.	. . . . .	predicate
prog.	. . . . .	progressive
rep.	. . . . .	repetitive
sing.	. . . . .	singular
sub.	. . . . .	subordinate
subj.	. . . . .	subject



## I. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Informants

#### Cokanauto, G. Tu'uakitau

Fijian; reared and educated in Fiji; about 23 years old

#### Robarobalevu, Jamesa

Fijian; reared and educated in Fiji; 45 years old

The following people also helped my study:

#### Wiliama, Marieta

Rotuman; reared in Rotuma; educated in Fiji; about 23  
years old

#### Tusulu, Apenisa

Fijian; reared and educated in Fiji; about 27 years old

#### Racule, Isireli

Fijian; reared and educated in Fiji; about 58 years old

#### Danumi, Emosi

Fijian; reared and educated in Fiji; about 38 years old

### 1.2 Procedure

My interest in the Fijian language began when I attended two field-work seminars, Melanesian and Fijian, at the University of Hawaii. I was very fortunate to have the opportunity to study the structure of the Fijian language with B.G. Biggs, from the University of Auckland, and A.J. Schütz, from the University of Hawaii.

I was fascinated by the Fijian language, which is very different from my native language, Japanese, and yet

seems very familiar to me for some reason. I was especially interested in Fijian particles and the passive expression, since Japanese also has many particles and a rather unusual passive expression. I had also studied other Oceanic languages, such as Hawaiian, Marquesan, and Samoan, but they were not very easy for me to understand. Thanks<sup>4</sup> to missionaries and linguists, there are quite a few grammar books and papers on the Fijian language. However, most of them are framed in terms of English grammar. For example, Churchward (1941:11) tries to explain the sub-classes of the determiner as follows:

"The first corresponds roughly to 'the'; the second and third are untranslatable."

This paper is an attempt of a non-native speaker of English to look at Fijian in a different way, according to her own language intuitions. Although it is not a comparative work, I have included some examples from Japanese or Polynesian languages whenever they seemed useful for explanation or illustration.

### 1.3 Geographic Setting of Fiji

Fiji consists of 503 islands, 106 of which are inhabited, between 15 and 22 degrees South latitude. The 180th meridian of longitude, the International Date Line, passes through the group. The islands are scattered over 90,000 square miles in the Pacific Ocean. However, the total land area of Fiji is only 7,055 square miles (including

Rotuma, a dependency). (see Table 1, page vi) The largest islands are mainly mountainous, formed by volcanic and sedimentary materials deposited on a submarine platform.

#### 1.4 Population

The Fijian people live mostly in coastal or river-bank villages of 20 to 600 people. They have a tribal or clan system with a chief as the head of the clan. Most of the land in Fiji is owned by these clan units. The Indians, now the dominant racial group in Fiji, were brought to Fiji between 1879 and 1916 as indentured laborers to work in cotton and sugar plantations. They live mainly in the dry (sugar producing) areas of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu (see Table 2. page vi), the two largest islands.

The missionaries became aware that Fijian was not one uniform language and the choosing of one dialect as a standard language was inevitable for their work. Although it was not easy to choose one, Bauan, spoken on Viti Levu, was selected as the one to be preferred and standard.

(Schütz 1972:35) This study deals with the structure of Bauan, which is referred to as "Fijian" in the rest of this paper.

#### 1.5 Phonemes of Fijian (see Chart 1, page vii)

Among the phonemes, /p/, /j/, and /f/ are used only for Fijianized foreign words, such as parofita, 'prophet'



and Jone, 'John.' No further mention of Fijian phonology will be made in the remainder of this paper. Vowel length is indicated as geminate vowels. Word-medial morpheme boundaries and phrase or clause boundaries are indicated by hyphens and by slashes, respectively, if necessary.

## 2.1 Fijian Sentences

### 2.1.1.1 Sentences with Verbs

One main type of Fijian sentence consists of an obligatory verb phrase (VP), and one or more optional noun phrases (NP). In an ordinary sentence, the verb phrase must precede the noun phrase(s). In the following examples, phrases are enclosed in parentheses:

(lako      mai)

go      towards the speaker

VP

'Come!'

(sa      vinaka)

asp.      be good

VP

'(Understood subject) is good.' Or, 'Thank you.'

(a      lako)      (ko      jone)

tense      go      art.      John  
past           proper

VP

NP

'John went.'





( <u>sa</u>	<u>vakamatea</u> )	( <u>na</u>	<u>qioo</u> )	( <u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u> )
asp.	kill	art.	shark	art.	John
		common		proper	
	VP		NP(object)		NP(subject)

'John killed the shark.'

An indirect object must precede the direct object:

( <u>a</u>	<u>solia</u> )	( <u>vei</u>	<u>au</u> )	( <u>na</u>	<u>waqa</u> )	( <u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u> ).
tense	give	to	1st	art.	canoe	art.	John
past			person	common		proper	
			sing.				
	VP		NP(Ind.object)		NP(Dir. object)		NP(subject)

'John gave me a canoe.'

The omission of a preverb marker often expresses the imperative:

( <u>vakaraica</u> )	( <u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>	<u>lailai</u> )
look after	art.	child	small
	common		
	VP		NP

'Look after the baby.'

( <u>lako</u>	<u>mai</u> )
go	towards the speaker
	VP

'Come!'

An interrogative sentence which requires a yes-or-no answer has the same structure as its statement counterpart, but with a different intonation. The former has a rising

tune, but the latter has a falling tune. An interrogative sentence with a question word, such as o cei or e vica, has a falling tune (Milner 1967:146-150). Interrogative phrases are usually placed at the end of a sentence, as:

<u>e</u>	<u>ratou</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>yaco</u>	<u>mai</u>	( <u>e</u> <u>naica</u> )
pred.	3rd person trial	tense past	arrive	towards the speaker	when

'When did they arrive here?'

<u>ko</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>suva</u>	( <u>e</u> <u>na</u> <u>vuku</u> )	( <u>ni</u> <u>cava</u> )
2nd person sing.	tense future	go	to	Suva	at art. common	wisdom of what

'Why are you going to Suva?'

### 2.1.2. Subject of a Sentence and Its Number

In Japanese, an understood subject is not formally expressed in a sentence. In other words, a Japanese sentence does not require the subject, unless the speaker wishes to be explicit:

ikimasu

'(Understood subject) goes.'

takai

'(Understood subject) is expensive.'

A Fijian sentence does not require the subject either, in the way as English does. A person-number particle will

serve as the logical subject. (See the section on person-number particles.) An appositive subject will be added optionally:

<u>e</u>	<u>ratou</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>lako</u>
pred.	3rd person trial	tense future	go

'They (three) will go.'

<u>e</u>	<u>ratou</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>tagane</u>
pred.	3rd person trial	tense future	go	art. common	man

'The three men will go.'

<u>a</u>	<u>lako</u>
tense past	go

'(Understood subject) went.'

<u>a</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense past	go	art. proper	John

'John went.'

<u>e</u>	<u>rau</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>
pred.	3rd person dual	tense past	go	art. common	child

'The two children went.'



Both Fijian nouns and the common article na are numberless. The following sentence is not specified as to number:

<u>sa</u>	<u>mate</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>ika</u>
asp.	die	art. common	fish

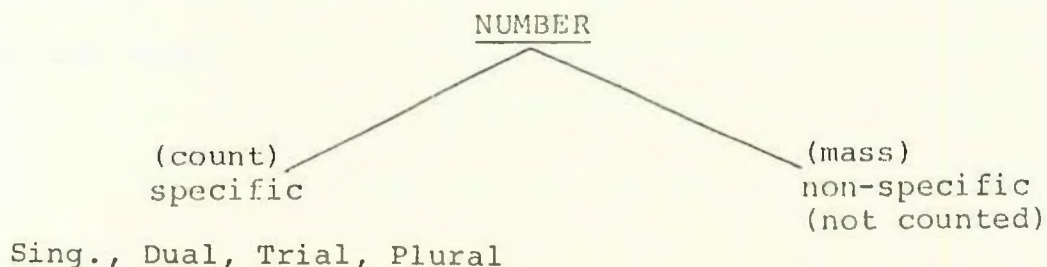
'The fish is indeed dead.'

But the stated subject is actually 3rd person singular, because no number particle is present. So if a quantity of fish is dead, it is treated as a unit...and thus singular. It refers to an uncounted quantity. However, the use of the person-number particle indicates that the subject is being counted specifically:

<u>e</u>	<u>rau</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>mate</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>ika</u>
pred.	3rd person dual	asp.	die	art. common	fish

'Two of the fish are dead.'

When the speaker wants to indicate more specifically that one fish is dead, he says sa mate e dua na ika or e dua sa mate na ika, using the number dua 'be one.' The system can be diagrammed as follows:



e rau sa mate na ika

sa mate na ika

When the subject is being counted specifically, an appositive noun phrase may serve to indicate the number. In such a case, a pronominal phrase always precedes a noun phrase:

<u>a</u>	<u>lako</u>	( <u>ko</u>	<u>koya</u> )	( <u>na</u>	<u>gone</u> )
tense go		art.	3rd	art.	child
past		proper	person	common	
			sing.		

'The child went.'

<u>a</u>	<u>lako</u>	( <u>ko</u>	<u>iratou</u> )	( <u>na</u>	<u>gone</u> )
tense go		art.	3rd	art.	child
past		proper	person	common	
			trial		

'The three children went.'

According to my informant, the use of this device is limited to human subjects. The following example is acceptable:

<u>e</u>	<u>rau</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>mate</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>ika</u>
pred.	3rd	asp.	die	art.	fish
	person			common	
	dual				

'Two of the fish are dead.'

But not: \*sa mate ko irau na ika. The use of appositive noun phrases is also used to identify the number of object of the verb:

au    a    raici    (koya)    (na    gone)

1st    tense see    3rd    art.    child  
person past    person    common  
sing.    sing.

'I saw the child.'

## 2.2 Conjunctive Markers

ia: 'but'

au    a    raici    Mere/    ia    e    sega

1st    tense see    Mary    but    pred.    not to  
person past                      De  
sing.

ni-u    a    raici    jone

ni+au    tense see    John  
sub.    past

'I saw Mary, but I did not see John.'

Although it is not very common, ka is also used with ia without changing the meaning:

sa    lako    ko    jone    ia    ka    sa  
asp.    go    art.    John    but    and    asp.  
proper

sega    ni    lako    ko    Mere  
not to    sub.    go    art.    Mary  
be    proper

'John has already gone, but Mary hasn't (gone).'

ka: 'and'

Ka is used "to connect sentences, adjectives, and verbs. Between nouns and pronouns kei is used instead" (Capell 1941:87). (See the section on noun particles.)

I agree with his interpretation. Churchward suggests (1941: 22) that ka is also used between nouns if referring to the same person or thing, as:

<u>na</u>	<u>no-qu</u>	<u>meke</u>	<u>ka</u>	<u>no-qu</u>	<u>danisi</u>
art. common	1st person sing. poss.	song	and	1st person sing. poss.	dance

'my song and dance'

<u>na</u>	<u>no-da</u>	<u>tuuraga</u>	<u>ka</u>	<u>i-vakabula</u>
art.	1st person plural inc. poss.	chief	and	savior

'our Lord and Savior'

Churchward is correct if we look at the surface structure. However, no-qu danisi and i-vakabula can be sentences in the structure.

<u>e</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>tuu</u>	<u>cake</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone/</u>	<u>ka</u>	<u>vosa</u>
pred.asp.	stand	upward	art.	John		and	speak
			proper				

'John stood up and said.'

<u>oqoo</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vale</u>	<u>levu/</u>	<u>ka</u>	<u>savasavaa</u>
near the speaker	art. common	house	big	and	clean

'This is a big and clean house.'





<u>mo</u>	<u>tukuna</u>	<u>mada/</u>	<u>se</u>	<u>ratou</u>	<u>a</u>
<u>me+o</u> imp.	tell	de-emph.	whether	3rd person trial	tense past

<u>biuta</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>kee/</u>	<u>se</u>	<u>ratou</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>kauta</u>
put	at	this place	or	3rd person trial	this place	carry

'Tell (me) whether they put it here or carried it away.'

ke: 'if'

<u>sa</u>	<u>vinaka/</u>	<u>ke</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>bula</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
asp.	be good	if	asp.	be alive	art.	John proper

'It is good if John is alive.'

<u>au</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>via</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>suva/</u>	<u>ke</u>	<u>rawa</u>
1st person sing.	asp.	wish	go	to	Suva	if	possible

'I want to go to Suva if possible.'

Ke is sometimes repeated:

<u>ke</u>	<u>bula</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>koya/</u>	<u>ke</u>	<u>vinaka</u>
if	be alive	art.	3rd proper person sing.	if	be good

'If he were alive, it would be good.'

According to my informant, the repetition of ke emphasizes the subjunctive idea. A sentence, such as the above, indicates an impossible wish, which is opposite to the fact.

After ke, preposed markers are always omitted. Kevakaa, which is basically a VP in its composition (ke 'if' + vakaa 'be like'), is often used in place of ke, as:

<u>sa</u>	<u>vinaka</u>	<u>kevakaa</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>bula</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
asp.	be good	if	asp.	be alive	art.	John proper

'It is good if John is alive.'

de: 'lest, should'

<u>sa</u>	<u>rere</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone/</u>	<u>de</u>	<u>kasa</u>	<u>na</u>
asp.	be afraid	art.	John	lest, should	run aground	art. common

waga

canoe

'John is afraid lest the canoe should run aground.'

me: 'imperative-subordinate'

<u>au</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>vakarota/</u>	<u>me</u>	<u>ra</u>	<u>lako</u>
1st person sing.	asp.	command	sub.	3rd person plural	go

'I command that they should go.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>dodonu/</u>	<u>me</u>	<u>da</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>bose</u>
asp.	be right	sub.	1st person plural inc.	go	to	art.	meeting common

'It is right that we should go to the meeting.'





ni: 'when; because; for; that'

<u>ni</u>	<u>oti</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gunu</u>	<u>yaqona/</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>sa</u>
when	finish	art. common	drinking	kava	tense asp. past	

<u>lako</u>	<u>yani</u>
go	away from the speaker

'When the kava-drinking finished, (understood subject) went away.'

<u>ni</u>	<u>ra</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>vosa</u>	<u>tiko/</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>curu</u>
when	3rd person plural	asp.	speak	prog.	tense past	enter

<u>mai</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
towards the speaker	art. proper	John

'While they were speaking, John came in.'

<u>o</u>	<u>raica</u>	<u>mere</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>vakasaqaa</u>	<u>tiko</u>
2nd person sing.	see	Mary	when	cook	prog.

'Did you see Mary cooking? (Did you see Mary when she was cooking?)'

<u>au</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>via</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>suva/</u>	<u>ni-u</u>
1st person sing.	asp.	wish	go	to	Suva	ni+au because

<u>sa</u>	<u>via</u>	<u>raica</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vale</u>
asp.	wish	see	art. common	house



4. Aspect
5. Tense (future)
6. Adverbials

1. Predicate: e

E is a tenseless predicate particle, which refers to a non-specific time point. Therefore e is usually used in general statement. It seems that e is seldom heard in fast speech.

<u>e</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vale</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
pred.	stay	in	art.	house	art.	John
			common		proper	

'John lives in the house.'

<u>e</u>	<u>vuka</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>viti</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>waqa-vuka</u>	<u>oqori</u>
pred.	fly	to	Fiji	art.	airplane	near
				common		the
						addressee

'That airplane flies to Fiji (regularly).'

<u>e</u>	<u>vica</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>maile</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>suva</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>bau</u>
pred.	be how	art.	mile	from	Suva	to	Bau
	many	common					

'How many miles are there from Suva to Bau?'

<u>e</u>	<u>kune</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>noqu</u>	<u>vale</u>
pred.	can be	art.	1st person	house
	seen	common	sing. poss.	
			agent	

'My house can be seen (from a certain location).'

The omission of e does not affect the meaning:





a      lako      yani  
 tense go              away from  
 past                    the speaker

'(He) went away.'

sa      vinaka  
 asp.    be good

'(It) is good.'

The following is a diagram of person-number particles.

	<u>exclusive</u>	<u>inclusive</u>
1st person sing.	<u>au</u>	
dual	<u>keirau</u>	<u>daru</u>
trial	<u>keitou</u>	<u>datou</u>
plural	<u>keimami</u>	<u>da</u>
2nd person sing.		<u>(k) o</u>
dual		<u>drau</u>
trial		<u>dou</u>
plural		<u>nii</u>
3rd person sing.		<u>—</u>
dual		<u>rau</u>
trial		<u>ratou</u>
plural		<u>ra</u>

### 3. Tense (past)

Churchward (1941:13-14) says that "tense distinctions are shown by means of particles placed before the verb: na:

future, a past." He also considers that Fijian tenses do not correspond exactly to those in English\*:

<u>a</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense	go	art.	John
past		proper	

'John went.' OR 'John had gone.'

<u>na</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense	go	art.	John
future		proper	

'John will go.' OR 'John would go.'

When the tense is understood from the context, the tense particle is omitted:

<u>o</u>	<u>raici</u>	<u>mere</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>vakasaqaa</u>	<u>tiko</u>
2nd	see	Mary	when	cook	prog.
person					
sing.					

'Did you see Mary cooking?'

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>kilaa</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
1st	tense	know	sub.	go	art.	John
person	past				proper	
sing.						

'I knew that John had gone.'

A is a tense particle which denotes that an action was done or had been done or a state already established or existed in the past, with regard to the time in question.

\*Milner (1967:34) also mentions that the tense system of English has no equivalent in Fijian. I agree with Churchward and Milner.

<u>a</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vale</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense	stay	in	art.	house	art.	John
past			common		proper	

'John was in the house.'

<u>a</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>yani</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense	asp.	go	away from	art.	John
past			the speaker	proper	

'John had gone away.'

Ka is sometimes used in place of a. It seems that ka is usually used at the beginning of a subordinate clause, as Capell (1941:87) suggests:

<u>sa</u>	<u>taroga</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>filipi/</u>	<u>se</u>	<u>ka</u>	<u>lako</u>
asp.	ask	art.	Philip	whether	tense	go
		proper			past	

kivei

to where

'Philip asked where he had gone to.' (Na Mata  
June 1920)

Perhaps it is written more often than said.

#### 4. Aspect: sa

Sa is a tenseless particle. It is often pronounced with a long vowel, but my informant says that such a pronunciation is just a matter of emphasis. I spell sa with understanding that it would be pronounced longer when it is emphasized. When sa is used with tense particles, it adds

perfectness or definiteness to the statement. It has usually been described as "emphatic" or glossed as "indeed."

<u>a</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>mate</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>ika</u>
tense	asp.	die	art.	fish
past			common	

'The fish was dead indeed.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
asp.	tense	go	art.	John
	future		proper	

'John will certainly go.' OR 'John is going right now.'

My informant says that since sa is definite, when common article na occurs with sa in a sentence, the na must be understood as definite. For instance, according to him, sa mate na ika is interpreted not as "A fish (non-specific) is dead." but as 'THE fish is dead.'

In Japanese there are separate patterns to express a past action and to express complete and durative state as a result of the past action:

<u>nihon</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>ikimashita</u>
Japan	to	went

'(Understood subject) went to Japan.'

<u>nihon</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>itteimasu</u>
Japan	to	went (and still there)

'(Understood subject) is not back from Japan yet.'



sakana      ga      shinimashita

fish      subject    died

'A fish died.'

sakana      ga      shindeimasu

fish      subject    died (and it is here)

'A fish is dead.'

The first sentence in each pair of examples merely describes what happened in the past. On the other hand, the second sentence also describes the result of the past action. For this construction to be used appropriately, the result of the action must be known or accessible to the speaker. For example, a piece of fish bones on a dish will be a proof of the past eating action:

shirimashita

'(Understood subject) found out a fact.'

shitteimasu

'(Understood subject) knows it (as a result of having been informed it in the past).'

yuki ga      furimashita

snow subject    fell

'The snow fell.'

yama      ni      yuki      ga      futteimasu

mountain on      snow      subject fell (and is there  
now)

'The snow is on the mountain.'

The pattern -teimasu also indicates progressiveness:

hashirimasu

'(Understood subject) runs.'

hashitteimasu

'(Understood subject) is running.'

Fijian sa, when independently used, also functions to add various aspects to a statement:

progressiveness

sa      bogi      mai      na      vanua

asp.    be night towards art.    land  
   the            common  
   speaker

'It is getting dark.'

sa      tau      mai      na      uca

asp.    fall (of    towards    art.    rain  
                 the rain)    the            common  
   speaker

'It is raining.'

e      bogi      mai      na      vanua

pred.    be night    towards the    art.    land  
   speaker            common

'It gets dark.'

e      tau      mai      na      uca

pred.    fall (of    towards the    art.    rain  
                 the rain)    speaker            common

'It rains.'

The last two examples give general information. The first probably refers to the time when it gets dark every day, as 'It gets dark around six o'clock.' The second one may be a part of conversation about the weather of a certain place.

resultative-durative/ completeness

<u>sa</u>	<u>lesu</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>toga</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
asp.	return	towards the speaker	Tonga	art.	John proper

'John is certainly back from Tonga. (He is already in Fiji.)'

<u>sa</u>	<u>vakamatei</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>qioo</u>
asp.	be killed	art.	shark common

'The shark has been killed (and is certainly dead).'

<u>sa</u>	<u>sega</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>uca</u>
asp.	not to be	art. common	rain

'The rain has completely stopped.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>dromu</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>sigā</u>
asp.	set	art. common	sun

'The sun has already set.'

<u>e</u>	<u>lesu</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>toga</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
pred.	return	towards the speaker	Tonga	art.	John proper

'He returns from Tonga (someday).'





The last two are general. It seems that the fact or action must be known or accessible to the speaker, when he uses sa. E does not refer to any specific fact.

5. Tense (future)

Na is a tense marker which denotes that an action will or would happen or a state exist in the future with regard to the time point:

<u>na</u>	<u>lako</u>	.	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense future	go		art. proper	John

'John will or would go.'

6. Adverbials

When adverbials co-occur, they must be strictly ordered. The order is :

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
<u>mani</u>	<u>dau</u>	<u>tei</u>	<u>baci</u>	<u>bau</u>	<u>dui</u>	<u>via</u>	<u>tawa</u>
<u>gai</u>					<u>ru</u>		

mani: 'finally; eventually; after all'

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>mani</u>	<u>sega</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>vosa</u>	<u>vei</u>
1st person sing.	tense past	after all	not to be	sub.	speak	to

i-ra

3rd person plural

'I did not talk to them after all.'

<u>a</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>mani</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>suva</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense past	asp.	finally	go	to	Suva	art. proper	John



<u>sa</u>	<u>dau</u>	<u>cici</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>
asp.	continuously	run	art. common	child

'The child keeps running.'

tei: 'first'

<u>au</u>	<u>tei</u>	<u>kana</u>	<u>mada</u>
1st person sing.	first	eat	de-emph.

'I eat first, if you do not mind.'

baci: 'again'

Baci and tale often co-occur:

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>baci</u>	<u>lesu</u>	<u>tale</u>
1st person sing.	tense past	again	return	rep.

<u>yani</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vale</u>
away from the speaker	to	art. common	house

'I returned to the house once more.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>baci</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>tale</u>
asp.	again	go	rep.

'He went yet again.'

bau: 'de-emphasis; being less abrupt'

<u>sa</u>	<u>bau</u>	<u>cakacaka</u>	<u>levu</u>	<u>vuaa</u>
asp.	de-emph.	work	heavily	<u>vei+koya</u> for him

'It is rather heavy work for him.'





'The house is exceedingly big.'

sa      rui                      kana      na                      gone  
asp.      exceedingly      eat      art. common      child

'The child eats too much.'

via: 'wish'

Via expresses volition:

sa      via                      kana      na                      gone      tagane  
asp.      wish                      eat      art. common child      male

'The boy wants to eat.' OR 'The boy is hungry.'

sa      via                      vosa      ko                      jone  
asp.      wish                      speak      art. proper      John

'John wants to speak.'

Viavia, a reduplicated form of via, functions to intensify the subject's wish and often denotes unfulfilled desire:

sa      viavia                      levu                      ko                      jone  
asp.      wish                      be great      art. proper      John

'John has the illusion that he is great.'

Viavia is also glossed, as 'somewhat,' '-ish.' It indicates the possession of quality to a moderate degree or disposition towards:

sa      viavia                      vulavula                      na                      i-sulu  
asp.      somewhat                      be white      art. common      cloth

'The cloth is whitish (= the color of the cloth has faded).'

sa      viavia      yadra      mai  
 asp.      almost      be awake      towards the speaker  
 'It looks that he is going to wake up (= He is almost awake).'

tawa: 'without'

sa      tawa      yaga      na      tamata  
 asp.      without      be useful      art. common      person  
 'The person is useless.'

sa      tawa      mudu      na      i-valu  
 asp.      without      end      art. common      war  
 'The war is endless.'

7. There are postposed adverbials, too. Postposed adverbials, like preposed ones, are strictly ordered and functions to modify verbs. The order is :

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
<u>vata</u>	<u>kece</u>	<u>sara</u>	<u>beka</u> <u>mada</u> <u>li</u> <u>soo</u>	<u>gaa</u>	<u>mai</u> <u>yani</u> <u>cake</u> <u>sobu</u>

vata: 'together; same'

au      a      lako      vata      kei      jone  
 1st      tense go      together      with      John  
 person past  
 sing.

ki      bau  
 to      Bau

'I went to Bau together with John.'

<u>e</u>	<u>ra</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>kai</u>	<u>vata</u>
pred.	3rd person plural	asp.	be a male inhabitant	same

'They belong to the same society or country.'

kece: 'all; every'

<u>e</u>	<u>ra</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>yaco</u>	<u>kece</u>	<u>mai</u>
pred.	3rd person plural	asp.	arrive	all	towards the speaker

'They have all (but individually) arrived.'

<u>me</u>	<u>ratou</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>kece</u>	<u>gaa</u>	<u>mai</u>
imp.	3rd person trial	go	every	emph.	towards the speaker

'Let every one of them come here (not as a group).'

Kece refers to 'the entire number' but not as a group.

Taucoko is used to denote 'whole,' 'entire group,' or 'mass':

<u>au</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>gunuva</u>	<u>taucoko</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>sucu</u>
1st person sing.	asp.	drink	all	art. common	milk

'He has drunken all of the milk.'

<u>e</u>	<u>ra</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>yaco</u>	<u>taucoko</u>	<u>mai</u>
pred.	3rd person plural	asp.	arrive	all	towards the speaker

'They have all (as a group) arrived.'

Kece is used only for countables. Kece may be reduplicated to emphasize the expression:

<u>me</u>	<u>ratou</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>kecekece</u>	<u>mai</u>
imp.	3rd person trial	go	every	towards the speaker

'Let every one of them (without exception) come here.'

sara: 'emphasis'

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>sega</u>	<u>sara</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>lako</u>
1st person sing.	tense past	not to be	emph.	sub.	go

<u>ki</u>	<u>bau</u>
to	Bau

'I have never been to Bau.'

<u>au</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>sega</u>	<u>sara</u>	<u>gaa</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>kilaa</u>
1st person sing.	asp.	not to be	emph.	emph.	sub.	know

'I do not even know it.'

<u>a</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>sara</u>
tense past	asp.	go	emph.

'He went immediately.'

<u>e</u>	<u>ratou</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>sara</u>	<u>gaa</u>
pred.3rd person trial	3rd person trial	tense future	go	emph.	emph.

'They will actually go.'

<u>e</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>levu</u>	<u>sara</u>	<u>na</u>
pred.	asp.	be big	emph.	art. common







than li. Li expects a negating or opposing answer and ne, on the contrary, expects a confirming or agreeing answer:

sa      dodonu      me      da      lako/      ne  
 asp.    be right      sub.    1st person    go  
    plural inc.

'It is right that we should go, isn't it?'

e      sega      ni      dodonu/      ne  
 pred.   not to be      sub.    be right

'It is not right, is it?'

In Japanese, if the question (positive or negative) agrees with the reality, the respondent answers hai 'yes.' If not, he answers iie 'no.'

yokuarimasen ka  
 not good      question

'Is it not good?'

hai/      yokuarimasen  
 yes      not good

'Yes (you are right). It is not good.'

iie/      ii desu  
 no      be good

'No (you are not right). It is good.'

In Fijian, answers are formed in a similar way:

sa      dodonu      li      me      da      lako

'It is right that we should go, isn't it?'

sega

'No, (you are not right). We shouldn't go.'

e sega li ni dodonu

'It is not right, is it?'

sega

'No, (you are not right). It is right.'

sa dodonu me da lako/ ne

'It is right that we should go, isn't it?'

io

'Yes, (you are right). We should go.'

e sega ni dodonu/ ne

'It is not right, is it?'

io

'Yes, (you are right). It is not right.'

This ne functions in a way similar to that of the Japanese sentence particle ne:

ikimasu/ ne

'You are going, aren't you?'

hai

'Yes, (you are right). I am going.'

ikimasen/ ne

'You are not going, are you?'

hai

'Yes, (you are right). I am not going.'

soo: 'de-emphasis; partial negation'



Soo is used to soften the force of the statement or to negate the statement partially:

sa      sega      soo      ni      vinaka  
 asp.      not to be de-emph. sub.      be good  
 'It is not very good (as good as it might be).'

sa      sega      soo      ni      kilaa  
 asp.      not to be de-emph. sub.      know  
 'I do not know it very well.'

gaa: 'emphasis; exclusive'

au      a      lako      gaa      e      na      sigā      Moniti  
 1st      tense go      exc.      on art.      day      Monday  
 person past      common  
 sing.

'I went on Monday (not on the other day).'

e      ra      sa      tiko      gaa      e      kee  
 pred. 3rd asp. stay exc. at this place  
 person  
 plural

'They are here (not any other place).'

The exclusive use of gaa is similar to that of the Japanese wa, which can also be used for a contrastive or exclusive expression:

ashita      wa      ikimāsen  
 tomorrow      exc.      do not go

'As for tomorrow, (Understood subject) does not go (but he usually goes).'

koohii        wa        nomimasen  
 coffee        exc.        do not drink

'(Understood subject) does not drink coffee (but he drinks tea).'

mae        wa        arimashita  
 before        exc.        existed

'(Understood inanimate subject) was there before (but not any more).'

Gaa often follows another verb modifier to emphasize it or add a meaning of exclusiveness to the word:

<u>e</u>	<u>ratou</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>sara</u>	<u>gaa</u>
pred.	3rd person trial	tense future	go	emph.	emph.

'They will actually go!'

mai: 'towards the speaker'

<u>a</u>	<u>solia</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>vei</u>	<u>au</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>tamata</u>
tense past	give	towards the speaker	to	1st person sing.	art. common	person

'A person gave it to me.'

<u>a</u>	<u>vosa</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>tuuraga</u>
tense past	speak	towards the speaker	art. common	chief

'The chief spoke (to us, to me, etc.).'

As in such Polynesian languages as Hawaiian, mai can be used by itself when the verb lako is understood:

Hawaiian

komo    mai/    mai/    mai

'Come! come! come!'

Fijian

lako    mai/    mai/    mai

'Come! come! come!'

au    sa    mai    kauta    na    kuro

1st    asp.    towards    take    art.    pot  
person    the speaker    common  
sing.

'I came and took the pot.'

yani: 'away from the speaker'

mo    kauta    yani    na    kuro

me+o    take    away from    art.    pot  
imp.    the speaker    common

'Take away the pot!'

sa    lako    yani    na    tagane

asp.    go    away from    art.    man  
the speaker    common

'The man has gone away.'

cake: 'upward; eastward'

sa    lako    cake    ko    jone

asp.    go    eastward    art.    John  
proper

'John has gone eastward.'







2. reduplicated basespartial reduplicationlevu 'be big'lelevu 'be big (plural)'vinaka 'be good'viivinaka 'be good (plural)'balavu 'be long'bababalavu 'be very long'full reduplicationdua 'be one'duadua 'be only one'qase 'be old'qaseqase 'be cunning'vula 'moon'vulavula 'be white'functions of reduplicated basesplurality; totalitykarata 'be broken'kakaratarata 'be broken into many pieces'levu 'be big'lelevu 'be big (plural)'intensity

balavu 'be long'

bababalavu 'be very long'

dua 'be one'

duadua 'be only one'

### frequency

kure 'shake a thing'

kurekure 'shake one's head continuously for  
negation'

kaya 'say'

kayakaya 'say something frequently'

### 3. compound bases

kidacala 'be surprised'

kida 'dawn; break'

cala 'be wrong'

tavuwai 'cook in the boiling water'

tavu 'heat at the fire'

wai 'water'

#### 2.3.2.2 Verbs

I will classify Fijian verbal bases, which are referred to as "verbs" in the rest of this paper, into two major groups, according to morphology-syntax:

Group I: The verbs of this group must end with one of the suffixes -(C)i and -(C)a (C stands for a consonant, which is

lexically determined). (See the section on passive and common-proper concord):

<u>sa</u>	<u>tauca</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>koro</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>uca</u>
asp.	fall on	art. common	village	art. common	rain

'The rain is falling on the village.'

<u>a</u>	<u>raica</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>kolii</u>
tense past	see	art. common	child	art. common	dog

'The dog saw the child.'

<u>a</u>	<u>raici</u>	<u>jone</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>tagane</u>
tense past	see	John	art. common	man

'The man saw John.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>tauci</u>	<u>au</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>uca</u>
asp.	fall on	1st person sing.	art. common	rain

'The rain is falling on me.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>nanumi</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>viti</u>
asp.	remembered	art. proper	Fiji

'Fiji is remembered.'

In Japanese there is a group of verbs which treat the place through which the subject passes as the object:

<u>kono</u>	<u>basu</u>	<u>wa</u>	<u>waikiki</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>toorimasu</u>	<u>ka</u>
this	bus	topic	Waikiki	obj.	pass	question



kono        michi        o        massugu        ikimasu  
 this        street        obj.        straight        go

'(Understood subject) goes straight on this street.'

kooen        no        naka        o        arukimasu  
 park        of        inside        obj.        walk

'(Understood subject) walks in the park.'

The place is indicated by the object marker o. There is also another group of verbs which take goals of action or motion as object:

yama        ni        yuki        ga        furimashita  
 mountain    obj.        snow        subj.        fell

'The snow fell on the mountain.'

sore        ni        sawaranaide-kudasai  
 that (near    obj.        don't touch please  
 the addressee)

'Please do not touch that.'

shizuku        ga        kao        ni        furikakarimashita  
 dew        subj.        face        obj.        happen to fall

'The dew drops happened to fall on (my) face.'

hanako        wa        ichiroo        ni        tayotteimasu  
 Hanako        topic    Ichiroo        obj.        is depending

'As for Hanako, she is depending on Ichiroo.'

Fijian group I verbs, which are transitive, also take goals of the action or the place through which the subject passes as the object:

<u>sa</u>	<u>qalova</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>waqa</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
asp.	swim towards	art. common	canoe	art. proper	John

'John is swimming towards the canoe.'

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>tikora</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vatu</u>	<u>levu</u>
1st person sing.	tense past	sit on	art. common	rock	big

'I sat on the big rock.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>baleta</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vale</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>kau</u>
asp.	fall down over	art. common	house	art. common	tree

'The tree has fallen down over the house.'

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>lakova</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>koro</u>
1st person sing.	tense past	go through	art. common	village

'I went through the village.'

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>waqavi</u>	<u>jone</u>
1st person sing.	tense past	talk to angrily	John

'I talked angrily to John.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>kusata</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vanua</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>waqa</u>
asp.	hurry to	art. common	land	art. common	canoe

'The canoe is hurrying to the land.'

<u>a</u>	<u>gasiva</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vatu</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gata</u>
tense	crawl	art.	rock	art.	snake
past	towards	common		common	

'The snake crawled towards the rock.'

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>lakova</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vokete</u>
1st person	tense	go for	towards the	art.	bucket
speaker	past		speaker	common	

'I came to get the bucket.'

Group I verbs may take the associative or instrumental suffix  
-Cak (See page 47):

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>kaba-tak-a</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>matau</u>
1st person	tense	climb with	art.	axe
sing.	past		common	

'I climbed it with an axe.'

<u>a</u>	<u>cakacaka-tak-a</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>matau</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense	work with	art.	axe	art.	John
past		common		proper	

'John worked with an axe.'

<u>a</u>	<u>cake-tak-a</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>dali</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>
tense	go upward	art.	rope	art.	child
past		common		common	

'The child went up with a rope.'

<u>a</u>	<u>taa-tak-a</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>matau</u>
tense	chop with	art.	axe
past		common	

'He chopped it with an axe.'

<u>e</u>	<u>ratou</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>soko-tok-a</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>waqa</u>
pred.	3rd person trial	tense past	sail with	art. common	canoe

'They sailed on a canoe.'

Verbs with the suffix -Cak may also take the thing referred to by the verb, the indirect goal of the verb, as the object:

<u>a</u>	<u>meke-tak-i</u>	<u>Viti</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>tamata</u>
tense past	sing about	Fiji	art. common	person

'The person sang about Fiji.'

<u>e</u>	<u>rau</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>bora-tak-a</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vanua</u>
pred.	3rd person dual	asp.	talk about	art. common	land

'They talked about the land.'

Group I also includes causativized or transitivized verbs:

<u>a</u>	<u>vaka-matea</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>ika</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense past	kill	art. common	fish	art. proper	John

'John killed the fish.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>vaka-matei</u>	<u>jone</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>qioo</u>
asp.	kill	John	art. common	shark

'A shark killed John.'

Group II: Group II verbs end with neither the passive suffix nor common-proper suffix:



sa      mate      na      ika  
 asp.      die            art.      fish  
    common

'The fish is surely dead.'

sa      levu      na                      waqa  
 asp.      be big      art. common      canoe

'The canoe is big indeed.'

sa      sega      na      noqu                      vale  
 asp.      not to      art.      1st person sing.      house  
                  be     common      poss. agent

'There is no house for me.' OR 'I have no house.'

sa      rai      na                      gone      lailai  
 asp.      can see      art. common      child      small

'The baby surely can see.'

A verb from Group II may be used as an adjective, which always follows the word it modifies:

sa      (lailai)                      na      vale  
 asp.      be small                      art.      house  
    common

'The house is small.'

oqoo                                      na                      vale      (lailai)  
 near the speaker                      art. common      house      small

'This is a small house.'

sa      totolo      na                      waqa  
 asp.      be fast                      art. common      canoe

'The canoe is fast.'

<u>au</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>vinakata</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>waqa</u>	( <u>totolo</u> )
1st person sing.	asp.	want	art. common	canoe	fast

oqori

near the addressee

'I certainly want that fast canoe.'

Passive Suffix and Common-proper Concord Suffixes: -(C)i  
and -(C)a

According to Milner (1956:130), "when a base has a transitive suffix -i (not followed by an object)\* that transitive form is said to be passive or passive transitive.... e.g. e nanumi na kaa oqori 'That is kept in mind.' He adds, "Passive forms ending -i must not be confused with the active form which also has a transitive ending -i, when they govern a proper object." I agree with him, Fijian has two homonymous suffixes: -(C)i

1. passive: -(C)i

<u>e</u>	<u>nanumi</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>viti</u>
pred.	be remembered	art. proper	Fiji

'Fiji is remembered (as said in a ceremony).'

\*Milner considers that "In Fijian grammar the term object (direct or indirect) is used in the same sense (as in English)." I do not agree with him. In Fijian the term object is used in a somewhat different sense. I tentatively define the Fijian object as 'a thing or person directly or indirectly affected by the action or, if not, the goal of the motion or the place at where the action or motion takes place.'

<u>a</u>	<u>vakamatei</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gioo</u>
tense past	be killed	art. common	shark

'The shark was killed.'

2. common-proper concord: -(C)i

<u>sa</u>	<u>nanumi</u>	<u>viti</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>mere</u>
asp.	remember	Fiji	art proper	Mary

'Mary remembers Fiji for sure.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>nanuma</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>tamata</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>mere</u>
asp.	remember	art. common	person	art. proper	Mary

'Mary surely remembers the person.'

In 1. the suffix -(C)i marks passive. The subject ko viti and no gioo are the receivers of action. In 2 on the other hand, the suffix -(C)i and -(C)a mark the common-proper concord between a verb and its object. The -(C)i marks a proper object, human or inhuman, and a pronoun, and the -(C)a marks a common object, human or inhuman. I tentatively name the first kind of -(C)i a passive suffix and the second a common-proper concord suffix.

According to Biggs (1969 seminar), it is impossible to express an agent in a Fijian passive sentence. When the speaker wants to or must express the agent in a sentence, he chooses a VOS sentence instead of a passive one:



( <u>a</u>	<u>vakamatea</u> )	( <u>na</u>	<u>vuaka</u> )	( <u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u> )
tense	kill	art.	pig	art.	John
past		common		proper	
	V		O		S

'John killed the pig (the pig was killed by John).'

( <u>a</u>	<u>butokoca</u> )	( <u>na</u>	<u>no-qu</u>	<u>i-lavo</u> )	( <u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u> )
tense	steal	art.	1st	money	art.	John
past		common	person	agent	proper	
	V		O		S	

'John stole my money (my money was stolen by John).'

### Fijian numerals

I consider the cardinal numbers in Fijian to be basically Group II verbs. The Fijian number system is decimal. For example, twenty is expressed as two-ten: rua-sagavulu. Twenty-one is two-ten and one: rua-sagavulu-ka-dua. This system is similar to that of Japanese:

10.	<u>juu</u>	1.	<u>ichi</u>	2.	<u>ni</u>	11.	<u>juu-ichi</u>
20.	<u>ni-juu</u>	22.	<u>ni-juu-ni</u>				

In Fijian, ordinal numbers are formed by a prefix, i-ka-:

na i-ka-tolu

'the third'

na i-ka-rua-sagavulu

'the twentieth'

An idea such as 'the first house' or 'the third canoe' is expressed as na i-ka-dua ni vale, lit., 'the first of house'



and na-i-ka-tolu ni waqa lit., 'the third of canoe.'

Churchward (1941:43) writes that "when the noun is indefinite, e tolu na koro 'three villages'; e rua-sagavulu-ka-vaa na i-vola 'twenty four books'...When the noun is definite, na koro e tolu 'the three villages'; na koro e tolu oqoo 'these three villages.'" However, my informant disagree with this statement. According to him, the second structure, na koro e tolu or na koro e tolu oqoo, is rather awkward or ungrammatical. Only when a noun which is qualified is denoting time or distance may the numeral appear directly after the noun, according to Churchward (1941:43). Churchward's example is au a tiko kina ka yabaki tolu 'I stayed there for three three years.' In my observation, yabaki is not a noun, but a verb, because it occurs after an introductory marker ka and takes no article. Yabaki 'to be a year' is modified by the verb modifier tolu. The example sentence, therefore, can be interpreted as "I stayed there and it was for three years.'

Japanese has a way of classifying words according to shapes, sizes, kinds, and so on. These classifiers must immediately follow numerals:

san-soo 'three(of the smaller boat)'

san-mai 'three(of the falt object)'

san-nin 'three(of people)'

san-bob 'three(of the long object)'

In Fijian preposed adverbials such as lewe and saqai have a

similar function:

na waga saqai vaa 'four canoes (moving)'

e lewe ono 'There are six (of people).'

Capell (1941:214) mentions that saqai is now obsolete, but my informant says that it is merely a matter of cultural change. In the area where canoes are still in use, saqai is commonly used. As seen in the example, the following NP can be omitted, because lewe indicates 'human.'

### 2.3.2.3. Verbal Affixes

Verbal affixes can be classified into two sub-groups, prefixes and suffixes.

#### Verbal prefixes

vaka-: Vaka- serves to make causatives, transitives, and other forms. It is replaced by vaa- before /k/, /q/, and /g/, although some exceptions can be observed:

<u>a</u>	<u>vaa-kauta</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>i-vola</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>suva</u>
tense	send off	art.	book	to	Suva
past		common			

'He has sent off the book (as a parcel) to Suva.'

<u>e</u>	<u>vaa-gasegasea</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>
pred.	make old	art. common	child

'The child is acting like an old man.'

<u>a</u>	<u>vaa-gunuva</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>yalewa</u>
tense	give a drink	art.	child	art.	woman
past	to	common		common	

'The woman made the child drink it.'

Cf. a vaka-garoya na gone na tagane  
 tense cause to art. child art. man  
 past desire common proper

'The man made the child want it.'

The prefix vaka- has various functions, as:

(1) to causativise or transitive verbs

a (vaka-rewataka) na vatu levu ko gone  
 tense lift up art. rock big art. John  
 past common common

'John lifted up the big rock.'

sa (vaka-matea) na qioo na tamata  
 asp. cause to die art. shark art. person  
 common common

'The man has killed the shark.'

a (vaka-mocera) na gone na yalewa  
 tense put to sleep art. child art. woman  
 past common common

'The woman put the child to sleep.'

Vaka- is very often followed by a suffix -Cak (See the section on verbal suffixes).

(2) to derive verb modifiers from verbs

a vosa (vaka-tuuraga) na tagane  
 tense speak in a chiefly art. man  
 past manner common

'The man spoke like a chief.'

Cf. tuuraga 'be a chief'



a      vosa      (vaa-kaukauwa)      na      tagane

tense speak      forcibly      art.      man  
past      common

'The man spoke forcibly.'

Cf.      kaukauwa      'be strong'

a      kana      (vaka-levu)      na      tamata

tense eat      greatly      art.      person  
past      common

'The person eats a lot.'

Cf.      levu      'be big'

(3) to derive verbs from nouns

sa      (vaka-vale)      na      tamata

asp.      have a house      art.      person  
common

'The person has a house.'

Cf.      vale      'house'

a      (vaka-dinadina)      na      tamata

tense testify      art.      person  
past      common

'The person testified it.'

Cf.      dina      'truth'

(vaka-i-sulu)

have a garment on

'Have clothes on!'

Cf.      i-sulu      'loin-cloth'

(4) to derive noun modifiers





Tau-: 'intensity'

sa        tau-bera  
asp.        be too late

'It is too late!'

sa        tiko        tau-dua  
asp.        stay        only one

'He stays alone.'

au        a        raica        tau-mada        na        tamata  
1st        tense    see        first of        art.        person  
person    past       all        common  
sing.

'I, first of all, saw the person.'

e        keirau        goli        tau-rua  
pred.    1st person    fish        two of us only  
dual exc.

'Two of us are going fishing (but not you).'

Yaa-: 'distributive'

e        ratou        yaa-dua        na        vale  
pred.    3rd person    one each    art.        house  
trial        common

'Each of them has a house.'

Tau- often precedes yaa-:

e        ratou        tau-yaa-rua        na        apolo  
pred.    3rd person    two each only    art.        apple  
trial        common

'They have two apples each.'

<u>e</u>	<u>ra</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>tau-yaa-rua</u>
pred.	3rd person plural	asp.	go	two each only

'They have gone two by two.'

Ta-: 'spontaneous'

<u>sa</u>	<u>ta-sere</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>waa</u>
asp.	unite by itself	art. common	string

'The string is united by itself (as a shoe string).'

<u>sa</u>	<u>ta-moi</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>daku-qu</u>
asp.	twist by itself	art. common	my back

'My back is twisted and is painful.'

<u>e</u>	<u>ra</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>ta-bili</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>lewe</u>	<u>levu</u>
pred.	3rd person plural	asp.	be driven towards	art. class of common people	be	many

'Many people are moving towards a direction without being told so.'

Ka-: 'being broken'

The manner of breaking is conveyed by the verb and sometimes by the subject:

<u>a</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>ka-basu</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>kaatuba</u>
tense past	asp.	be broken (torn out)	art. common	door

'The door was broken.'

a     sa     ka-vesi     na     basoqa  
 tense asp.    be broken    art.    branch  
 past            (torn off) common

'The branch was torn off from the tree.'

a     sa     ka-vera     na     vatu  
 tense asp.    be broken    art.    rock  
 past            common

'The pile of stones was leveled (being pushed and broken down).'

a     sa     ka-voro     na     vatu  
 tense asp.    be broken    art.    rock  
 past            (crushed) common

'The rock was crushed.'

a     sa     ka-voro     na     kau  
 tense asp.    be broken    art.    tree  
 past            (chopped) common

'The tree was cut into many pieces.'

In the last two examples, the verb does not serve to distinguish meanings, but the appositive subject does. When the verbs are reduplicated, the prefixes may also be reduplicated:

a     sa     ka-ka-musu-musu     na     kau  
 tense asp.    be broken    art.    tree  
 past            (plural)    common

'The trees were broken down.'

There are some prefixes which occur with vaka- :



vaka-taa-sosoko

'sail about for pleasure'

Cf. soko 'sail'

vaka-taa-kakana

'eat or feast together'

Cf. kana 'eat'

vaka-saa-garaa

'eat or feast together'

Cf. garaa 'seek'

vaka-naa-daku

'turn one's back (towards)'

Cf. daku 'back'

However the presence of these prefixes does not change the original meaning:

vaka-(taa)-sosoko 'sail about for pleasure'

vaka-(taa)-kakana 'eat or feast together'

Vei-: 'reciprocal'

When a verb takes prefix vei-, it generally takes the passive suffix -(C)i:

<u>e</u>	<u>rau</u>	<u>vei-kilai</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>	<u>kei</u>	<u>mere</u>
pred.	3rd	know each	art.	John	with	Mary
	person	other		proper		
	dual					

'John and Mary know each other.'



the suffix. For a discussion of these two suffixes, see pages 54-56.

-Cak: 'associative; instrumental'

C is determined lexically. One of the suffixes, -(C)i and -(C)a must follow it:

<u>a</u>	( <u>kaba-tak-a</u> )	( <u>na</u>	<u>matau</u> )	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense past	climb with	art. common	axe	art.	John proper

'John climbed it with an axe.'

<u>sa</u>	( <u>qalo-vak-a</u> )	( <u>na</u>	<u>saisai</u> )	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
asp.	swim with	art. common	spear	art.	John proper

'John is swimming with a spear.'

cf.	<u>sa</u>	( <u>qalo-va</u> )	<u>tiko</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>waqa</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
	asp. swim		prog.	art. common	canoe	art.	John proper

'John is swimming towards the canoe.'

<u>e</u>	<u>rau</u>	<u>a</u>	( <u>vei-kila-i-tak-a</u> )
pred.3rd person dual		tense past	know about (secretly)

'They knew about it (and it is a secret).'

cf.	<u>e</u>	<u>rau</u>	( <u>vei-kila-i</u> )	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
	pred. 3rd person dual		know each other	art.	John proper

<u>kei</u>	<u>mere</u>
with	Mary

They, John and Mary, know each other.'

e      rau      (vaka-vei-kila-i-tak-i)  
 pred. 3rd person      introduced  
       dual

ko                      jone      kei      mere  
 art. proper      John      with      Mary

'John and Mary were introduced to each other.'

-Cak\* and -(C)i or -(C)a can occur together, as seen in the examples. -Cak is also used in causativized or transitivized forms:

au      a      (vaka-rai-tak-a)      na      i-vola      vuaa  
 1st      tense      show      art.      letter      =vei+koya  
 person past      common      to him  
 sing.

'I showed the letter to him.'

Cf. rai 'see (intransitive)'

There are some suffixes which are used in poems and questions, but since they are not relevant to the syntax of standard speech, they are not included in this paper.

#### 2.3.2.4 Verb Modifiers

There are many verbs which can also be used as verb modifiers. These modifiers must follow the word they modify or qualify:

\*I consider the final -i or -a as isolated from -Cak and -yak, although it is a departure from tradition.



lesu: 'back' Cf. lesu 'return'

<u>a</u>	<u>rai</u>	<u>lesu</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>
tense past	see	back	towards the speaker	art. common	child

'The child looked back (towards the speaker).'

<u>e</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>sauma</u>	<u>lesu</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>vei</u>	<u>au</u>
pred.	tense future	pay	back	towards the speaker	to	1st person sing.

'He will pay it back to me.'

voli: 'round' Cf. voli 'go around'

<u>au</u>	<u>taura</u>	<u>voli</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>kato</u>
1st person sing.	carry	round	art. common	box

'I carried around the box.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>oga</u>	<u>voli</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
asp.	be busy	round	art. proper	John

'John is always busy.' OR 'John is busy wherever  
he goes.'

tiko: 'progressive; continuous' Cf. tiko 'stay; exist'

<u>sa</u>	<u>cici</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>
asp.	run	prog.	art. common	child

'The child is running.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>tau</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>uca</u>
asp.	fall (of the rain)	prog.	art. common	rain

'The rain keeps falling.'

rawa: 'potential' Cf. rawa 'be possible'

<u>e</u>	<u>ra</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>vosa</u>	<u>rawa</u>	<u>na</u>
pred.	3rd person plural	asp.	speak	pot.	art. common

vosa            vakaviti

\* language      Fijian

'They can speak the Fijian language.'

<u>e</u>	<u>datou</u>	<u>raica</u>	<u>rawa</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vanua</u>
pred.	1st person trial inc.	see	pot.	art. common	land

'We can see the land.'

tale: 'repetitive' Cf. tale 'keep repeating  
same act'

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>vosa</u>	<u>tale</u>	<u>vei</u>	<u>ira</u>
1st person sing.	tense past	speak	rep.	to	3rd person plural

'I spoke to them again and again.'

Tale is often followed by gaa, with the combination meaning  
'also':

<u>sa</u>	<u>vakaa</u>	<u>tale</u>	<u>gaa</u>	<u>oqori</u>
asp.	be like	rep.	emph.	near the addressee

'It is also like that (which you say).'

tuu: 'being in a fixed position' Cf. tuu 'stand'







vaka-dua: 'once; only' Cf. dua 'be one'

<u>au</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>vaka-dua</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>bau</u>
1st person sing.	asp.	go	once	to	Bau

'I have been to Bau once.'

vaka-lailai: 'for a short time' Cf. lailai 'be small'

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>vaka-lailai</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>viti</u>
1st person sing.	tense past	stay	for a short time	in	Fiji

'I stayed in Fiji for a short time.'

vaka-berabera: 'slowly' Cf. berabera 'be slow'

<u>e</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>tuku</u>	<u>vaka-berabera</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>
pred.	asp.	talk	slowly	art.	child common

'The child talks slowly indeed.'

vaka-oqoo: 'in this manner' Cf. oqoo 'near the speaker'

<u>mo</u>	<u>cakacaka</u>	<u>vaka-oqoo</u>
<u>me+o</u> imp.	do	in this manner

'Do it in this manner.'

vaka-vuqa: 'often' Cf. vuqa 'be numerous'

<u>a</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>vaka-vuqa</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense past	asp.	go	often	art.	John proper

'John often went there.'

There are also adverbial phrases and clauses. They are mostly time adverbials, appearing at the end of a sentence:

<u>e</u>	<u>ratou</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>yaco</u>	<u>mai</u>	( <u>e</u> <u>naica</u> )
pred.	3rd person trial	asp.	arrive	towards the speaker	pred. be when

'When do surely arrive ?'

<u>a</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>tamata</u>	( <u>e</u> <u>liu</u> )
tense past	asp.	go	towards the speaker	art. common	person	pred. prece-e

'The person certainly came here before.'

<u>e</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>tamata</u>	( <u>e</u> <u>muri</u> )
pred.	art. common	go	towards the speaker	art. common	person	pred. follow

'The person will come later.'

<u>a</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>dua</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vale</u>
tense past	exist	pred.	be one	art. common	house

( <u>e</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gauna</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>oti</u> )
at	art. common	time	asp.	finish

'There used to be a house.'

<u>e</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>mai</u>	( <u>e</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gauna</u>
pred.	art. common	go	towards the speaker	at	art. common	time

<u>sa</u>	<u>bera</u>	<u>mai</u>
asp.	do not yet	towards the speaker

'He will come sometime in the future.'

There are some locative adverbial phrases:

<u>a</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>tamata</u>	( <u>ki</u>	<u>kee</u> )
tense go	towards	art.	person	to	this place	
past	the	common	speaker			

'The person came hither.'

<u>e</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>toka</u>	( <u>e</u>	<u>tautuba</u> )
pred. asp.	be	in standing	at	outside	
		position			

'He is standing outside.'

## 2.4 Structure of the Noun Phrase

### 2.4.1 Nominal Particles

1. Locative-directional
2. Time
3. Co-participant
4. Indirect
5. Genitive

#### 1. Locative-directional

The locative-directional particles bring with them semantic information: as 'on,' 'at,' 'from,' and so on:

<u>sa</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vale</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
asp. stay	in	art.	house	art.	John	
		common		proper		

'John is in the house for sure.'

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>bau</u>
1st person	tense go	from	Bau	
sing.	past			

'I came from Bau.'

<u>a</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>viti-levu</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense past	go	to	Viti Levu	art. proper	John

'John went to Viti Levu.'

E implies that the speaker is or was present at or near the place in question. On the other hand, mai implies that the speaker is or was absent from the place:

<u>e</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>suva</u>
pred.	asp.	stay	in	Suva

'He is in Suva (the speaker also being there).'

<u>e</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>suva</u>
pred.	asp.	stay	in	Suva

'He is in Suva (the speaker being elsewhere).'

Churchward (1941:39) suggests that ki is used in place of mai or e, as in his example:

kivei josaia raikoso  
na i talatala i taukei  
(ki levuka)

'To Josaia Raikoso, the native minister, (at Levuka)'

However, Churchward's interpretation seems to be based on translation. This ki can also be interpreted as 'to' in au a lako kivei jone ki suva 'I went to Suva, to John's



place,' according to my informant. Kivei replaces ki when the destination is a person:

<u>a</u>	<u>vosa</u>	<u>yani</u>	<u>kivei</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense past	speak	away from the speaker	to	John

'He spoke to John.'

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>solia</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>waqa</u>	<u>kivei</u>	<u>rau</u>
1st person sing.	tense past	give	art. common	canoe	to	3rd person dual

'I gave the canoe to them.'

Mai is also used before a place name, marking the starting point:

<u>a</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>bau</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
tense past	go	from	Bau	art. common	John

'John came from Bau.'

Maivei is used in place of mai before a pronoun or a proper person name, as maivei jone 'from John' and maivei ratou 'from them.' Maivei koya 'from him' and kivei koya 'to him' will become maivuaa and kivuaa respectively:

<u>sa</u>	<u>vu</u>	<u>maivuaa</u>
asp.	originate	<u>maivei+koya</u> to him

'This originated with him.'

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>solia</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>waqa</u>	<u>kivuaa</u>
1st person sing.	tense past	give	art. common	canoe	<u>kivei+koya</u> to him

'I gave a canoe to him.'

## 2. Time

Time phrases are introduced by e, which is assumed to be ultimately same as the locative-directional particle e:

<u>e</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>'mai</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>yakavi</u>
pred.	tense future	go	towards the speaker	in	art. common	evening

'He will come in the evening.'

Time phrases are also introduced by ni, as in ni bogi 'tonight,' or ni yakavi 'this evening.' In my opinion, such phrases are not noun phrases but verb phrases:

<u>au</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>sega</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>lesu</u>	<u>mai</u>	( <u>ni</u> <u>bogi</u> )
1st person sing.	asp. be	not to be	sub.	return	towards the speaker	when be night

'I do not come back tonight.' Lit. 'I do not come back when it is night.'

<u>e</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>mai</u>	( <u>ni</u>	<u>yakavi</u> )
pred.	tense future	go	towards the speaker	when	be evening

'He will come this evening.' Lit. 'He will come when it is evening.'



Kei also denotes equal participation and is glossed as 'and.'

<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>	<u>kei</u>	<u>mere</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>rau</u>
art. proper	John	with	Mary	pred.	3rd person dual

<u>na</u>	<u>vakamau</u>
tense future	get married

4. 'They, John and Mary, will get married.'

<u>keitou</u>	<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>la-ki</u>	<u>suva</u>	<u>kei</u>
1st person trial exc.	1st person sing.	tense past	<u>lako+ki</u> go to	Suva	with

<u>rau</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>tamata</u>	<u>koyaa</u>
3rd person dual	art. common	person	far from the speaker

'Three of us, those two persons and I, went to Suva.'

When kei is immediately followed by koya, a morpho-  
phonemic change takes place: kei+koya becomes kaya:

<u>sa</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>kaya</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>mere</u>
asp.	stay	<u>kei+koya</u> with him	art. proper	Mary

'Mary is with him.'

<u>oqoo</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>	<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>kaya</u>
near the speaker	art. common	child	1st person sing.	tense past	go	<u>kei+koya</u> with him

'This is the child with whom I went.'

#### 4. Indirect object marker



Vei marks an indirect proper or pronominal object:

<u>mo</u>	<u>solia</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>ika</u>	<u>oqoo</u>	<u>vei</u>	<u>mere</u>
<u>me+o</u> imp.	give	art. common	fish	near the speaker	to	Mary

'Give this fish to Mary.'

<u>a</u>	<u>vosa</u>	<u>vei</u>	<u>ira</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>tamata</u>
tense past	speak	to	3rd person plural	art. common	person

'The person spoke to them.'

<u>e</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>sauma</u>	<u>vei</u>	<u>keitou</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
pred.	tense future	pay	to	1st person trial exc.	art.	John proper

'John will pay it to us.'

In the first two examples, vei can be replaced by kivei without changing the meaning. In the last example, it is also possible to use kivei, but according to my informant, the sentence will become very awkward. It seems that vei is preferred to kivei when the following word begins with /k/. Ki is used in place of vei to mark an indirect common object, as au a solia na sui ki na kolii 'I gave a bone to the dog.'

Vei is sometimes used in place of kei 'with.' According to my informant, however, vei is used when the participation has taken place for a shorter period:

<u>sa</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>vei</u>	<u>au</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u>
asp.	stay	with	1st person sing.	art.	John proper

'John is (temporarily) staying with me.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>moce</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>vei</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>
asp.	sleep	prog.	with	art. common	child

'She is sleeping with the child.'

When vei is immediately followed by koya, a morphophonemic change takes place: vei+koya becomes vuaa:

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>vosa</u>	<u>vuaa</u>
1st person sing.	tense past	speak	<u>vei+koya</u> to him

'I spoke to him.'

### 5. Genitive marker

Ni is a genitive marker, which means 'for,' 'of,' or 'belong to.' Ni is used only before common nouns and names of places. (See the section on genitive-possessive) Ni is often observed in compound nouns.

<u>e</u>	<u>dua</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>no-qu</u>	( <u>bilo</u> <u>ni</u> <u>tii</u> )
pred.	be one	art. common	1st person sing. poss. agent	cup for tea

'I have one teacup.'

<u>e</u>	<u>leka</u>	<u>na</u>	( <u>bui</u> <u>ni</u> <u>vuaka</u> )
pred.	be short	art. common	tail belonging to pig

'A pig's tail is short.'

<u>e</u>	<u>dua</u>	<u>na</u>	( <u>qase</u> <u>ni</u> <u>vuli</u> )
pred.	be one	art. common	master of learning

ko                      mere

art. proper              Mary

'Mary is a schoolteacher.'

sa    oti              na                      (meke              ni              yagona)

asp. finish              art. common              song              of              kava

'The (traditional) song for kava-drinking is over.'

au                      a              raica              na              (gone    ni    viti)

1st person              tense    see              art.              child of    Fiji  
sing.                      past                      common

'I saw the people of Fiji.'

I is a proper possessive particle. It is often used with gender prefixes (see the section on gender and possessives).

I is occasionally used to form a noun modifier, as na vula i liliwa 'the cold month.' However, such a use is very limited.

## 2.4.2 Bases

### 2.4.2.1 Nominal Bases (Part of NP)

#### 1. single bases

vale              'house'

wai              'water'

leka              'dwarf'

#### 2. reduplicated bases

##### partial reduplication

loma              'have mercy'

loloma 'love'

yaqona 'kava'

yaqoyaqona 'a plant related to kava tree'

full reduplication

wai 'water'

waiwai 'oil (usually of coconut)'

damu 'be red'

damudamu 'red color'

Names of plants, fish, and birds often have reduplicated forms. These names are never used in single forms:

kabikabi 'a kind of shell'

kakaa 'parrot'

manumanu 'bird'

soisoidogo 'a kind of fish'

kenikeni 'a kind of tree'

function of reduplicated bases

plurality; totality

nuku 'a grain of sand'

nukunuku 'sand'

vaa 'four'

vaavaa 'all four'

diminutive

waga 'canoe'



wagawaga 'carrier'

vale 'house'

valevale 'a small house on a canoe'

Reduplicated bases often occur with the noun preformative i- and denotes the scene of action, the result of action, the agent and so on (see the section on nominal prefixes):

<u>i-mocemoce</u>	'bed'	cf.	<u>moce</u>	'sleep'
<u>i-binibini</u>	'heap'		<u>bini</u>	'pile up things'
<u>i-vukuvuku</u>	'helper'		<u>vuku</u>	'help'
<u>i-lakolako</u>	'path'		<u>lako</u>	'go'

### 3. compound bases

beebeeruru 'dragonfly'

beebee 'butterfly'

ruru 'a kind of night moth'

waisaa 'ditch'

wai 'water'

saa 'drive away'

lomaalagi 'heaven'

loma 'inside'

lagi 'sky'

cakamana 'miracle'

caka 'do'

mana 'supernatural power'

Place names and family names often have compound forms:

Ko-na-siga-toka 'Konasigatoka ('the sun setting on the hill')'

Na-dari-vatu 'Nadarivatu ('a stone dish')'

Robaroba-levu 'Robarobalevu ('a big slap')'

Fijian nouns are also classified into three groups syntactically: common nouns, proper nouns, and pronouns:

1. common nouns

na vale 'the house'

na waqa 'the canoe'

na kolii 'the dog'

2. proper nouns (proper names, including place names)

ko jone 'John'

ko mere 'Mary'

ko toga 'Tonga'

3. pronouns

(ko i-)au 'I'

(ko(i-))ratou 'they three'

(ko) koya 'he'

2.4.2.2 Nominal Affixes

Nominal affixes can be classified into two sub-groups, prefixes and suffixes.

Nominal Prefixes

i-: 'Preformative' (Churchward 1941:12)

i) to derive an instrument

<u>oqoo</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>no-qu</u>	<u>i-mocemoce</u>
near the speaker	art. common	1st person sing. poss. agent	bed

'This is my bed.'

cf. moce 'sleep'

<u>sa</u>	<u>sega</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>i-sele</u>
asp.	not to be	art. common	knife

'There is no knife.'

cf. sele 'cut'

ii) to derive an agent

<u>oqoo</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>i-vukevuke</u>	<u>vou</u>
near the speaker	art. common	helper	be new

'This is a new helper.'

cf. vuke 'help'

<u>oqoo</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>i-talatala</u>
near the speaker	art. common	one (who is) sent

'This is a messenger.'

cf. talaa 'send'

iii) to denote the scene of action or the result of action

<u>na</u>	<u>i-binibini</u>
art. common	heap 'the helper'

cf. bini 'pile up things'

vei: i) collective

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>raica</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vei-vale</u>
1st person sing.	tense past	see	art. common	a group of houses

'I saw a group of houses.'

<u>au</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>raica</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vei-cakau</u>
1st person sing.	tense past	see	art. common	a group of reefs

'I saw a group of reefs.'

ii) to form a verbal noun

<u>na</u>	<u>vei-lako</u>
art. common	going

'the act of going'

cf. lako 'go'

<u>na</u>	<u>vei-kana</u>
art. common	eating

'the act of eating'

cf. kana 'eat'

vaka-: 'derivative'

It is used to derive a noun from the other noun.

<u>au</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>vinakata</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vaka-lolo</u>
1st person sing.	asp.	want	art. common	Fijian pudding (with coconut milk)



'I want the Fijian pudding.'

cf. lolo 'the milk squeezed out from scraped  
coconut'

<u>a</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>vaka-misioneri</u>
tense past	go	to	art. common	missionary-meeting

'He went to the missionary-meeting.'

cf. misioneri 'missionary (from English)'

ke-, me-, no-: 'gender prefixes'

Gender prefixes will be discussed in the section on genders and possessives.

#### Nominal suffixes

Nominal suffixes are used in possessive forms. This is discussed in the section on possessives.

#### 2.4.2.3 Pronouns

Milner (1967:132) defines a Fijian pronoun as "a kind of particle (sometimes used as base) which (i) indicates person and gender (ii) is either verbal or nominal and therefore can determine a sequence of words as a phrase or sentence."

Milner (1967:133) divided pronouns into two groups: tied and free. Then he divided tied verbal pronouns into two subgroups: subjective and objective. Tied nominal pronouns are divided into four subgroups: neutral possessive, edible possessive, drinkable possessive, and familiar possessive. The following is Milner's diagram for Fijian pronouns:

<u>Verbal</u>		<u>Nominal</u>	
<u>Tied</u>	Subjective: <u>eratou</u>	Neutral: <u>na nodratou</u> <u>waqa</u>	
	Objective: <u>iratou</u>	Edible: <u>na kedratou</u> <u>dalo</u>	
		Drinkable: <u>na medratou</u> <u>yaqona</u>	
		Familiar: <u>na yacadratou</u>	
<u>Nominal</u>		<u>Verbal</u>	
<u>Free</u>	Proper: <u>ko iratou</u>	Common	Neutral: <u>na nodratou</u>
			Edible: <u>na kedratou</u>
			Drinkable: <u>na medratou</u>

I do not consider Milner's tied pronoun eratou to be a pronoun. Eratou can be considered a predicate marker e, plus person-number marker ratou; hence, verbal. Iratou is not verbal, because i- is a proper prefix. In my observation, i-ratou should be included in the class of free pronouns. Ko i-ratou is subjective and ratou is objective. (See the section on articles.) Milner's nominal tied pronouns are named pronominal possessives in this paper and are discussed in the section on genders and possessives. I consider free nominal pronouns not to be separated from the tied ones. Na nondratou in his diagram is a deleted form of na nodratou waqa. In my opinion, all the pronouns are nominal:

	exclusive	inclusive
1st person sing.	(ko i-)au	
dual	(kei-)rau	(ke-)daru
trial	(kei-)tou	(ke-)datou
plural	(kei-)mami	(ke-)da
2nd person sing.		(ko i-)ko
dual		(ko)kemudrau
trial		(ko)kemudou
plural		(ko)kemunii; konii*
3rd person sing.		(ko)koya
dual		(ko(i-))rau
trial		(ko(i-))ratou
plural		(ko(i-))ra*

\* Plural forms konii and ko ira are used in honorific expressions. According to my informant, ko ira is usually used in such a case, as to refer to a chief.



Pronominal subjects are used in sentence-initial position. In other words, the subject, ko + pronoun, is used only in emphatic or topicalized sentences. Sa lako keitou is not to be considered as standard. My informant says that it is usually said by non-native Fijian people by mistake. According to him, sa lako ko keitou is impossible. It is possible to have a pronominal subject after a verb only when the sentence includes a person-number marker:

<u>e</u>	<u>(ratou)</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>cakava</u>	<u>(ko</u>	<u>(i-)ratou)</u>
pred.	3rd person trial	asp.	do	art.	3rd person proper trial

In my informant's opinion, the use of i-, as in ko iratou, is rather dialectal. According to him, only ko (2nd person singular) and au (1st person singular) require the i-, ko iko and ko iau.

#### 2.4.2.4 Noun Modifiers

Noun modifiers, except pronominal possessives, always follow the noun which is modified or qualified:

##### adjectivals

na vale (levu) 'a big house'

na ika (vou) 'a fresh fish'

na kau (cere) 'a tall tree'

##### locationals

na vale (oqoo) 'this house'



- na vale (oqori) 'that house (near the addressee)'  
na vale (koyaa) 'that house (far from the speaker)'

#### genitive/possessives

- na mate (i jone) 'John's death'  
na yanuyanu (ni viti) 'the islands of Fiji'  
na vale (ni kana) 'a dining house'

#### subordinates

- na vale (au a raica) 'the house which I saw'  
na vale (au a la-ki) 'the house where I went to'  
na vale (sa tiko ko jone) 'the house where John lives'

#### questioning

- na vale (cava) 'Which house?'  
na jone (cava) 'Which John?'

#### 2.4.2.5. Articles

Churchward (1941:11) lists three articles--na, e, and ko and says that the "first corresponds roughly to 'the,' the second and the third are untranslatable." It seems that his classification is inadequate, because he is describing them only in terms of translation. I disagree with his classification. In my observation, e is not an article but a preposed verbal article. According to Churchward, the e in e lako ko koya 'He goes' is verbal and the e in e dua is nominal. I consider the e in e dua also to be verbal. Dua is a numeral verb, meaning 'be one.' If dua is used as a

noun, it will take article na or ko. Ko is used when it is used as a proper name or personified. Hazlewood(1850) also names e before numerals a "numeral article." Since I consider numbers to be ultimately verbal, I disagree with Hazlewood's treatment (see Schütz [1972:79]). Capell also distinguishes the e before numerals from that before verbs. However, he admits the possibility that the e before numerals is also verbal in nature, ultimately identical with the e before verbs. Capell (1941:76) suggests that the e disappears after the tense sign and that na is generally used in place of e after a preposition. It is true that such a sentence as sa e tolu na koro is ungrammatical, but this is simply because of the order restriction among the preposed verbal particles. E sa tolu na koro 'There are three villages' is an ordinary sentence. I do not agree with Capell about the replacement of e. It is not that the e is replaced by na, but that e never occurs with a preposition, because it is verbal.

I posit two groups of articles for Fijian; common and proper. The common article is na, and the proper one is ko. Fijian articles are numberless. The common article na can be interpreted as either definite or indefinite plural. The distinction between common and proper is not absolute. In other words, a proper noun may also take the common article na, with the article determining the meaning, as in the following dialogue:

Mere: a lako ko jone  
 tense past go art. John  
 proper  
 'John went.'

Jamesa: ko/na jone cava  
 art. proper/common John which  
 'Which John?'

Mere: ko/na jone daru a veivosakitaka  
 art. John 1st tense discuss  
 proper/ person past  
 common dual  
 inc.

'I meant the John whom we were discussing.'

Mary said ko jone in her statement, because she assumed that James would understand which John she was talking about. However he was not sure which one. Therefore he asked back ko/na jone cava. Mary gave an explanation or determination of John, ko/na jone daru a veivosakitaka. According to the informant, na is more appropriate for both na jone cava and na jone daru a veivosakitaka, because the speaker must distinguish which John in this sentence. Summarizing what the informant said, it seems that ko is used when both the speaker and the addressee understand which John. Na is used with a proper name only when it is followed by an explanatory modifier. A sentence, such as a lako na jone, is impossible. Sentences such as ko jone cava and ko jone daru a veivosakitaka are possible but not very common.

In a possessive phrase, when the head noun is proper, na and ko are used interchangeably, according to my informant:



oqori            na            no-qu            jone

near the        art.        1st person sing.    John  
addressee      common    poss. agent

'That is my John.'

oqori        ko        no-qu        jone

art.  
proper

'That is my John.'

Ko also marks place names, pronouns, kinship terms used as proper nouns, and personified words, when they are used in the subject position:

sa        lagilagi        ko            viti

asp.    be beautiful    art. proper    Fiji

'Fiji is surely beautiful.'

sa        vinaka        ko            irau

asp.    be good    art. proper    3rd person dual

'They are really nice.'

sa        qase        ko            tama-qu

asp.    be old    art. proper    my father

'My father is old indeed.'

sa        sucu        oti        ko            vuravura

asp.    be born    com.    art. proper    earth

'Earth has been born.'



The article ko functions not only to determine whether the noun is common or proper but also to mark the noun as the subject of a sentence. Ko may precede a noun phrase as well as a noun, when the noun phrase constitutes a single lexical item and ko functions as a subject marker:

	<u>ko</u>	( <u>na</u> <u>gane-qu</u> )	<u>a</u>	<u>tiko</u>	<u>e</u> <u>na</u>	<u>vale</u>
art.		my sister	tense	stay	in art.	house
proper			past		common	
subj.						

'It was my sister who was in the house.'

<u>sa</u>	<u>lasata</u>	<u>vei</u>	<u>au</u>	<u>ko</u>	( <u>na</u> <u>mata</u> )
asp.	delight	to	1st	art.	name of
			person	proper	publication
			sing.	subj.	

'The Herald is interesting.' OR 'The Herald  
delights me.'

Na also functions as a nominalizer. The subject of the nominalized verb may be expressed in possessive form if necessary:

<u>lako</u>	'go'
<u>na</u> <u>lako</u>	'going'
<u>na</u> <u>nona</u> <u>lako</u>	'his going'
<u>vosa</u>	'speak'
<u>na</u> <u>vosa</u>	'speaking; speech'
<u>na</u> <u>nona</u> <u>vosa</u>	'his speech'

The use of the nominalizer na is similar to that of such nominalizing affixes as -na, -ga[ŋa], or na...ana

in other Oceanic languages, such as Hawaiian, Samoan and Nguna:

Hawaiian

kaalai 'carve'

kaalai-na 'carving'

ha?i 'say'

ha?i-na 'saying; statement'

?ai 'eat'

?ai-na 'eating'

Samoan

asiasi 'visit'

asiasi-ga 'visiting'

moe 'sleep'

moe-ga 'sleep'

Nguna

atuusi 'tell'

na-atuusi-ana 'story'

nopu 'end'

na-nopu-ana 'end'

The use of the nominalizer is also similar to that of the Japanese nominalizing particle no. The subject may also be expressed in possessive form:

kaeru 'return'

(joon no kaeru no) ga osoi

John of return nomi. subj. be late

'John's coming home is late.'

iku 'go'

(soko e iku no) wa taihen da

there to go nomi. topic hard copula

'It is hard to go there.'

Churchward (1941:70) suggests that the na also nominalizes the following sentence, as in his example:

e dua na i-wase ni nai korolevu  
 pred. be one art. section of Nai Korolevu  
 common

na (sa la-ki toka mai yanusa)  
 nomi. asp. lako+ki being in a in Yanusa  
 go to standing position

'A section of Nai Korolevu who had colonized Tanusa'

However my informant says that this sentence is ungrammatical and that the na should be replaced by ka.

#### 2.4.2.6 Genders and Possessives

Genitive, or possessor-possessive, relationship is universal. However the devices to express such a relationship differ in each language. For instance, it seems that possessors are considered more important than possessed in English, in which the third person singular possessive



pronouns are classified into three gender groups according to sex of the possessor: male, female, and neuter. In other European languages, such as French and German, possessive forms are grouped according to gender, which is grammatical and arbitrary. In Japanese, the genitive particle no will serve for all the cases, regardless of the sex of possessor or possessed, as kare no uchi 'his house,' inu no uchi 'dog's house,' and onna no kutsu 'lady's shoes.'

In Polynesian languages and Fijian; the relationship between the possessor and the possessed is the most important. The point is whether the action of possession is under the control of the possessor or not. In other words, the important thing is whether the possessor is an agent or a patient. For instance, in Hawaiian, the a-possessive group refers to the relationship which is acquired not by heredity and might be changed by the possessor: descendants, employees, spouse, temporarily possessed objects, and so on. The o-possessive group refers to the relationship which is acquired by heredity and cannot be changed with the possessor's will: ancestors, parts of body, clothing, building, conveyances, and so on. (Elbert 1957:xix). The following are some examples from Polynesian languages:

Rarotongan (Buse 1960:131)

te tuatua o te rangatira

'the story concerning the captain'



te tuatua a te rangatira

'the story told by the captain'

tooku pupu

'my team (a team member is the speaker)'

taaku pupu

'my team (the coach of a team is the speaker)'

Rennellese (Elbert 1965:20-21)

te paaunga o te kumete

'the characteristics of a bowl'

te paaunga a te kumete

'the decision of a person'

toku hosa

'my son'

taku tama?ahine

'my daughter'

Taku is chosen in taku tama?ahine, because the females change upon their marriage.

Nukuoro (Carroll 1965:25)

de kai o vave

'the story about Vave'

de kai a vave

'the story made or told by Vave'

oo muna

'words said about you'

au muna

'your words (what you said)'

Lynch (1969) introduces four Fijian genders and a genderless genitive marker ni in his paper. According to him, the four genders are neutral nei, edible kei, drinkable mei, and familiar i with sub-group [+ kinship]. I agree with his notion of the genderless genitive marker ni, but not with the four genders. In my observation, Fijian genders can be summarized as follows:

I. agent

II. patient

ke-group: edible

kinship and parts of body  
(marked by zero)

me-group: drinkable

no-group: others

ke-group: others

These gender prefixes must occur with possessive suffixes or the proper possessive particle i. For the group of kinship and parts of body, a possessive suffix occurs with the possessed directly, as tama-qu 'my father.'

	no-	ke-	me-	kinship and parts of body
sing.	1. no-qu	ke-qu	me-qu	tama-qu (father-my)
	2. no-mu	ke-mu	me-mu	tama-mu
	3. no-na	ke-na	me-na	tama-na
dual inc. exc.	1. no-daru	ke-daru	me-daru	tama-daru
	exc. no-irau	ke-irau	me-irau	tama-rau
	2. no-mudrau	ke-mudrau	me-mudrau	tama-drau
	3. no-drau	ke-drau	me-drau	tama-drau
trial inc. exc.	1. no-datou	ke-datou	me-datou	tama-datou
	exc. no-itou	ke-itou	me-itou	tama-tou
	2. no-mudou	ke-mudou	me-mudou	tama-mudou
	3. no-dratou	ke-dratou	me-dratou	tama-dratou
plural inc. exc.	1. no-da	ke-da	me-da	tama-da
	exc. no-imami	ke-imami	me-imami	tama-mami
	2. no-munii	ke-munii	me-munii	tama-munii
	3. no-dra	ke-dra	me-dra	tama-dra

Proper possessive            nei\*            kei            mei            i

\* nei=no+i

examples:

agent no-possessive and patient ke-possessive

na noqu i-tabu

'my picture (taken or possessed by me)'

na kequ i-tabā

'my picture (of myself)'

na noqu i-tukutuku

'my report (written by me)'

na kequ i-tukutuku

(my report (about myself)'

na nona lewa

'his decision (might be temporal)'

na kena lewa

'his decision (has already been established, as a judge's decision)'

na nona i-valavala ni qioo

'the behavior of a shark'

na kena i-valavala ni qioo

'behavior of sharks in general; shark's nature'

na nona mate

'his sickness (can be controlled, as flu)' OR 'his death (caused by his carelessness or accident)'

na kena mate

'his sickness (inherited disease, as venereal disease)' OR ''his death (because of his old age, that is, natural death)'

kinship or parts of body

na wati-qu



'my spouse'

na vue-daru tagane

'our grandson'

na mata-na

'his eyes'

na ulu-na

'his tooth'

proper possessive

na niu nei jone

'John's coconut (possessed)'

na niu kei jone

'John's coconut (to eat)'

na niu mei jone

'John's coconut (to drink)'

na mata i jone

'John's eyes'

When the possessor must be manifested explicitly in a sentence, the noun phrase, as appositive, must follow the possessive phrase:

<u>sa</u>	<u>yali</u>	( <u>na</u>	<u>nodrau</u>	<u>cina</u> )
asp.	be missing	art.	3rd person common dual poss.	lamp

( <u>o</u>	<u>mere</u>	<u>kei</u>	<u>jone</u> )
art.	Mary	with	John
proper			

'The lamp of John and Mary is missing.'



( <u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>	<u>dau</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>ika</u> )	( <u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u> )
art.	child	expert	of	fish	art.	John
common					proper	
			NP			NP

'John is a fisherman.'

Since these equational sentences are verbless, no tense or aspect marker will appear in such sentences. For instance, a oqoo na waqa lailai is impossible. When the tense or aspect could be specified, the sentence must be expanded, as:

( <u>e</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>dua</u> )	( <u>na</u>	<u>gone</u>	<u>dau</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>ika</u> )
pred.	tense	be	art.	child	expert	of	fish
	past	one	common				
		VP					NP

( <u>ko</u>	<u>jone</u> )
art. proper	John
	NP

'John was a fisherman.'

## 2.6. Movement of Noun Phrases for Emphasis

When a noun phrase is emphasized or is made a topic, it is moved to sentence-initial position:

( <u>ko</u>	<u>koya</u> )	( <u>a</u>	<u>lako</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>e-na-noa</u> )
art.	3rd person	tense	go	towards	yesterday
proper	sing.	past		the speaker	
	NP			VP	

'It was he who came yesterday.'

(na	<u>kolii</u> )	(au	<u>a</u>	<u>raica)</u>
art.	dog	1st	tense	see
common		person sing.	past	

'It was the dog which I saw.'



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Buse, J. B., 1960. "Rarotongan Personal Pronouns: Form and Distribution," The School of Oriental and African Studies, Bulletin, pp.123-137.
- Capell, Arthur, 1941. A New Fijian Dictionary. Sydney: Australasian Medical Publishing Company.
- Carroll, Vern, 1965. "An Outline of the Structure of the Language of Nukuoro," The Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 74, No. 2-4.
- Chapin, Paul G., June, 1970. "Samoan Pronominalization," Language, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp.366-378.
- Churchward, G. Maxwell, 1941. A New Fijian Grammar. Sydney: Australasian Medical Publishing Company.
- Coulter, J. Wesley, 1967. The Drama of Fiji: A Contemporary History. Tokyo: Tuttle.
- Elbert, H. Samuel and Pukui, Mary K., 1957. Hawaiian-English Dictionary. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press.
- , 1965. "The 127 Rennellese Possessives," Acta Linguistica Hafniensia, IX, No. 1.
- Hazlewood, David, 1850. Compendious Grammar of Fijian Language. Vewa: Feejee Wesley Mission Press.
- Kennedy, T. F., 1968. A Descriptive Atlas of the Pacific Islands. Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed.
- Lynch, John, 1969. "On Possession in Fijian." (Term paper, University of Hawaii, unpublished).
- Marsack, G. G., 1962. Teach Yourself Samoan. London: The English Universities Press.
- Milner, G. B., 1956. Fijian Grammar. Fiji: Government Printing Department.
- Moore, William, 1881. Handbook of the Fijian Language.
- Pawley, Andrew, 1967. "Notes on the Fijian Languages and Dialects, I: A Generative Grammar of Some Bauan Possessive Constructions," Mimeographed.

Schütz, J. Albert and Kamaitai, Rusiate T., 1971. Spoken Fijian, Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press.

1972, The Languages of Fiji, Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Voegelin, C. F. and F. M., 1964. "Bauan Dialect of Fijian," Languages of the World: Indo-Pacific Fascicle Three in Anthropological Linguistics 6 (No. 9), pp.69-109.

Zwart, F. H. A. G., 1968. Report on the Census of the Population 1966. Legislative Council Paper No. 9 of 1968. Suva: Government Press.