

A SKETCH GRAMMAR OF THE NABUKELEVU LANGUAGE OF KADAVU

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are most grateful to the people who assisted our research. Drafts of this sketch were carefully read by Paul Geraghty who corrected a number of errors and inconsistencies. Ratu Aca S. Tuigaloa, the Tui Nabukelevu, and his wife Adi Lavenia, were generous hosts during our days at Daviqele, and Ratu Aca provided most of the data for the grammar. Josaia Qesanavatu was informant on the speech of Tabuya village, Nabukelevu. Ratu Ruveni Balewai provided linguistic data and hospitality during our brief visit to the village of Nalotu, Yawe. Osea Serukaisoso, principal of Yawe District School, took care of us while we were visiting Yakita, Nalotu and Naqalotu villages, and gave information on the speech of the Naceva District and in particular on his village of Soso, as well as on the traditional history of Kadavu. The Rev. Fr. David Arms' timely visit to his Kadavu parishioners was appreciated in that it allowed us to return to Suva on the Catholic Diocesan launch "Rogokaci" after the 1976 field trip. We are also grateful to the crew of the "Viking Ahoy", who in 1971 provided information on Yawe speech while we waited in vain for the storm to abate during an earlier, abortive attempt to sail to Kadavu; and to Laiseasa Vuani Bakarua, of Korovou village, who gave his time to answer linguistic questions while on a visit to Honolulu in December 1975. Dr A.C. Capell kindly made his unpublished field notes on Fijian languages, including Kadavu, available to us. And finally, although Prof. G.B. Milner took no direct part in this research, it would have been impossible to collect as much data as we did in the short time we had in Kadavu without the examples in his *Fijian Grammar* as a guide.

CONTENTS

| | page |
|--|------|
| Acknowledgements | 35 |
| 1. Introduction | 39 |
| Key to Abbreviations | 41 |
| 2. Sound System | 41 |
| 2.1 Consonants | 41 |
| 2.2 Vowels | 42 |
| 2.3 Syllable and morpheme shapes | 43 |
| 2.4 Stress | 43 |
| 3. The Verb Phrase | 44 |
| 3.1 Phrases | 44 |
| 3.2 Verb Phrases | 44 |
| 3.2.1 Minimal Structure | 44 |
| 3.2.2 Preverbal Particles | 45 |
| 3.2.3 Postverbal Particles | 51 |
| 3.2.4 Verbal Affixes | 60 |
| 4. The Noun Phrase | 64 |
| 4.1 Definition | 64 |
| 4.2 Noun Class Markers | 64 |
| 4.3 Case Markers | 65 |
| 4.4 Possession Markers | 65 |
| 4.5 Person-markers | 66 |
| 4.6 Minimal Structure | 67 |
| 4.7 Postnominal Particles | 68 |
| 4.8 Nominal Affixes | 68 |
| 4.9 Deictics | 69 |
| 4.10 Special Temporal Phrases | 69 |
| 4.11 Interrogatives | 70 |
| 4.12 Animate vs Inanimate Nouns | 71 |
| 4.13 Possessive Constructions | 71 |
| 5. Clause Structure | 77 |
| 5.1 Clause Types | 77 |
| 5.2 Verbal Clauses | 78 |
| 5.2.1 Definition | 78 |
| 5.2.2 Direct Cases | 78 |
| 5.2.3 Oblique Cases | 80 |
| 5.2.4 Trace Pronouns and Noun Phrase Movement | 83 |
| 5.2.5 Generic Objects | 83 |
| 5.3 Nominal Clauses | 84 |

| | page |
|--|------|
| 6. Complex Sentences | 84 |
| 6.1 Definitions | 84 |
| 6.2 Coordinating Conjunctions | 85 |
| 6.3 Subordinating Conjunctions | 86 |
| 6.3.1 Complement Clauses | 86 |
| 6.3.2 Other Dependent Clauses | 87 |
| 6.4 Formation of Negative Sentences | 88 |
| 7. Historical Notes | 90 |
| Footnotes | 93 |
| References | 92 |
| Figures Map of Kadavu showing villages, etc. | 38 |

1. Introduction

The Nabukelevu language, *Vosa VakaNabukelevu*, is spoken at the western end of Kadavu Is., Fiji, in the District of Nabukelevu. This paper presents a first grammatical sketch of the language, based principally on fieldwork carried out during February 1976.

The distinctive Nabukelevu speech tradition is of particular importance for the historical study of the Fijian languages and dialects. In earlier times Kadavu was the most isolated of the four largest islands in the Fiji Group. The western end of Kadavu was the most remote part, a situation attested by the evidence of linguistics as well as tradition. Outside of Kadavu it is possible to assign the speech tradition of almost any Fijian local community unambiguously to one of two subgroups: Eastern Fijian or Western Fijian. Each subgroup consists of an extremely diverse dialect chain, and the two subgroups are marked off from one another by certain innovations and by a thick bundle of isoglosses coinciding approximately with a line running N/S through the centre of Viti Levu.¹ If it possesses many or all of the diagnostic features of one subgroup, and none of those defining the other subgroup, a given local language (communalect) may be assigned to the former group. Only in Kadavu is there serious difficulty in deciding on the subgrouping position of certain communalects. In general, the Kadavu dialects, particularly those of the western two-thirds of Kadavu give the impression, linguistically, of having begun to diverge from the Viti Levu languages as early as the East-West division began to develop on Viti Levu, but later contacts with Eastern Fijian speakers appear to have slowed down the divergence of the Kadavu languages, though less so in Nabukelevu than elsewhere.

Four main dialect divisions are traditionally distinguished on Kadavu Is. coinciding with the administrative districts of Nakasaleka, Naceva, Tavuki and Nabukelevu (see map).

The modern District of Nabukelevu was created by combining two *tikina*, i.e. groups of villages which traditionally recognise close relationship and are regarded as a district of a province by the Fijian administration. The Yawe *tikina* contains seven villages, all located east of Nabukelevu mountain (Mt. Washington). These are (from west to east) Talaulia, Tawava, Naqalotu, Yakita, Nalotu, Korovou and Natokalau. The other *tikina*, known as Nabukelevu, contains eleven villages. It extends from Dagai and Lomati villages on the northwest coast to the southwest coastal villages of Nabukelevuirā, Naqaliirā, Nasau, Daviqele, Kabariki, Levuka, Muaninuku, Tabuya and

Nasegai. It is said that Namanusā (also called Matanuku) and contiguous villages as far east as Muani on the south coast once belonged to the confederation of tribes (*vanua*) under a Nabukelevu chief, but were ceded to a powerful Tavuki chief over a century ago, the new affiliation being ratified by the First Native Lands Commission.

The differences between the speech of the Yawe villages and the Nabukelevu villages are fairly minor ones. Together the two *tikina* form a well-marked dialect region. We were told that the speech of the south coast villages ceded to Tavuki, from Namanusā to Muani, is a mixture of Tavuki and Nabukelevu forms; we were unable to obtain first hand information on these communalects. Within the regions of Yawe and Nabukelevu, respectively, there are slight variations between certain villages, chiefly in nonbasic vocabulary. Virtually the same dialect is spoken in all the south coast villages of Nabukelevu except for the four eastern villages (Levuka, Muaninuku, Tabuya and Nasegai), which show some special resemblances to the neighbouring Tavuki speech forms. Among the villages of Yawe, Natokalau is said to diverge most from the rest. More difficult to record than the regional variations are those which occur within a single local community between old and new, or conservative and innovative usages, between formal and casual forms, etc. Within the last generation some older forms have begun to give way to new usages of Tavuki or Standard Fijian origin. It was not possible in the time available to us to determine how often a given variant of this type was used in everyday speech, but notes on a number of such variations in morphological and lexical forms were recorded.

Except where otherwise stated, the description which follows refers to the speech of Daviqele village. The present village contains sections of two *yavusa* ('clans', the *yavusa* being the largest named kin-group whose members trace descent from a putative common ancestor): Batikivanua and Valesāsā. Formerly the Batikivanua people lived at a village called Lomai, on the ridge at the foot of Nabukelevu mountain; they moved to the coast shortly before first European contact in the 19th century.

Brief notes had been taken from several Nabukelevu and Yawe informants on earlier occasions (see Acknowledgements), but the bulk of the data was obtained during a visit to Kadavu between February 3 and 12, 1976. On board the cargo ship "Evelyn", sailing from Suva to Kadavu, Mr Josaiā Qesanavatu supplied information on the speech of his village, Tabuya. We disembarked at Daviqele on February 4, and the Tui Nabukelevu, Paramount Chief of Nabukelevu, Rata Aca Tuigaloa and his wife

Lavenia generously offered us the shelter of their home. Ratu Aca was our main informant on the Nabukelevu language, as spoken at Daviqele. On February 5 and 6 we collected several hundred sentences as well as vocabulary lists and some information about local history and traditions. On February 7 we walked to the north coast, as far as Naqalotu. There we stayed with Mr Osea Serukaisoso, principal of Yawe District School, collecting information on the Yawe and Naceva dialects, before leaving western Kadavu on February 10.

It hardly needs saying that a description based on a few days fieldwork can be neither exhaustive nor completely reliable. As it is unlikely that we will return to Kadavu in the near future, however, we wish to make the data available without further delay.

Key to Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in glossing Nabukelevu examples:

| | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|------|---------------------------|
| advers | adversative marker | pc | paucal |
| comm | common noun marker | perf | perfective |
| comp | complement marker | pl | plural |
| def | deferential marker | pol | politeness marker |
| dl | dual | prog | progressive aspect marker |
| dom | dominant | prol | prolonging aspect marker |
| drk | drinkable | prop | proper noun marker |
| edi | edible | rcp | reciprocal marker |
| excl | exclusive | s | singular |
| fact | factitive | sing | singular |
| fut | future marker | tr | transitive |
| i | inclusive | x | exclusive |
| imm | immediate aspect marker | 1 | first person |
| incl | inclusive | 2 | second person |
| np | nonpast marker | 3 | third person |
| opt | optative | [] | verb phrase boundary |

2. Sound System

2.1 Consonants

There are sixteen contrasting consonant sounds (phonemes) which are normally written as:

| | <i>Bilabial</i> | <i>Apical</i> | <i>Laminal</i> | <i>Velar</i> |
|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|
| Nasals | m | n | | |
| Oral Obstruents | v | c, t | s | g |
| Prenasalized Obstruents | b | d | | k |
| Oral Liquids | | r, l | | q |
| Prenasalized Liquids | | dr | | |
| Semivowels | | | y | w |

Certain other symbols are used by Nabukelevu speakers in writing the consonants. The phoneme which elsewhere is orthographic *t* is often written *j* before *i* or *e*, reflecting its palatization before the front vowels. *d* is sometimes written *dj* before *i*, again reflecting palatalization.

The nasal phonemes, *m*, *n* and *g* are, respectively, bilabial, apico-alveolar and dorso-velar, in careful speech. Our use of *g* for [ŋ] follows Fijian orthographic custom.

There are five oral obstruents. *v* is a voiced bilabial fricative [β], *t* is a voiceless apico-dental obstruent, affricated [č] (written *j*) before *i* and stopped [t] elsewhere. *k* is dorso-velar, realised as a voiceless fricative [x] in word-initial position and as a voiced fricative [ɣ] between vowels. *c* is a voiced dental or interdental fricative [ð]. *s* is a voiceless apical or laminal groove fricative [s].

There are three prenasalized obstruents. *b* and *q* are voiced bilabial [mb] and voiced velar [ŋg] respectively, and *d* is voiced apico-dental; *d* is affricated [nč] before *i* and stopped [nd] elsewhere.

There are three liquids. *l* is a voiced lateral [l]. *r* is an apico-alveolar trill [r̄]. *dr* is a prenasalized apico-alveolar trill [nr̄].

The semivowels are *w* and *y*. *w* is a non-syllabic high back rounded vowel [u̯]. *y* is a non-syllabic, low to mid front lamino-palatal vowel [ɥ]. [ɥ] is contrastive only in morpheme-initial position, where it occurs in a few words. (Nabukelevu lacks the morphophonemic rule which in Standard Fijian regularly converts /i/ to /y/ following a stressed vowel *a*, *o* or *u*.) The symbol *y* is commonly written for [ɥ] in certain contexts when it is non-phonemic, namely in morpheme-initial position in base morphemes beginning with *a*, e.g. *yava* 'what?' for /ava/.

2.2 Vowels

There are five contrasting vowels, as follows:

| | Front (Unrounded) | Back (Rounded) |
|------|-------------------|----------------|
| High | i | u |
| Mid | e | o |
| Low | a | |

As noted in 2.1, /a/ is customarily written *ya* in morpheme-initial position in bases. Vowel length is phonemically significant in certain contexts which we are unable to specify exhaustively. Vowel length is marked by a macron over the vowel, as *vorē* 'pig'.

2.3 Syllable and morpheme shapes

Syllable shapes are V (vowel) and CV (consonant+vowel). A long vowel, \bar{V} , is regarded as a geminate or double vowel V_1V_2 and counts as two syllables. In their basic form all base morphemes (as opposed to grammatical particles and affixes) consist of at least two syllables, CVCV being the commonest morpheme shape. A considerable number of bases, however, have the shape (C)V \bar{V} , i.e. a long vowel with or without a preceding consonant, e.g. \bar{e} 'here', \bar{a} 'where?'. When a base ending in a long vowel V_1 is followed by a suffix consisting of a single syllable (C)V \bar{V} , the long vowel reduces to a short vowel, e.g. $\bar{m}\bar{u}$ 'you pl.' + $\bar{z}\bar{i}$ 'non-past' gives *mu \bar{i}* . This adjustment is required by the phonotactic pattern, which does not allow words or word-final sequences of the form (C) \bar{V} (C)V. The pattern does allow words in the shapes CVC \bar{V} , C \bar{V} C \bar{V} , CVCVC \bar{V} (where C may be zero), as well as combinations CVCV, CVCVCV, etc. Some grammatical particles consist of a single syllable in their basic shape (though the vowel becomes long when the particle is pronounced in isolation), e.g. \bar{i} 'nonpast', *na* 'future', *ki* 'towards'.

2.4 Stress

The units of distribution for stress placement are the group and the contour span (or tone group).² A group consists of a sequence of two or three syllables in which the penultimate syllable is stressed. A group is often, but not always a single morpheme. In the sequence *navósavákanabúkelévumakáwadjína* 'the old Nabukelevu language' the groups are *navosa* + *vaka* + *nabuke* + *levu* + *makawa* + *djina*. *navósa* consists of two morphemes *na* 'common article' and *vosa* 'language'; *nabukelevu* is a single place name, but is transparently analysable into *na* 'common article' + *buke* 'mound' + *levu* 'big'; *makawa* 'old' is a single morpheme, as is *djina* 'true, genuine'.

Group stress is predictable if group boundaries are marked. As such boundaries are not completely determinable on grammatical grounds it is necessary to posit a junctural phoneme /+/ between groups. The less satisfactory alternative is to treat stress as

unpredictable, i.e. as phonemic.

Some grammatical morphemes appear to be inherently unstressed, but this matter has not been systematically studied.

A contour span consists of one or more groups spoken as a single fluent unit, carrying a continuous intonation contour which contains at least one contour stress or peak, falling on a single syllable. This intonation peak often falls on the penultimate syllable of the span. A contour span normally coincides with a grammatical unit of some sort, but this unit may be a word, phrase, clause or clause sequence.

3. The Verb Phrase

3.1 Phrases

It is convenient to give a first description of morpheme classes and distribution in terms of the *phrase*. A phrase consists of a *nucleus* or *head* plus a *preposed* and a *postposed periphery*. The nucleus consists minimally of a *base* morpheme, a morpheme having lexical as opposed to grammatical function, e.g. *ila* 'name', *ā* 'where?', *dabe* 'sit'. The peripheries consist of *grammatical morphemes*, which distribute around the nucleus and normally specify some feature of its grammatical status or reference, or its semantic relation to other constituents.

Certain peripheral morphemes (particles) are diagnostic of phrase types (see below). There are two principal types of phrase: *verbal* and *nominal*. In examples cited in later sections each verb phrase is enclosed within square brackets, to mark it off from non-verbal phrases, e.g.

[ma qu biu-t -a sobu] ki rā na kato
past I put-tr-it down to below com basket
'I put the basket down (on the ground)'

3.2 Structure of the Verb Phrase

3.2.1 Minimal Structure

The verb phrase consists minimally of a tense-aspect marker or a preverbal subject person-marker plus a base.

[ma tu lako] 'we (few exclusive) went'
past we go
lxpc

[i levu cake] 'it is bigger'
non- big upwards
past

3.2.2 Preverbal particles

Several classes of particles precede the verb, including the subject person-markers, tense-aspect markers, modifiers and clause conjunctions.

Subject Person-Markers

The subject person-markers are:

| | 1st exclusive | 1st inclusive | 2nd | 3rd |
|--------|--|---------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| sing | qu, kau ¹ , au ¹ | - | ko, ka ² | ∅ (zero) |
| dual | ru | daru | murū | dru |
| paucal | tu | dū | mutu | dru ^{tu} |
| plural | mi, mami | da | mū | dra |

- Notes: 1. Sometimes given by Yawe informants, *kau* said to be borrowed from Tavuki and *au* from Standard Fijian.
 2. *ka-i* '2nd sing nonpast' sometimes given by Yawe speakers.

In imperatives a 2nd person subject marker may be omitted, e.g. we find (a) as an alternative to (b):

(a) lako! 'go!'
 go

(b) mutu lako! 'go!'
 you go
 2pc

Tense-Aspect Markers

The markers of tense and aspect form a paradigmatic class, whose members precede the verb phrase nucleus and also precede the class of preverbal modifiers. Tense-aspect markers include:

| | |
|--------------|-------------------------|
| <i>ma-mā</i> | 'past' |
| <i>na</i> | 'future' |
| <i>i</i> | 'non-past' |
| <i>sa-sā</i> | 'immediate aspect' |
| <i>se-sē</i> | 'still, yet, up to now' |
| <i>da-dā</i> | 'lest, in case' |
| <i>me-m-</i> | 'optative' |

Several of the particles have a short and a long vowel form. Only the conditions for the *ma-mā* alternation are known, and these depend on the phonological form of the subject person-marker. Person-markers of the form CVCV require the past marker to follow them, and to have the shape *mā*:

[daru mā lako] niavi 'We (2 incl.) went yesterday'
 we past go yesterday
 1idl

Other person-markers select the short alternant *ma* and require it to precede them:

[ma qu dani kedratou] na alewa 'I saw the women'
 past I see tr them com woman
 3pc

The 3rd person singular subject marker has the form zero in verb phrases, although 3rd person singular subjects are often represented by an independent person-marker *kaia* which stands outside the verb phrase.

i, here glosses loosely as 'non-past', is a non-isolable element, occurring as a suffix to the subject person-marker except when the person-marker is zero (3rd singular). Final long vowels in person-markers are shortened before *i*. Each person-marker + *i* sequence acts as a single phonological group, with stress falling on the penult. As the person-marker forms with *-i* combine with other tense-aspect markers (other than the past marker), it is possible to argue that there is a separate series of non-past person-markers, as follows:

Non-Past Person Markers (with i)

| | <i>1st exclusive</i> | <i>1st inclusive</i> | <i>2nd</i> | <i>3rd</i> |
|--------|----------------------|----------------------|------------|------------|
| sing | qui | -- | koi, kai | i |
| dual | rui | darui | murui | drui |
| paucal | tui | dui | mutui | drutui |
| trial | mī | dai | mui | drai |

The *-i* forms occur both without other tense-aspect markers:

[qu-i baci-t-a] [ni lako]
 I np not:want-tr-3s comp go

'I don't want to go'

[drutu-i lako] vākai kedratou
 they-np go by they
 3pc

'They (few) went by themselves'

and with others:

[dru-i jia jiko] [i dua] na ere
 They-np make prog np one com thing
 3d1

'They (2) are making something'

[ko-i via lako] [jei mino]?
you-np want go or not
2s

'Do you want to go or not?'

[i sā davo nō]
np imm lie prog

'He is lying down'

[i mino] na kākana
np not com food

'There is no food'

In the last two examples the absence of an overt person-marker preceding *i* indicates a 3rd person singular subject.

sa-sā 'immediate' usually marks an event in the past, present or future as immediate to the speaker's present. It follows the subject person-marker and is compatible with a number of the conjunction-tense aspect markers:

[qu-i sā gagadji] ki nuku
I-np imm stroll to beach

'I'm taking a stroll to the beach'

[dru-i sā veivuke jiko] vei Mere
they-np imm help prog to Mere

'They are giving help to Mere'

[sā jiva] mai cake ko Kadavu
imm appear in east prop Kadavu

'Kadavu appears to the east'

[me du sā kana mada] [du qai lako]
opt we imm eat pol we then go
lipc lipc

'Let's eat first and then go'

[ma sa sikoji] na vorē
past imm caught com pig

'The pig has been caught'

na 'future' follows the subject person-markers:

[drutu-i na taro-gi kedratou]
they-np fut ask-tr they
3pc 3pc

'They (few) will ask them (few)'

se-sē 'still, yet' marks continuation of a state during or up to the point of reference. This particle follows the person-marker:

[ru-i se lokoali] [ni sota mada] i mada
 they yet not com meet pol at before

'They had not (yet) actually met before'

[se lokoali sara gā] [ni qu moce vakavinaka] i
 still not indeed comp I sleep well at

na bogi mari
 com night that

'I did not sleep well at all during the night'

da-dā 'lest, in case' marks an undesirable possibility, one which can be avoided by taking the action specified by the preceding clause. It precedes the subject markers. Its syntactic behaviour is discussed further in section 5.

[me qu sā lako] [da qu bera]
 opt I imm go lest I late

'I should go in case I'll be late'

[tuku-n-a mada] vei kedra [me sā kua] [da dra-i
 tell-tr-it pol to them opt imm not:do lest they-np
sā wale]
 imm angry

'Tell them not to do it in case they (others) get angry'

me 'should, so that, for, let' marks a desirable possibility or purpose. (Its functions as an irrealis complement marker are discussed in sec.6.3.1.) Glossed 'optative' here, *me* often introduces a polite hortative. Note the examples in the discussion of *da* and *sā* above, as well as the following:

[i dodonu] [me dra dau nu-m-a] na ere kea
 np right opt they always remember com thing this
 -tr-it

'It is right that they always remember this thing'

[me qu sā lako?] 'Am I go to?'/Should I go?'
 opt I imm go

me + ko '2nd person subject' is realised as *mo*:

[dan-a] na bola kea [m-o kau-t-a]
 see-it com box this opt-you bring-tr-it
 2s

'(When) you see this box you should bring it'

Clause Conjunctions

There is no clear line between the tense-aspectual and conjunctive functions of certain preverbal particles. Particles with these dual functions include *me*, *da*, and *ni*, listed above among the tense-aspect markers. Particles whose functions are mainly conjunctive, i.e. which do not occur in complete simple sentences, include *ka*, *te*, *dāgā*, *qai*, *mani* and *kevani*. The use of *me* and *ni* as complementizers is discussed in section 6.3.1., the coordinating conjunctions *ka*, *te* and *qai* are treated in 6.2., and the subordinating conjunctions *daga*, *mani*, *ni* and *kevani* in 6.3.2.

Preverbal Modifiers

There are several preverbal particles which follow the tense-aspect markers. These particles have disparate functions and are simply referred to here as 'preverbal modifiers'.

vē or *via* 'want, desire'. Two desiderative forms were recorded. A Korovou informant used *vē*, as:

[kau vē lako]
I want go 'I want to go'

[kau vē somi]
I want drink 'I'm thirsty/I want a drink'

Other informants used *via*:

[ko-i via lako] jei mino?
you-np want go or not

'Do you want to go or not?'

via also indicates that something is wanting only a little to be in a completed state, that a state is almost or nearly come about:

[i sā via ua mai]
np imm want high-tide hither

'It's nearly high tide'

dui distributive, 'each, separately, individually'

ne-dra dui cakacaka
poss-3pl each work

'their (separate) individual activities'

[dra - i dui kana-kana jiko]
they - np each eat-eat prog
3pl

'They are all eating separately'

tā precedes some stative verbs and translates as 'not, without, -less, un-'. *tā* + verb sequences may be lexicalised.

[sā tā macala] vei kedatou
imm not clear to lipc

'It is not clear to us'/'We are unsure'

[sā tā aga]
imm not use

'It is useless'/'It is no use'

sēau appears to have two functions, approximately as Bauan *baci*. It may indicate repetition, translating as 'again, once more, yet again, another'.

[qu seau dan-a tale]
I again see-it again

'I had (yet) another look'/'I looked again (at it)'

Before some verbs, especially verbs of violence, it may have an adversative function, indicating that the action had (will have) consequences detrimental to the undergoer, as in making a threat.

[qu seau laba-t-a] 'I murdered him'
I advers. destroy-tr-him

bū, 'actually, as a matter of fact', indicates that the situation is contrary to the addressee's expectations, being in fact an unexpectedly negative outcome or slight quantity, effect, etc. It is also used with statements and commands to reduce the force of the assertion or command.

[ko-i sa bū kilā] [ni sā kora] na kākana?
you-np imm actually know-it that imm finish com food
2s

'Do you know that the food is finished?' (an unexpected outcome; the speaker may be expressing some anxiety on the matter)..

lā, *lako ki* or *laki* 'go to.' *Lako ki* or its shortened variant *laki* can be analysed either as a full verb *lako* 'go' plus a preposition or complementizer *ki*, or as a preverbal particle, substitutable for *lā*. These forms indicate a prior action prerequisite to the performance of the main activity or goal, which is specified by the following base. In the following examples the prior act is movement to the place where the main activity takes place.

[dra-i sā lako ki vavana] ki vīcōcō
they-np imm go to shoot to bush
3pl

'They are going off to shoot in the bush'

[ni kora] meri [ma qu lako ki kana]
when finish that past I go to eat

'After I finished that I went and ate'

[drutu-i sā lā vaka-cegu atu vā-lailai]
they-np imm go rest thither little
3pc

'They (few) are going off for a little rest'

rui jia. The modifier *rui* 'very, extremely' was recorded, on each occasion in association with the verb *jia*, glossed here as 'be'.

[sā rui jia vale levu]
imm very be house big

'It is a very large house'

[sā rui jia] na dau kodrī
imm very be com always run

'He's an extremely fast runner'

The functions of *jia* are not well established. Above and in examples such as the following it appears to serve as an equational or existential verb.³

[mino] [ni jia] na ere wale gā
not comp be com thing nothing just

'It was not for nothing'

3.2.3 Postverbal Particles

The grammatical particles which occur after the verb phrase nucleus divide into markers of direction, aspect, politeness, and various qualifiers of manner. Such information as we have about the order in which the postverbal particles occur is given later in this section.

Directional Markers

The semantic style of Nabukelevu, like other languages of the Fijian and Polynesian groups, generally requires speakers to indicate the direction of verbs of movement and posture. Regardless of whether or not he was present at the scene he is describing, the speaker must take a position relative to each

action, aligning himself with one of the participants in the scene.

The five postverbal direction markers are *atu*, *mā* (or *mai*), *cake*, *sobu* and *laivi*. *atu* and *mā* form one pair specifying different horizontal directions of movement or posture relative to speaker's position. *cake* and *sobu* form another pair specifying different vertical directions. *laivi* contrasts with the rest in indicating movement away from a point of reference, where the others indicate movement towards a point.

mā marks direction towards the speaker or his point of view: 'hither, here, towards (me, us)'. Sometimes we elicited *mai* instead of *mā*. *mai* is probably a borrowing from Standard Fijian which is now spreading in use at the expense of the older form *mā*.

[lako mā!]
proceed hither 'Come!'

[dru-i sā lako kau-t-a mā] [i duga] na waqa vou
they-np imm go carry- hither np one com boat new
3dl tr-it

mai Suva
from Suva

'They (2) are going to bring a new boat from Suva'

[i sā via ua mai]
np imm want high:tide hither

'High tide is approaching'/'It is almost high tide'

atu (usually spelt *yatu*) indicates direction towards a goal (addressee or distant), and is translatable as 'thither, forth, away, towards (you, there, etc.)'.

[mami sā lako sara atu]
we imm go at:once thither
1xpl

'We went forth at once'

[drutu-i sā lā vaka-cegu atu vā-lailai]
they-np imm go rest hither little
3pc

'They (few) are going off for a little rest'

laivi indicates displacement or disconnection from a previous position: 'hence, away from, off'.

[lako laivi!]
go away 'go away!'

[qu-i via kau-ti kaia laivi] mai Suva
I-np want carry-tr him away from Suva

'I want to take him away from Suva'

sobu indicates downwards direction: 'down, downwards'.

[ma qu biu-t-a sobu] ki rā na kato
past I put-tr-it down to below com basket

'I put down the basket'

cake indicates upwards direction: 'up, upwards'.

[lako cake!]
go upwards 'Go up!'

cake is used to indicate 'greater than' in comparative expressions.

[i levu cake] na-qu ika mai vei kēmū
np big upwards edi-my fish from dative you
2pl

'My fish is bigger than yours'

Postverbal Aspect Markers

The following postverbal particles indicate progressive or completive aspect. The several markers of progressive aspect also contrast in meaning in ways not well understood at present.

jiko 'progressive'

[qu-i sā wāvoli jiko]
I-np imm go:about prog

'I am going about'

nō 'progressive, especially of stationary things'

[i sā moce nō]
np imm sleep prog 'He is sleeping'

[qu-i sā davo nō]
I-np imm lie prog

'I'm lying down'

tū 'progressive'

[i baca tū]
np sick prog 'He's still sick'

[i sā baci tū] na no-na vale
np imm bad prog com poss-3s house

'His house is damaged'

wāvoli 'around, about', movement not directed to one place only, but to several dispersed places.

[qu-i sa lako wāvoli]
I-np asp go around

'I'm going around'

lako 'prolonging'

[ma qu migo ni jiko wale lako gā]
past is not comp stay only prol just

'I did not just keep on standing about'

*kora*₁ perfective aspect, 'finished, already, completed'.

[drutu-i sā kana kora]
they-np imm eat perf
3pc

'They (few) have eaten (already)'

[sā vosa kora] na tūraga
imm speak perf com chief

'The chief has finished speaking'/'has already spoken'

*kora*₁ is to be distinguished from *kora*₂ 'all, every'.

Postposed Qualifiers

The following postverbal particles, along with *kora*₂ (see 4.7), are listed here as 'qualifiers'. They are a residual group, having no well-defined semantic features in common. At least some are mutually compatible in the phrase.

rawa 'can, able'. This particle has the same form and meaning as the verb *rawa*, but functions as a postverbal modifier.

[dru-i sā daŋ-a rawa] na no-dru waqa
they-np imm see-it can com their boat
3dl 3dl

'They (2) can see their (2) boat'

wale 'only' in the belittling sense; 'merely, for no purpose, for nothing'.

[ma drutu soli-a wale gā] na jiki ni qele meri
past they give-it only just com piece of earth that
3pc (distant)

'They (few) gave that piece of land for nothing'

lokoali [ni jia] na ere wale gā
not comp be com thing only just

'It was not for nothing'

veiwara 'often, regularly'

[dra-i sā lako mā veiwara gā]
they-np imm proceed hither often very

'They come here often'

vata 'together with, together, with'

[qu-i na lako vata] kai kēmū
I-np fut go together and you
2pl

'I will go together with you'

sara is an intensifier with several idiomatic uses. It is often translatable as 'very, at once, indeed, precisely, thoroughly'.

[qu mino sara gā] [ni dan-a]
I not indeed just comp see-it

'I just could not find it at all'

tale 'again, also'

[i cadra tale tū gā] i ē na sulī
np grow also prog just at here com taro

'Taro also grows here'

[ma kau-t-a tale mai] [i dua] na ere
past carry-tr-again hither np one com thing
it

'He again brought something'

gā is an intensifier which is normally paired with another qualifier, which precedes it. It has a restrictive function, indicating exactness, exclusiveness, no more and no less, and is often translatable as 'just, only'.

[se lokoali sara gā] [ni qu moce vaka-vinaka]
still not indeed just comp I sleepmanner-well

i na bogi mari
in com night that

'I did not sleep at all well that night'

[sā vō wale jiko gā vaka-lailai] na kākana
imm remain only prog just manner little com food

'There was only a little food left'

The class of postverbal qualifiers is perhaps an open one. In addition to the above, a large number of adverbial bases, consisting of a verb preceded by the prefix *vaka-* 'in the manner', can occur within the verb phrase. Note, for example, *vakalailai* 'little, in a small manner' in the immediately preceding example, and, below, *vākorakora* (cf *kora* 'finish, all') 'exhaustively, all inclusive'.

[me drutu lako vā-korakora mā]
opt they proceed manner-all hither
3pc

'Let them all come here'

Postposed Politeness Markers

Two postverbal particles have the function of softening the force of an utterance.

beka 'deferential' indicates deference, and is used to add politeness to a question or declaration.

ē beka
yes def 'yes sir' (in addressing a chief)

[qu-i sā lako beka]
I-np imm go def 'I'll just be going'

ri, rie. A Yawe informant (Korovou village) gave the forms *rī* and *rie* as substituting for *beka* in some contexts.

mada 'politeness, softener' follows the verb in requests and imperatives. It can sometimes be translated 'please'.

[mū dabe mada]
you sit pol 'Please sit down'
2pl

[me du sā kana mada] [du qai lako]
opt we imm eat pol we then go
lipc lipc

'Let's eat first (shall we?) and then go'

Sometimes *mada* adds emphasis to a negative, translating as 'even'.

[ru-i se lakoali] [ni sota mada] i mada
we-np yet not comp meet pol at before
lxdl

'We (2) had never even met before'

The Inanimate Trace Pronoun kē

The postverbal particle *kē* substitutes for, and refers back to a prepositional phrase which has been moved to the front of the clause or sentence, or which is understood as already mentioned in the discourse. *kē* refers only to prepositional phrases containing a noun of the inanimate category (non human and, generally, non higher animal). In spite of its grammatical function, *kē* occurs inside the verbal phrase. It may sometimes be glossed 'thereat, thereby, therewith, etc'.

kea na waqa [ma drutu lako kē] ki Suva
this com boat past they go thereby to Suva

'This is the boat in which they went to Suva'

na ava [ko lokoali] [ni voli-a kē] [i duga]
com what you not comp buy-tr-it thereby np one
2s

na taga suka?
com bag sugar

'Why didn't you buy a bag of sugar?'

Sequencing of Postverbal Particles

The order of postverbal particles shows some freedom. Our data are far from exhaustive but the following generalisations can be made.

tale and *wale* precede the aspect-marking class:

(a) [i cadra tale tū gā] i ē na suli
np grow also prog at here com taro

'Taro also grows here'

(b) [ma qu migo] [ni jiko wale lako gā]
past I not comp stay only prol just

'I did not just keep on standing about'

- (c) [sā vō wale jiko gā vakalailai] na kākana
 imm remain only prog just little com food
 'There's only a little food left'
- (d) [ma qu maroro-y-a tale jiko gā] [i duga] na davi
 past I keep-tr-it also prog just np one com kava:bowl
 'I used also to keep a kava bowl'

Two of the directional markers, *mā* (or *mai*) and *atu*, normally follow *jiko* and probably the other aspect markers, as well as following *mada* and the qualifiers *sara*, *gā* and *tale*:

- (e) [drutu-i lilo jiko atu]
 they-np look prog thither
 3pc
 'They are looking away (i.e. watching something at a distance)'
- (f) [i vosa jiko mai] ko Seru
 np speak prog hither prop Seru
 'Seru is talking (to us)'
- (g) [i ma kau-t-a tale mai] [i dua] na ere
 np past carry-tr-3s back hither np one com thing
 'He's bringing back something'
- (h) [i mino][ni dru lesu tale mai]
 np not comp they return again hither
 3dl
 'they (2) won't come back here again'
- (i) [sogo-t-a mada mai] na katuku kari
 close-tr-it polite hither com door that (near hearer)
 '(Would you) please close that door (by you)?'

The intensifier *gā* follows *sara* and *boto*, as well as the aspect markers *jiko*, *lako*, etc. (see (a) - (d) above), but precedes *atu*:

- (j) [dru-i lakoali sara gā] [ni dan-a]
 they-np not at:all just comp see-it
 3dl
[i duga] na ere
 np one com thing
 'They didn't see anything at all'

(k) [mami s̄a lako sara atu]
 we imm go at:once forth
 1xpl

'We went forth at once'

The qualifier *kora* 'all, every' precedes the aspect marker

tū:

(1) [dra-i moce kora tū]
 they-np sleep all prog
 3pl

'They are all sleeping'

kora is a postnominal particle which can be shifted into the verb phrase by the rule of Quantifier Float. *kora*₂ quantifies the object nominal, or if there is no object, the subject nominal. Quantifier Float is an obligatory rule if no independent noun phrase is present in the clause.

The trace pronoun follows the qualifier *rawa*:

(m) [ma qu kilā rawa kē] i na gauna meri
 past I know-can tr-it thereby at com time that

'I was then able to understand it (for that reason)'

A chart tentatively defining the order of certain post-verbal particles can be drawn as follows:

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|---|------|---|------|---|----|---|-----|
| tale | : | jiko | : | sara | : | gā | : | mā |
| wale | : | tū | : | mada | : | | : | atu |
| kora | : | lako | : | | : | | : | |
| rawa | : | | : | | : | | : | |

But it may be that some of the particles listed in the same column can occur together.

Certain constructions, such as:

[dra-i s̄a lako mā veiwara gā]
 they-np imm proceed hither often very

'They come here regularly'

and

[s̄a vō wale jiko gā vakalailai] na kākana
 imm remain just prog intens. little com food

'There's just a little food left'

Present problems for the statement of morpheme order within the verb phrase. In the first example above, *veiwara gā*

unexpectedly follows *mā*, instead of preceding it. In the second, *vakalailai*, a content word rather than a grammatical element, unexpectedly follows *jiko gā*, when we expect content word modifiers to occur right after the verb.

One solution is to make the statement of sequencing rules more flexible. An alternative descriptive treatment is to say that in each of these two sentences we actually have *two* verb phrases; the second verb phrase in each is reduced (to *veiwara gā*, and *vakalailai*) by leaving out those 'understood' elements which are coreferential with elements present in the first verb phrase (subject and aspect markers). Further study is needed to assess the relative merits of these alternative treatments.

3.2.4 Verbal Affixes

There is a handful of prefixes and suffixes which can occur with, or derive, verbal bases. These affixes have diverse syntactic functions, outlined below.

The Transitive Suffixes

At least three transitive suffixes occur, each with a distinctive meaning. The basic shapes of the two most highly recurrent transitive suffixes are *-Ci*, and *-Cakai* respectively, where *C* stands for a consonant of variable value, or for zero.

-Ci may be termed 'close transitive'. It marks the semantic relation between the verb and its direct object as close, or direct (in ways specified below) in contrast to *-Cakai* which marks an indirect relation and which is termed the 'remote transitive'. The semantic role of the suffix is not completely predictable in all cases, but in most instances it can be predicted, up to the limits of free semantic variation (or indeterminacy of reference) by reference to the semantic class of the verb or the verb plus the object nominal. Thus, after a verb of motion or posture (e.g. 'go, swim, lie down') *-Ci* usually marks the object as a location, while *-Cakai* with this class usually denotes a concomitant. With an action-process verb (where the actor is an agent affecting a patient) *-Ci* usually marks the object as a patient, while *-Cakai* usually marks it as instrument or cause. After a verb of perception or emotion *-Ci* usually marks an object which is the stimulus or target of the process (experienced by the subject). No examples of *-Cakai* with such a verb appear in the data.

Examples:

[tāgato-v-a!]
swim-tr-it

'Swim to it'

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| <u>[tagato-takai-na!]</u> swim -tr-it | 'Swim with it' |
| <u>[kaba-t-a!]</u> climb-tr-it | 'Climb it' |
| <u>[kaba-takai-na!]</u> climb-tr-it | 'Climb with it' |
| <u>[vana-i kaia]</u> shoot-tr-him | 'Shoot him!' |
| <u>[vana-takai-na na dakai!]</u> shoot-tr-it com gun | 'Fire the gun!' |
| <u>[viri-k-a] na vorē!</u> throw-tr-it com pig | 'Stone the pig' |
| <u>[viri-takai-na]na vatu!</u> throw-tr-it com stone | 'Throw the stone' |
| <u>[ma qu dan-i kedratou]na alewa</u> past I see-tr them com woman 3pc | 'I saw the women' |
| <u>[mā drutu taro-gi kedratou]</u> past they ask-tr them 3pc | 'They asked them' |

The variable value of *C* in the transitive suffixes is not fully predictable. As already noted, *C* may be zero, and when the suffix *-i* follows a verb stem ending in *i* the two coalesce as short *i*. Before *-a* '3rd person singular object', *-Ci* is realised as *+C*; this includes a zero alternant when *-C-* is zero, e.g. underlying **kila-i-a* 'know-tr-it' is realised as *kilā*. *-Cakai* has the alternant *-Cake* when no object person-marker follows, i.e. in reciprocal and passive verb bases (see below and 6.2).

A third transitive suffix, having the form *-lakai*, can be distinguished. In the few examples recorded, *-lakai* marks the action as affecting the object to an intensive degree or as affecting many objects. Compare *koji-v-a* 'clip it' and *koji-lakai-na* 'clip it up small, clip them (of many things)'; *dresu-k-a* 'tear it', and *dresu-lakai-na* 'rip it up'.

Object Person-Markers

Although they belong semantically with the noun phrase, the object person-markers which are listed in section 4.4 occur inside the verb phrase. They immediately follow the transitive suffix and precede all postverbal particles (see, for example,

(d), (g), (i), (m) in section 3.2.3. The 2nd and 3rd person singular object markers are cliticized to the verb base, i.e. they act phonologically as part of the same group as the preceding syllable, and the group stress moves one syllable forward accordingly. (In the case of the 3rd singular marker -a, the close transitive suffix loses the vowel *i* as well (see above).)

Proper Noun Objects

Like the object person-markers, proper noun objects are incorporated in the verb phrase. They immediately follow the transitive suffix and precede all postverbal particles. Unlike common noun phrases (which stand outside the verb phrase) proper objects do not require an object person-marker to precede them.

[dru-i vuke-i Mere jiko]
they-np help-tr Mere prog

'They are helping Mary'

This rule of object incorporation applies only when the proper noun is the direct object of a transitive verb. When it is in an oblique case, i.e. follows a preposition, the proper noun stands in a separate noun phrase.

[dru-i s̄a vei-vuke jiko] vei Mere
they imm rcp-help prog to Mere

'They are giving help to Mere'

Reciprocal Verbs

The prefix *vī-* or *vei-*, when prefixed to a verb, usually indicates that a mutually affecting (reciprocal) or combinatory relation holds between two or more actors, who are the subject of the verb. The gloss 'reciprocal' reflects the most common function, hence verbs with this prefix are called here 'reciprocal verbs'. *vei-* occurred often in the informants' speech, but is probably a borrowing from Standard Fijian which is gaining currency at the expense of the older alternant *vī-*.

The reciprocal prefix normally occurs in sequence with a transitive suffix, i.e. a reciprocal verb is normally transitive. Generally, however, it lacks an overt object noun phrase, as the subject, in the nature of the reciprocal relation, stands for both actor and patient. There are some lexicalized reciprocals, where the prefix derives an intransitive verb. In the examples at hand, it is usually the close transitive suffix -*ci* which occurs in reciprocal verbs.

[dru-i vī-tabu-i]
they-np rcp-cross:sibling-in-law-tr
3dl

'They are related as brother- and sister-in-law'

[ru-i vī-wati-ni]
we-np rcp-spouse-tr
1xdl

'We are married to each other / related as husband and wife'

[ru-i vī-ila-ni] kai Jone
we-np-rcp-name-tr with Jone

'Jone and I are namesakes / share a mutual name'

[ma ru jiko vei-donu- i] kai Samu
past we stay rcp-straight-tr with Samu
1xdl

'Sam and I were facing each other'

In combination with the suffix *-akai* or *-ake* the reciprocal prefix marks the verb as having no single location or direction, but as being distributed or directed about, in or to various places. *-ake* occurs word-finally, and *vī....ake* verbs are intransitive.

[dra-i vī-lilo-ake tū]
they-np rcp-look-about prog
3pl

'They are looking around'

-akai occurs elsewhere, i.e. in transitive verbs followed by an object person-marker.

na ava [ko-i vī -liko-akai -na tū]?
com what you-np rcp-look-about-it prog
2s

'What are you looking around at?'

Derivational Affixes

Only three derivational affixes are well represented in the data on verb bases. There are the prefix *vaka-* ~ *va-* and the close and remote transitive suffixes.

vaka- has several functions.

(1) It derives transitive verbs from a large class of stative verbs, in sequence with a transitive suffix: *aga* 'use, useful',

vaka-aga-takai-na 'use s.t., cause s.t. to be used'.

(2) It derives stative verbs of manner from verbs and nouns, e.g. *kora* 'finished', *vā-korakora* 'exhaustively', *lailai* 'small', *vaka-lailai* 'in a small way, slightly; *Nabukelevu* 'name of Mt Washington, and of a region and *tikina*', *vaka-Nabukelevu* 'in the Nabukelevu manner'. Other uses of *vaka-* undoubtedly occur but are not well indicated in the data. The variant *vā* occurs regularly before bases starting with a velar consonant, and in stylistic variation with *vaka-* in at least some other positions, e.g. both *vakalailai* and *vālailai* were recorded. The forms *vānava* 'how?' (*vā-na-ava?*, cf. Standard Fijian *vakacava*) and *vānimeri* 'likewise' (cf. SF *vakākina*) may be noted.

-Ci and *-Cakai*, discussed above, also derive transitive verbs from a large class of statives, a different class from that which requires *vaka-*. Most action-process transitive verbs (where the action has an effect on the direct object) are derived from stative verbs, e.g. *biu* 'left behind, be put, placed', *biu-ti-* 'leave or put s.t.'. With such verbs the transitive suffix transforms the stative into an active transitive verb, and the class of nominals which act as the subject of the stative verb now becomes the class which act on the object of the active verb. When added to an active verb base, however, *-Ci* and *-Cakai* simply derive a transitive verb, e.g. *vuke* 'help', *vuke-i-* 'help s.o.'.

4. The Noun Phrase

4.1. Definition

There is a set of particles which occur only in noun phrases (NP), and whose occurrence therefore defines a construction as a noun phrase. These are the nominal particles.

Three main classes of nominal particles can be recognised: *noun class markers*, *case markers* and *possession markers*.

4.2 Noun Class Markers

There are two noun class markers, which distinguish *common* and *proper* noun phrases: *na* 'common noun marker' and *ko* 'proper noun marker'. For example:

na ava
com what

'what?'

ko ava
prop what

'who?'

These markers also distinguish nominal from verbal phrases, e.g. *na lako* '(the) going' is nominal but *sā lako* '(he) has

gone' is verbal. Many bases (other than proper nouns) can occur either as head of a verb phrase or as head of a noun phrase, the distinction resting on the grammatical markers accompanying the base.

4.3 Case Markers

The case markers are all 'prepositions', i.e. prenominal particles relating the nominal to the verb of the clause. The case markers are:

- i*, relational, inanimate. Denotes location, source, cause, instrument, of an inanimate head. Translates 'at, in, from, with, by, etc.'
- vei-vu-*, relational, animate. Denotes location, cause, source, direction to, of an animate head. Translates 'at, in, from, to, etc.'
- ki*, directional, inanimate. Denotes the goal of a movement or focused action. Translates 'to, towards, at'.
- mai*, distant location. Translates 'at, in, from'.
- kai*, comitative. Translates 'with, together with, and'.
- vākai*, exclusive. Translates 'by (oneself)'.

The functions of the case markers are discussed in greater detail in section 5.

4.4 Possession Markers

There are several prenominal particles which mark different kinds of possessive relations between nominals. The basic forms of these possession markers are:

- ni* 'genitive relation'
- ne* 'dominant possession'
- na-1* 'subordinate possession'
- na-2* 'eat possession'
- me* 'drink possession'
- ∅ (zero) 'kinship possession'

The second, third and fourth of the above particles are in competition with a second set borrowed from Standard Fijian. We recorded the following as nowadays in frequent use:

- no-* 'dominant possession'
- ke-1* 'subordinate possession'
- ke-2* 'eat possession'

The use of the possession markers is described in some detail in 4.13.

4.5 Person-markers

The person-markers (or personal pronouns) fall into several sets, distinguished by their form and distribution.

The *independent* person-markers are as follows:

| | 1st exclusive | 1st inclusive | 2nd | 3rd |
|--------|---------------|---------------|----------|---------|
| sing | au | -- | iko | kaia |
| dual | kēruka | kedaru | kemuruka | kedruka |
| paucal | kētou | kedatou | kemutu | kedrutu |
| plural | kēmī | kēda | kēmū | kedra |

This class has a distribution similar to that of proper nouns: its members occur as the nucleus of a noun phrase introduced by *ko*. With one partial exception, this class also occurs as direct object and following oblique case markers. The unmarked third person singular marker is *-a-na*, but *kaia* marks an emphatic or singled-out object.

The following table lists the *subject*, *object* and *possessive* person-markers. It can be seen that subject and possessive forms are the same except for the second and third person singular markers. The object markers differ from the independent forms in usually showing *-a* or *-na* instead of *kaia* for third person singular.

| | Subject | Object | Possessor |
|----------------|-------------|--|-----------|
| 1 singular | qu, kau, au | -au | -qu |
| 1 excl. dual | ru | -kēruka | -ru |
| 1 excl. paucal | tu | -kētou | -tu |
| 1 excl. plural | mī, mami | -kēmī | -mi |
| 1 incl. dual | daru | -kedaru | -daru |
| 1 incl. paucal | dū | -kedatou | -du |
| 1 incl. plural | da | -keda | -da |
| 2 singular | ko, ka | -iko | -mu |
| 2 dual | murū | -kemuru | -murū |
| 2 paucal | mutu | -kemutu | -mutu |
| 2 plural | mū | -kēmū | -mū |
| 3 singular | ∅ | -a, ¹ -na, ² kaia ³ | -na |
| 3 dual | dru | -kedru | -dru |
| 3 paucal | drutu | -kedrutu | -drutu |
| 3 plural | dra | -kedra | -dra |

- Notes:
1. *-a* occurs after the prepositions *vu-* 'animate relational', *kai* 'comitative', and after the close transitive suffix.
 2. *-na* occurs after the remote transitive suffix.
 3. Used when the speaker wishes to emphasize or single out the referent (animate or inanimate).

4.6 Structure of the Minimal Noun Phrase

The structure of the noun phrase varies according to whether the head noun is common or proper, and if common, whether it is animate or inanimate.

A noun phrase with an animate common noun as head has, in most contexts, the following minimal structure:

| | | | | |
|------------------|---|-------------------------|---|------|
| PERSON MARKER | + | NOUN CLASS MARKER | + | NOUN |
|------------------|---|-------------------------|---|------|

In such constructions the person-marker specifies the definiteness and number, as well as the person of the head, as in:

vei kedra na alewa
to them com woman 3pl 'to the women'

vei kēmū na cauravou
to you com young:man 2pl 'to you young men'

The essential difference between animate and inanimate common nouns is that the latter do not require a number distinction to be made by the person-marker. When an inanimate noun phrase follows a preposition no person-marker is required (or alternatively, the person-marker is a zero realization of 3rd person singular), though it may be present (rarely) when the referent is countable.

[qu moce vakavinaka] i na bogi meri
I sleep well on com night that

'I slept well that night'

kea na waqa [ma drutu lako kē] ki Suva
this com boat past they go thereby to Suva
3pc

'This is the boat in which they went to Suva' or,
'These are the boats in which they went to Suva'

When an inanimate noun phrase is subject or object of the verb a person-marker is normally required, but it is usually the 3rd person singular marker regardless of whether the noun refers to one or more objects.

A proper noun phrase, when it denotes the subject or possessor, has the same minimal structure as an animate noun phrase. But as object of a transitive verb or a preposition a proper noun phrase may consist of the head alone, as in the previous example and in:

[ma sa siko-ci] na vorē vei Timoci
 past imm caught-tr com pig at Timoci

'The pig was caught at Timoci's (place)'

The description of noun phrase structure is complicated by the fact that the person-marker is in many contexts discontinuous with the rest of the noun phrase. As already noted (3.2) the verb phrase incorporates both the subject and the object person-markers, while the remaining constituents of the subject and object phrases stand outside the verb phrase, in surface structure. In reading the following, and previous examples, recall that the 3rd person singular subject marker is zero.

[dra-i yadra-v-a jiko] na koro na cauravou
 they-np wake-tr-it prog com village com young man

'The young men are guarding the village'

Here *dra...na cauravou* 'they...young man' is the subject, and *-a...na koro* 'it...village' is the object.

In possessive constructions with animate possessors the animate noun phrase is again discontinuous (see 4.13). In

nē tarausese lekaleka ko Timoci
 his trousers short prop Timoci

nē...ko Timoci 'his...Timoci' (i.e. Timoci's) is the possessor noun phrase.

4.7 Postnominal Particles

Many of the postverbal particles listed in 3.2.3 can also occur after the head of a noun phrase. There are a few postposed particles which belong basically to the noun phrase. *kora*₂ 'all, every' and perhaps *vata* 'together with' are two. *boto* 'only' in the restrictive, limiting sense, may be another:

ko kaia boto gā meri 'That is the only one'
 prop it only just that

4.8 Nominal Affixes

Prefixed to nouns, *vī-* denotes a group or collectivity of things:

| | |
|------------------|---|
| <i>vī-oōō</i> | 'bush, forest' |
| <i>vī-ere</i> | 'things' (<i>ere</i> 'thing') |
| <i>vī-mamaqō</i> | 'clump of <i>maqo</i> (mango) trees' |
| <i>vī-anuanu</i> | (<i>vīyamuanu</i>) '(group of) islands' (<i>anuanu</i> 'island') |
| <i>vī-vanua</i> | 'lands, countries' (<i>vanua</i> 'land') |

i- derives instrumental or factitive nouns from verbs and nouns:

i-tabā 'picture' (*tabā* 'to print, photograph')
i-aloalo 'image, portrait, picture' (*aloalo* 'reflection')

4.9 Deictics: Demonstrative and Locative Pronouns

The deictics for objects and places fall into two sets, but both show a contrast between 1st, 2nd and 3rd person (near speaker, near addressee, distant) which partly parallels the person-marker contrasts.

The *demonstrative* pronouns occur as the nucleus of a common noun phrase. The *locative* pronouns occur as the head of a proper noun phrase of the locative class, and follow a locative preposition *i* 'at', *mā* (or *mai*) 'at, from'.

| | <i>Demonstrative</i> | | <i>Locative</i> |
|-----|------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| 1st | <i>kea</i> 'this, these' | | <i>ē</i> 'here' |
| 2nd | <i>kari</i> 'that, those' | | <i>eri</i> 'there (near you)' |
| 3rd | <i>meri</i> 'that, those (yonder)' | | <i>meri</i> 'there (yonder)' |
| | <i>kāmē</i> 'that, those (yonder)' | | |

The difference in meaning, if any, between *meri* and *kāmē*, was not recorded.

na ava kāmē? 'What is that (yonder)?'
 com what that

[i jiko] i ē 'It is here'
 np stay at here

[i dodonu] [me dra dau nu-m-a] na ere kea
 np right opt they always remember-tr-it com thing this
 3pl

'It is proper that they always remember this thing'

[ma qu kilā rawa kē] i na gauna meri
 past I know-tr-it able thereby at com time that

'I was therefore able to understand it then'

4.10 Special Temporal Phrases

Phrases specifying time normally consist of a common noun head preceded by *na* 'common noun marker' and the preposition *i* 'inanimate relation marker', e.g.

[dra-i na lako mai] i na siga ava?
 they-np fut come hither on com day what
 3pl 'Which day are they coming on?'

[drutu mā vuli vosa] i na abaki [sā kora]
 they past learn language in com year imm finish
 3pc

'They studied languages last year'

However, there are a number of irregular temporal bases which can stand alone as a temporal phrase:

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| <i>niavi</i> | 'yesterday' |
| <i>nitēvū</i> | (<i>nilēvū</i> in Yawe <i>tikina</i>) 'today' |
| <i>nibogi-rua</i> | 'two days before or after the present' |
| <i>nīkiā</i> | 'when? (in the past)' (Korovou village) |
| <i>nimataka</i> | 'tomorrow' |

Historically these bases may derive from the verbal conjunction *ni* 'when' and a following base. A few other idiomatic time phrases were recorded:

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| <i>i na bogi nitēvū</i> | 'tonight' |
| <i>i na bogi niavi</i> | 'last night' |

4.11 Interrogatives

The following question words occur:

| | |
|---------------|---|
| <i>na ava</i> | 'what?' |
| <i>ko ava</i> | 'who?' |
| <i>ā</i> | 'where?' (in the phrases <i>i ā</i> and <i>mai ā</i> 'where (at)?' and <i>ki ā</i> 'whither?') |
| <i>nīkiā</i> | 'when?' (Korovou village) |
| <i>vānava</i> | 'how?' |

'why?' is expressed periphrastically in various ways, frequently by placing *na ava* 'what?' in clause-initial position, and leaving the trace pronoun *kē* (see 3.2.3. and 5.2.4.) in the postverbal position which would be occupied by the oblique phrase *i na ava* 'for what (reason)?' if the interrogative phrase were not fronted:

na ava [ko mino][ni voli-a kē]?
 com what you not comp buy-tr-it thereby
 2s

'Why didn't you buy it?'

'when?' in the Daviyele communalect is also expressed periphrastically, e.g. *i na gauna ava* 'at what time?',

i na siga ava 'on what day?'

4.12 *Animate vs Inanimate Nouns*

The distinction between what are termed here *animate* and *inanimate* nouns is an important one in several respects. The two types behave differently in the grammar of possessive constructions, case-marking and person-markers, differences which are described elsewhere. Here a brief comment is offered on the semantic nature of the contrast.

There is a scale of animateness ranging from nouns referring to living people to nouns referring to lifeless objects and entities. Nouns denoting specific persons are always grammatically animate. Nouns referring to important animals - those which have individual identities, such as domestic animals - are generally treated as inanimate. Lifeless objects, except when personified, are always grammatically inanimate.

Animateness, then, is not an inherent feature of the noun itself, but is determined by the reference in a particular context. The expression for a 'pig's head', for example, varies according to whether the head is considered part of a specific live animal, or as a separate object or class of objects.

na ulu ni vorē 'pig's head' (separated or generic)
com head of pig

nē ulu na vorē 'pig's head' (part of a live pig)
its head com pig

4.13 *Possessive Constructions*

Although all possessive constructions can be analysed as having a single, common basic structure, they present a variety of surface forms, and show a considerable number of contrasting types of possessive relation.

The term 'possession' here stands for a grammatical category, and not a strict concept of ownership or control. Ownership is possible only with animate possessors, but in any case, ownership is only one of many meaning relations which are expressed by possessive constructions even when the possessor is a person. When the possessor noun is inanimate, the noun may denote an attribute of the head noun, a purpose, or some other modifying feature.

All possessive constructions can be derived from the following basic construction-type:

NP + POSSESSIVE + NP
 head RELATION possessor
 MARKER

This basic configuration is preserved in possessive constructions in which the 'possessor' noun or noun phrase is inanimate. The possessive relation marker in such constructions is usually *ni*:

na wai ni somi 'drinking water, water for drinking'
 com water of drink

na drau ni kacu 'leaf of a tree, tree leaf'
 com leaf of tree

na jiki ni qele 'piece of land'
 com piece of earth

The same construction form is used with animate nouns under certain conditions, namely when the animate noun possessor does not refer to a specific individual, but, rather, to a generic category, such as 'men', 'pigs', 'people'. In such cases the semantic relation is one of modification, the possessor noun specifying or delimiting the head noun in some way, e.g.

na qāvota ni vorē 'pig(s)-head(s)'
 com head of pig

The *NP ni NP* construction may also be used when the possessor NP refers to a specific person or animal under certain conditions which are not well understood. As a general rule, however, nouns denoting specific animate possessors occur in a different type of possessive construction, discussed below.

Possessive Constructions with Animate Possessors

When the possessor is a specific animate individual or set of individuals, the possessive construction usually has the following structure (the noun marker is optional in certain contexts):

(COMMON + POSSESSIVE
 NOUN MARKER) + PERSON-MARKER + HEAD + POSSESSOR
 NOUN NOUN PHRASE

For example:

na me-na drōdrō ko Livai
 com of-3s jellyfish prop Livai

'Livai's jellyfish (for consuming)'

It is a general feature of animate nouns, and not only of possessor nouns, that they be accompanied by a person-marker whenever the noun refers to a specific individual (see 4.6.). The person-marker functions as a determiner, both marking the noun as specific and animate (4.12) and indicating its person and number.

There are five different possessive relation markers occurring with person-markers. In the above example the possessive marker was *me-* 'drinkable possession'. The others are *na-₁* 'subordinate', *na-₂* 'eat', *ne-~ no-* 'dominant' and *-∅* (zero) 'kinship'. A table of the person-marker forms which combine with these particles was given in 4.5. A sequence consisting of a possessive relation marker and a person-marker is referred to as a *possessive pronoun*. The possessive pronoun is inserted between the common noun marker and the head noun of the possessed noun phrase.

Choice of possessive marker is not based on arbitrary or rigid gender-like noun classes. Rather, it specifies a particular natural semantic relation obtaining between head and possessor. Thus, the same noun may occur in more than one possessive relation:

- a. nē ulu na vorē
poss-its head com pig
'The pig's head' (the pig is intact and alive)
- b. na ulu ni vorē
com head of pig
'The pig's head' (the head is separate, or a generic)
- c. ne-qu i-aloalo
poss-my fact picture
dom.
'my picture' (which I own or produce)
- d. na-qu i-aloalo
poss-my picture
sub
'my picture (which depicts me)/picture of me'

The Possessive Markers

na-₁ 'involuntary possession'. *na-* forms may be divided into two morphemes: *na-₁* and *na-₂*. *na-₁* marks a possessive relation in which the possessor has no choice in the matter - he is the involuntary sufferer of someone else's act, or he is the experiencer of an inherent condition. There is a contrast

with *na-*, which marks possession by the agent of an act. Thus,

na-qu ialoalo 'my picture (likeness of me)'
 poss-my picture
 sub

contrasts with:

ne-qu i-aloalo 'my picture (which I own or created)'
 poss-my fact picture
 dom

Inanimate nouns which have inherent qualities such as size, colour, sweetness, etc. can possess these qualities using *na-*₁

na-na vinaka na vale!
 poss-its good com house
 sub

'Its goodness the house, i.e., what a good house!'

ovela! na-na driwadriwa!
 gosh poss-its cold
 sub

'Gosh! It's really cold!'

Spatial relations may be indicated by *na-*₁, e.g.

no-qu sā yaco sara ki na-na dela, [qu-i sā
 poss-my imm arrive at once to poss-its top I-np imm
 dom sub

gai dan-a]
 then see-it

'When I arrived at the top, (then) I saw it'

In sequence with *-daru* '1st incl. dual' *na* occurs as *nā-* and in sequence with *-mū* '2nd plural' it occurs as *nō-*. The full set of possessive pronouns containing *na-*₁ is:

| | <u>1st excl.</u> | <u>1st incl.</u> | <u>2nd</u> | <u>3rd</u> |
|----------|------------------|------------------|------------|------------|
| singular | naqu | - | namu | nana |
| dual | naru | nādaru | namuru | nadru |
| paucal | natu | nadu | namutu | nadrutu |
| plural | nami | nada | nōmū | nadra |

*na-*₁ possessive pronouns are incompatible with the common article *na*, e.g. in a sentence such as:

[na lokoali] [ni via vuke-a] [ni kilā]
 past not comp want help-tr-him because see-tr-it

na-na inake
 poss-his intention
 sub

'He didn't want to help him because he knew his intentions'
 the article *na* cannot precede the possessive pronoun.

In contemporary Nabukelevu speech the forms *na kequ*, *na kemu*, etc. are in frequent use as functional equivalents of *naqu*, *namu*, etc. These other forms are probably fairly recent introductions, perhaps reflecting the influence of Standard Fijian and other Kadavu dialects.

*na-*₂ marks possession of something for eating. Possessive pronouns formed with this marker are identical to those formed with *na-*₁, but we distinguish them because of the meaning contrast!

na-na sulī ko Tomasi
 poss-his taro prop Tomasi
 edi

'Tomasi's taro (for eating)'

The common article is absent before *na-*₂ forms, i.e., one does not find **na nana sulī*, **na namu sulī*, etc.

me- indicates possession of something for drinking. 'Wet' foods such as juicy fruits, jelly-fish, soup, etc. count as drinkables.

The full set of possessive pronouns containing *me-* is:

| | <u>1st excl.</u> | <u>1st incl.</u> | <u>2nd</u> | <u>3rd</u> |
|----------|------------------|------------------|------------|------------|
| singular | mequ | - | memu | mena |
| dual | meru | medaru | memuru | medru |
| paucal | metu | medu | memutu | medrutu |
| plural | memi | meda | memu | medra |

Example:

na me-na drōdrō ko Livai
 com poss-his jellyfish prop Livai
 drk

'Livai's jellyfish (for consumption)'

ne-, 'controlled or dominant possession'. *ne-* marks a relation in which the possessor has control over the object possessed or in the matter of possession. The thing possessed

may be an act which the possessor performs as well as an object which he owns or has control of. The possessive pronoun forms with *ne-* are:

| | <u>1st excl.</u> | <u>1st incl.</u> | <u>2nd</u> | <u>3rd</u> |
|----------|------------------|------------------|------------|------------|
| singular | nequ | - | nemu | nē |
| dual | neru | nedaru | ?nemuru | ?nedru |
| paucal | netu | nedu | ?nemutu | ?nedrutu |
| plural | nemi | neda | ?nēmū | nedra |

Examples:

nē vale ko Timoci 'Timoci's house'
 poss-his house prop Timoci

ne-qu i-aloalo 'my picture (which I own or produced)'
 poss-my picture
 dom

ne-dra dui cakacaka 'their individual activities'
 poss-their each work
 dom

ne- forms are in stylistic variation with *no-* forms, i.e. besides *nequ*, *nemu*, *nē*, etc., we find *noqu*, *nomu*, *nona*, as in Standard Fijian. We were told that the *no-* forms are a modern innovation, possibly modelled on Standard Fijian usage, and/or the Tavuki dialect. Compare, however, Nabukelevu

nona ulu ko Manu 'Manu's head'
 and *nē ulu ko Manu* 'Manu's head'

with Standard Fijian: *na ulu i Manu* 'Manu's head', where Standard Fijian requires a different structure (without prenominal possessive pronoun) from Nabukelevu, when the relation is body-part-to-possessor. Note also

NBL *no-qu lā* 'my leg'
no-mu taku 'your back'

as against SF *yava-qu* and *daku-mu*, for the same meanings.

Certain kin-terms take *ne-* or *no-* forms, instead of suffixed possessor pronouns, including *tabu* 'sibling-in-law of opposite sex' and *nana* 'mother' (but cf. *jina* 'mother' below).

kaia meri no-qu tabu
 she that poss-my sibling-in-law:opp:sex
 dom

'She is my sister-in-law' (male speaking)

Direct Suffixation

The absence of a possessive marking particle, together with direct suffixation of the possessor pronoun to the head noun indicates a kinship relation. Most but not all kin terms are normally possessed by direct suffixation, e.g.

na taci-na
com younger:sibling:same:sex - her

'Her younger sister'

na jina-dra
com mother-their
3pl

'Their (pl) mother'

na tama-na
com father-her

'Her father'

A Neutral Category?

There is some evidence that *ne-* forms are sometimes used to mark a 'neutral' possessive relation, i.e. that they may substitute for *na-*₁, *na-*₂, *me-* and suffixation. However, we lack conclusive evidence² on this matter. Note the following:

Besides *na me-na wai ni somi* 'his drinking water'
we find *nē wai ni somi* 'his drinking water'

Besides *na taci-na ko Mere* 'Mere's younger sibling (of same sex)'
we find *nē taci ko Mere* 'Mere's younger sibling (of same sex)'

5. Clause Structure

5.1 Clause Types

Unless otherwise noted, remarks about clause structure apply to complete clauses. Reduced dependent clauses are treated in section 6.

A clause may be *verbal* or *nominal*. A nominal clause contains two or more noun phrases in construction, but has no verb phrase, e.g.

ko ava no-na ila? 'What is his name?'
prop what poss-his name
dom

kea na-na gauna 'This is his time'
 this poss-his time
 sub

A verbal clause contains a verb phrase, and may contain one or more noun phrases in construction with it, in one of the grammatical relations listed in 5.2, e.g.

[kau vē lako] 'I want to go'
 I want go

kea na waqa [mā drutu lako kē] ki Suva
 this com boat past they go thereby to Suva

'This is the boat in which they went to Suva'

[i vica] na uvi kari?
 np how:many com yam that

'How many are those yams (near you)?'

Exclamatory clauses form a special class. Unlike other types, exclamatory clauses do not combine with other clauses in complex sentences, and they may consist of a single noun phrase, e.g.

ovela! na-na driwadriwa! 'Oh! How cold it is!'
 Oh! poss-its cold
 sub

They will not be described further here.

5.2 Verbal Clauses

5.2.1 Definition

A verbal clause may consist of a verb phrase (VP) alone, using 'verb phrase' in the sense of section 3, where it was noted that a subject person-marker is embedded in the verb phrase. It may, in addition, contain one or more noun phrases (NP) in a case relation to the verb base.

Case relations are either *direct* or *oblique*. NP in direct cases are unmarked. Oblique case NP are marked by a case marker, in all instances a prepositional particle (listed in 4.3.).

5.2.2 Direct Cases

The direct cases are those of *subject* and *object*. The normal position for the object NP is immediately after the VP. The subject NP commonly occurs both before the VP and after the object NP, and may occur between VP and object NP, i.e. the orders SVO, VOS and VSO occur. Objects occur clause initially

only when in focus.

[i s̄a vosa kora] na t̄uraga
np imm speak perf com chief

'The chief has (already) spoken'

[i cadra tale ḡa] i ē na suli
np grow tu just at here com taro

'Taro also grows here'

[ma qu vanā] na soqe
past I shoot-tr-it com pigeon

'I shot the pigeon'

[ma vana-takai-na] na dakai ko Manu
past shoot-tr-it com gun prop Manu

'Manu fired the gun'

na ava [ko vī-liko-akai-na tū]?
com what you rcp-look-tr-it prog

'What are you looking around at/for?'

Subjects and objects are distinguished in a number of ways. The subject NP requires a coreferential person-marker to precede the verb, while the object NP requires a coreferential person-marker to follow the verb (see 4.6). The object NP requires the verb to carry a transitive suffix, and the form of the transitive suffix varies according to (among other things) the semantic role of the object. A variety of roles may, in a particular clause, appear in the object position, not only patient or goal but location, cause, instrument and concomitant. With at least some verbs, the speaker has the choice of making these roles the object, or the subject, or putting them in an oblique NP. When a role eligible for object status appears as object, we have an *active transitive* clause, as in the last three examples. When such a role appears as subject we have a *passive* clause. For example, in

[s̄a siko-ji] na vorē vei Timoci
imm caught-tr com pig at Timoci

'The pig was caught at Timoci's (place)'

na vorē 'the pig' is the subject (with a zero person-marker in the VP), even though it plays the role of patient. It may appear in the same role as object of an active verb:

[mā drutu siko-t-a] na vorē
past they catch-tr-it com pig
3pc

'They (few) caught the pig'

A passive verb is formally transitive in that it carries the transitive suffix which normally connects a transitive verb and its direct object. But it lacks the direct object person-marker which is obligatory in an active verb. Compare the last two sentences, and the following:

[i sā qai nu-mi] na ere kea
 np imm them remember-tr com thing this

'This thing is just now being remembered'

[i dodonu][me dra dau nu-m-a] na ere kea
 np right opt they always remember-tr-it com thing this
 pc

'It is proper that they always remember this thing'

A reciprocal verb (see 3.2.4.) also lacks an overt object person-marker, but when the subject person-marker refers to both actor and patient (or goal, etc.) the verb may be considered active transitive.

An oblique case NP may refer to the goal of a verb, or its location, source, cause, instrument, concomitant, or time, but not to an actor or patient. An actor may only appear as subject, a patient only as subject (of a passive verb) or as object. That is, a full passive is lacking, the agent of the passive remaining unexpressed.

5.2.3 Oblique Cases

The oblique case NP normally follow the verb, occurring either before or after the object NP. Prepositions marking oblique case relations include the following:

vei, and its alternant *vu*, mark the oblique NP as animate (see 4.12). The NP may be a location, cause, instrument or goal. In the next example *Mere* is the goal of an intransitive verb.

[dru-i sā vei-vuke jiko vei Mere]
 they-np imm rcp-help prog to Mere
 3d1

'They (two) are giving help to Mere'

Compare this with the next sentence, where *Mere* is the object of a transitive verb.

[dru-i vuke-i Mere jiko]
 they-np help-tr Mere prog
 3d1

'They are helping Mere'

In the following examples *vei* or *vu* mark a location, goal and experiencer (arguably, an animate location) respectively:

[sā siko-ji] na vorē vei Timoci
imm caught-tr com pig at Timoci

'The pig was caught at Timoci's (place)'

[tuku-n-a mada] vei kedra [me sā kua]
tell-it-it pol to them opt imm not:do
3pl

[da dra-i sā wale]
lest they np imm tired

'Tell them to stop in case they get tired'

[mā mani lakoali][ni macala] vu-a
past so not comp clear to-him

'So therefore it was not clear to him'

The alternant *vu* occurs before the 3rd person singular marker *-a*; *vei* occurs elsewhere:

[ma kau-t-a mā] vei au [i duga] na toa
past bring-tr-it hither to me np one com fowl

[ma tū] vu-a
past stand for-him

'He brought one of the fowls which he had to me'

i marks the oblique NP as inanimate. The NP may be a location, source, cause, instrument or time phrase.

ki marks the oblique NP as a goal, normally an inanimate goal. It is usually translated by 'to'.

kai marks the oblique NP as a concomitant and is usually translatable by '(together) with'.

kea na gone [ma du lako] kai-a ki Suva
this com boy past we go with-him to Suva
lipc

'This is the boy whom we went with to Suva'

[sā rawa][ni lima] na mata ki na bose
imm able comp five com delegate to com council

'Five delegates can sit on the council'

[qu-i na lako] ki Suva i na bogi nitēvū
I-np fut go to Suva on com night today

'I will go to Suva tonight'

[i jiko] i ē 'It is here'
np stay at here

[mutu sā lako ki ā?]
you imm go to where
2pc

'Where are you (few) going to?'

[ma ru sota] kai-a niavi
past we meet with-him yesterday
1xdl

'I met him yesterday'

mai marks an oblique NP as at a distant or approximate location. The NP may be a location, source, or cause.

[dru-i sa laki kau-t-a mā] [i dua]na waqa
they-np imm go:to bring-tr-it hither np one com boat

you mai Suva
new from Suva

'They are going off to fetch a new boat from Suva'

[ma ko dan-a] mai ā? 'Where did you find it'
past you see-it at where

[i jiko] mai ā no-na vale?
np stay at where poss-his house
dom

'Where is his house?'

When *mai* 'locative' follows *mā* or *mai* 'towards speaker' the two coalesce as *mai* or *mā*.

vākai precedes independent person-markers. It marks the referent as acting/occurring alone, by itself. The referent is normally animate and coreferential with the subject of the verb:

[dru-tu-i lako] vākai kedratou
they-np go by:self they
3pc 3pc

'They went by themselves'

[i jiko gā] vākai-a
 np stay just by:self-he

'He is staying just by himself'

5.2.4 Trace Pronouns and Noun Phrase Movement

When a noun phrase is moved out of its basic position in the clause to clause-initial position, as in relative clauses and focussing, the person-marker coreferential with the moved NP remains in its basic position. In such cases the person-marker may be referred to as a trace pronoun.

When an oblique case NP is moved the case marker also remains behind. There is one set of case markers which merge with one another and with the trace pronoun when the NP is moved to clause-initial position:

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------|-----|-------------|---|-------------|
| <i>i</i> | + | <i>kaia</i> | and | <i>ki</i> | + | <i>kaia</i> |
| locative | | 3rd | | goal | | 3rd |
| (inanimate) | | singular | | (inanimate) | | singular |

both become *kē*. *mai* 'distant location' + *kaia* '3rd singular' becomes *mai kē*. *kē* is thus the trace pronoun for all oblique case inanimate NP referring to location, cause, instrument, goal and time. In addition to the examples cited in section 3.2.3., note the following:

i na abaki [sā kora] [ma drutu vuli vosa kē]
 in com year imm finish past they learn language therein
 3pc

'Last year they studied languages'

ā [ko lō kē]? 'Where are you going to?'
 where you go thereto

5.2.5 Generic Objects

When the 'object' of a verb is not a specific entity but is non-specific or generic, the nominal is incorporated in the verb phrase. It follows the verb directly without an intervening transitive suffix (with a few lexicalized exceptions) and without an object person-marker:

[ma kere waqa] [ni sā mino] na no-na
 past borrow boat because imm none com poss-his
 dom

'He borrowed a canoe (lit. canoe-borrowed) because he had none'

[drutu mā vuli vosa] i na abaki [sā kora]
 they past learn language in com year imm finish
 3pc

'They studied languages last year'

A verb + generic object construction can be regarded as intransitive, as the verb is formally intransitive and the generic noun lacks the defining features of a true object.

5.3 Nominal Clauses

Nominal clauses are used to assert an identifying or equational relation between two nominal constituents of a clause, or to question such a relation. Often it is possible to distinguish a *topic* and a *comment* constituent. The topic refers to what is given, or old information, and the comment is what is asserted or asked about the topic. From the small amount of data we have on connected discourse it appears that the normal (though not invariable) order is comment + topic.

na bola ava? 'Which basket?'
 com basket what

kea na-ru i-aloalo 'This is our (dual, excl.)
 this poss-out picture portrait'
 sub lxd1

kaia no-qu tabu
 she poss-my sibling in law:of:opp:sex

'She is my sister-in-law (man speaking)'

ko kaia boto gā meri
 prop it only just that

'That is the only one'/'It is only that one'

6. Complex Sentences

6.1 Definitions

A clause which stands alone, i.e. not in construction with another clause, is a *simple sentence*. A *complex sentence* consists of two or more clauses in construction.

Clauses are joined by *conjunctions*. These are normally particles occurring in the preposed periphery of a verb phrase (see 3.2.). They may be divided, though not without problems, into *coordinating* and *subordinating* conjunctions. A subordinating conjunction marks a clause as grammatically dependent upon another clause, and as having grammatical status equivalent to a phrase in an independent clause. A coordinating

conjunction connects two clauses of equal rank, each of which is a potential simple sentence. Similarly, we may speak of subordinate and coordinate clauses.

6.2 Coordinating Conjunctions

The coordinating conjunctions include *ka*, *te*, and *qai*. *ka* and *te* always occur clause-initially.

ka connects clauses standing in a comitative or comparative relation, and may be translated 'and' or 'but', e.g.

[i totolo] na waqa kea, [ka berabera] na waqa kari
 np fast com boat this but slow com boat that

'This boat is fast but that one is slow'

When the two conjuncts have the same subject NP, the subject person-marker and NP of the second conjunct may be omitted.

[dra-i kana] [ka (dra) somi]
 they-np eat and (they) drink

'They eat and drink'

te ~ *tē* indicates that the clauses it connects stand in a relationship of, and is often translatable as 'or' or 'whether'. It also introduces embedded question clauses, as in the following example (where *te* is optional):

[i lakoali] [ni macala] [(tē) ma drutu lako] ki ā
 np not comp clear Q past they go to where
 3pc

'It is not clear where they went to'

te may occur on the first as well as on the second of two disjunctive clauses, and in a yes-no question the second clause, stating the alternative, may be omitted:

[tē qu-i sā lako?] 'Am I to go (or not)?
 or I-np imm go

te also connects noun phrases:

na gone tagane te na gone alewa? 'Boy or girl?'
 com child male or com child female

The form *je*, a borrowing from Tavuki, is sometimes used:

[ko-i via lako][je i mino]?
 you-np want go or np not

'Do you want to go or not?'

qai marks a sequential relation between clauses, and is translatable by 'then, next, after that'. It occurs after the subject person-marker, if one is present.

[me dū sā kana mada][du qai lako]
 opt we imm eat pol we then go
 lipc lipc

'Let's eat first and then go'

The combination of the tense-aspect marker *sā* 'immediate' and *qai* can be translated 'then, thereupon, just then, just now'.

[no-qu sā aco sara] ki na-na dela,
 poss-my imm arrive at:once to poss-its top
 dom sub

[qu-i sā qai da-n-a]
 I-np imm then see-tr-it

'When I arrived at the top, (then) I saw it'

[i sā qai nu-mi] na ere kea
 np imm then remember-tr com thing this

'This thing is just now being remembered'

It is possible to analyse *qai* into *qā*, a variant of the conjunction *ka*, and *-i*, the non-past marker, although this analysis is not transparent to native speakers.

6.3 Subordinating conjunctions

The conjunctions which introduce subordinate clauses include the following:

me, ni, da, dāgā, mani and *kevani*.

6.3.1 Complement Clauses

Several particles introduce complement clauses, which stand in a subject, object or oblique case relation to the verb.

me functions as a member of the tense-aspect set of preverbal particles, indicating the desirability of an action or situation, and is glossed 'optative' (see 3.2.2). It also introduces irrealis or non-actual complements:

[tuku-n-a mada] vei ira [me sā kua]
 tell-tr-it pol to them opt imm not:do

[da dra-i sā wale]
 lest they-np imm tired

'Tell them to stop in case they get tired'

[i dodonu] [me dra dau nu-m-a] na ere kea
np right opt they always remember-tr-it com thing this

'It is proper that they always remember this thing'

[qu-i s̄a nu-m-a] [me kua]
I-np imm think-tr-it opt not:do

'I think it should not be done'

ni functions both as a tense-aspect marker and as a subordinating conjunction, and, arguably, represents two distinct morphemes, *ni*₁ and *ni*₂.

*ni*₁ is a tense-aspect marker which introduces the time or reason for an event, and is often translatable by 'when' or 'because'. *ni*₂ introduces the complements of negative verbs (see 6.4) and of *rawa* 'able', and also acts as a realis or actual complement marker introducing the sentential objects of certain verbs, as in the following. *ni*₁ is exemplified in 6.3.2.

[dru-i rawa][ni dola-v-a] na bola?
they-np able comp open-tr-it com box
3dl

'Are they able to open the box?'

[muru kua mada][ni tuku-ni kaia]
you do:not pol comp tell-tr him
2dl

'Don't you (2) tell on him'

[ko-i s̄a kilā] [ni s̄a kora] na kākana?
you-np imm know-it comp imm finish com food
2s

'Do you know that the food is finished?'

[dra s̄a da-n-a] [ni s̄a kora] na no-dru cakacaka
they imm see-tr-it comp imm finish com poss-their work
dom

'They saw that they had finished their work'

As noted in 6.2., *te* introduces embedded questions, and can be regarded as a complement marker in such usages.

6.3.2 Other Dependent Clauses

There are several morphemes which introduce clauses of reason, condition, etc.

ni marks time or reason:

[dra-i s̄a lako] ki moce [ni s̄a kora] na kana
they-np imm go to sleep when imm finish com eat
3pl

'They went to bed when the meal was finished'

[ma kere waqa][ni s̄a lakoali] na no-na
past borrow boat as imm not com poss-his
dom

'He borrowed a boat as he had none'

mani indicates a consequence: 'so, therefore'.

[m̄a mani mino] [ni macala] vu-a
past so not comp clear to-him

'So (therefore) he didn't know'

da indicates a possible consequence to be avoided.

Examples appear in 3.2.2 and 6.3.1.

dāgā marks the reason for avoiding an undesirable situation, and is often translatable as 'because, so as not to, in case'. It may contain the caveat marker *da* (see above).

[qu-i s̄a mino] [ni via kai-a] [dāgā rogo-c-a]
I-np imm not comp want say-it incasenp hear-tr-it

na no-qu agone
com my small:child

'I don't want to say it in case my little child should hear it'

[ma lokoali] [ni via vuke-a] [dāgā i kilā]
past not comp want help-him because np know-tr-it

na-na inake
his intention

'He did not want to help him because he knew his (bad) intentions'

kevani introduces conditional clauses.

6.4 Formation of Negative Sentences

The following negative forms were recorded:

lakoali, *lokoali*, *migo*, *mino*, all translating 'not', 'none', and *kua* 'do not, refrain from doing'. *mino*, though now in common use, is regarded as a borrowing from the eastern Kadavu dialects.

All the negatives are stative verbs. A negated clause stands as the complement of the negative verb, and may be regarded as its subject. The negated clause is introduced by *nī* (see 6.3.1).

[i mino] [ni moce rawa]
 np not comp sleep able

'He is not able to sleep'

[i mino] [ni vinaka]
 np not comp good

'It is not good'

[i lakoali sara gā] [ni dru-i dan-a] [i duga]
 np not indeed just comp they-np see-it np one

na ere
 com thing

'They haven't seen anything at all'

The negative verb takes the same range of peripheral particles as other stative verbs, including subject person-markers. In underlying structure the subject of the negative verb is a 3rd person singular marker, translatable as impersonal 'it' (marked by zero, see 3.2.2).

[∅ i mino] [ni dru na lesu tale mai]
 it np not comp they fut return again hither
 3pc

'They (few) won't come back here' (lit. 'It is not (the case) that they will come back here')

Optionally, however, the subject of the complement clause may be 'raised' or 'promoted' to the position of subject of the negative verb. Thus, as an alternant of the preceding sentence, we find:

[dru-i mino] [ni lesu tale mai]

Most of the negative verbal sentences in the corpus show raised subjects, indicating this to be the preferred option. But in sentences with a 3rd person singular marker as subject, it is generally not possible to tell whether or not the subject (marked by zero in this case) has been raised.

A nominal phrase stands as the subject of the verb which negates it. It is not, however, introduced by a complement marker *nī*, but by a noun phrase marker:

[i migo] na kākana 'There is no food'
 np not com food

[ma kere waqa] [ni lakoali] na no-na
 past borrow boat because not com poss-his
 dom

'He borrowed a boat because he had none'

lakoali and its variant *lokoali*, and *mino* and its variant *migo* each occurs as a negative interjection as well as a negative existential and verbal negator. These forms appear to be in stylistic variation, with the newer form *mino* now ousting the older words.

kua indicates a negative imperative, as: [kua!] 'don't!' Its force may be softened by adding *mada*:

[tei kua mada] [ni lako]! 'Pray do not go!'
 ? do: not pol comp go

[muru kua mada] [ni tuku-ni kaia]!
 you do: not pol comp tell-tr him
 2dl

'Please don't you (2) tell on him'

kua also occurs as a verb meaning 'refrain, do not':

[qu-i sā nu-m-a] [me kua]
 I-np imm think-tr-it opt not: do

'I think it should not be done/I think one should refrain'

7. Historical Notes

Comparative study (see especially Geraghty 1978) reveals a number of important features of grammar which mark the Kadavu dialects off from the other language areas of Fiji. Within Kadavu, Nabukelevu forms a well-marked dialect region. One can find in Nabukelevu speech a number of archaic usages which have largely disappeared elsewhere in Fiji, or at least outside of Kadavu. We will touch on a few of these here, while leaving a full comparative treatment to a separate paper.

The subject person-markers and the tense-aspect marker *i* exhibit certain archaic features. The marker *i* is lost in Eastern Fijian but persists in most Western Fijian dialects. In Western Fijian, however, *i* generally fuses with the subject person-markers to form a series of portmanteau forms, e.g. *qu + *i* gives Western Fijian *qi* '1st singular nonpast', *taru + *i* gives *tari* '1st incl, dual nonpast', *muru + *i* gives *miri* '2nd dual nonpast', etc. But in Nabukelevu the original sequence persists, as *qui*, *darui*, *murui*, etc. Here, then, we have a first indication that Nabukelevu has for some time

developed separately from the Western Fijian subgroup. In the Eastern Fijian subgroup *qu has been replaced by *au* or *kau*, and *i* lost. Neither of these innovations has taken place in Nabukelevu (though *kau* has lately gained a foothold there), an indication of its relative independence from the main body of Eastern Fijian dialects.

The Proto Central Pacific postverbal direction marker *atu 'thither, forth, towards addressee or third person position' has in Western Fijian become *ati*, and in Eastern Fijian dialects is generally replaced by *ani* (*yani*), *ane* and other irregular or non-cognate equivalents. In Nabukelevu (and Kadavu generally) it continues regularly as *atu*. One other Fijian region, N.E. Vanua Levu, preserves the same form.

Consideration of a wider range of evidence partly confirms these first indications of lengthy separate development, but shows that the independence has been only partial. There are a number of isoglosses in which Nabukelevu (or Kadavu as a whole) is united with Western Fiji as against most of Eastern Fiji e.g. the replacement of POC *poñu by *ika bula* as the term for 'turtle'; the replacement of the inanimate oblique trace pronoun *kinia by *kē* or *kā*; the replacement of POC *kuRita as the generic term for 'octopus, squid' by *sulua*; the substitution of *somi* for POC *(i,u)nu as the term for 'drink'; the replacement of POC *qanañRa (Standard Fijian *nanoa*) by *niavi* as the term for 'yesterday'; the irregular change of *vei- 'reciprocal prefix' (from POC *paRi) to *vī-*; the replacement of POC *mai 'hither' by *ma*; and the use of *dani* as the verb for 'see'.

On the other hand, there are also a good many isoglosses which link Nabukelevu to Eastern Fijian or part of the Eastern region, e.g. the merger of POC *n and *ñ as *n* (in Western Fijian becomes *y* or zero); the irregular loss of *i from the close transitive suffix *-Ci before the 3rd person singular object-marker *-a; the irregular loss of *ma from the 1st person exclusive dual and paucal markers (e.g. *kematou becomes NBL *kētou*, general Eastern Fijian *keitou* '1st excl. paucal, independent'); *tani 'hence, away from' has the functional replacement *laivi* in Kadavu and a part of the Eastern Fijian area close to Kadavu.

This pattern of intersecting isoglosses indicates that Nabukelevu has, at various times in its history, been in contact with external speech traditions of both the Western and the Eastern type. But to investigate the relative chronology of these contacts, and to ask what the Nabukelevu materials tells us about the history of the other Fijian languages, would take us far afield. The reader is referred

to Geraghty's recent study for a comparative treatment of the languages, although relatively little is said there about Nabukelevu.⁴

From the limited observations we were able to make in 1976, and from comparisons with a list of words and phrases collected by A.C. Capell in 1941,⁵ it is clear that many of the old Nabukelevu usages are now in competition with new ones which stem from contact with Standard Fijian and with the other Kadavu languages, especially Tavuki. In these notes mention has already been made of the variation between the old possessive forms *ne-*, *na-*, and *nē*, and the innovative forms *no-*, *ke-* and *nona*, which resemble those of the rest of Kadavu and Standard Fijian; between *vī-* and *vei-*; between *te* and *je*; between *mino* and the other negative forms; and between *qu* and *qui* (old forms) on the one hand, and *kau* and *au* (innovative) on the other. Additional cases could be mentioned, noted in other areas of the grammar and the vocabulary. While good information as to the nature of the variation is lacking, it is clear from informants' comments and from a study of Capell's materials that some of the distinctive Nabukelevu usages have lost ground since 1941. Change seems to be more advanced among the Yawe villages closest to the main centres of education and administration on the north coast in the Tavuku region, and is said to be most apparent in the speech of the young and educated. The Nabukelevu situation provides an excellent ground for a thorough sociolinguistic study of language contact and change. One may only speculate that the Nabukelevu speech tradition is now undergoing - perhaps at a faster rate - the kind of assimilation to more prestigious Eastern Fijian models that other Kadavu regions have already undergone over a period of centuries.

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NOTES

- 1 The line dividing Eastern and Western Fijian runs roughly north-south through the Fijian group, to the west of Vanua Levu and through the centre of Viti Levu. On the north coast of Viti Levu the boundary lies between Rabulu village (Eastern) and Tavua (Western), and with two minor deviations it follows the eastern margins of the central mountain chain (the Nadrau Plateau) south to the junction of the Navua and Wainikoroiluva Rivers. From there it roughly follows the course of the Navua River to its mouth. On the Nadrau Plateau itself the boundary first curves west of Nadrau village (Eastern), and then eastwards into the Upper Wainimala Valley where a cluster of Western-speaking villages is located. See Pawley and Sayaba (1971) and Geraghty (1978) for discussion of the linguistic features which define this boundary. Capell and Lester (1941-42) and Schütz (1962) provide further information, though not presented with a strict subgrouping framework. Although there has been some borrowing of features between Eastern and Western dialects, there is no dialect on Viti Levu whose genetic classification (as either Eastern or Western) is in doubt.
- 2 See Schütz (1976) for an account of the 'group' and other prosodic features of Standard Fijian.
- 3 Geraghty (1978:219-20) briefly considers the functions of reflexes of *tia in several Fijian languages. He concludes that these mark the 'comment' (as opposed to the 'topic') of a nominal, or equational sentence, and are translatable by English 'be' in its equational sense.
- 4 Geraghty (1978), esp. pp. 285-9, 296-8 for discussion of Kadavu.
- 5 Capell n.d.