



The History of the Fijian Languages

Author(s): Paul A. Geraghty

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The History of the Fijian Languages

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The History of the Fijian Languages

Paul A. Geraghty

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ABBREVIATIONS

LANGUAGES

Abbreviation	Language Name
ANU	Anuta (Polynesian outlier in Melanesia)
ARE	'Are'are (Solomons)
ARS	Arosi (Solomons)
BAU	Bau (Fiji)
BRV(M)	Bāravi, Macuata (Fiji)
BRV(N)	Bāravi, Nadroga (Fiji)
BTW	Batiwai (Fiji)
BUG	Bugotu (Solomons)
CF	Colloquial Fijian
CVL	Central Vanua Levu (Fiji)
DGT	Dogotuki (Fiji)
EAS	Easter Island (Polynesia)
ECE	Ellice Islands (Polynesia)
EF	Eastern Fijian
EFU	East Futuna (Polynesia)
FIJ	Fijian (dialect unspecified)
GED	Gedaged (New Guinea)
GIL	Gilbertese (Micronesia)
GIT	Gitua (New Guinea)
GOD	Gone Dau (Fiji)
HAW	Hawaiian
INA	Inakona (Solomons)
K	Kadavu (Fiji)
KAK	Kaliai-Kove (New Britain)
KAP	Kapingamarangi (Polynesian outlier in Micronesia)
KBY	Nakoroboya (Fiji)
KRL	Koroalau (Fiji)
KUA	Kuanua (New Britain)

L	Lau (Fiji)
LAU	Moce, Lau (Fiji)
LAU(S)	Lau (Solomons)
LBS	Labasa (Fiji)
LOB	Lobaha (New Hebrides)
LUA	Luangiuia (Polynesian outlier in Melanesia)
LUT	Lutu (Fiji)
LVN	Lovoni (Fiji)
MAN	Manam (New Guinea)
MAO	Maori (Polynesia)
MAR	Marshallese (Micronesia)
MGD	Magodro (Fiji)
MOK	Mokilese (Micronesia)
MTA	Mota (New Hebrides)
MTU	Motu (Papua)
NAK	Nakanai (New Britain)
NAN	Nanumea (Ellice Islands, Polynesia)
NBB	Nabalebale (Fiji)
NBL	Nabukelevu (Fiji)
NDR	Nadrau (Fiji)
NE	Northeast Viti Levu (Fiji)
NEVL	Northeast Vanua Levu (Fiji)
NGG	Nggela (Solomons)
NGU	Nguna (New Hebrides)
NH	New Hebrides data from Tryon (1976) is marked NH; approximate distribution within the New Hebrides is shown by two-letter abbreviations, as in the following.
NHAm	Ambrym (New Hebrides)
NHAn	Aneityum (New Hebrides)
NHAo	Aoba (New Hebrides)
NHBa	Banks and Torres Islands (New Hebrides)
NHEf	Efate (New Hebrides)

NHEp	Epi (New Hebrides)
NHER	Erromanga (New Hebrides)
NHMa	Maewo (New Hebrides)
NHM1	Malekula (New Hebrides)
NHPa	Paama (New Hebrides)
NHPe	Pentecost (New Hebrides)
NHSa	Santo (New Hebrides)
NHSh	Shepherd Islands (New Hebrides)
NHTa	Tanna (New Hebrides)
NIU	Niue (Polynesia)
NKR	Noikoro (Fiji)
NLE	Nalea (Fiji)
NMM	Naimasimasi (Fiji)
NMN	Namena (Fiji)
NMS	Namosi (Fiji)
NNS	Namosi-Naitāsiri-Sērua (Fiji)
NUK	Nukuoro (Polynesian outlier in Micronesia)
NVS	Navakasiga (Fiji)
NVT(B)	Navatu, Bua (Fiji)
NVT(C)	Navatu, Cakaudrove (Fiji)
NWF	Nuclear Western Fijian
NWN	Naweni (Fiji)
ONO	Ono-i-Kadavu (Fiji)
PAN	Proto Austronesian
PCO	Proto Central Outlier (Polynesia)
PEA	Proto Eastern Austronesian
PEC	Proto Ellicean (Polynesian)
PEO	Proto Eastern Oceanic
PEP	Proto Eastern Polynesian
PMC	Proto Micronesian
PNH	Proto New Hebrides
PNP	Proto Nuclear Polynesian
POC	Proto Oceanic
PON	Ponapean (Micronesia)

PPH	Proto Philippines
PPN	Proto Polynesian
PSO	Proto Samoic Outlier (Polynesia)
PSS	Proto Southeast Solomons
PTO	Proto Tongic (Polynesia)
PTP	Proto Tokalau Polynesian
PUA	Pulo Annian (Micronesia)
RAR	Rarotongan (Polynesia)
RAX	Raxa (New Hebrides)
REN	Rennellese (Polynesian outlier in Melanesia)
ROT	Rotuman
ROV	Roviana (New Georgia)
SAA	Sa'a (Solomons)
SAM	Samoan (Polynesia)
SAV	Savusavu (Fiji)
SE	Southeast Viti Levu (Fiji)
SEVL	Southeast Vanua Levu (Fiji)
SF	Standard Fijian
SIK	Sikaiana (Polynesian outlier in Melanesia)
SLV	Solevu (Fiji)
SQN	Saqani (Fiji)
SQQ	Seaqāqā (Fiji)
TAK	Takuu (Polynesian outlier in Melanesia)
TBI	Tubai (Fiji)
TBW	Tubaniwai (Fiji)
TF	Tokalau Fijian
TKM	Tokaimalo (Fiji)
TNL	Tunuloa (Fiji)
TOK	Tokelau (Polynesia)
TON	Tongan (Polynesia)
TRK	Trukese (Micronesia)
TUA	Tuamotu (Polynesia)
TVK	Tavuki (Fiji)

VAT	Vaturanga (Solomons)
VBL	Vanua Balavu (Fiji)
VL	Vanua Levu (Fiji)
WAY	Waya (Fiji)
WDN	Waidina (Fiji)
WF	Western Fijian
WOL	Woleaian (Micronesia)
WVL	Western Vanua Levu (Fiji)
XWA	Xwaio (Solomons)

OTHERS

Abbreviation	Meaning
a	adjective, modifier
act	actual
art	article
asp	aspect marker
C	consonant
CN	common noun
conj	conjunction
eo	each other
esp	especially
gram	grammatical
id	idiom
k	kind of
LN	locational noun
N	noun
n-a	neutral-active
NP	noun phrase
obs	obsolete or obsolescent
os	oneself
p	plural
pass	passive
phon	phonological

pm	possessive marker
PN	proper noun
Pn	independent pronoun
pn	affixed or clitic pronoun
pot	potential
pr	preposition
PP	prepositional phrase
pt	particle
s	singular
S	sentence
so	someone
st	something
t	male (SF <i>tagane</i>)
tr	transitive suffix
usu	usually
V	verb; vowel
v-	<i>vaka-</i> or <i>vā-</i>
ve	ergative type verb
vi	intransitive verb
voc	vocative
VP	verb phrase (object NP not included)
vt	transitive verb
w	with
x	either sex
y	female (SF <i>yalewa</i>)
I	first person
Ii	first person inclusive
Ix	first person exclusive
II	second person
III	third person
2	dual
3	paucal (group of three or more)
+	et cetera
#	phrase boundary
=	synonym; spouse of

CHAPTER 1

Methodological Preliminaries

1.1. Problems in Presenting Data

Although this work is not purely descriptive, it is heavily data-oriented and is based on descriptions I have made of Fijian dialects. Utterances in context were in most cases the raw data, and the words have been extracted for presentation here as lexical data. Every word has a distribution, pronunciation, function, and meaning, and the telling of each presents a different problem. Considerable space will be devoted to the discussion of these problems and the solutions I propose, because not to do so would be to encourage continuance of the inaccuracies and omissions that are frequently encountered in Oceanic literature, and these have all too often led from conjecture to unwarranted conclusion.

The linguist often comes across "cognate" sets in which compared forms overlap formally.

Hockett's (1976) list of Proto Fiji Polynesian reconstructions provides numerous examples. One instance is the cognacy claimed for this pair:

BAU	<i>qalo</i>	'swim'
PPN	* <i>kaloama</i>	'goatfish, surmullet'

Ignore for the moment the fact that, in Bauan, only

people and animals 'swim' (fish 'run'); the point to notice here is that the *-ama* is unaccounted for, because it is not a productive suffix. In the same work we find:

PPN	<i>*kawa</i>	' <i>Piper methysticum</i> '
BAU	<i>kawai</i>	' <i>Discorea esculenta</i> '

Here also, there is no regular suffix *-i* to account for the Bauan form (and we are left to imagine how the name for the cultivated *kava* shrub could come to mean a kind of wild yam). Linguists differ greatly among themselves about how much formal and semantic discrepancy is allowed between pairs of cognates, and Hockett has evidently elected to include some highly improbable cognate sets. There are instances, however, when a linguist uses a "benign slash" to remove from consideration the offending portion of a form, although that device is normally taken to imply the existence of a morpheme boundary. One list of Proto Oceanic reconstructions, for example, gives a Bau reflex of POC **api* 'fire' thus (Grace 1969):

BAU	<i>v/avi</i>	'cook'
-----	--------------	--------

along with this reflex of **poze* 'paddle':

BAU	<i>i/voce</i>	'a paddle'
-----	---------------	------------

Any Fijian grammar will show that *i-voce* is an instrumental noun regularly derived from *voce* '(to) paddle' by means of the preformative *i-*. On the other hand, there is no *v-* prefix¹ in Fijian (nor, to my knowledge, in any Oceanic language),

therefore, the possibility of *vavi* being derived from POC **api* is quite remote. There are many more examples of this kind, but I trust the point is clear: the use of the "benign slash" can be misleading, and the slash should always represent a morpheme boundary.

The slash, the tilde, parentheses, or comma are sometimes also used when citing forms in some kind of variation. What kind of variation is seldom shown, though no linguist would deny the importance of indicating whether variation is, for example, phonologically conditioned, as opposed to one form being obsolescent and the other innovative. In Pawley's "The Verb Phrase in Proto Oceanic" (n.d.a: 7), we find some Bauan preverbal subject pronouns listed as follows:

1 sg	<i>au</i> ~ <i>u</i>
2 sg	<i>ko</i> ~ <i>o</i>
3 sg	<i>ø</i> , <i>e</i>
2 dl	(<i>ko</i>) <i>drau</i>

Nowhere is any one device explained. In fact, each case of variation is distinct. The first person singular is *u* after a conjunction, *au* elsewhere.² In the second singular, *ko* is marked as formal or literary, and is not strictly "Bauan," so the variation is stylistic. For the third singular, *e* may be deleted before certain aspect markers. In the second dual, expansion of the brackets, in fact, leaves us a form short: to *drau* and *kodrau* must be added *odrau*. *kodrau* is marked stylistically, as *ko* is in the second singular. In sentence-initial position, *drau* and *odrau* appear to be in free variation, though *odrau* may be more formal; otherwise, choice of

conjunction, which immediately precedes the subject pronoun, determines the selection of *drau* or *odrau*.

The "benign slash" and the "vague variable" are just two examples of devices which are intended to make the task of the linguist easier, but in actual usage may create confusion and lead to a false analysis. The rest of this chapter will contain explanations and illustrations of the conventions adopted in presenting data, in the hope of avoiding most potential misunderstandings.

1.2. Citing Forms

As will be explained in the next chapter, Fijian forms from all areas are cited in a diaphonemic notation, their actual pronunciation depending on the phonetic interpretation rules of individual communalects (see section 2.2). Some other conventions should be noted here:

- (1). Underlying long vowels are marked with a macron. They are realized as long vowels on the surface except when preceding an unstressed vowel. For example SF (Standard Fijian) *dōnu-∅* 'opposite, contemporary with' is realized as *dōnui* with the transitive suffix *-i*, but as *donu* when intransitive: **dōnu* is not an acceptable form.³
- (2). A hyphen is used to connect the stem of a verb with its "thematic" consonant, that is, the initial consonant of its transitive suffix. For instance, *sogo-t* shows that the transitive form of this verb is *sogote*, *sogota*, *sogoti*, or *sogotia* (the actual suffix varies according to dialect and grammatical function). When the thematic consonant is

- followed by *k*, the transitive suffix is the "long" one, so that *masu-lk* 'pray - for' stands for *masulake*, *masulaki*, *masulaka*, *masulakina*, and so on (see section 5.3.2).
- (3). When word-final, a hyphen indicates that the word allows direct possession (see section 5.1.3.4.1).
 - (4). *v-* prefixed to a base stands for the so-called causative prefix, which is *vaka-* in some areas, *vā-* in others, or (as in SF) *vā-* when preceding a velar consonant, *vaka-* otherwise.

1.3. Variation

In citation, it is customary to define a form by stating the language of which it is a part, and by rendering its meaning in English. It can happen, however, that other factors determine the form, so that variant forms occur in the same "language" and with the same "meaning."

If a speaker uses the variants freely, then the variants are separated by a comma. If the variation is conditioned, the variants are separated by a slash, and an explanation of the condition follows in parentheses. Such an explanation may be a single word defining the conditioning factor, such as "place," "age," "style," "phon," "gram." Alternatively, the specific values of the variable which condition each variant may be shown, as in the examples below:

```

bā/sā aspect marker (old/young). Old
people use bā, young people use sā.
au/u I (/conj__). u is used after a
conjunction, au otherwise.
ko/o you (formal/). ko is used only

```

in formal style, or otherwise.

Where a slash is used but no explanation follows, it may be taken that the variation is not random, but the conditioning factor is either self-evident or not known.

1.4. Function Indicators

Generally the function of a word is clear from its gloss. Sometimes an English gloss is not possible, and an explanation of the word's function follows, not in quotation marks as a gloss would be, e.g.,

ma past tense

Pronoun glosses are rather unwieldy, so I have chosen to use the following abbreviations:

I	first person
Ix	first person exclusive
Ii	first person inclusive
II	second person
III	third person
2	dual
3	paucal (group of three or more)
p	plural

The person abbreviations (I, II, III) are also used in defining demonstratives.

Suffixes are preceded by a hyphen; prefixes are followed by a hyphen. Affixes and particles which precede or follow nouns or verbs may be indicated by a following or preceding N or V, respectively, thus:

maV past tense. Preverbal past tense marker.

v-ko II. Second person singular pronoun suffixed to verbs.

laiV 'go and, go to'. Preverbal particle.

N-datou Ii3. First person inclusive paucal pronoun suffixed to nouns.

Other part-of-speech abbreviations which will be used are:

art	article
conj	conjunction
CN	common noun
id	idiom
LN	locational noun (includes place names)
NP	noun phrase
NN	reduplicated noun
pm	possessive marker
PN	proper noun
Pn	independent pronoun
pn	affixed or clitic pronoun
pp	prepositional phrase
pr	preposition
pt	particle
S	sentence
tr	transitive suffix
ve	ergative-type verb (subject of unsuffixed base same case as object of suffixed base)
vi	intransitive verb
VP	verb phrase (in common Oceanic usage--does not include object NP)

vt	transitive-type verb (subject of unsuffixed base same case as subject of suffixed base)
VV	reduplicated verb base

1.5. Glosses

In glosses, certain conventions are followed which, it is hoped, will reduce any possible ambiguity. I have taken the liberty, therefore, of altering some glosses taken from other sources. Because of the lack of fit between the semantic categories of English and those of the language under study, a simple English gloss must often be modified by a statement regarding what particular, or what kind of, subject or object is associated with the word. This modification has traditionally been done with the words *of* and *as*. One shortcoming of this tradition is that sometimes it is not altogether clear whether *of* marks the subject or object, as in this Bugotu definition (Ivens 1941):

beebee to carry on the hips, of child

Another problem is that *as* is ambiguous as to whether the associated noun is the only one permitted, or is given as an example. With a little thought, and knowledge of related languages, we can determine that the Rennell word (Elbert 1975):

toga to be erect, as penis

refers to erection of the penis *only*, and not of edifices, while the same guesswork suggests that

taga to take off, change (as a loincloth)

can refer to shirts and other articles of clothing besides loincloths. But what is to be made of these?

tui bone, as of whale
tahu to build, as a fire

Another kind of ambiguity is seen when more than one gloss is followed by an *of* modifier, as in Sa'a (Ivens 1929):

karokaro(-ku) side, rib, of persons

The conventions followed here are that a modifying noun is enclosed in parentheses, preceding the gloss if it refers to subject or possessor, following if it refers to object; if it is an example of a set, it is followed by a plus sign within the parenthesis; its domain is bounded by a semicolon, but not by a comma. Abbreviations used are:

st	something
so	someone

The Sa'a definition, (presuming it refers only to humans), would be written:

karokaro- (so) side, rib

and might be read 'someone's side or rib'; *so* has the effect of making it explicit that *karokaro* does not refer to, for example, the side of a house. An example of a specific subject modifier is (from Lauan):

piki (arm) crooked

and object modifier:

pulou-n cover (head)

possessor modifier:

puku- (tree) knot

This next example shows use of both subject and object modifiers:

pori-φ (wind) strip bare (tree)

though it might equally well be rendered: '(wind) strip leaves off'. The plus sign is shown in:

sapo-t catch (ball+)

suggesting that the object of *sapo-t* might be something thrown or dropped, but not a criminal or a bus.

A spaced hyphen is used to set off a preposition which indicates the case of a transitive verb, as in:

puku-c 'angry - at'

We can now distinguish, for example, between SF *soli-φ* 'give', which takes the instrument as grammatical direct object, as does its English gloss, and Western Fijian *vaga-n* 'give', in which the grammatical direct object is the recipient, thus:

soli-φ 'give'

vaga-n 'give - to'

Similarly, the case difference signaled by different transitive suffixes can easily be glossed:

SF	<i>cici-v</i>	'run - on,to,for'
	<i>cici-vk</i>	'run - with, carrying'
	<i>keli-φ</i>	'dig'
	<i>keli-vk</i>	'dig hole - for'
	<i>masu-t</i>	'pray - to'
	<i>masu-lk</i>	'pray - for'

Below is a summary of the abbreviations and symbols used in definitions:

eo	each other
esp	especially
k	kind of
obs	obsolete, obsolescent
os	oneself
so	someone
st	something
usu	usually
w	with
+	et cetera
=	synonym

1.6. Defining Kin Terms

During my fieldwork I felt the need for an economic, rigorous, and language-independent notation for defining kin terms. Oceanic dictionaries are riddled with definitions that are inadequate or unclear, and it is generally the English language (or, rather, the way it reflects "English" kinship) that is to blame. The notation developed, which

certainly served my needs as a field linguist, is not only a useful shorthand, but also facilitates the comparison of particular relationships and kinship systems, both within and across languages. The following conventions apply:

- (1). In the string of symbols, the first represents the ego, the last the referent.
- (2). The relationship between ego and referent is defined by showing their respective relationships to their closest common ancestor (ignoring, for the moment, affines). Consecutive symbols are a generation apart. An apostrophe represents the closest common ancestor. Generations ascend to the left of the apostrophe, and descend to the right.
- (3). Each symbol indicates sex, thus:

t	male
y	female
x	either
a...a	same sex
a...b	opposite sex (and so on, as in alpha notation)
- (4). Age relative to ego is shown by a postposed plus (older) or minus (younger) sign.

Some English terms will be used to illustrate:

parent: xx'
Ego either sex, referent either sex, one ascending generation.
father: xt'
Ego either sex, referent male, one ascending generation.

grandmother: xxy'
Ego either sex, referent female, two
ascending generations through either
parent.

daughter: 'xy
Ego either sex, referent female, one
descending generation.

brother: x't
Ego either sex, referent male, one
ascending then one descending generation
(i.e., closest common ancestor is only
one generation removed from both ego and
referent).

cousin: xx'xx
Ego and referent either sex, closest
common ancestor two generations removed
from both.

uncle: xx't

niece: x'xy

Some Standard Fijian terms will illustrate other
symbols:

taci-: a'a-
younger same-sex sibling

gāne-: a'b
opposite-sex sibling

mōmō: xy't
maternal uncle

These definitions are, however, a little simplified.
Two of the preceding relations pertain not only to
siblings, but to children of same-sex siblings. We
can use the familiar parentheses to show this:

taci-: a(b'b)a-

Moreover, if we believe, as some informants assert, that these relationships are maintained at even greater distances, that is, through any equal number of generations of same-sex siblings, we might use a series of dots:

taci-: a(b...'...b)a-

Alternatively, we could introduce a notational convention, especially for Fijian kin terms, stating that the generational distance of the closest common ancestor is irrelevant, as long as intermediate kin in parallel generations are of the same sex, perhaps thus:

' \rightarrow (a₁(a₂...'...a₂)a₁)

where a₁ and a₂ may or may not be of the same sex. I prefer this latter, more general, solution. We may pause to contrast the notation being presented here with a reasonably accurate English gloss:

taci-: a'a-

same-sex younger sibling, or same-sex
younger offspring of same-sex siblings,
or same-sex younger offspring of same-
sex offspring of same-sex siblings, and
so on.

It would be convenient for this notation, though perhaps inconvenient in other respects, if people never married. The added complication, however, is not insurmountable. The equal sign is used for

'spouse of', thus:

husband: =t or y=
wati-: =x' or x='

Notice the apostrophe in the definition of *wati-*; it allows the application of the preceding convention, so that my spouse's same-sex siblings (and also same-sex offspring of same-sex siblings, and so on) are also my *wati-*. A second notational convention may now be applied to change ac'db (opposite-sex offspring of opposite-sex siblings, opposite-sex offspring of opposite-sex offspring of same-sex siblings, and so on) to x='. This notational convention reflects the custom that cross-cousin marriage is favored (at least in the SF kinship area), and the fact that affine terminology is largely based on this custom. For example, the word *tavale-* means both male cross-cousin of male, and brother of wife; and *mōmō* means both father of cross-cousin and father-in-law.

To allay the reader's apprehension, let me add that I will also provide a brief, approximate, English gloss with kinship terms.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. "Prefix," "suffix," and "word" are not well-defined terms in Fijian. For the moment, we shall call a form bound to the base, with no intervening forms permitted, a prefix or suffix.
2. We may speculate about whether this is phonologically or morphologically conditioned; historically, *au* appears to be the innovative form (Geraghty 1977:18-21).
3. Unfortunately, Capell's (1957) dictionary is misleading in this respect, and many forms are marked as having penultimate long vowels. As Scott (1948:743) pointed out, penultimate long vowels are not allowed in Fijian. For further discussion, see Schütz (1976:80,86).

CHAPTER 2

The Sound Patterns of Fiji

2.0. Introduction

It will be necessary during the course of this work to cite many forms from various parts of Fiji. Given the diversity of phonological systems, it is not surprising that a single historical form can turn up in different areas in very different phonetic guises.¹ It was apparent from an early stage in my work, therefore, that a very useful tool would be a kind of diaphonemic system in which related, but phonetically distinct, forms could be cited, and an associated list of rules for the various areas by means of which the actual pronunciation of the form could be determined.² In this chapter, I will list phonetic realization rules for the communalects on which I have chosen to focus, and which, it is hoped, will adequately represent the whole of Fiji. The two following chapters will be an attempt to draw historical inferences from a comparison of contemporary sound-systems within Fiji.

2.1. The "Communalect"

Following Pawley and Sayaba (1971:407), I shall use the term "communalect" to signify a variety of speech with little or no apparent regional variation. A "communalect" typically covers a number of

villages in a geographically defined area, but may be confined to one village (e.g., Navatu (Bua)), or be spread over more than twenty villages (e.g., Namosi, Lau). In my judgments about where one communalect ends and another begins, I have relied heavily on the opinions of native informants. In most instances a "communalect" is a variety spoken by people who claim they use the same speech. I very rarely found any disagreement among informants regarding communalect boundaries; and there was frequently agreement regarding the lexical items or habits of pronunciation that characterize a particular communalect. Generally, throughout Fiji, most speakers, even children, are very much aware of minute linguistic differences, and use them in contrasting themselves with their neighbors. The words for 'heavy' and 'light' often appear in impressionistic descriptions, but their phonetic correlates are unclear.

While informants appear to be good at defining linguistic boundaries, their assessment of degrees of difference does not always accord with the linguist's. One particular instance I recall concerns the people of Nakoroboya, in Bā province. They insisted that the speech of their neighbors in Navala and Togē was closer to theirs than that of Bā and Tavua. When I came to add up the lexical and grammatical evidence, however, it became clear that Bā and Tavua were considerably closer. It turned out that the informants' criterion of linguistic closeness was not lexical or grammatical, but intonational: for them, the fact that Nakoroboya shared intonation patterns with Navala and Togē, exclusively of Bā and Tavua, overrode all other factors.

In cases where native judgments about "sameness" are at odds with the linguist's, I have usually allowed the native view to prevail. Phonological criteria, for example, appear to be important only sometimes. There is widespread awareness that some people use '*h*' or fricativize *k* [x, y], or use the glottal stop; but variation within a communalect is encountered fairly often. In the Dawasamu communalect of northern Tailevu, three of the five villages follow their Rā neighbors in realizing *t* as glottal stop, while for the other two it is [t]; yet they all "speak the same language." A similar situation obtains in Yadua island, Bua, where both velar fricative and glottal stop are used for *k*. I was unable to discover the determining factor, though age and locality probably can be discounted; possibly it has to do with where the speaker went to school.

Although the "communalect" will be the basic unit for comparison, the terms "dialect" and "language" also will be used interchangeably.

2.2. The Diaphoneme

In his positive answer to the question "Is a structural dialectology possible?" Uriel Weinreich (1954) discusses the concept of a "diasystem," an abstract system which relates partially similar systems, such as related dialects. For present purposes, a diasystem of the sounds of Fijian languages will be used as a convenient device for citing in one form a number of related, but phonetically (and sometimes phonemically) distinct forms. I shall use the term "diaphoneme" to mean a symbol representing a sound, or sounds, which constitute a distinct phoneme in at least some of the languages of Fiji. The deliberate vagueness in

"at least some" points to the fact that I have been obliged to draw some arbitrary lines, in much the same way that a historical linguist must decide that certain correspondence sets reflect a distinct protophoneme, while others show irregular developments in daughter languages. The diaphoneme, however, is not a protophoneme, but an abbreviatory device.

Forms cited in diaphonemic notation will be italicized. Occasionally, a form will be cited in a "phonetic" script which is closer to actual pronunciation; this form will be italicized and in single quotation marks. Such a script might well be used when nonstandard languages come to be written. Only the familiar letters of the Roman alphabet are used in the "phonetic" script, and there are some resulting inconsistencies. Palatalized *t*, for instance, is written '*j*', but there is no suitable symbol available for palatalized *d*; interestingly, however, loanwords have made palatalized *t* phonemic in many dialects, whereas palatalized *d* remains a phonologically conditioned allophone.

In Table 1, the first column lists the diaphonemes; the second column shows the various possible realizations of each diaphoneme in "phonetic" script; and the third column gives a more complete list of possible phonetic realizations, using IPA symbols.

The phonetic realization rules which will be listed for each communalect are the exceptions to the general rule that a diaphoneme is realized as the first phone ascribed to it in Table 1. So *k* is to be taken as representing [k] in those dialects which have no phonetic realization rule affecting *k* (e.g., Waidina). Rules are generally of the form:

Table 1

Diaphonemes and Their Possible Realizations
in "Phonetic" Script and IPA

Diaphoneme	"Phonetic" Script	IPA
a	a	a a:
b	b p	mb p
c	c	ɔ
d	d t	nd d d ndʒ t
dr	dr tr	ndr tr
e	e	ɛ
f	f	f
g	g	ŋ
gw	gw g	ŋw ŋ
i	i (zero)	i / i̯ (/a, e____) i
k	k x ' (zero)	k x/y (phon) '
kw	kw xw ' (zero)	kw xw/yw (phon) '
l	l	l l̄

Table 1 (continued)

Diaphoneme	"Phonetic" Script	IPA
m	m	m
n	n	n
o	o	ɔ
p	p	p
q	q	ŋ g
	k	g g k
qw	qw	ŋ gw
	q	ŋ g
	k	g g k
r	r	r
s	s	s
	h	h
t	t	t
	'	?
	j	tʃ
	s	s
u	u	u/u (/a,o__)
	(zero)	u
v	v	β
w	w	w
y (zero)	y y (zero)	j j (/#_a)
<i>diaphonemic forms are italicized</i>	<i>forms in "phonetic" script are italicized and in single quotes</i>	<i>forms will not be cited in IPA</i>

diaphoneme : "phonetic" script or IPA

so that

k:x

might be read as "k is realized as a velar fricative"
(no claim made about presence or absence of voice).

In the next rule, IPA is used:

d:[ndʒ]/__i

meaning that d is realized as a prenasalized alveo-palatal affricate before i. Some rules are given in prose.

Through use of the phonetic realization rules, the various pronunciations of any diaphonemic form can be determined, as in these examples:

Diaphonemic	"Phonetic"	IPA
WDN <i>dina</i> 'true'	'dina'	[ndina]
LAU <i>dina</i> 'true'	'dina'	[ndʒina]
NMN <i>tiko</i> 'stay'	'tiko'	[tiko]
LAU <i>tiko</i> 'stay'	'jiko'	[tʃiko]
BRV(M) <i>tiko</i> 'stay'	'i'o'	[?i?ɔ]
DGT <i>tiko</i> 'stay'	'ti'o'	[ti?ɔ]
KRL <i>tiko</i> 'stay'	'iəo'	[?iəɔ]
LBS <i>tiko</i> 'stay'	'io'	[?iɔ]
MGD <i>kwā</i> 'thing'	'kwā'	[kwa:]
NDR <i>kwā</i> 'thing'	'xwā'	[xwa:]
SLV <i>kwā</i> 'thing'	'xā'	[xa:]
TNL <i>kwā</i> 'thing'	'ā'	[?a:]

Diaphonemic	"Phonetic"	IPA
TBI <i>sabata</i> 'shore'	' <i>sabata</i> '	[sa:mbata]
TBW <i>sabata</i> 'shore'	' <i>habata</i> '	[ha:mbata]
VBL N- <i>mu</i> II 'your'	' <i>mu</i> '	[mu]
WAY N- <i>mu</i> II 'your'	' <i>m</i> '	[m]

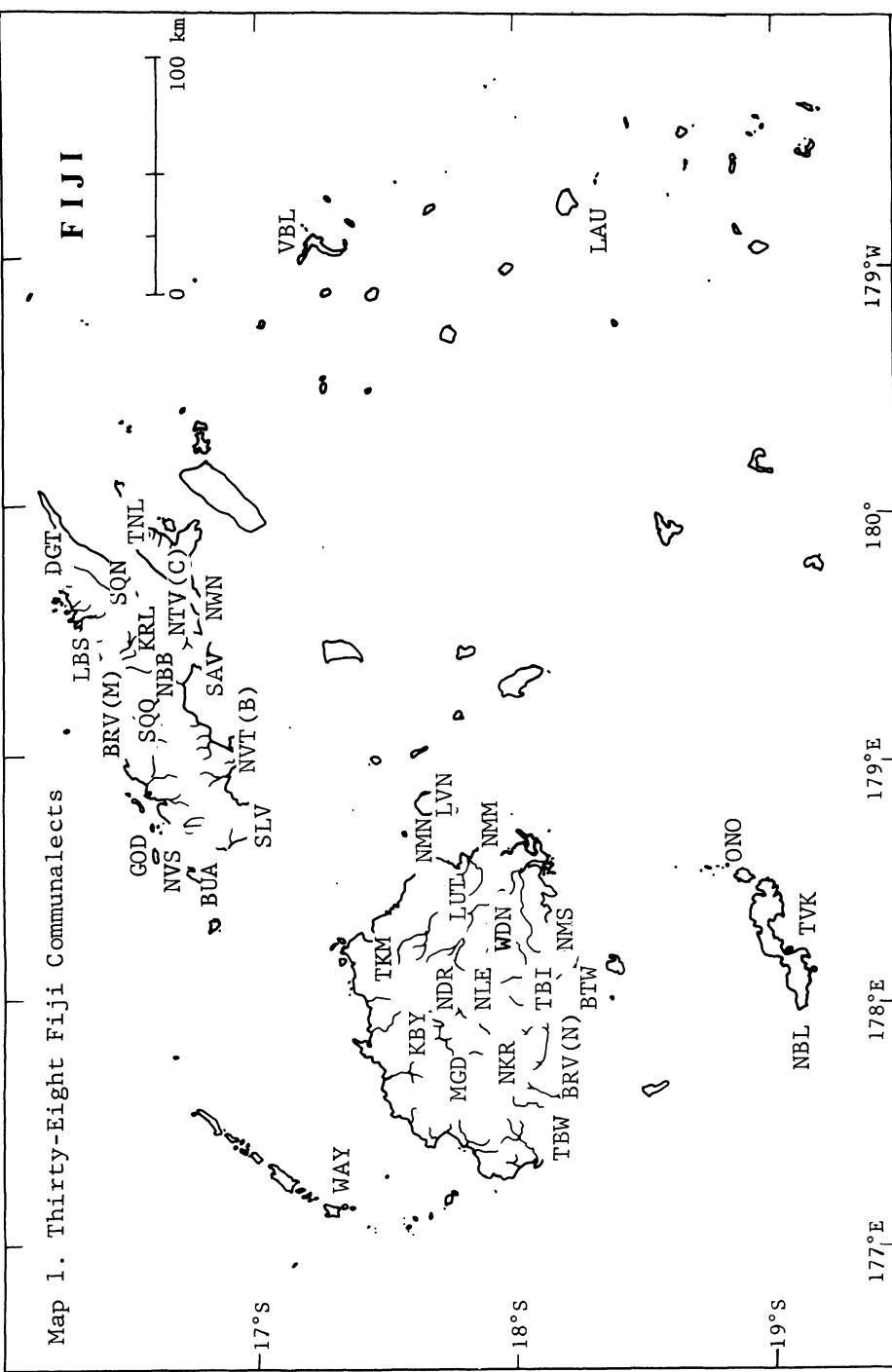
Note that the rule "no labiovelars" means that *kw*, *qw*, and *gw* are realized the same way as *k*, *q*, and *g*, respectively. In practice, of course, plain velars will often be used rather than labiovelar dia-phonemes, when only languages without labiovelars are being considered.

2.3. Communalects and Phonetic Realization Rules

The following is a listing of the thirty-eight communalects under study in this work, which probably approaches a quarter of the total number in Fiji. Most of the villages can be found on the Ordinance Survey 1:250,000 maps and are listed in a rough geographical order. The name for the communalect is usually one by which it is widely known--often the name of a kin group or old administrative area (*tikina*). Map 1 shows the location and extent of the communalects, with a listing of the abbreviations.

(1). Waya (WAY)

villages: Nalauwaki, Wayalevu, Natawa,
Yalobi (Waya Island); all three
villages on Viwa (Bā)
rules: a:ā/__(C)V(C)V#/
u:ø/m [-stress]



i: \emptyset /t 1,n
 \emptyset : \emptyset /#a

Although I collected some information concerning Waya, my main source has been notes and a draft dictionary kindly supplied by Andrew Pawley (n.d.b).

(2). Nakoroboya (KBY)

village: Nakoroboya (alias Vikasē) (Bā)
rules: as for WAY, also:
k:x

(3). Magodro (MGD)

villages: Tabuquto, Tabalei, Bukuya,
Navagā, Nadevo (Bā)
rules: as for WAY, excluding the last
rule

(4). Noikoro (NKR)

villages: Vatubalavu, Nukulau, Nubuyanitu,
Draubuta, Vunatoto, Nakoro,
Korolevu, Namoli (Nadroga)
rules: a:ā/_(C)V(C)V#/
k:x
t:j/_i

(5). Tubaniwai (TBW)

villages: Volivoli, Vunavutu, Nasama,
Sigatoka, Navulo, Laselase,
Nayawa (Nadroga)
rules: a:ā/_(C)V(C)V#/
d:[ndʒ]/_i,u
s:h
t:j/_u
t:s/_i,e

(6). Bāravi (Nadroga) (BRV(N))

villages: Namada, Tagwaqe,³ Votualalai,⁴
Votua, part Biausevu, Natewa,
Balenabelō, Vunayawa, Saru,

Naivibuli, Sovi (Nadroga)

rules: as for TBW

(7). Batiwai (BTW)

villages: Nadoli, Korovou, Navuadrā,
Wainilotulevu, Naiyalayala,
Nasoqo (Namosi); Nuku, Masi,⁵
Wainadiro, Waibogi, Korovou,
Veidrala, Galoa, Wainiabia
(Sērua)

rules: a:ā/__(C)V(C)V#
d:[ndʒ]/__i
t:j/__i

This communalect is viewed by some of its
speakers as being further subdivisible.

(8). Tubai (TBI)

villages: Naimasimasi,⁶ Sabata (Sērua)
rules: a:ā/__(C)V(C)V#
t:j/__i

(9) Nalea (NLE)

villages: Nasava (Naitāsiri); Wainimākutu
(Namosi)
rules: as for TBI

(10). Namosi (NMS)

villages: Nukusere (Sērua); Veivatuloa,
Nabukavesi, Naqwara, Lobau,
Nakawu, Namuamua, Nakavika,
Navunikabi, Saliadrau,
Naqwarawai, Naraiyawa, Vunibau,
Navuniivi, Naduruyasi, Namosi,
Narukunibua, Waivaka (Namosi)
rules: t:j/__i is reported by Schütz
(1963a) for the Wainikoroiluva
area--Namuamua to Naraiyawa. My
informant was from Vunibau.

(11). Waidina (WDN)

villages: Vanuakula, Lomai, Nabukāluka,
Navurevure, Wainawaqa, Nadakuni,
Nauluвату, Nasirotū (Naitāsiri)
rules: none

(12). Lutu (LUT)⁷

villages: Lutu, Navuniyaro, Nukuloā
(Naitāsiri)

rules: none

(13). Nadrau (NDR)

villages: Nadrau,⁸ Nagā (alias Vanualevu),
Rewasau, Naqelewai (Nadroga);
Nasiriti (Naitāsiri)

rules: k:x

t:j/_i (only Nadrau and Nagā)

(14). Tokaimalo (TKM)

villages: Nailawa, Naiserelagi,
Namataveikai, Nababalaba,
Vunisea, Nayalevu (Rā)

rules: d:t

k:x

t:'

no labiovelars

(15). Namena (NMN)

villages: Nānanu, Namena,⁹ Burelevu,
Lāwaki, Qelekuro, Luvunivuaka
(Tailevu)

rules: no labiovelars

(16). Naimasimasi (NMN)

villages: Naimasimasi (Tailevu)
rules: none

(17). Lovoni (LVN)

villages: Lovoni, Visoto, Nacobo,
Nukutōcia (Ovalau Island,
Lomaiviti)

rules: no labiovelars

(18). Ono (ONO)

villages: all on the island of Ono (Kadavu)

rules: d:[ndʒ]/__i

k:k,x

t:j/__i

(19). Tavuki (TVK)

villages: Muani, Nasalia, Baidamudamu,

Solodamu, Waisomo, Tavuki,

Namālata, Natumua, Wailevu

(Kadavu)

rules: d:[ndʒ]/__i

k:x

t:j/__i,e

no labiovelars

(20). Nabukelevu (NBL)

villages: Talaulia, Tawava, Naqalotu,

Yakita, Nalotu, Korovou,

Natokalau, Dagai, Lomati,

Nabukelevuirā, Naqaliirā, Nasau,

Daviqele, Kabariki, Levuka,

Muaninuku, Tabuya, Nasēgai

(Kadavu)

rules: k:x

no labiovelars

(21). Lau (LAU)

villages: all on islands of Nayau, Lakeba,

Oneata, Moce, Komo, Namuka,

Kabara, Vulaga, Ogea, Vatoa, and

Ono-i-Lau (Lau). There are also

modern Lau-speaking "colonies"

at Veisari (Rewa), a settlement

some ten miles west of Suva on

the Queen's Road, Lomaivuna

(Naitāsiri), and Viro (Ovalau

Island, Lomaiviti), a village settled from Ono-i-Lau and Vatoa. Each of the islands is said to have its distinctive intonation (maintained particularly by ladies), and a few highly idiosyncratic vocabulary items vary, especially in Ono-i-Lau. The whole area, nevertheless, is said to be essentially the same.

rules: i:i
u:u
d:[ndʒ]/_i
t:j/_i

Note that the first two rules imply that a high vowel following a lower vowel does not form a diphthong, and may be stressed.

(22). Vanua Balavu (VBL)

villages: all in Vanua Balavu group (Lau)
rules: as for LAU

(23). Navatu (Bua) (NVT(B))

village: Navatu (Bua)
rules: k:x
t:'
no labiovelars

(24). Solevu (SLV)

villages: Nakawakawa, Saolo, Sawani,
Nasawana, Nasavu, Nasolo,
Cavagā, Nawaidō, Makolei, Vuya,
Navave, Nabouwalu, Wairiki,
Nawaca, Tavulomo, Nasau, Dama
(Bua)

rules: as for NVT(B)
Four different districts are sometimes
recognized here, but their linguistic

differences are very slight. A frequently cited diagnostic is 'tomorrow', which is *niroaroa* in Nadi (Nakawakawa to Nasolo) and Dama (Wairiki to Dama), but *nimatatakavula* in Sōlevu (Cavaga to Makolei) and Vuya (Vuya to Nabouwalu). Quain (1948:437) recorded 't' (not glottal stop) for *t* in Nabouwalu and Dama, as in the present speech of Bua. Old people in Vuya agree that this was the case, and that they have adopted the speaking habits of Sōlevu; the same is presumably true of Dama.

(25). Bua (BUA)

villages: Tiliva (part of Bua village),
Bua, Dalomo, Vunievu, Waitabu,
Koroinasolo (Bua)

rules: k:x
no labiovelars

This communalect is unique in Vanua Levu in having no glottal stop. It also has an interesting history. Although it is generally known as the speech of Bua, "Tiliva" would be historically preciser. The earliest situation recalled in the region is that there were distinct varieties of speech for the three component parts of Bua village--Tiliva, Bua, and Dalomo. Tiliva, which was confined to Tiliva and the village of Vunievu, but has now become general, had the phonology just described. Bua proper agreed with most of the remainder of the province in realizing *t* as glottal stop--I was told the last speaker of Bua proper died recently. Dalomo, which is no longer spoken, was also unique in Vanua Levu,

in being identical in phonology of Standard Fijian. Its demise is unlamented; it is described as "*vosa vāgone*"--child's talk--and equated to the way children speak when first learning to read Bauan. I was not able to ask about the old speech of Waitabu. Koroinasolo used to resemble Navakasiga in phonology (*k:'*, *t:t*) and in some lexical items.

(26). Navakasiga (NVS)

villages: Nasau, Naivaka, Naviqiri, Lekutu
(alias Votua), Yaqaga (Bua)

rules: *k:'*

no labiovelars

Lekutu is said by some to have once spoken like Nakavula, the nearest village inland, where *k:x* and *t:'*. Quain (1948:437 reporting fieldwork carried out in 1935 and 1936), however, ascribes to it its present phonology, so if the claim is true it must refer to a very distant time. Yaqaga certainly belongs historically to the Gone Dau communalect (q.v.), but apparently all but the very old have adopted the speech of Navakasiga. It would be interesting to enquire further into this change in language use, particularly since it has not occurred in neighboring Galoa and Tavea, which share with Yaqaga at least one factor to which the change is frequently attributed--schooling on mainland Vanua Levu. I suspect that two important factors are lack of chiefly authority and low prestige, resulting partly from the poverty of the island and its economic dependence on the mainland.

(27). Gone Dau (GOD)

villages: Tavea, Galoa (Bua)

rules: as for NVS

While it can be said that all Vanua Levu communalects form a dialect chain, which extends into Lau, with perhaps a couple of small fissures, there are sizeable gaps between the mainland Vanua Levu chain and three separate communalects spoken on adjacent islands. Navatu is one, Yadua another--and both have histories of recent immigration, Navatu from Tailevu or Lomaiviti, and Yadua from Ra. The people of the Gone Dau islands (Yaqaga, Tavea, Galoa, and Macuata-i-wai), however, have no traditions of recent immigration; and the inhabitants of at least Tavea and Galoa are said to have come from the mainland. Capell and Lester (1942:38) pointed out some of the similarities between Gone Dau (they only knew of Macuata-i-wai, which is slightly different from the others) and the Yasawa Islands, off Western Viti Levu, which they attribute to early Yasawa influence. In one important respect, however, Gone Dau agrees not with Yasawa but with the Nalea communalect of highland Viti Levu (see section 4.3.1), and for this and other reasons it seems more likely that they constitute a relic area.

(28). Baravi (Macuata) (BRV(M))

villages: Nasea, Nabouono, Nabukadogo

(Macuata)

rules: d:t

t:'

q:k

k: '

no labiovelars

Nabouono is said by some to have once spoken the Macuata-i-wai variety of Gone Dau (k: ' only, and considerable lexical and morphological differences from BRV). The phonetic rules given are those used by most of those forty years of age or younger in Nabukadogo. Those over forty generally agree with k: ' and t: ', but disagree in having q:q and d:d. The denasalizing proclivities of the younger generation are said to have spread from inland areas. Older people claim to remember an even earlier pronunciation, k:x, which would have been identical to the predominant speech of areas to the south and west.

Capell and Lester (1941:335-338) give a history of the Caumatalevu *yavusa*, to which many villages in this area belong, in which it is implied that the present inhabitants of Nabukadogo originated from Macuata-i-wai, and fled to Urata (Muanivatu, Cakaudrove) during the wars of the mid-nineteenth century. Although nothing is known of the length of their stay, it is possible that it resulted in their adopting the Muanivatu k:x pronunciation.

(29). Seaqāqā (SQQ)

villages: Narāvuka, Nacereyaga, Natua,

Nanivuda, Saivou (Macuata)

rules: d:t

t: '

q:k

k:x

no labiovelars

The Seaqāqā speech is characterized locally as being very '*kākā*', 'strong'; most of its territory has been won over in the past generation or two and, again, schools are frequently cited as the battlegrounds for linguistic domination. Natua and Nanivuda are fast losing their own speech (Tamonibuca), and Saivou has switched allegiance from Nacaurokovi to Seaqāqā. In both cases the changes have been more lexical than phonological. In addition, old people in both Seaqāqā proper (Narāvuka and Nacereyaga) and Tamonibuca show unusual pronunciations of *q* and *d*, respectively velar and dental geminate voiced stops, which are also found, though likewise fast disappearing, in Wainunu (Bua) and Ruwailevu (Nadroga).

(30). Labasa (LBS)

villages: Vatutadova, Vuō, Wailevu,
Nasēkula, Matailabasa (?), and
Mali Island (Macuata)

rules: k: \emptyset

q:k

t:'

$\emptyset:\emptyset/\#_a$

no labiovelars

I was unable to obtain reliable information concerning Matailabasa. Some ascribe it to Labasa, others to Bucaisau communalect.

(31). Dogotuki (DGT)

villages: Dogotuki, Rauriko, Vitua, Kedra,
Qaranivai, Lagi (Macuata)

rules: k: '
 q:k
 φ:φ/#_a
 no labiovelars

Dogotuki village is now practically deserted.

(32). Saqani (SQN)

villages: part Vuniwai, Lakeba, Natuvu,
 Biaugunu, Saqani (Cakaudrove)
rules: k: '
 no labiovelars

(33). Koroalau (KRL)

villages: Vuinadi, part Koronatoga,
 Vunidogoloa, Nabua, Tabia,
 part Bucalevu, Matalōlō
(Cakaudrove)
rules: d:t
 t: '
 q:k
 k:x/' (close to '/')
 no labiovelars

The rule governing the realization of *k* as velar fricative or glottal stop is found in scattered areas of Vanua Levu. A prose statement would be: *k* is realized as glottal stop, except when close to a glottal stop (the realization of *t*), where it is realized as a velar fricative. A more detailed description of this rule and a possible historical explanation will be presented in section 3.5. Hocart (1952:147) confirms that both *k*:x and *k*:' were present in the Vuinadi speech of his time (about 1912).

(34). Navatu (Cakaudrove) (NVT(C))

villages: part Navakaka, Naibalebale,
 Viani, Lea, Drekeniwai

(Cakaudrove)

rules: k: '
 no labiovelars

(35). Tunuloa (TNL)

villages: Nasēsē, Qaravatu, Muana, Wailevu,
 Navetau, Salia, Nailou, Karoko,
 Koroivonu, Nakanakana (Cakaudrove)

rules: as for NVT(C)

(36). Naweni (NWN)

villages: Nanuca, Tacilevu, Naweni,
 Dromuninuku (Cakaudrove)

rules: d:t
 q:k
 k: '
 no labiovelars

Note that both *d* and *t* are realized as '*t*'.
 This phonology is maintained only by the very old. The old and middle-aged follow the k:' d:d phonology of Waikava speech. This and, to a lesser extent, the adjoining Savusavu area are alone in all Fiji, in that most people about thirty years old or younger use the Bau-based Colloquial Fijian (CF) phonology and most of its lexicon when conversing among themselves. The reason is not immediately obvious, though two contributing factors might be the considerable part-European population in these areas (they often live on quite intimate terms with the Fijians), and discouragement of the vernacular by schoolteachers and parents. Parental discouragement appears to be quite strong; many children who go to school in other areas are fluent in the vernacular of the area where their school is situated,

but speak only CF in the village.

(37). Savusavu (SAV)

villages: Nukubalavu, Nacēkoro (Cakaudrove)

rules: d:t

t: '

q:k

k:x/' (close to '_/')

no labiovelars

This phonology is maintained only by the very old. Mostly, the speech of Yāroi is heard (k:x, t: ', q:k, d:t), though many children also use CF.

(38). Nabalebale (NBB)

villages: part Nabalebale, part Levuka
(Cakaudrove)

rules: d:t

t: '

q:k

k:x

b:p

dr:tr

no labiovelars

This is the only communalect in Fiji with no phonetically prenasalized stops. It is spoken only by the very old. The speech of their younger kin is that of Drakaniwai (as NBB, but without b:p and dr:tr).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. See the maps in Schütz' 1962 dialect survey of Viti Levu for an impression of how many forms would need to be cited separately if a more phonetic transcription were used; and bear in mind that sound changes in Viti Levu are few and simple when compared to those of Vanua Levu.
2. A kind of diaphonemic system (which, however, ignores the Western and Southeast Viti Levu labiovelars) has long been in use with place names. For instance, the Vanua Levu village known locally as '*'Navaxa'ivā*' is officially spelled *Navakativa*.
3. Usually spelled *Tagaqe*.
4. Often misspelled *Votualailai*.
5. Labeled 'Naimasimasi' on OS maps.
6. Misplaced on OS maps. It is situated a quarter of a mile east of Nuku.
7. Not to be confused with the village of Lutu on the Wainimala river, Waimarō communalect.
8. Includes the adjacent village of Nabouwaqa.
9. Namena, the name of the *vanua* (state), is also popularly given to its principal village, properly Burenivalu.

CHAPTER 3

Regular Sound Changes

3.0. Introduction

Historical reconstruction is based on systematic sound correspondences. Correspondence sets that are wholly regular, however, are seldom found. Even when regular sound-changes have been established, there often remains a residue of unexplained forms. Depending on various factors--the quality of evidence, the meanings of the forms concerned, relevant historical facts, and so on--such exceptions may be classed as forms unrelated to their supposed cognates, bearing only a chance resemblance, as borrowings, as the result of an incomplete sound change, or as evidence for an otherwise obliterated phonemic distinction.

A large amount of systematicity, of course, is implicit in the phonetic realization rules listed in the last chapter. They represent the most nearly regular kind of sound correspondence, and to the extent that they are without exception, they can be viewed as the result of relatively recent sound-changes. For example, the phonetic realization rule $k:\prime$ is given for Navatu (Cakaudrove), while the rule $k:k$ is implicit in the lack of a rule involving k for NMN. Hundreds of forms could be cited illustrating a systematic correspondence between NMN ' k ' and NVT(C) glottal stop; the obvious conclusion is that

NVT(C) has undergone a rule changing *k* to glottal stop.

There are, however, one or two pairs of forms in my data which illustrate another correspondence set. One is NMN '*yakavi*' and NVT(C) '*yakavi*', both meaning 'evening'. A historical linguist given only this pair of forms, and another showing NMN '*k*' and NVT(C) glottal stop, might be tempted to hypothesize two distinct protophonemes which collapsed in NMN as '*k*', but were kept apart in NVT(C). But we are better informed. Most important, we are aware of a great quantitative difference between the evidence for the two correspondences. So, to keep the proto-phoneme inventory at a realistic level, and bearing in mind the quantitative difference, we consider NVT '*yakavi*' to be an irregular development. There are a number of possible explanations for such irregularities, but perhaps the most common is borrowing. In this case, the possibility that borrowing is the correct explanation is strengthened by the fact that a likely source exists in SF '*yakavi*'.

I have gone to some length in this discussion of a fairly obvious borrowing, because I wish to illustrate two ends of a continuum. There are hundreds of examples of NMN '*k*':NVT(C) ''', and no linguist would hesitate to call this correspondence regular. There are one or two examples of a '*k*':'*k*' correspondence, and everything points to borrowing being involved. It would be pleasant if all correspondence sets were supported by either hundreds of forms, or just one or two. But such is not the case. For a number of correspondence sets there is no clear choice between borrowing and inheritance, and such sets cannot be easily accommodated by

phonetic realization rules or explained by straightforward historical sound-changes. These less systematic correspondences, and their historical implications, will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The next few sections will analyze the sound-changes implied by the preceding phonetic realization rules.

3.1. Labiovelars

Pawley and Sayaba (1971:417-418) discuss the historical implications of the fact that all Western Fijian dialects show a contrast between three "labio-velar" consonants and their simple velar counterparts. They note that external evidence shows that the *g-gw* distinction existed as far back as Proto Oceanic; the other two distinctions (*k-kw* and *q-qw*), however, appear to have no correlate outside Fiji, therefore, are probably innovations of Proto Western Fijian.

They discuss the possibility that their Proto Eastern Fijian also possessed the labiovelar series, citing evidence that labiovelars are found in some Eastern dialects of central Viti Levu. They consider it more likely, however, that the labiovelars are secondary formations, confined to words borrowed from Western Fijian and a few analogically derived forms.

I have arrived at a different conclusion. The use of labiovelars in Eastern Viti Levu is quite extensive, embracing Namosi province, Naitasiri province, and most of southern Tailevu province. Moreover, borrowing and analogical formation would hardly account for the number of forms containing labiovelars, and their range of meanings is not easily compatible with a borrowing hypothesis.

There is, to be sure, a considerable drop in the frequency of use of labiovelars in areas close to the east coast of Viti Levu, but it is most likely that this loss is due to the influence of the prestige languages of coastal Southeast Viti Levu--Verata, Viwa, Bau, and Rewa--which have no labio-velars.

Even within Western languages, there are some instances of apparent loss of labialization. *leqwa* 'trouble, short supply' is '*leqwa*' in Tubaniwai, Bāravi, and Tubai, but '*leqa*' further north in Noikoro and Nakoroboya. Tubaniwai *vegwa* 'k skin disease' (SF *dani*) is '*vega*' in Nakoroboya. Similarly *mataqwali* 'k social unit' is '*mataqwali*' in Tubaniwai, Bāravi, and Tubai, but '*mataqali*' in Magodro, Nakoroboya, and Waya. This last word may well be a borrowing from SF (see, e.g., Capell and Lester 1941:318 for the official imposition of Bauan terms on non-Bauan social units), with labialization analogically transferred from, perhaps, *qwali* 'stream, river'.¹

Table 2 shows the extent of labialization in certain Eastern Viti Levu languages. From our sample, Tokaimalo, Namena, and Lovoni² have no labiovelars at all; my notes indicate that the same is true of all of Rā province, northern Tailevu, the Verata peninsula, and the Rewa delta. Opposite a diaphonemic form containing a labiovelar is listed the reflex of the labiovelar in that particular form for each of the remaining Eastern Viti Levu languages (Namosi, Waidina, Lutu, Nadrau, and Naimasimasi) and for Navunisole, a village some eight miles north of Naimasimasi, near the town of Korovou. In some special cases, where the reflex of the labiovelar is not straightforward, the whole

Table 2

Labiovelars in Eastern Viti Levu

	NMS	WDN	LUT	NDR	Navunisole	NMM
<i>bekwa</i> 'fruit bat'	kw	kw	k	kw	kw	k
<i>cekwat</i> 'show off - to'		kw				
<i>gwacagwaca</i> 'intestines'	gw	gw				
<i>gwaco</i> 'k large rat'	gw	gw				
<i>gwadi</i> 'go for a trip'	gw	gw				
<i>gwadina-</i> 'maternal uncle' xy't	gw	gw	m			
<i>gwalo</i> 'evening'	gw	gw	g	gw	g	g
<i>gwane-</i> 'opposite-sex sibling' a'b			gw	gw	g	g
<i>-gwane^a</i> 'male'	gone	gw	um	g	g	g
<i>gwasau</i> 'reed'	gosau	gw				
<i>gwata</i> 'snake'		gw				
<i>kwa-</i> k stativizing prefix	kw	kw	k			
<i>kwā</i> 'thing'	kw	kw	kw			
<i>kwa-t</i> 'do'	kw					
<i>kwai</i> 'inhabitant of'	kw	kw	kw		kw	kw, kui

<i>Vkwari</i> 'only, merely'	kw	kw	kw	
<i>kwāsiví</i> 'ant'	k	k	k	k
<i>kwātuba</i> 'doorway'	kw	kw	kw	
<i>kwaya</i> 'say'				
<i>kwaya</i> IIIPn 'he, she'				
<i>lāqwā</i> 'speak'	q w	q w	q w	
<i>leqwa</i> 'trouble, shortage'	q	q	q	q
<i>madrekwa</i> 'mud'				kw
<i>mataqwali</i> 'k social unit'	q w	q	q w	
<i>-nakwā</i> ^b 'good'	kw	kw	kw	kw
<i>nikwana</i> 'today'				kw
<i>qwaiv</i> 'then, next'	qui	q w	qui	qui
<i>qwalā-</i> 'penis'	q	q w	q w	q
<i>qwāqwā</i> 'strong'		q w	q w	
<i>qwāvokavoka</i> 'skull'	q w	q w	q w	
<i>qwele</i> 'earth'	q w	q w	q w	q
<i>Nqwoi</i> 'this'	q	q w	q	q w
<i>segwa</i> 'lost, missing'				gw
<i>segwa</i> 'k pig'				

Table 2. (Continued) Labiovelars in Eastern Viti Levu

	NMS	WDN	LUT	NDR	Navunisole	NMM
Total reflected with labiovelars	14	23	10	14	3	3
Total reflected	20	26	18	19	10	13
Percentage with labiovelars	70	88	56	74	30	23

a Most languages have a preceding initial syllable, but it has a number of different forms.

b Some languages reflect *nakwa*, others *vinakwa*.

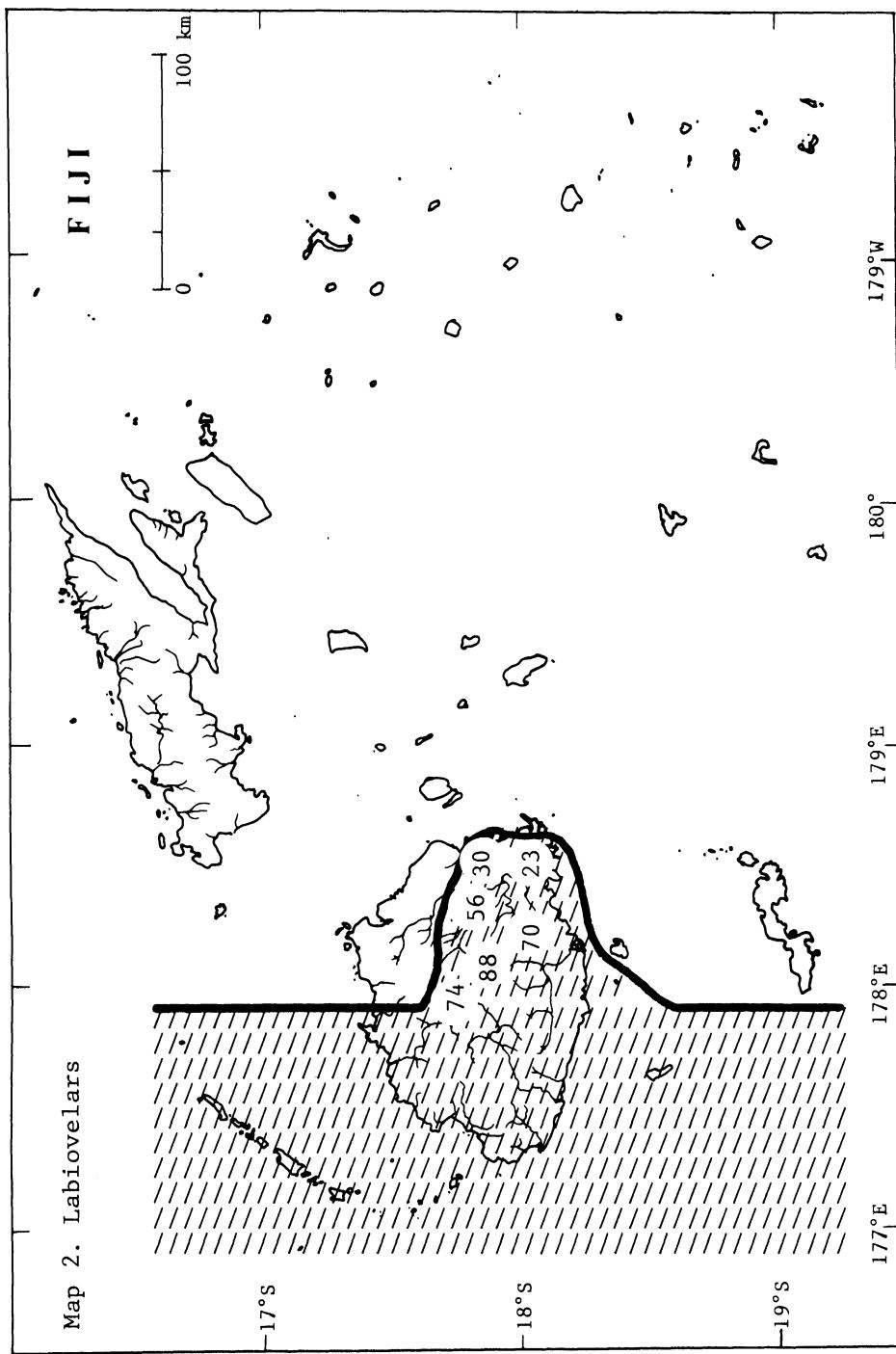
form is cited. A blank space means that no reflex was found.

Map 2, based on Table 2, shows the number of forms in which labiovelar articulation is maintained in each communalect, expressed as a percentage of the number of diaforms reflected at all. Notice first the relatively high retention rate (56-88 percent) for inland languages, and contrast the low retention rates in the two coastal languages. I have already pointed out the correlation between the loss of labiovelar articulation and proximity to the (nonlabiovelar) prestige languages of coastal Southeast Viti Levu. Certain forms seem to bear witness to a lost labiovelar in the raising and rounding of *a* to *o* or *u*: Namosi realizes *gwasau* and *-gwane* as '*gosau*' and '*gone*' (here we see a possible etymology for SF *gone* 'child'); Naimasimasi realizes *kwai* as either '*kwai*' or '*kui*'; Waidina, Lutu, Navunisole, and Naimasimasi all realize *kwaya* as '*koya*' (but another origin has been proposed for this form; see, e.g., Grace 1959:51, Pawley 1972:63); and Namosi, Lutu, and Naimasimasi reflect *qwai* as '*qui*', though there is some room for doubt as to whether '*qui*' actually reflects *qwai*, or perhaps a person-marked form of it, and Western languages further complicate the question by showing *qai* or *qeи* (see section 4.5.3).

Quite a number of these forms (e.g., *gwalo*, *kwa-t*, *kwari*, *lāqwā*), to my knowledge, are not found in Western languages--another reason for discounting borrowing as the source of these labiovelars.

I have chosen to distinguish between velars and labiovelars at the diaphonemic level; in the phonetic interpretation rules, a language is listed as either with labiovelars, or without. Diaphonemic

Map 2. Labiovelars



labiovelars which are not realized as such in, say, Naimasimasi, must be cited in "phonetic" script, as are all exceptions to the phonetic interpretation rules.

The labiovelars are not easy to interpret historically. Within Fiji, their distribution is distressingly at odds with the distribution of other features to which a linguist would like to attach importance. While Kadavu, Rā, Gone Dau, and much of Vanua Levu share some lexical and syntactic features with Western Viti Levu languages, they do not share labiovelars. The area of Eastern Viti Levu which does share labiovelars is relatively bereft of lexical and syntactic features shared with Western languages.

As Pawley and Sayaba (1971:417) pointed out, the *g-gw* distinction is of Proto Oceanic antiquity. On the other hand, although many languages of Melanesia do distinguish plain and labialized velar stops, there are no indisputably cognate forms to suggest that the distinction in Fijian is inherited from Proto Oceanic. If the distinction is retained from Proto Oceanic, we are faced with the enormous problem of explaining why it has been lost everywhere but in Fijian. If not, we must posit a phonemic split in Fijian. This latter course of action seems to be the safer one at the moment. Such a split would indeed lack any conditioning factor (except, of course, that labiovelars occur only before *a* and *e*), but it might be argued that the inherited plain-labialized velar nasal distinction caused an asymmetry in the consonant system, which was remedied by the split.

A final problem concerns Nadrau, where *gw* is realized twice as '*gw*', once as *m*, and once as *um*.

These two are the only instances in Fiji of POC **mw* being reflected as a bilabial. In languages of Melanesia, on the other hand, **mw* is reflected as a bilabial far more frequently than as a velar. Moreover, the bilabial is often accompanied by *u*, either as *mu* (or *mw*) or as *um* (e.g., Bugotu *umata* 'snake' from POC **mwata*). The Nadrau reflexes raise a question that will become familiar: if there was a "Proto Fijian" language, which of two competing reconstructions do we ascribe to it? In this case, is the Proto Fijian reflex of POC **mw* a bilabial or a velar?

3.2. Palatalization and s:h

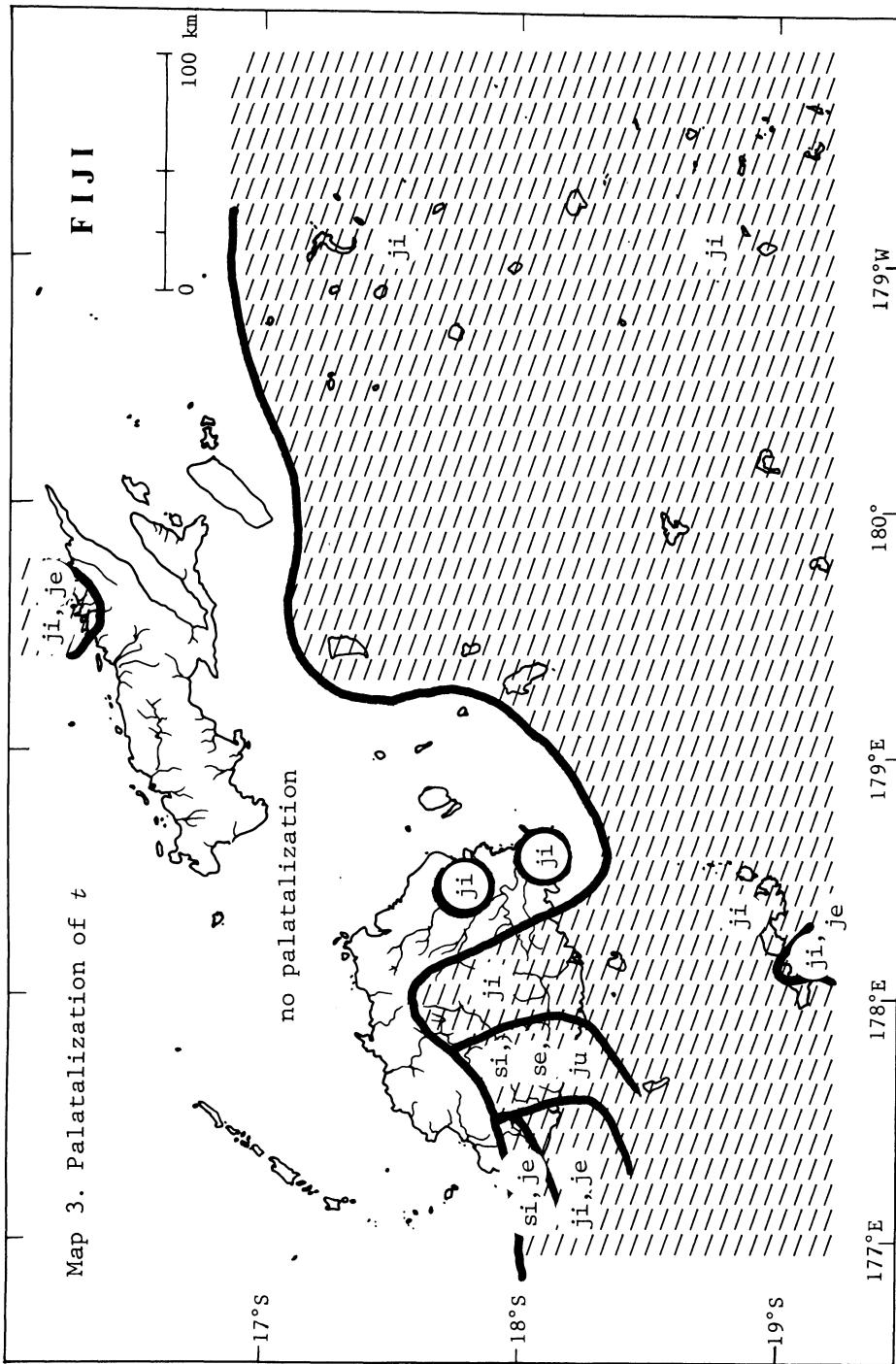
Palatalized *t* and *d* are very frequently encountered. The most common environment for palatalization is before *i*, though sometimes *e* is included, and, in Nadrogā (Tubaniwai and Bāravi), *u*. In Nadrogā also, *t* is realized as 's' before *i* and *e*, rather than the usual alveolar affricate 'j'. Schütz (1963a) also notes slight palatalization of *s* in some places.

Maps 3 and 4 show areas affected by palatalization, listing for such areas the vowels which palatalize a preceding *t* (Map 3) and a preceding *d* (Map 4). My coverage of some areas was very slight, and the maps will certainly have to be rechecked. Schütz (1963a) notes areas of palatalization in Western Ba and Eastern Vanua Levu which I have not included on the maps.

Notice that palatalization of *t* before *u* implies palatalization before *e*, which in turn implies palatalization before *i*; the same is not quite true of *d*. Palatalization of *d* also implies palatalization of *t* in the same environment.

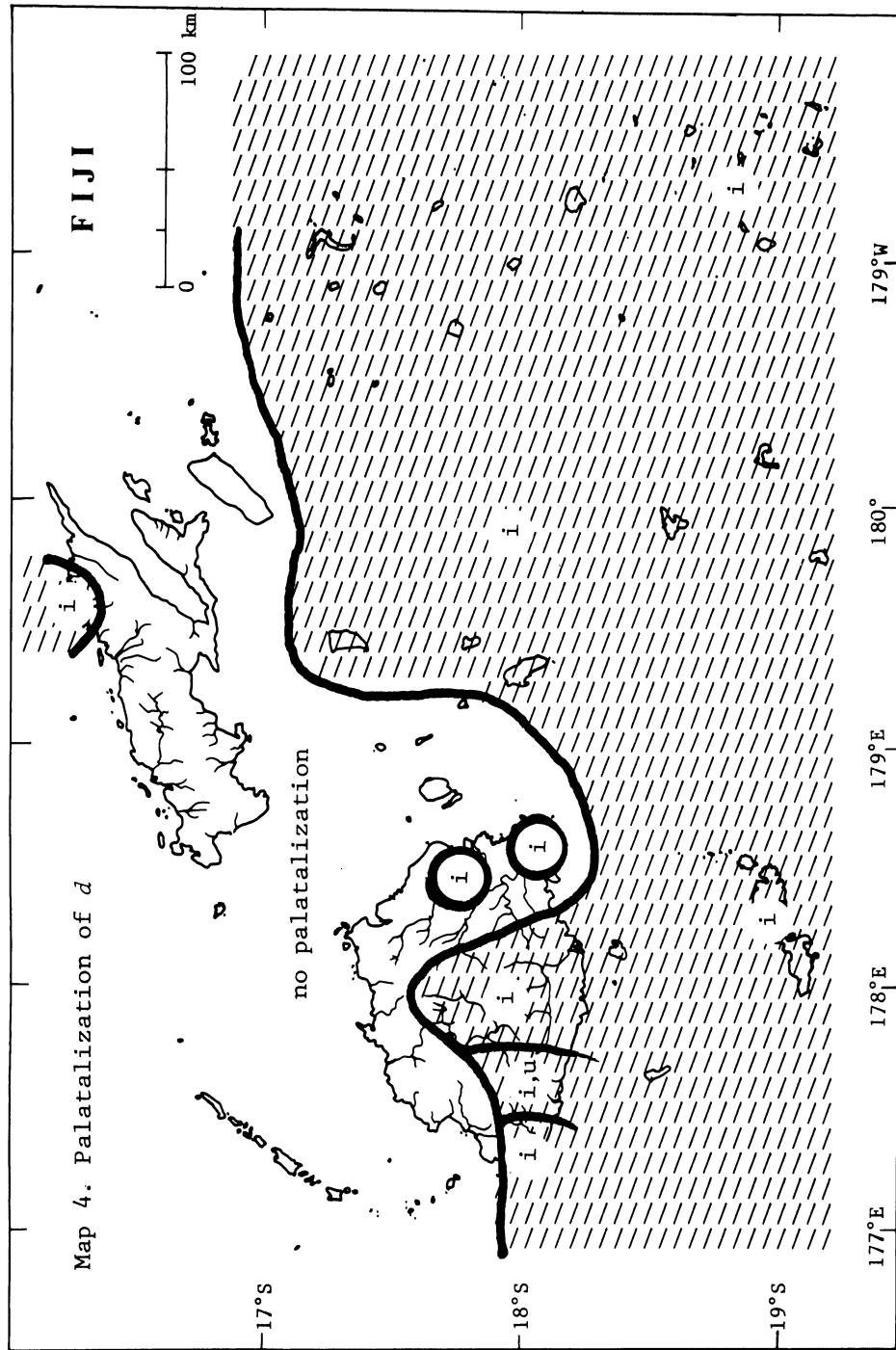
Map 3. Palatalization of *t*

F I J I



Map 4. Palatalization of *d*

F I J I



The Nadrogā area of extreme palatalization, covering Tubaniwai and Bāravi, coincides exactly with the area in which *s* is realized as '*h*'. It is possible, therefore, to view the extreme palatalization of *t* to '*s*' (before *i*) as resulting from systematic pressure after the shift of '*s*'. A similar sequence of events may well have occurred in the history of Tongan.

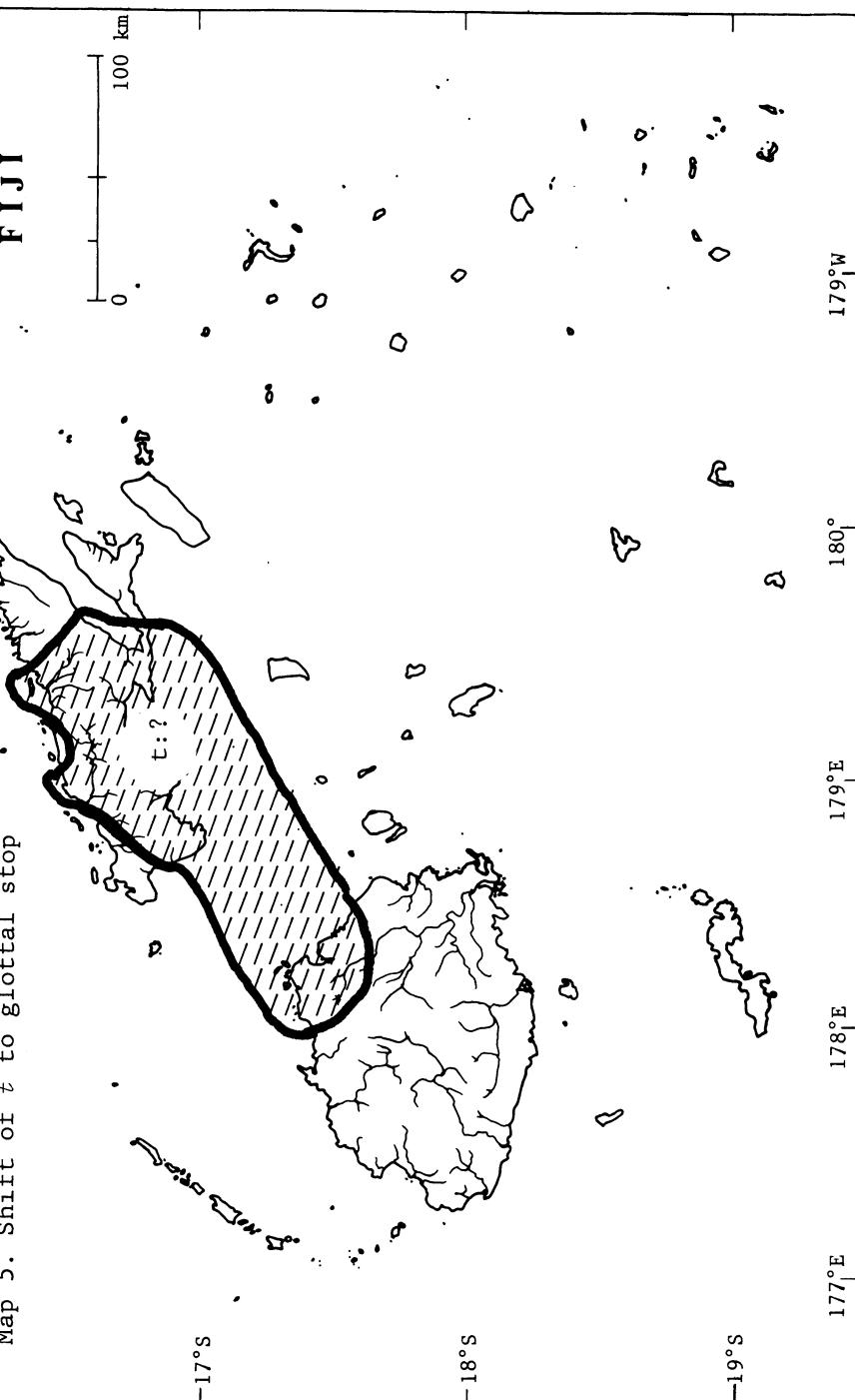
The fact that palatalization does not occur in *t:'* area is not surprising. What is remarkable is that no '*t*' in a *d:t* area is palatalized, suggesting that this denasalization of *d* is unlikely to be a very old development.

Palatalization seems to arise and spread with relative ease. Its distribution suggests independent origin in at least four (probably five, because there is no real reason to group Kadavu and Lau together) different places; and it rides roughshod over the East-West division (see section 6.1.0), being present in some of the most westerly Eastern-speaking villages on Viti Levu, and cutting across communalects such as Nadrau and Namosi. It is possible that an early palatalization rule occurred in Nadrogā before the shift of *s* to '*h*'; the evidence will be presented in section 4.5.9.

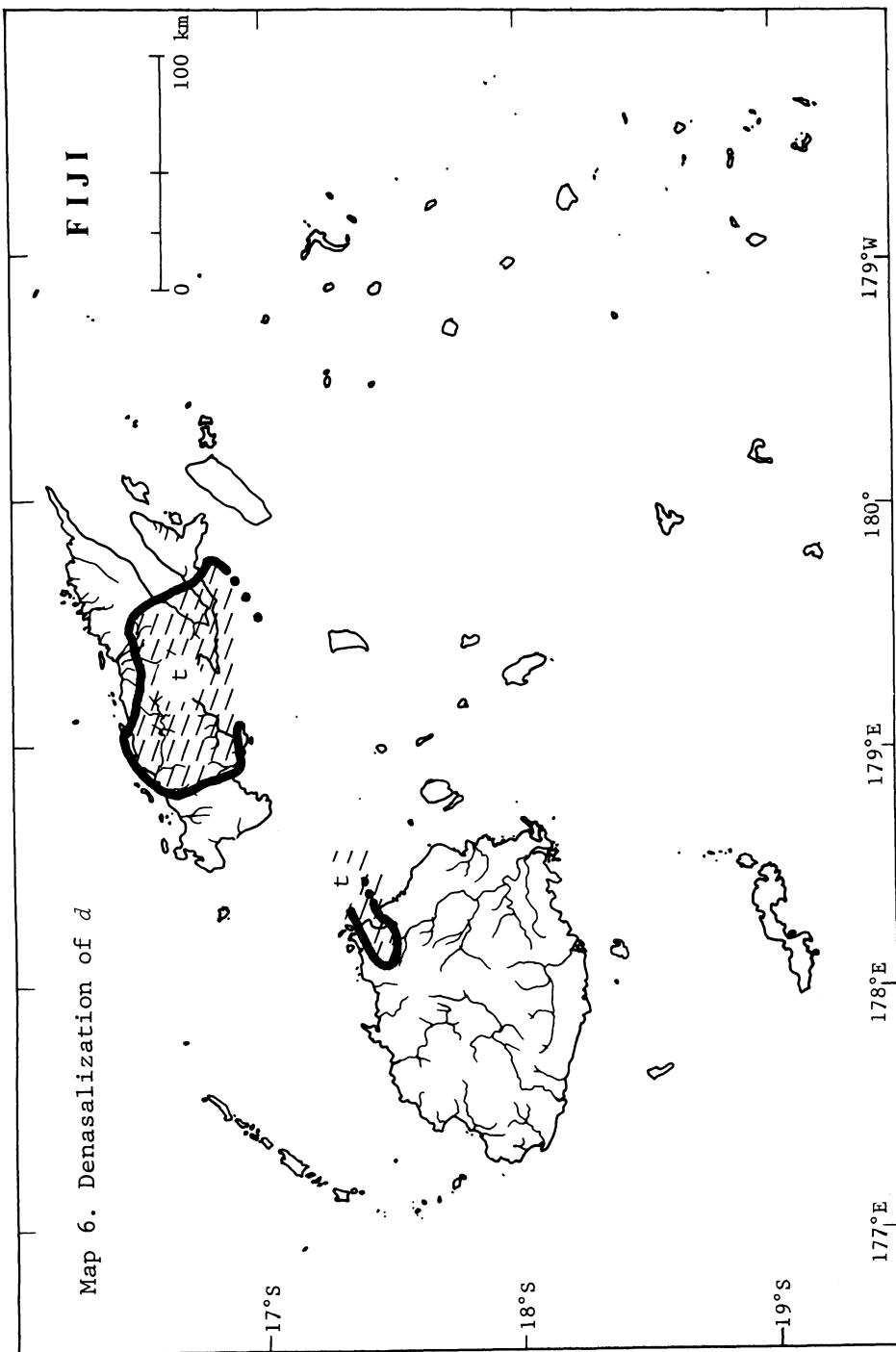
3.3. Shift of *t* and Denasalization of *d*

t is realized as glottal stop in a large area of Central and Western Vanua Levu, and part of Northeast Viti Levu. *d* is denasalized to '*t*' mostly within that area, as shown on Maps 5 and 6. Only Naweni shows *d:t* without *t:'*. It seems likely that the areal extent of *t* shifting to glottal stop is the result of a single innovation, since the parts of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu affected are geographically close,

Map 5. Shift of *t* to glottal stop



Map 6. Denasalization of *d*



and claim kinship and trading ties with each other. The denasalization of *d*, on the other hand, appears to have arisen independently in the two areas where it is now found. In Viti Levu, the *d:t* rule is recessive, being discarded by younger speakers. In Vanua Levu, it has won over territory in the west (Bua communalects of Wainunu, and possibly Kubulau, and Macuata communalects of Raviravi, Bāravi, Seaqāqā, and Tamonibuca have acquired the *d:t* rule within living memory) and receded in the east, where the Vatuova communalect has lost it.

The shift of *t* to glottal stop perhaps is not considered by speakers to be an important characteristic of a language, as witnessed by the Dawasama communalect (Tailevu), where some villages show '*t*' and some glottal stop. Parke (n.d.) has documented part of its spread along the north coast of Ra in Viti Levu, where glottal stop has now displaced '*t*'. In Vanua Levu, Quain (1948:436) reported that *t:* was associated with aboriginal people, and *k:* with immigrants (see section 3.5).

3.4. Shift of *k* and Denasalization of *q*

Fricativization of *k* is fairly widespread and appears, like palatalization, to have arisen independently in different areas: Kadavu, Gau and Koro (Lomaiviti), Northern Viti Levu (both East and West), and Central and Western Vanua Levu, excluding the north coast.

Shift of *k* to glottal stop is found only in Northern and Eastern Vanua Levu, though it is said that the northern half of Vanua Balavu (Lau) once followed this articulatory habit, when it was subject to Somosomo (Cakaudrove).

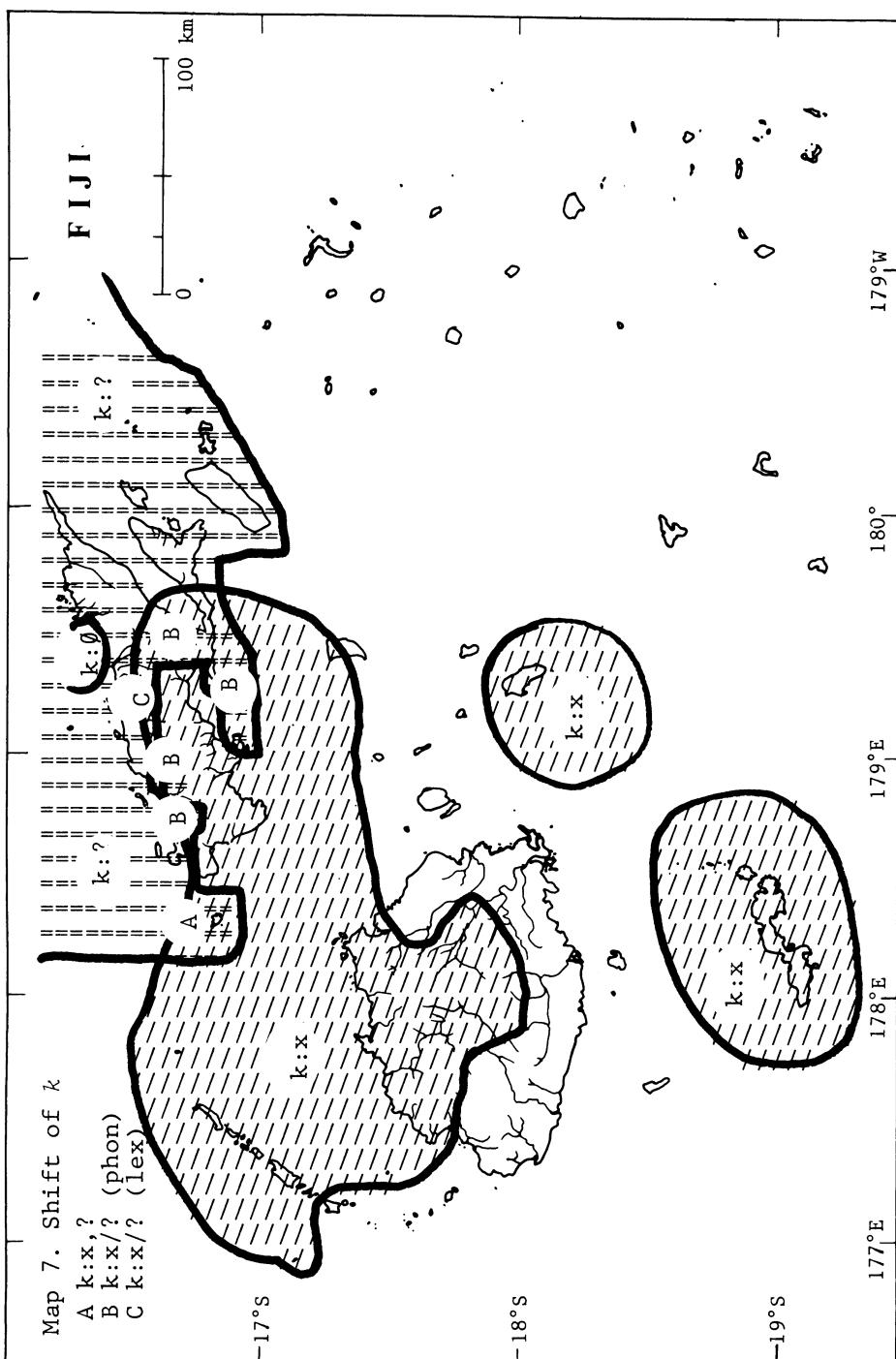
In the same way that *d:t* follows *t:*, *q:k* is the

consequence of a shift of *k* to velar fricative or glottal stop: *q:k* is only found in Vanua Levu, and always co-occurs with a shift of *k* (see Maps 7 and 8). Although *q:k* is in the process of losing ground in the east, oral history makes it clear that elsewhere it has won over large areas within human memory--in the west, Kubulau, Wainunu, Namuavoivoi, and Nasarowaqa; along the Macuata coast, Raviravi and Bāravi; and Seaqāqā inland.

3.5. Glottal Stop in Vanua Levu

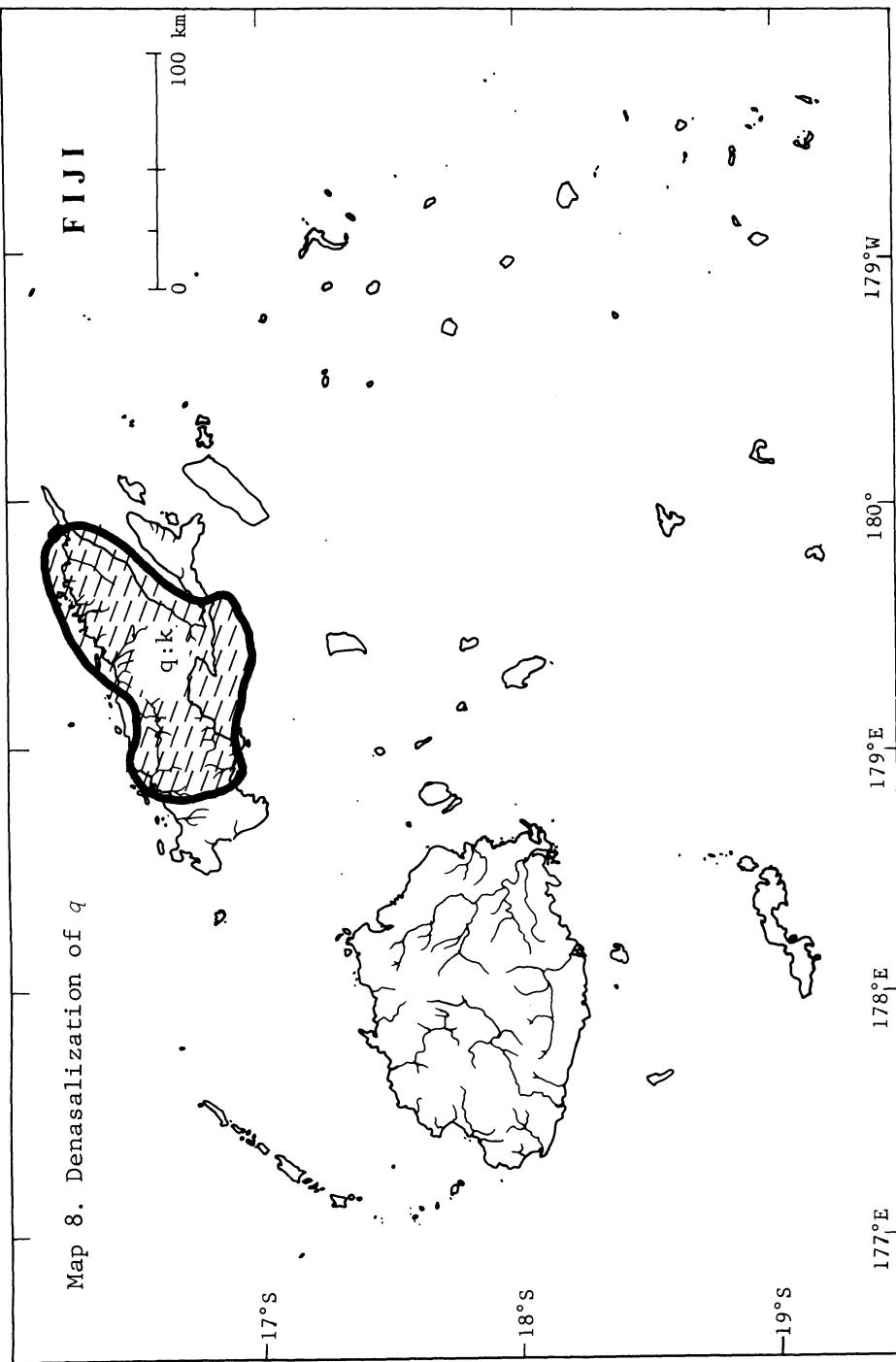
It is possible to explain historically a number of Vanua Levu sound systems by positing an innovative rule, *k:'*, spreading through areas which already have phonetic glottal stop from *t*. Some communalects find the resulting homophony and preponderance of glottal stop quite tolerable; so Naqumu, Bāravi, Korotubu, and Koibau (all Macuata) realize both *k* and *t* as glottal stop. One communalect, Labasa, finds a partial solution in realizing *k* as zero. A number of fairly widely scattered communalects--Natokalau, Namuavoivoi (Bua), Nakalou, Navidamu (Macuata), and Koroalau, Nasinu, and Savusavu (Cakaudrove)--share a dislike of adjacent glottal stops and, remarkably, modify the *k:'* rule in the same way, by blocking its application when only one vowel (sometimes two vowels) intervenes between *k* and *t* (realized as glottal stop). The following examples are from Koroalau:

<u>Diaphonemic</u>	<u>"Phonetic"</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<i>lako</i>	<i>la'o</i>	'go'
<i>kacu</i>	<i>'acu</i>	'wood'
<i>vōleka</i>	<i>vōle'a</i>	'near'
<i>volekata</i>	<i>volexa'a</i>	'near - to'
<i>tavako</i>	<i>'ava'o</i>	'tobacco'



Map 8. Desalination of *q*

F I J I

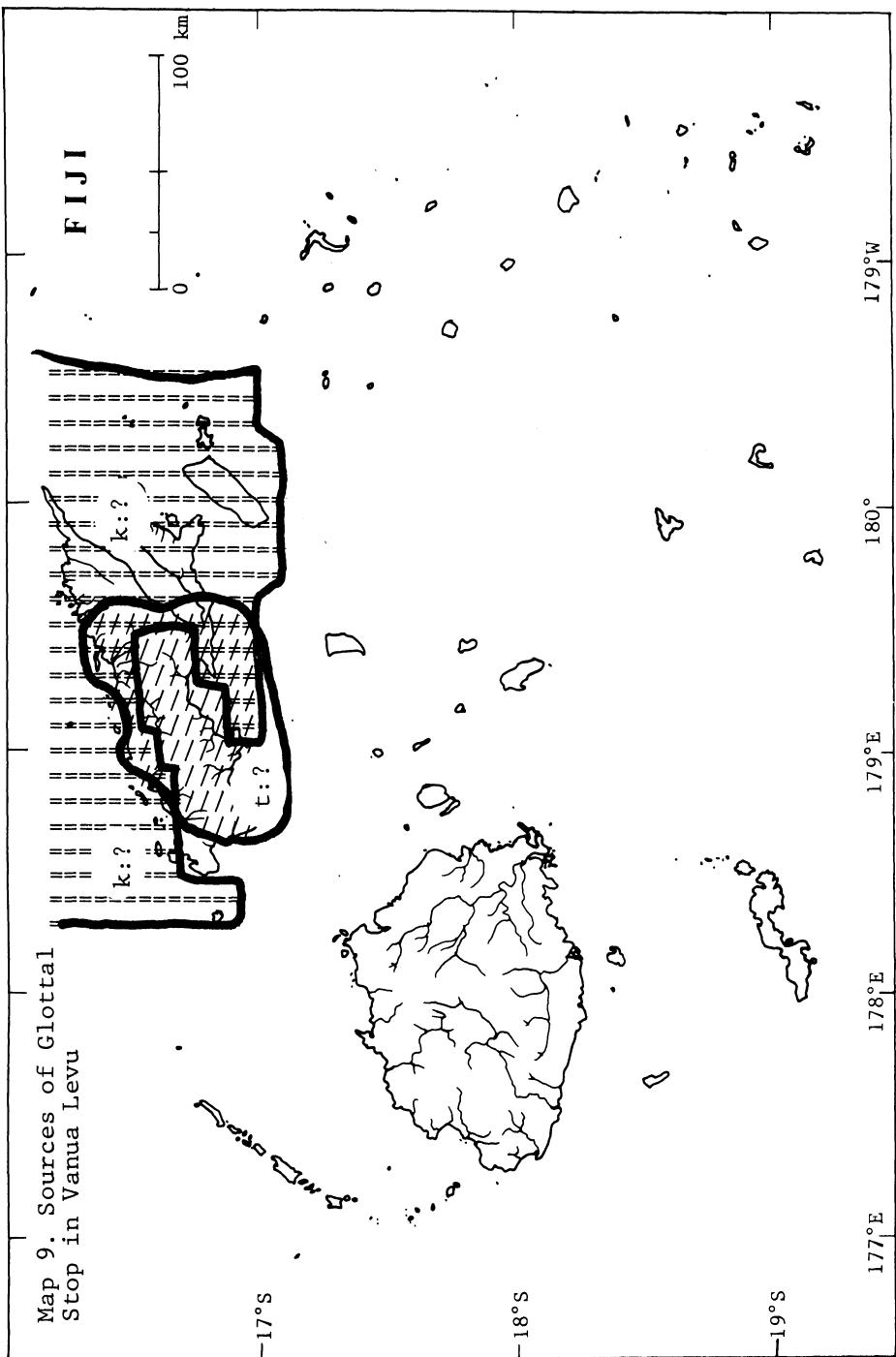


<u>Diaphonemic</u>	<u>"Phonetic"</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<i>karua</i>	'arua	'second'
<i>katolu</i>	<i>xa'olu</i>	'third'
<i>tuakana</i>	<i>'uaxana</i>	a'a+-III 'his/her older same-sex sibling'
<i>taukei</i>	'auxei	'owner'
<i>takelo</i>	'axelo	'bent'
<i>takoso</i>	'ā'oso	'cross'

Finally, one communalect, Buca (Makomako, Macuata) also disallows k:' in the environment of a glottal stop, but realizes *k* otherwise as either '*x*' or glottal stop, in what appears to be a totally random fashion. The only observation of possible interest is that *k* in grammatical morphemes tends to be realized as glottal stop rather than '*x*'. To cite a minimal pair, *bekwa* 'fruit bat' is realized as '*bexa*', while *Vbeka* 'perhaps' is realized as '*be'a*'.

Map 9 summarizes the outcome of the historical confrontation of the two glottal stop-producing rules, t:' and k:'. The shaded area represents the t:' rule which, I suggest, was established before the k:' rule spread westward. The other area represents the realization of *k* as glottal stop, and each area which is covered by both glottal stop-producing rules is labeled with a letter which refers to modifications to the k:' rule.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Buell Quain (1948:435-439), who did anthropological fieldwork in Vanua Levu in 1935 and 1936, was the author of a valuable description of Vanua Levu phonologies, and a detailed account of phonological variation and change in the area in which he carried out most of his work, Namuavoivoi in Bua.



His study was particularly remarkable in that it was done at all by someone who was primarily an anthropologist, and that it conscientiously distinguished between fact and hearsay. Taken with Hocart's (1952) earlier (1912), though less thorough, study, and information supplied me by elderly people, we are enabled to gain a fair picture of sound changes that have taken place during the last fifty years. One fact that stands out is that there is no tendency for phonologies to change in the direction of SF. Indeed, the only communalect with SF phonology (Dalomo, Bua) is no longer spoken, and the near-SF phonology that included the Dama and Vuya areas of Sōlevu communalect in Quain's time is now confined to Bua.

Quain (1948:436) recounted a local explanation for the distribution of t:' and k':

They [native informants] explain the present distribution of these primary dialect variations [k:' and t:] as a result of the immigration of maritime people who settled in eastern Vanua Levu and along the north coast; these maritime people spoke *t* and elided *k*, in contrast with the inland descendants of Flight-of-the-Chiefs [Seatura] and Flight-of-the-Strong [Seaqāqā], who spoke *k* and elided *t*. Origin legends and methods of classifying kin agree roughly with this classification. The coincidence is particularly noticeable in Macuata: The regions which speak *t* trace descent from immigrant maritime chiefs (they claim Bau and Verata as their ancestral homes) and do not recognize moiety structure as fundamental in determining marriage prohibition. The regions which speak *k* trace descent from inland Flight-of-the-Strong, recognize

affiliation with the descendants of Flight-of-the-Chiefs in inland Bua, and observe moiety regulations. . . .

Thus there is nonlinguistic evidence to support my contention that *k:*' is the historically innovative rule. Of course, there is also a linguistic argument that holds at least for those communalects (such as Koroalau) where *k* is realized variously as velar fricative and glottal stop. If *k:*' were the earlier rule, and *t:*' innovative, then we would need to posit an unnatural change, glottal stop to velar fricative, in these communalects. The reverse change, from velar fricative to glottal stop, is quite natural and is found also in the Solomons (Levy n.d.:17).

The *k:*' rule is also described by Quain as an innovation in his "home" village, Namuavoivoi (Bua):

It is perhaps a compliment to Namo's personality that all his contemporaries and juniors have imitated him in the elision of both *k* and *t*. His mother is of the *t*-speaking region of Navakasiga, and, when Namo learned to talk, he chose to elide both consonants. Among those children who have attended Lekutu school, Namo's early experience with the *t*-speaking dialect is duplicated. They, too, elide both consonants.
(Quain 1948:438)

Note that, while the *k:*' rule is clearly the innovating one, there is no mention of any exceptions, of which, presumably, Quain would have been aware. Namuavoivoi, therefore, was changing from *k:x* to *k:'--and not to k:x/'* (phon), which is found today in Namuavoivoi. Assuming Quain's description to be

accurate, we are faced with a problem: if *k* and *t* merged as glottal stop in Quain's time, whence has the present language derived its velar fricatives?

A similar problem might be posed concerning Labasa, where *t*:' and *k*:∅. Labasa is next to two areas where both *t* and *k* are realized as glottal stop (see Map 9), and is enclosed by the *k*:' area. It seems very likely that Labasa went from *k*:*k* to *k*:' and then to *k*:∅. But if at any stage both *k* and *t* merged as glottal stop, how are we to account for the current situation where only *k* is realized as zero?

The solution to these problems involves the loosening of theoretical shackles, or, more precisely, the abandonment of the idea that a language resides in the collective minds of a totally isolated community of monoglots. In fact, most Fijians are, at least passively, multilingual. Marriage customs are such that every village contains many women who speak a foreign dialect, and visitors generally resort to Colloquial Fijian (CF) only in cases of difficulty in communication. It is quite possible that there lurks, somewhere in the mind of the individual Fijian, a diaphonemic system similar to the one we are using in this work, so that a covert phonemic distinction may be maintained between overtly identical sounds. In this way, we can explain how glottal stop from one historical source developed differently from glottal stop from another historical source in both Namuavoivoi and Labasa.

3.6. Remarks on Denasalization

We have seen that denasalization of *d* and *q* is almost exclusively confined to areas where '*t*' and

'k', respectively, are otherwise absent, suggesting that systematic pressure has been at work. Now, a glance at the phonology of any Fijian language will reveal two more prenasalized stops, *b* and *dr*, so that we might expect a historical predisposition to be extended to *b* and *dr*, thus completing the series of voiceless stops at all points of articulation. Accordingly we find, in Nabalebale (NBB), in the heart of denasalization country, that *b* is realized as '*p*', and *dr* as '*tr*'. This makes Nabalebale the only Fiji communalect with no phonetic prenasalization.

Note particularly the development of *dr*. Historically, *dr* is a prenasalized *r*, but throughout Fiji (and in some Melanesian island languages) an excrescent stop occurs between the nasal and the trill. Clearly this excrescent stop has become more than an articulatory accident, for it is preserved in Nabalebale after denasalization, as '*tr*', making Nabalebale the only Fiji communalect with what can be analyzed (synchronously) as a phonemic consonant cluster. Such stepping out of line, however, is not warmly received by neighbors: Nabalebale is the object of much ridicule, and will probably cease to be spoken within twenty years, because all but the very old now use the phonology prevalent throughout Central Vanua Levu.

Map 10 illustrates Vanua Levu denasalization. On Vanua Levu, *d:t* always implies *q:k*, but Tokaimalo, on Viti Levu, has *d:t* without *q:k*.

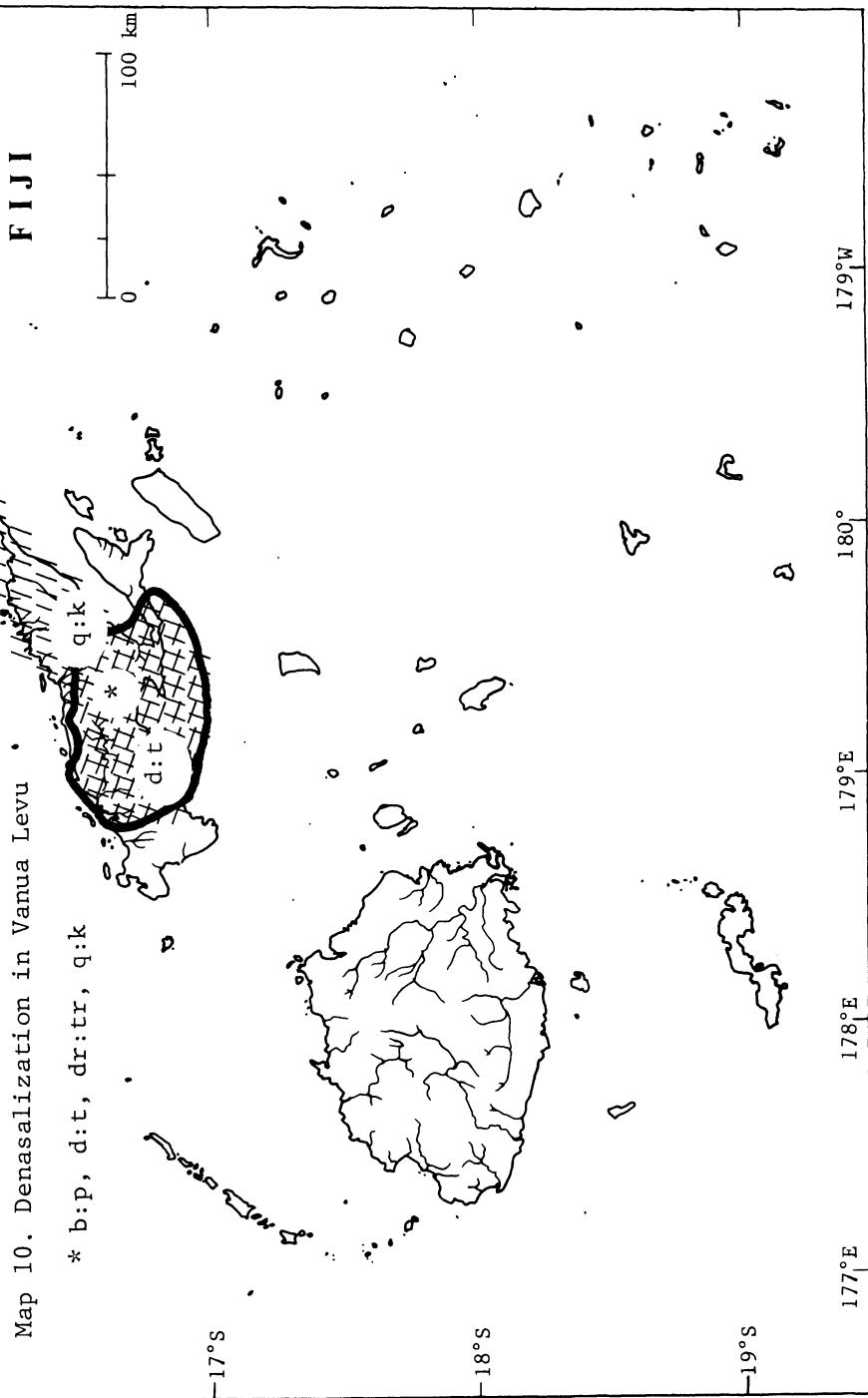
A final observation concerns the sporadic appearance of what sound like geminate voiced velar and dental stops for *q* and *d*, respectively. They are said to be the "real" speech of Seaqāqā and neighboring Tamonibuca, in Macuata, and of Wainunu in Bua.

Map 10. Denasalization in Vanua Levu

* b:p, d:t, dr:tr, q:k

d:t

q:k



I heard them used naturally by some old Seaqāqā speakers. It is possible that they are a historically intermediate stage in the process of denasalization, but their reported presence in the Nadrogā communalect of Ruwailevu, which has both k:k and t:t, does not lend support to this idea.³

3.7. The *y* Problem

There has been some debate as to whether SF *y* is phonemic. It certainly carries a low functional load; but, equally certainly, it can be distinctive before nonfront vowels:

SF	<i>tā</i>	'chopped'
	<i>taya</i>	'chop it'
	<i>loa</i>	'black'
	<i>loya</i>	'lawyer'
	<i>vua</i>	'bear fruit'
	<i>Vuya</i>	place name

Part of the problem of understanding *y* may be because it has at least two historical sources: from *∅, as a prosthetic glide before *a* under certain conditions, and from unstressed intervocalic *i. In Western Fijian, two more sources may be added--PEO *n (see section 4.3.6) and PEO *y and *z (Pawley 1972:79, s.v. *kuya 'how'; and see section 4.3.2). If, for the moment, we restrict ourselves to the prosthetic glide before *a*, we can generalize about its distribution in Fiji: it is present in all communalects under study here, with the exception of Waya and Nakoroboya in the West, and Labasa and Dogotuki in Northeast Vanua Levu. In Bua, it appears to be

optional, or perhaps lexically determined.

3.8. Deletion of *i* and *u*

In Waya, Nakoroboya, and Magodro (all in the province of Ba), unstressed *u* is deleted after *m*. It could be argued that these same three communalects undergo also the rule of *i*-deletion in the environment *t* l, n, but, in Magodro and in Waya, I found no forms meeting these specifications. In Nakoroboya, I found three, two of which are homophonous, and I will use them to illustrate the phonetic ramifications of the *i*-deletion rule: the *t* is unreleased, and the following *l* or *n* assimilates to its voicelessness, so that *til* in *tila* 'one' is a voiceless alveolar affricate with lateral release, while the *tin* in *tina-* 'mother' and *-tina* 'flesh' is a voiceless alveolar nasal with what sounds like velic plosive onset.

3.9. Lengthening of *a*

All Western communalects (WAY, KBY, NKR, MGD, TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI, and NLE) have a rule of *a*-lengthening, which operates at phrase level: phrase-antepenultimate *a* is lengthened (and probably also constitutes an intonation peak). These examples are from Tubai:

'nā waqa'	'the boat'
'na waqāvuka'	'the airplane'
'na vānua'	'the land'
'na vanuā kō'	'this land'

3.10. Diphthongization

In all languages under study, except those of Lau (LAU and VBL), the penultimate stress rule is qualified by the rule that stress always falls on

the first vowel of a low- or mid-to-high vowel sequence. In Lau, however, there is no qualification of the penultimate stress rule, therefore, it is the *second* vowel of such a sequence that is stressed when it occurs in penultimate position. Thus we may contrast:

NWN	'rāica'	'see it'
LAU	'raīca'	
ONO	'rāuta'	'enough'
VBL	'raūta'	

3.11. Summary

The foregoing discussion has focused on fairly regular sets of correspondences, most of which are probably the result of recent sound changes within areas of Fiji: fricativization of *k*, shift of *k* and *t* to glottal stop and subsequent denasalization of prenasalized stops, palatalization (perhaps triggered in Nadrogā by *s* becoming '*h*', but see section 4.5.9 for earlier palatalization in Nadrogā), and loss of *i* and *u* in certain environments. Our tentative hypothesis concerning the labiovelars is that they are the result of phonemic split patterned on an inherited distinction in the velar nasal; in those languages which now show no labiovelars, that is, most of Eastern Fiji, it is not clear whether there ever was a complete set of three labiovelars. Prothetic '*y*' also appears to be a local development, though similar prothetic consonants are found in languages of Melanesia. In the case of *α*-lengthening and diphthongization, I know of no way to arrive at a reasonable historical interpretation of the facts, particularly since comparable data from

related languages outside Fiji are scarce.

I shall now attempt to broaden our survey of intra-Fiji sound correspondences by including those that are not totally regular.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. The aptness of this analogy would escape anyone who is familiar only with the conventional etymology of SF '*mataqali*'. Lorimer Fison (cited in Capell and Lester 1941:316) suggested *mata* 'a group' and *qali* 'subject', as in *qali vakaBau* 'subject to Bau' (but then confused the issue by proposing that the word had something to do with SF *qali-∅* 'twist together'). While Fison's etymology is not implausible, there is a further possibility, based on the observation that in Moce (and perhaps elsewhere) in Southern Lau, a valley is called a '*qaliqali*', and each valley is owned (and was formerly occupied) by a social unit, '*mataqali*', headed by a '*tui qali*'. So *mataqali* may have originally meant 'group of people sharing ownership of a valley', and the Western *qwali* 'river' may well be related to LAU *qaliqali* 'valley'.
2. Lovoni belongs politically to the province of Lomaiviti, but for linguistic purposes it is convenient to class it with Eastern Viti Levu languages. Of the languages under study, probably Namena is the closest linguistically to Lovoni.
3. Biggs and Biggs (1975:18) also note an unusual pronunciation of *d* in Cikobia, an island north of Northeast Vanua Levu, where a language similar to Dogotuki is spoken: *d* is said to be a voiced interdental stop or fricative.

CHAPTER 4

Less Regular Sound Changes

4.1.0. Prenasalization

Prenasalization is a phenomenon which has long preoccupied Oceanic language scholars; yet it may still be regarded as the least understood aspect of the historical phonology of Oceanic languages.

The current consensus appears to be that pre-nasalization in Proto Oceanic was a productive morphological process in which an obstruent--**p*, **t*, **d*, **s*, or **k*--was preceded by a homorganic nasal, yielding **mp*, **nt*, **nd*, **ns*, and **ŋk*. Milke (1968) has argued for another prenasalized palatal, **nj*. We can only guess at what might have been the function of prenasalization in POC. Formally similar processes extant in Western Austronesian languages offer some clues; but Lynch (1975) has shown that, contrary to many linguists' expectations, the contemporary oral-nasal alternations in a number of Oceanic languages are secondary developments involving fusion of tense-aspect markers with following verbs, and do not represent a continuation of Proto Oceanic prenasalization.

The process of prenasalization is inferred from surviving doublets--pairs of words related in form and meaning, but distinguished by one of the pair showing (or reflecting) prenasalization. The problem in reconstructing the process for Proto Oceanic is

that there is very little agreement among Oceanic languages as to whether an obstruent in any particular reconstructed form is or is not prenasalized. Indeed, disagreement about prenasalization is found even between closely related Oceanic languages. The lack of mesh between Fijian and Polynesian languages was so striking that it led Hockett (1976: 192-194) to speculate that prenasalization remained productive in Fijian after the split from Proto Polynesian.

I believe Hockett to be correct, though perhaps not in the way he intended. Like many linguists before him, Hockett seems to have been assuming that prenasalization has been a *single* process, actively producing by-forms with a particular meaning or grammatical function, then leaving a trail of fossilized forms as it lost momentum through time. Such a *deus ex machina* might seem indispensable to someone trying to reconstruct Proto Oceanic in the face of massive duplicity among daughter languages; but I believe that, by making a detailed comparison of low-order groups of related languages, we will find that what we have been referring to as "prenasalization" is not one, but a number of different and consecutive processes, each with its own function and its own constraints, and each perfectly regular while it lasts. Some prenasalization processes may still be active, as in those New Hebrides and New Guinea languages discussed by Lynch (1975), or may have died recently enough for their effects to be still tolerably visible. Only when we have cleared away the debris left by the most recent changes within a group of closely related languages can we begin to make headway in comparing more distantly related languages.

A case in point is Eastern Fijian apical pre-nasalization. As will be demonstrated below, many instances of prenasalization of apical obstruents--*t*, *r*, and *c*--are confined to an area of Eastern Fiji, and so can be viewed as resulting from a relatively recent sound change. What is more, agreements in the data suggest a likely phonetic motivation for this particular case of prenasalization. Thus we can remove from consideration the result of Eastern Fijian prenasalization in discussing the problem of prenasalization at a deeper historical level, and thereby considerably simplify the problem.

4.1.1.0. Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization

One of the phonological differences noted by Pawley and Sayaba (1971:418) as distinguishing Eastern from Western Fijian is that "Eastern dialects exhibit prenasalized *b* [mb], *d* [nd], and *dr* [nr] in some words whose Western cognates show simple *v*, *t*, and *r*." We are now in a position to explain some of these differences. Available data indicate that the prenasalization referred to by Pawley and Sayaba is shared by some, but not all, Eastern dialects, and that it affected *t*, *r*, and probably *c*, but not *v* or *k*. From the geographical extent of the change, and the evidence of external witnesses, it is clear that this prenasalization is an innovation.

4.1.1.1. Prenasalization of *t*

A systematic comparison of word lists from the Fijian dialects under study reveals a large number of forms on which all witnesses agree as to oral-nasal grade. In dental position, there is complete agreement concerning the presence or absence of

prenasalization in, for example, these widely reflected diaforms:

<i>kati-</i> ∅	'bite'
<i>koti-</i> (∅v)	'cut w scissors'
<i>kutu</i>	'louse'
<i>mata-</i>	'face, eye'
<i>i-matai</i>	'first'
<i>(i-)matau</i>	'right hand'
<i>rau-t</i>	'enough - for'
<i>sava-t</i>	'wash by rubbing'
<i>taga</i>	'sack'
<i>tawa</i>	'not empty'
<i>tolu</i>	'three'
<i>tubu</i>	'grow'
<i>tuki-</i> ∅	'hammer (st)'
<i>Vvata</i>	'together'
<i>vitu</i>	'seven'
<i>yate-</i>	'liver'
<i>dina</i>	'true'
<i>dodonu</i>	'correct'
<i>duidui</i>	'different'
<i>du(sc)i-</i> ∅	'point - to'
<i>māduā</i>	'ashamed'
<i>vodo</i>	'ride'
<i>vudi</i>	'plantain'

There is, however, a substantial set of forms which show *t* in some dialects, and *d* in others. We examine the distribution of these forms in Table 3. Presuming that *t* is historically prior to *d*, we say that a form has become prenasalized if it shows *d*, and has a cognate showing *t* somewhere else in Fiji. Those diaforms which show variously *d* or *t* are "potentially prenasalized," and we calculate for

Table 3
Prenasalization of t^a

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	actual	potential	percentage
WAY	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	1	17	6	
KBY	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	d	d	t	t	d	t	t	t	t	3	19	16	
NKR	t			t	t			t		t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	2	11	18
MGD	t	d		t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	4	15	27
TBW	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	2	18	11
BRV	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	2	14	14
BTW	t	d	t	t	d	t	t	d	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	5	16	31
TBI	t	d	t	t	t	t	d	t	t	d	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	7	18	39
NLE	t	t	t	t	d	t	t	d	t	d	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	6	16	38
NMS	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	15	16	94
WDN	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	15	16	94
LUT	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	12	13	92
NDR	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	14	16	87
TKM	d	d	d	t	d	d	t	d	d	d	d	t	t	d	d	t	t	d	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	11	17	65
NMN	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	t	t	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	12	13	92
ONO	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	t	t	d	d	t	t	t	t	t	t	13	15	87
TVK	d	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	3	15	20
NBL	d	t	d	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	4	15	27
LAU	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	t	t	d	d	t	t	t	t	t	t	15	19	70
VBL	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	t	t	d	d	t	t	t	t	t	t	15	20	75

Note also that SF *dairo* 'k sea slug' is realized as *taro* in GOD, LBS, and DGT.

Diagrams

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|---------------------------|-----|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>ta(ae)</i> | 'excrement' | 14. | <i>tul(εi)</i> | 'earwax' |
| 2. | <i>tai</i> | 'trap' | 15. | <i>tuna</i> | 'freshwater eel' |
| 3. | <i>taka-</i> | 'back' | 16. | <i>turnu-</i> | 'knee' |
| 4. | <i>tali</i> | 'rope' | 17. | <i>tua</i> | 'bone' |
| 5. | <i>taliga-</i> | 'ear' | 18. | <i>tuva</i> | 'k. vine, used for fish poison' |
| 6. | <i>talo</i> | 'taro' | 19. | <i>tere</i> | 'touch' |
| 7. | <i>tauri</i> | 'trumpet shell' | 20. | <i>tō</i> | 'full of liquid' |
| 8. | <i>tavuk(ie)</i> | 'pit' | 21. | <i>tasī</i> | 'yam' |
| 9. | <i>tava</i> | 'k tree, Polynesian plum' | 22. | <i>tautū</i> | 'saltwater, sea' |
| 10. | <i>tio</i> | 'mangrove oyster' | 23. | (-) <i>ta</i> | 'us' Pn Lip |
| 11. | <i>to(y)a</i> | 'heartwood' | 24. | <i>mata</i> | 'in front, before' LN |
| 12. | <i>togo</i> | 'mangrove' | 25. | <i>ta(bm)a-</i> | 'skin, bark' |
| 13. | <i>tovu</i> | 'sugarcane' | | | |

each dialect the percentage of potentially prenasalized diaforms that are actually reflected as prenasalized. Diaforms are number-coded to keep the table compact; *t* indicates "not prenasalized," *d* "prenasalized," and a blank space indicates no known reflex. Naimasimasi, Lovoni, and Tunuloa are disregarded because of insufficient data. When these percentage prenasalization figures are compared, it becomes evident that they are far from random. Four geographical groups are clearly defined and are separated by contours on the map. The least prenasalization (6-27 percent) is shown by the Western dialects of Bā and Nadrogā and those of mainland Kadavu. A slightly higher figure (31-39 percent) is yielded by Batiwai, Tubai, and Nalea. Moderately high nasalization of *t* (50-68 percent) is shown by Tokaimalo, Gone Dau, and four languages of Northeast Vanua Levu (Labasa, Dogotuki, Saqani, and Koroalau), and the remaining languages of Eastern Fiji all show high prenasalization (79-100 percent).

Support for our assumption that prenasalization is an innovation may be found in the geographical distribution of those languages with less than 70 percent prenasalization, which is compatible with the idea that prenasalization originated somewhere in Central Eastern Fiji, but did not reach the extremities of Eastern Fiji. The alternative hypothesis, that *d* has become *t*, would require a claim that one and the same change arose independently in such geographically disparate locations as Northeast Vanua Levu, Western Viti Levu, and mainland Kadavu. On the other hand, the high prenasalization area is quite homogeneous geographically, and roughly corresponds to an area surrounding to Koro Sea which

shows considerable cultural homogeneity, probably as a consequence of trading and kinship ties brought about by common subjugation to the great powers of coastal Viti Levu--Rewa, Bau, and Verata. Moreover, available evidence from outside Fiji points to most of these forms being historically nonprenasalized; the only one with cognates showing prenasalization is (-)ta 'us' Pn Iip.

We have broadly identified and located a sound change, but as yet know nothing of its details. First, we must remove some anomalous data. By studying the contents of Table 3, we can isolate four forms, *tul(ei)*, *tere*, *waitui*, and (-)ta, in which the *t-d* distribution is at odds with the general trend. Accordingly, we leave them aside, as exceptions, and calculate percentage prenasalization of the remaining forms (Map 11). Now five communalects, all in Western Fiji, show no pre-nasalization, while fourteen, all in the Koro Sea area, show 100 percent prenasalization.

Turning now to the "border areas"--those areas with neither very high nor very low prenasalization --we attempt to construct a hypothesis to account for their partial participation in what we would like to consider a single historical rule of pre-nasalization. Table 4 summarizes prenasalization in border areas.

It has already been argued that this prenasalization is an innovation, and it will be argued that it is a rule-governed innovation. The pre-nasalization shown by the border areas, however, shows no regularity that would suggest an underlying rule. Indeed, each of the (geographically defined) groups has prenasalized a different set of forms, and each to a different extent. Tokaimalo

Map 11. Prenasalization of *t*

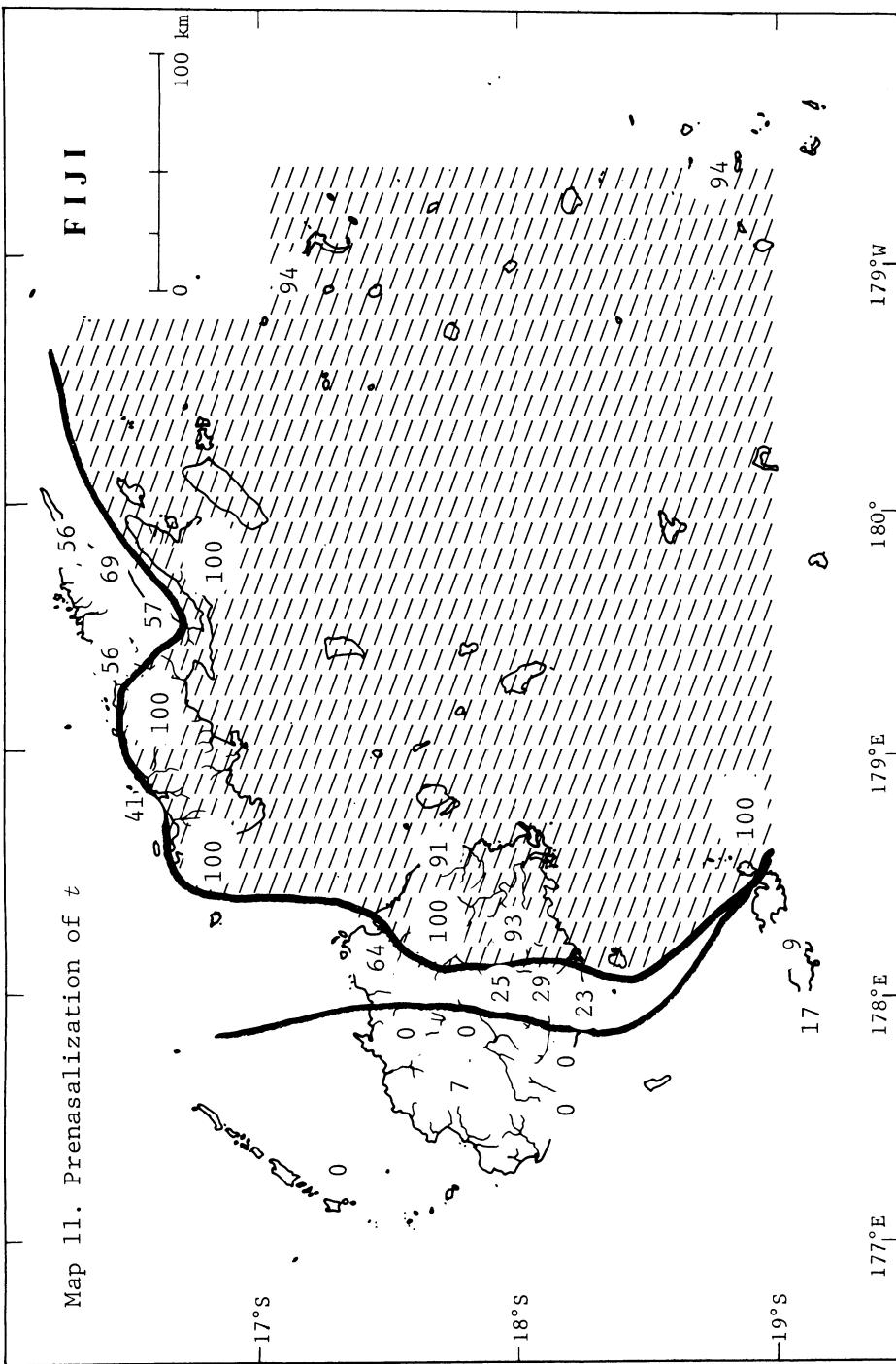


Table 4

Forms Prenasalized in Border Areas

		3	5	7	13	9	11	15	17	2	24	4	12	16	20	10	18	1
Northeast	KRL	t	t	t	t	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	t		
	SQN	t	t	t	t	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	t	
Vanua Levu	DGT	t	t	t	t	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	t	t	t	
	LBS	t	t	t	t	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	t	t	t	t	
	GOD	t	t	t	t	d	d	d	d	d	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	
	TKM	d	d	d	d	t	d	d	t	t	d	t	t	d	t	t	d	
	NLE	t	t	t	d					t	t	d	t	d	t			
NN S	TBI	t	t	t	t					d	t	d	d	t	d	t	t	
	BTW	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	d	d	t	d	t	d	t			
Mainland	TVK	t	t	t	t	t	t	d	t	t	t	t	t	t	d			
Kadavu	NBL	t	t	t	t	t	t	d	d	t	t	t	t	t	d			

shows quite high prenasalization, mainland Kadavu quite low. The fact that an implicational relationship exists between Gone Dau and Northeast Vanua Levu, such that all forms prenasalized in Gone Dau (9, 11, 15, 17, 2, 24) are also prenasalized in Northeast Vanua Levu, merely suggests that the two were in some kind of close contact when prenasalization took place. In view of this lack of agreement among border areas, it seems reasonable to propose that the source of the prenasalized forms in each of them was not a prenasalization rule, but random borrowing of lexical items already prenasalized in neighboring communalects. Supporting evidence is furnished from within the Northeast Vanua Levu area, where two items (*tio* 'mangrove oyster' and *tuva* 'k vine, fish poison') are prenasalized only in

Saqani and Koroalau which, lying on the coast of Natewa Bay, were probably never so remote from the "Koro Sea" cultural area as were the North Coast communalects, Labasa and Dogotuki.

The next question to be resolved is: what rule underlies this observed prenasalization? Why have these Eastern Fijian communalects prenasalized *t* in these particular forms, and not in, say, *kati-*ɸ 'bite', *kutu* 'louse', or *tolu* 'three'?

The composition of the list of potentially prenasalized forms is striking in at least two respects: all, with the exception of *mata*, show initial prenasalization, and all, with the exception of *tō*, are common nouns. A tentative hypothesis, then, might be that all common nouns with initial *t* underwent prenasalization in the Koro Sea area of Eastern Fiji. In its crude state, the hypothesis is easily falsified; but it is precisely by the close scrutiny of contradictory evidence that we discover conditions that permit the formulation of a more satisfactory hypothesis. One obvious set of counter-examples are such kin terms as SF *tama-* xt' 'father', *tina-* xy' 'mother', *tuka-* xxt' 'grandfather', *tuaka-* a'at 'older same-sex sibling', *taci-* a'a- 'younger same-sex sibling', and *tavale-* ta'bt 'male's male crosscousin', which are nowhere prenasalized. As kin terms, however, these are, more often than not, prefixed by the proper article *o* or *ko*; on the other hand, the prenasalized items on our list, being non-kin common nouns, are almost always used with the common article *na* preceding. Thus there emerges a likely phonetic motivation for this prenasalization --the assimilation of *t* to the preceding apical nasal in *na*. Such a condition for prenasalization is not unlike that reported for nasal accretion and

substitution in many Western Austronesian languages (Dempwolff 1934:30-33), or for oral-nasal alternations in some Oceanic languages (Lynch 1975).

Concerning the exceptions noted above, *tō* and *mata*, we must conclude that the distribution of *t* and *d* in these two items is not governed by the proposed rule, and only accidentally resembles the distribution of *t* and *d* in those items to which the rule does apply; in fact, the prenasalization of *tō* does show an unusual distribution. The lack of prenasalization of *tuva* is probably due to inaccurate elicitation on my part; in at least part of Eastern Fiji, the vine is referred to not as *na tuva* but as *na wā tuva*, with *wā*, the generic term for 'vine', blocking the assimilatory prenasalization. *waitui* 'sea, saltwater' may have become prenasalized by analogy with its component part **tui* or **dui* 'salt', which is witnessed in contemporary Tokaimalo.

Granted that the preceding hypothesis would account for the prenasalized forms under discussion, we must now consider the problem of why there are yet a great many common nouns with initial *t* in Eastern Fijian languages. One class of exceptions has already been noted, and an explanation offered, namely, kin terms which are normally preceded by the proper article. The phonetic environment is likewise lacking in such nouns as *tagane* 'male' and *tamata* 'person' because common nouns denoting persons are frequently used verbally in nominal ("equational") sentences. Two further classes of exceptions are loanwords which entered the language after the application of apical prenasalization, and common nouns which did not participate in the change because of certain phonotactic constraints. A more detailed discussion of these two classes

follows.

A constraint that must be borne in mind whenever Fijian historical phonology is discussed concerns certain sequences of consonants. Arms (1973:526-530) discusses in detail these disassociative tendencies for SF, though hampered somewhat by uncritical use of Capell's (1957) dictionary. Essentially, the domain of disassociation is the bisyllabic base, or, in the case of transitive verbs, the bisyllabic base and the consonant of the transitive suffix. While identical consonants are not usually disallowed, two consonants sharing prenasalization or place of articulation generally are. *q*, for example, rarely occurs in the same bisyllabic base as the velars *k* and *g*, or the prenasalized *b*, *d*, and *dr*. The prenasalized *d* is a little less particular: it dislikes *t*, and *dr* and *q*, but allows *b* to follow it in a number of items, and mixes freely with *n*. Considering, then, these disassociative tendencies, we can explain why such SF forms as *tutu-* 'edge' and *tadruku* 'chiton' are not subject to the prenasalization rule. We could further hypothesize that at the time of apical prenasalization the phonotactic constraints were stricter than they are now (they are often violated by loanwords) and, in fact, disallowed *dVb* sequences. In this way, even more apparent exceptions could be explained: *taba-* 'wing', *tabua* 'whale's tooth', *tebe-* 'rim, (mouth) lip', *toba* 'bay', *tobe* '(hair) lock', and *tobu* 'pool'.¹

A couple of SF exceptions may be recent loans. *tānoa* 'kava bowl' is probably from Tongan *ta'anoa* 'kava bowl' (see section 7.3.2). *tawake* 'banner' (TON *tavake* 'tropic bird') is almost certainly a loan. The SF word for domestic fowl, *toa*, looks

like a direct reflex of PEO **toa*, but evidence from Vanua Levu casts at least a shadow of doubt: in t: ' areas, the form is not the expected ''oa'', but 'toa', suggesting that the word is a borrowing postdating the change of *t* to glottal stop.

At this point, many apparent exceptions to the rule still remain unexplained. Notable among them are: SF *taga* 'sack', *tāvola* 'k tree, *Terminalia catappa*', *tavuto* 'whale', *tegu* 'dew', *temo* '(so) calf', *tikau* 'k wild yam', *tiki-* 'side, part', *tivitivi* 'butterfly fish', *tolo-* 'trunk', and *tuvu* 'spring on beach'. Of course, many of these exceptions can be accommodated by a borrowing hypothesis. The fact that a number of them are known to be of PEO or POC antiquity does not necessarily preclude their having been borrowed, although it does seem to be exceedingly unlikely in some cases.

On the whole, the apical prenasalization rule of the Koro Sea area of Eastern Fiji is witnessed with remarkable consistency, and has given rise to some interesting "doublets." PEO **turu-* 'knee' is reflected in SF as *duru-*, but **turu* 'to drip' is reflected as *turu*; PEO **tali* is likewise reflected as a noun *dali* 'rope' and a verb *tali-ø* 'weave'; and PEO **talīqā* is reflected as a noun in *dalīqā-* 'ear' and as a modifier in *mataitalīqā* 'hammerhead shark' (literally, eye-in-ear, cognate with PPN **mataqitalīqā*).

Finally, in support of the assimilatory motivation claimed for the prenasalization rule, a kinship term (which is reflected in KBY, WDN, LUT, NDR, BUA, and NVT(C)) may be cited: *gwadina-* xy't 'mother's brother', which is evidently composed of *gwāne-* a'b 'opposite-sex sibling' and *tina-* xy' 'mother'.

4.1.1.2. Prenasalization of *r*

It was claimed earlier that there is an articulatory phonetic motivation for the prenasalization of *t*, namely, assimilation to the preceding apical nasal in the common article *na*. It is hardly surprising, then, that other apical obstruents--*r* and, probably, *c*--are subject to prenasalization under the same conditions. The evidence for prenasalization of *r* is as follows.

Like *t* and *d*, *r* and *dr* are found uniquely in many widely attested forms:

<i>kurukuru</i>	'thunder'
<i>qarau-n</i>	'beware - of'
<i>rā</i>	'below, west'
<i>rau-t</i>	'enough - for'
<i>rogo</i>	'hear'
<i>rua</i>	'two'
<i>turu</i>	'drip'
<i>ura</i>	'prawn'
<i>uro</i>	'fat, grease'
<i>drā</i>	'blood'
<i>dram(iu)</i>	'lick'
<i>drēdrē</i>	'difficult'
<i>dreu</i>	'ripe'
<i>drōdrōlagi</i>	'rainbow'
<i>drok(ao)</i>	'uncooked, raw'
<i>yadra</i>	'awake, watch'

Those few words in which *r* and *dr* are geographically in complementary distribution suggest a spread of prenasalization of *r* similar to that shown by *t* (see Table 5). Mainland Kadavu and NNS show no prenasalization at all, but the Vanua Levu border areas appear to have borrowed one or two

Table 5
Prenasalization of *r*

	1	2	3	4	5	actual	potential	percentage
WAY	r	r	r			0	3	0
KBY	r	r	r	r		0	4	0
NKR	r	r	r			0	3	0
MGD	r	r	r			0	3	0
TBW	r	r	r	r		0	4	0
BRV	r	r	r			0	3	0
BTW	r	r	r			0	3	0
TBI	r	r	r	r		0	4	0
NLE	r	r	r			0	3	0
NMS	dr	dr				2	2	100
WDN	dr	dr	dr	dr		4	4	100
LUT	dr	dr	dr			3	3	100
NDR	dr	dr	dr			3	3	100
TKM	dr	dr	dr	dr		4	4	100
NMN	dr	dr	dr			3	3	100
NMM	dr	dr	dr			3	3	100
ONO	dr	dr	dr			3	3	100
TVK	r	r	r			0	3	0
NBL	r	r	r			0	3	0
LAU	dr	dr	dr	dr		4	4	100
VBL	dr	dr	dr	dr		4	4	100
NVT	dr	dr	dr	dr	dr	5	5	100
SLV	dr	dr	dr		dr	4	4	100
BUA	dr	dr	dr	dr	dr	5	5	100
NVS	dr	dr	dr			3	3	100
GOD	dr	r	r	dr	dr	3	5	60
BRV	dr	dr	dr	dr	dr	5	5	100
SQQ	dr	dr	dr		dr	4	4	100
NBB	dr	dr	dr			3	3	100
SAV	dr	dr	dr			3	3	100
LBS	r	r	dr	dr	dr	3	5	60
DGT	r	r	dr		r	1	4	25

Table 5. (Continued) Prenasalization of *r*

	1	2	3	4	5	actual	potential	percentage
SQN	r	r	dr	dr		2	4	50
KRL	r	r	dr			1	3	33
NTV	dr	dr	dr			3	3	100
NWN	dr	dr	dr			3	3	100

Diaforms

1. *rau-* '(tree) leaf, (head) hair'
2. *ravu(sā)* 'ashes'
3. *ra(ae)-* 'forehead'
4. *roro* 'flow fast, rapids'
5. *rēmagimagi* 'centipede'

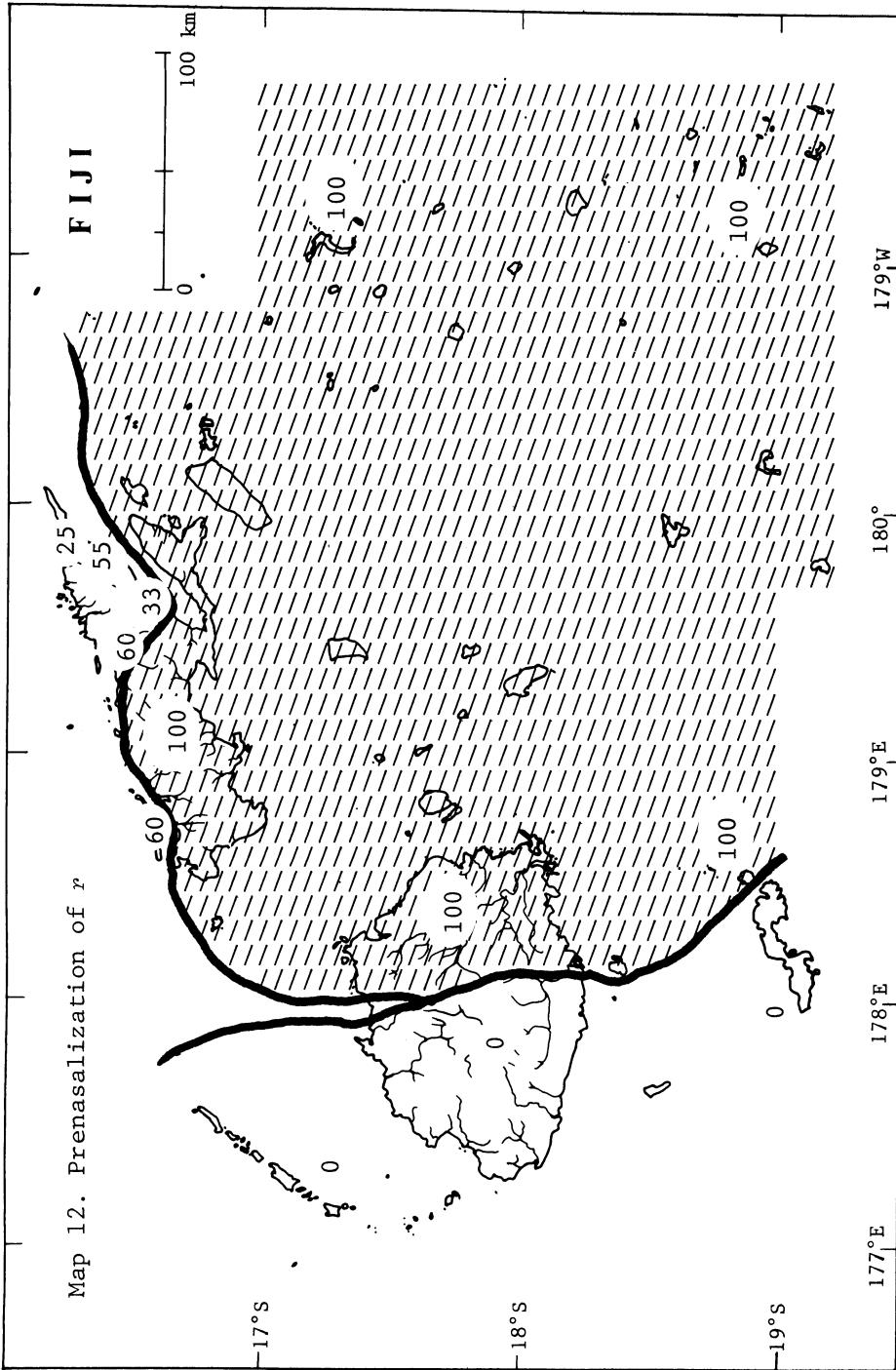
prenasalized forms (see Map 12). Either Tokaimalo has ended up with all four forms prenasalized through borrowing, or our initial hypothesis concerning Tokaimalo is wrong, and it underwent the prenasalization rule but later borrowed *t*-forms from further west.

One problem with the data is that one of the prenasalized forms--*roro* 'flow fast, rapids'--is used verbally more often than nominally. There does exist, however, a nominal use, and it is possible that the verbal use is derived.

As with *t*, some apparent candidates for *r* prenasalization have not undergone the rule, notably *rārā* 'open space', *rewa* 'k plant', *roka-* 'color', and *ruku-* 'space beneath'. Furthermore, some instances of *r-dr* variation do not follow the predicted pattern. *waru-c* 'strip off bark' is

Map 12. Prenasalization of *r*

F I J I



prenasalized in Lau and Eastern Viti Levu (not Vanua Levu, no data on Kadavu), and *voro-g* 'swallow (st)' is prenasalized in Western Viti Levu, not in Vanua Levu.

4.1.1.3. Prenasalization of *c*

The Fijian reflexes of the POC "palatals"--*s*, *c*, and *y*--present numerous historical problems, which will be dealt with later (section 4.3). For the moment, we shall discuss only what appears to be "prenasalization" of *c* to *s* parallel to that of *t* and *r*.

There are many examples of widely attested diaforms showing no variation between *s* and *c*:

<i>gusu-</i>	'mouth'	<i>ciwa</i>	'nine'
<i>kesu-</i>	'back of head'	<i>cagi</i>	'wind'
<i>lasa</i>	'happy; tame'	<i>cakau</i>	'reef'
<i>lase</i>	'coral'	<i>cavu-t</i>	'pull out'
<i>māsimā</i>	'salt'	<i>cula-(tɸ)</i>	'sew'
<i>sau-m</i>	'reply, pay'	<i>maca</i>	'empty of liquid'
<i>sava-t</i>	'wash'	<i>macala</i>	'clear'
<i>se-</i>	'flower'	<i>(sc)ucu-</i>	'breast'
<i>i-sele</i>	'knife'	<i>voce</i>	'paddle'
<i>siga</i>	'day'	<i>vake</i>	'up'
<i>vāsua</i>	'clam'		
<i>yasi</i>	'sandalwood'		

One of the anomalies of the *s-c* relationship in Fiji is that neither *s* nor *c* is phonetically pre-nasalized, although they pattern very much like *t-d* and *r-dr*, being nearly homorganic and providing many doublets. From the point of view of Eastern Fijian apical prenasalization, however, it is clearly *s* that is functionally the "prenasalized" member of

the pair.² While there are many diaforms showing *s-c* variation with very little discernible pattern, some suggest a change of initial *c* to *s* within Eastern Fiji (see Table 6). The *c-s* distribution differs in a number of ways from that of *t-d* and *r-dr*. In geographical extent, prenasalization of *c* is more widespread than that of *t* or *r* (see Map 13), covering all of the Eastern Fijian language area, including Northeast Vanua Levu, Gone Dau, Tokaimalo, and mainland Kadavu. In view of this large geographical extent, the lack of phonetic prenasalization in *s*, and the considerable unexplained residue (see two paragraphs below), the prenasalization of *c* must be considered relatively old. Further support is provided by the widespread Eastern forms *cagi* 'wind' (PEO **yəŋi*), *cavā* 'storm' (PEO **yavaRa*), and *cago* 'k ginger plant' (PEO **yəŋo*), which have not undergone prenasalization; the change of PEO **y* to *c*, therefore, probably postdates the prenasalization of *c*.

There are some instances of doublets in Eastern Fiji, where a common noun shows initial *s* in contrast to *c* in a cognate form which is not a common noun. For example, SF *saga-* 'thigh' is probably related to *caga* 'span', which is used verbally (*e caga vica* 'how many spans is it?').

Needless to say, there are anomalies. Two of the forms in Table 6, *coqe* 'pigeon' and *covu* '(squid) hole in rocks', quite unexpectedly fail to show prenasalization in Vanua Levu. At first glance, the word for 'torch', *cina-sina*, seems to reverse the expected distribution, showing *sina* in the Southwest and mainland Kadavu, and *cina* elsewhere. The probable explanation is that *cina* is a recent nominalization of the verb *cina* 'shine'

Table 6
Prenasalization of *c*

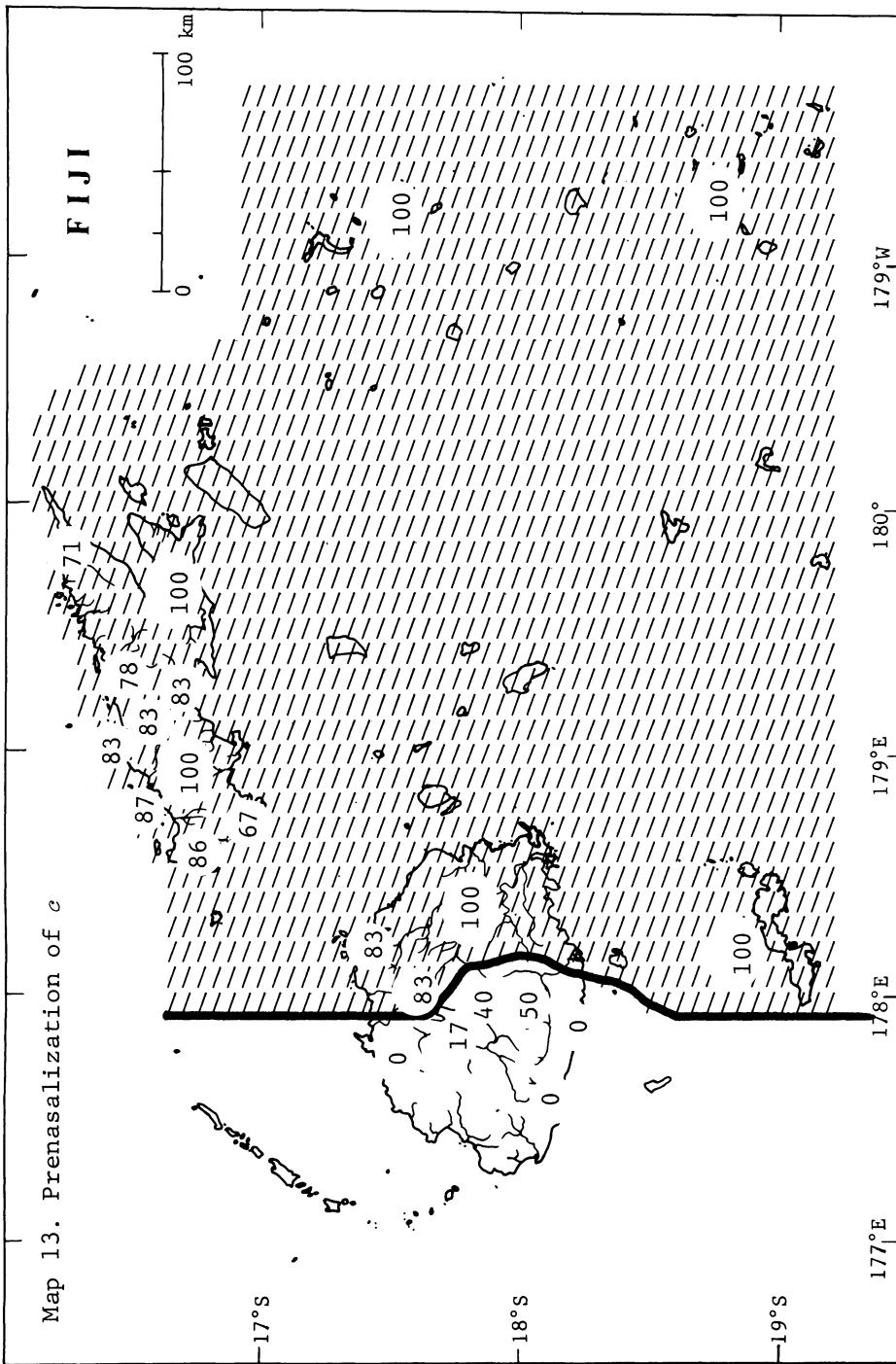
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	actual	potential	percentage
WAY	c	c	c	c	c						0	5	0
KBY	c	c	c	c	c	c	c				0	9	0
NKR	c	c	c	c	s	c					1	6	17
MGD	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c		0	4	0
TBW	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c		0	8	0
BRV	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c		0	4	0
BTW	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c		0	5	0
TBI		ø	s	c	s						2	4	50
NLE	c	c	c	s							2	5	40
NMS	s	s	s				s				4	4	100
WDN	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s		6	6	100
LUT	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s		4	4	100
NDR	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	c	5	6	83
TKM	s	c	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	5	6	83
NMN	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	3	3	100
NMM	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	4	4	100
ONO		s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	5	5	100
TVK		s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	8	8	100
NBL		s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	5	5	100
LAU	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	7	7	100
VBL	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	7	7	100
NVT	s		s	s			c	c			3	5	60
SLV	s	s	s	s			c	c			4	6	67
BUA	s	s	s	s	s	s	c	s			6	7	86
NVS	s		s	s							3	3	100
GOD	s	s	s	s	s	s	c	s			7	8	87
BRV	s	s	s	s	s	s	c				5	6	83
SQQ	s	s	s	s	s	s	c				5	6	83
NBB	s	s	s	s	s	s	c				5	6	83
SAV	s	s	s	s	s	s	c				4	4	100
LBS	s	s	s	s	s	s	c	s	c		7	9	78

Table 6. (Continued) Prenasalization of *c*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	actual	potential	percentage
DGT	s	s	s	s		s	c	c			5	7	71
SQN	s	s	s	s	s		s				6	6	100
KRL	s	s	s	s	s		s				6	6	100
NVT	s	s		s							3	3	100
NWN	s	s	s	s	s						5	5	100

Diaforms

1. (-) *cawa*(-) 'beach'
2. *cālevu* 'path'
3. *cici* 'k shellfish'
4. *cucu-* 'breast'
5. *culi-* '(taro, banana) sucker; taro'
6. *caga-* 'female genitals; thigh'
7. *coco-* '(so) buttocks; (coconut, banana) flower;
(coconut) young nut'
8. *coqe* 'pigeon'
9. *covu* '(squid) hole in rocks'
10. *calā* 'pig track'



(clearly so in LAU, VBL *i-cina* 'torch'), while *sina* is derived from Western Fijian *sina* 'reed'. *cina* and *sina* may, of course, be remotely related.

Finally, there are two aberrant forms for which data are limited: *coke-* '(tree) knot' is absent in the West, and resists prenasalization in Western Vanua Levu (NVT(B), SLV), while showing *soke-* in Dogotuki. *cevua* 'k tree' lacks prenasalization in Vanua Levu, but shows it unexpectedly in Tubaniwai; however, the elicited forms may not be related, since Capell lists both *cevua* and *sevua* as SF words for different plants.

4.1.1.4. Summary

Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization is a historical rule by which *t*, *r*, and *c* were prenasalized to *d*, *dr*, and *s*, respectively. The rule was phonetically conditioned, affecting the initial segment of words commonly preceded by *na*, that is, common nouns other than kin terms and those denoting persons. Its original domain was the Koro Sea area of Eastern Fiji, but it now appears irregularly in Eastern Fijian border areas (Northeast Vanua Levu, Gone Dau, Tokaimalo, and mainland Kadavu) through borrowing of particular lexical items. *s* has been borrowed more extensively than *d* or *dr*, suggesting that prenasalization of *c* preceded that of *t* and *r*; and other evidence indicates that prenasalization of *c* probably also preceded the change of PEO **y* to *c*.

We have constantly stressed the articulatory phonetic motivation of the rule, the condition being the frequent proximity of *n*. Proximity must be required, since nouns with the preformative *i-* are not affected (SF *na i-coka* '(house) cross beam', *na soka* '(boat) spar').

A possibly related rule affects the prounoun number markers, *-rau* dual and *-tou* paucal, following *mu-*, and is largely confined to the Koro Sea area. In Western Viti Levu, Kadavu, and Northeast Vanua Levu, the number markers are never prenasalized (*-tou* paucal; *-ruka* dual in Kadavu and Vanua Levu, *-ru* dual in Western Viti Levu). In the remaining areas of Eastern Fiji--approximately the Koro Sea area, but including Gone Dau and Tokaimalo--the trial number marker is prenasalized as *-dou* when following the second-person marker, which is usually *mu-* or *kemu-*, and the dual marker is prenasalized as *druka* or *drau* in the same environment. In some inland areas of Eastern Viti Levu, prenasalization occurs when the preceding person marker is neither *mu-* nor *kemu-*, but *ku-* (WND), *iko-* (NMN, LVN), or \emptyset (NDR, TKM). In these cases, we can assume that an earlier **kemu-* has been affected by a partially regular sound-change (WDN; see section 4.5.7), replaced by the second-person singular prounoun (NMN, LVN), or lost (NDR, TKM). In Western Fijian, there are only two instances of prenasalization of the paucal number marker *-tou*: in Nakoroboya after the first exclusive morpheme *mamu-*, and in Batiwai after *mau-*, which is presumably derived historically from **mamu-*.

4.2.0. The Labial Obstruents

It has already been mentioned that Pawley and Sayaba (1971:418) considered the pair BAU *sobu* and WAY *sovü* to constitute further evidence that nasal accretion in labials was an innovation of Proto Eastern Fijian. I have stated that, although pre-nasalization of *t*, *r*, and *c* under certain conditions is demonstrable for most Eastern communalects, the

same is not true of *v*.

By far the greater number of forms which occur throughout Fiji show unequivocal *v* or *b*:

<i>cavu-t</i>	'pull out'	<i>balabala</i>	'tree fern'
<i>ivi</i>	'Tahitian chestnut'	<i>balavu</i>	'long, tall'
<i>kavika</i>	'Malay apple'	<i>bati-</i>	'tooth'
<i>sava-t</i>	'wash by rubbing'	<i>bekwa</i>	'fruit bat'
<i>vā</i>	'four'	<i>belō</i>	'heron'
<i>vai</i>	'stingray'	<i>bili</i>	'push'
<i>vanua</i>	'land'	<i>bitu</i>	'bamboo'
<i>vāsua</i>	'k shell, <i>Tridacna</i> '	<i>bogi</i>	'night'
<i>vau</i>	'k tree, hibiscus'	<i>bua</i>	'k tree, plumeria'
<i>vavi-</i> ø	'bake'		
<i>vek(ae)</i>	'defecate'	<i>buli-</i> ø	'create, shape'
<i>vitu</i>	'seven'		
<i>voce</i>	'paddle'	<i>bulu-t</i>	'bury'
<i>vodo</i>	'ride'	<i>butu-k</i>	'tread on'
<i>voli-</i> ø	'buy'	<i>tubu</i>	'grow'
<i>vou</i>	'new'		
<i>vudi</i>	'plantain'		
<i>vuke-</i> ø	'help'		
<i>vuku</i>	'clever'		
<i>vula</i>	'moon'		
<i>yavu</i>	'(house) mound'		
Vvata	'together'		

Variation between *v* and *b* is shown in five items (in addition to *sobu/sovū*), which together display no consistent pattern³:

o(vb)a 'fall, collapse':

ova only Noikoro; *oba* in Waya and Tubai,
and Western Vanua Levu.

ka(vb)u 'mist':
kabu widespread; *kavu* only Nakoroboya,
 Noikoro, Magodro, and Nadrau.
ri(vb)i 'shin':
ribi Kadavu and Viti Levu; *rivi* Vanua Levu.
no(vb)o '(so) hide'
novo Gone Dau; *nobo* Labasa, Dogotuki, Saqani.
(vb)atuvu t'yx '(man) sister's child':
batuvu Nadrau; *vatuuu* Waidina and Lutu.

Indeed, for at least the first two items, the source of the trouble lies beyond Fiji. *ova* and *kavu* can be traced to PAN, *kabu* and *oba* probably to POC:

ova 'fall, collapse':
 REN '*oha'oha*' '(house) fall, collapse',
 NUK *oha* 'break, destroy, ruin', NAN *ofa*
 'take to pieces (house+)'; PAN **Rebaq*
 'fallen down, destroyed'.
oba 'fall, collapse':
 REN *opa* '(many things) fall'; KUA *op*
 'leaning over, aslant'.
kavu 'mist':
 PSS **gavu* 'haze'; KUA *gavul*; MTU *gahu*;
 PAN **kabut*.
kabu 'mist':
 TON *kakapu*; ROV *kapukaputopa* 'cirrus clouds'
 (cf. also KUA *kabu* 'ashes, dust', MAN *gapu*
 'dust').

4.2.1.1. Phonemic *p* in Fiji

There is a sixth word showing *v-b* variation; but it also shows a third variant, *p*:

v	:	<i>vāvaku</i>	KBY, MGD, TBI; LUT, NDR, TKM, NMN, NMM; TVK; NVT(B), SLV, BUA, NVS, GOD, BRV(M), SQQ, NBB, DGT, SQN, KRL.
		<i>vakuvaku</i>	LBS
b	:	<i>bakubaku</i>	DGT
		<i>kubakuba</i>	MGD, TBW, BRV(N)
p	:	<i>pāpaku</i>	LAU, VBL

This phonemic *p*, which is a third labial obstruent in the consonant systems of Lau, Tavenui, and Eastern Vanua Levu (i.e., LAU, VBL, DGT, SQN, NVT(C), TNL, and NWN in our sample), has been known of for some time, but generally presumed to be present only in loanwords from Polynesian languages. To test this assumption, I conducted fieldwork in Eastern Vanua Levu, where *p* is phonemic, and Lau, where both *p* and *f* are phonemic, and recorded as extensive a collection of words containing *p* and *f* as possible. These words are reproduced in full in the Appendix, and I shall be referring to them throughout this section. My investigations have led to no definite conclusions about the origins of *f*, except that many of its occurrences are in words borrowed from Tongan. On the question of *p*, however, they suggest that the three-way distinction among *v*, *b*, and *p* is an ancient one, going back at least to PEO (as defined in Pawley 1972), and possibly to POC.

4.2.1.2. Tongan Loans in Fiji

The interpretation of the data is complicated by the fact that Fiji and Polynesia, especially Lau and Tonga, have been in close cultural contact, if not ever since the settlement of Tonga, at least

since the thirteenth century (Derrick 1950:120, 129-130), and certainly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is hardly surprising, then, to find numerous Fijian loans in Tonga,⁴ and likewise many Tongan loanwords in Lau, some of which have made their way into SF and other, mostly Eastern, dialects. We thus have the problem of distinguishing between cases of inherited and borrowed *p* in Lauan.

A number of loanwords are immediately recognizable as such, having been introduced from Tonga with Christianity, and having nonindigenous referents: *lotu* 'Christian worship', *lūlulu* 'shake hands' (TON *lulululu*, apparently from a PPN root),⁵ *tēvoro* 'devil, heathen god' (ultimately from English 'devil' (?), but via TON *tēvolo*, showing the sporadic perception of Tongan intervocalic *l* as *r*, also shown in next), *burelulu* 'Wednesday' (TON *pulelulu*; *burelulu* is preserved only in parts of Kadavu and the West, having been ousted by the mutant *vukelulu* elsewhere), *totogi* 'pay a fine' (TON *totongi* 'pay, cost'), *i-lavo* 'money' (earlier meant 'coin', and even earlier referred to coin-shaped discs thrown in the game known in Lau as *veilafo* or *lalafo*, and in Tonga and Samoa as *lalafo*, from *lafo* 'throw'), and *vāvālagi* 'place where white people come from' (TON *pālangi*).

These examples show that there are two possible realizations of borrowed *p* in Fijian languages which lack *p*; Tongan *p* is realized as *b* in *burelulu* 'Wednesday', but as *v* in *vāvālagi* 'place where white people come from'. When more evidence is considered, however, it becomes clear that the usual realization is *v*. Schütz (1978) shows from the massive testimony of English loans in SF that English *p* and *f* have almost invariably turned up as *v* in SF. The

preceding exception (and also SF *bausi* 'purse') was probably not borrowed by Fijians, but inflicted on them by the purveyors of Western culture, usually missionaries, in a form they considered suitable, as happened extensively in Hawaii (Schütz 1976b).

As a general rule, therefore, if a word shows *p* in Lau or Vanua Levu, and is not an obvious loan by virtue of its meaning, another way to determine whether it is a Polynesian loan is by examining its cognates in parts of Fiji which have no phonemic *p*, where *p* in loanwords is realized as *v*. If the cognate shows *b* rather than *v*, then the word is probably not a loan, and another explanation must be sought.

Referring now to the Appendix, we see that a number of forms clearly are Polynesian loans.⁶ A far greater number, however, remain unaccounted for, having no known Polynesian cognates, or showing *b*, rather than *v*, in non-*p* areas of Fiji. Moreover, some contain very un-Polynesian sounds, as Hocart (1952:4) has pointed out:

It is true that in the North-East, as in Lau, words and names occur containing *p*, which is Polynesian but not Fijian, e.g. *popose*, *pu*, *polopolo*, *Koroirupe*, *Rokoisupe*, *Puputhi*, even a place name, *Potu*. Some of them cannot be Tongan, since that language has no *th* or *r*, or any sound that would become *th* or *r* when translated into Fijian.

We might add that the instances of *p* are unlikely to be recent Tongan loanwords not only because they frequently co-occur with such non-Tongan sounds as [ð], [r], and [s], but because they are found in

great numbers in parts of Vanua Levu where Tongan influence was very slight.

However, a little caution is necessary. We have already noted that the Tongan intervocalic *l* appears to be borrowed into Fijian sometimes as *r*, and cited *tēvoro* (TON *tēvolo*) 'devil' and *burelulu* (TON *pulelulu*) 'Wednesday'; further examples are *porosi* 'woman's long hair' (TON *polosi*) and the obsolescent *yemara* (TON *hāmala*) 'hammer'. The words may have been "inflicted," rather than borrowed, but at least they stand as a reminder that *r* can occur in words derived from Tongan (though, thus far, only intervocally). It is even possible that *r* occurred historically in Tongan; both **l* and **r* are reconstructed for Proto Polynesian, **r* being realized as zero in Tongan.

On the occurrence of *s* with *p*, there are again two possible explanations that are consistent with Tongan borrowing--either the words containing *s* were borrowed before the Tongan shift of PPN **s* (with **h*) to *h*, or they were inflicted on the Fijians by Tongan bilinguals. Conversely, bilingual Fijians may have been responsible, "translating" Tongan *h* into Fijian *s*, in the same way that Samoans translated Tongan *hāmala* 'hammer' into Samoan *sāmala*.

All these possibilities, however, are quite remote, and certainly unlikely to account for all the data at hand. What is more, while Tongan probably had *s*, from PPN **s*, before the change to *h*, there is little to suggest that Tongan, or any Polynesian language ever had a voiced dental fricative [ð].

4.2.1.3. Proto Eastern Oceanic **p*

Since there are three bilabial obstruents in at least part of Fiji, and the borrowing hypothesis can account for only some of the instances of *p*, it is pertinent to consider the possibility that an earlier stage of the language distinguished three labial obstruents. Two obstruents, **p* and **mp*, have already been reconstructed for Proto Eastern Oceanic. The corroborative evidence for a third bilabial obstruent in PEO is found in some languages of the South East Solomons, notably Nggela. Pawley (1972:27) lists the Nggela reflexes of his PEO **p* as both *p* and *v*, with the variation in reflexes unexplained. It was left to Levy (n.d.:27) to point out that the *p-v* distinction is consistently maintained by all Guadalcanal-Nggelic languages (i.e., all members of the more westerly of the two subgroups of South East Solomonic).

By comparison with the third bilabial obstruent of Fiji, we arrive at an explanation for the Guadalcanal-Nggelic "variation," namely, that it preserves a distinction present in the language ancestral to Guadalcanal-Nggelic and Fijian. The following are just some of the cognate forms:

<u>Nggela</u> (Fox 1955)	<u>Lau, E. Vanua Levu</u>
<i>paku</i>	<i>pāpaku</i>
'thick'	'thick'
<i>papa</i>	<i>papa</i>
'ride on back'	'ride pick-a-back' (children's word)
<i>patoki</i>	<i>pato-k</i>
'hammer (nail, wooden peg)'	'punch, jab w fist or spear'

<u>Nggela</u> (Fox 1955)	<u>Lau, E. Vanua Levu</u>
<i>pila</i>	<i>pila-c</i>
'crush (st soft)'	'smash (st soft) w stone or heavy object'
<i>pisi</i>	<i>pisi-k</i>
'(faeces) ejected'	'(liquid) spurt out - on'

None of these Eastern Fijian forms appear to be borrowed, because Tongan sources are lacking. Since Nggela and Fiji belong to different first-order subgroups of PEO (Pawley 1972:98), the protophoneme that yields Fijian and Nggela *p* is of at least that antiquity; and since, in those two areas where it has been retained as a distinct phoneme, it is realized as a voiceless bilabial stop, I have chosen to label it PEO **p*. The PEO phoneme which has previously been labeled **p* I have relabeled **v* (in fact, most of its reflexes are fricatives), and the previous **mp* I have relabeled **b* (many of its reflexes suggest that it was a voiced prenasalized stop). The earlier use of symbols **p* and **mp*, moreover, is rather misleading, since there is little evidence that there was any morphological process of prenasalization active at the PEO stage (see Lynch 1975 for a denial that the prenasalization extant in the Central New Hebrides is of PEO antiquity).

After Levy had established PSS **p*, he looked for its counterparts in external witnesses, including PPN and Bauan, and concluded that PSS **p* corresponds to PPN **f* and BAU *v*. In view of the fact that I propose different corresponding phonemes (PPN **p*, BAU *b*), it might be worthwhile to examine the data

from which he drew his conclusions. The cognate sets he assembled are:

PEO	* <i>papa</i>	'carry a person on one's back'
PPN	* <i>fafa</i>	'carry on back'
BAU	<i>vava</i>	'carry a child on the back'
PSS	* <i>papa</i>	
PEO	* <i>pidi</i>	'spring up'
PPN	* <i>fiti</i>	'spring up'
BAU	<i>vidi</i>	'to jump, spring, fly up'
BUG	<i>pidi</i>	'spring, rebound'
NGG	<i>pidi</i>	
PEO	* <i>supa</i>	'hill, landmark'
BAU	<i>suva</i>	'a mound, heap of earth, serving as a landmark'
BUG	<i>sucasupa</i>	'hill, mountain'

Now note a cognate set not involving **p*:

PEO	* <i>vidi</i>	'jump, spring'
PPN	* <i>fiti</i>	'spring up'
BAU	<i>vidi</i>	'to jump, spring, fly up'
NGG	<i>vidi</i>	

Since both **pidi* and **vidi* are reconstructed here for PEO, BAU *vidi* could reflect either, and is not a problem. With PEO **papa*, I believe we must reconstruct another doublet, as there is widespread evidence for both PEO **vava* and **papa*:

<u>PEO *vava</u>	<u>PEO *papa</u>
PPN *fafa	SIK papa
'carry on back'	'carry on back'
TAK fakaffaa	TAK fakappaa
'carry on back'	'carry on back'
BAU vava	LAU papa
'carry on back'	'carry on back'
NGU ova	PSS *papa
'carry on back' ⁷	'carry on back'

In fact, there are relatively few cognate sets which require the reconstruction of PEO doublets with *p* and *v*, and it is an odd coincidence that two of the three Bauan forms Levy cited are thus misleading. The third reconstruction, PEO **supa*, remains a problem, but it will be seen that there are considerably more and better data showing that the non-*p* Fijian reflex of PEO **p* is not *v*, but *b*.

I have searched other languages for cognates of Fijian *p*-forms. All other EO languages thus far investigated agree in merging **b* and **p*. The following PEO reconstructions have tentatively been made (here, EF stands for Lau and/or Eastern Vanua Levu). While the list is primarily intended to show that there is evidence in the Southeast Solomons that Fijian *p* is inherited from PEO, a number of "question-begging" cognate sets have been included. That is, unless there is good evidence of Polynesian borrowing, I have assumed that EF *p* reflects PEO **p*, regardless of whether there is a corroboratory Solomons form, and vice versa, so that in some cases PEO **p* has been reconstructed on the evidence of Fijian or

Solomons *p* and the correct reflex of **p* from any other Eastern Oceanic language.⁸

PEO Reconstructions with *p

* <i>lepa</i>	MTA <i>lepa</i> 'mud' NGG <i>lepa</i> 'mud, swamp' BUG <i>thepla</i> 'ground, earth, mud' doublet of * <i>pela</i>
* <i>lepo</i>	EF <i>lepo</i> 'earth-oven covered w sacks, not soil' MTA <i>lelep</i> 'leaves laid over stones to keep food clean in oven'
* <i>lope</i>	EF <i>lope</i> 'mud' MTA <i>loplopega</i> '(fruit) watery'
* <i>paki</i>	EF <i>paki</i> 'ornamental paddle used in dance' PPN * <i>paki</i> 'ornamental paddle used in dance' (ANU <i>paki</i> , TON <i>me'e</i> <i>tu'upaki</i> 'paddle dance') BUG <i>paipaki</i> 'ornamental paddle' ⁹ cf. ROT <i>paki</i> 'imitation club in dances' (PN loan)
* <i>paku</i>	EF <i>pāpaku</i> 'thick' DGT <i>bakubaku</i> 'thick' MGD, TBW, BRV(N) <i>kubakuba</i> 'thick' NGG <i>paku</i> 'thick' BUG <i>paupaku</i> 'endure, be patient' ARS <i>pakupaku</i> 'very firm and hard' ¹⁰ cf. PPN * <i>paku</i> 'skin, crust'; 'blunt' (ECE, ANU) BAU <i>vāvaku</i> 'thick' (EF loan)
* <i>papa</i>	EF <i>papa</i> 'board, plank' PPN * <i>papa</i> 'board, plank' PMC * <i>papa</i> 'board, plank' ¹¹

	ARS	<i>papapa</i> 'flat slab'
	cf.	MTU <i>papapapa</i> 'flat rock'
		doublet of * <i>pava</i>
* <i>papa</i>	EF	<i>papa</i> 'ride piggyback' (children's word)
		<i>vei/papa/i</i> 'stacked, layered'
	SIK	<i>papa</i> 'carry on back'
	TAK	<i>faka/ppaa</i> 'carry on back'
	RAR	<i>papa/rua</i> 'twofold, double'
	NGG	<i>papa</i> 'ride on back'
	BUG	<i>papa</i> 'ride on back'
	cf.	ROV <i>papa</i> 'ride on back'
		RAR <i>papa</i> 'hips'
		NUK <i>baba</i> '(so) back'
		doublet of * <i>vava</i>
* <i>paRa</i>	EF	<i>pā</i> 'hook and lure used in trolling'
	BAU	<i>bā</i> 'hook and lure used in trolling'
	PPN	* <i>paa</i> 'pearl-shell lure'
	WOL	<i>pa(a)</i> 'bait, lure'
	ARE	<i>para</i> 'bonito fishhook'
* <i>pato-k</i>	EF	<i>pato-k</i> 'punch, jab w fist or spear'
	NGG	<i>patoki</i> 'hammer (nail, wooden peg)'
* <i>pava</i>	BAU	<i>bava</i> '(canoe) washtrake or upper planks'
	NGG	<i>pava</i> 'plank'
	BUG	<i>pava</i> 'plank'
	VAT	<i>pava</i> 'plank'
	cf.	ARS <i>hapa</i> 'board'
* <i>pazi</i>	EF	<i>paci</i> 'tell lie'
	PPN	* <i>pasu</i> 'false, untrue' (MAO)
	ARS	<i>pwasi</i> 'deceive, lie'
		may be * <i>pwaz(iu)</i> (see next section)
* <i>pela</i>	EF	<i>pela</i> 'mud'
	PPN	* <i>pela</i> 'mud'

	ARS	<i>bwera</i> 'swamp'
		doublet of * <i>lepa</i>
* <i>pelu-k</i>	EF	<i>pelu-k</i> 'bend'
	BAU	<i>belu-k</i> 'bend'
	PMC	* <i>p'elu</i> 'snap off, break off, bend'
	MTA	<i>pelu</i> 'bend'
	SAA	<i>pwelupwelu'e</i> 'folds'
	cf.	MTU <i>peruperuka</i> 'flexible'
		may be * <i>pwelu</i> (see next section)
* <i>peta</i>	EF	<i>petapetā</i> '(paint, butter+) spread thick'
	BAU	<i>betabeta</i> '(paint, butter+) spread thick'
	REN	<i>peta</i> 'paint'
	cf.	MTU <i>petapeta</i> 'scatter, splash, waste'
* <i>pi(R)a</i>	EF	<i>pia</i> 'penis'
	HAW	<i>piapia</i> 'unwashed genitals'
	SAM	<i>pia</i> 'arrowroot (has obscene connota- tion)'
	REN	<i>piapia</i> '(penis, vagina) mucus-laden'
	TAK	<i>tae/pia</i> 'smegma' (cf. <i>tae</i> 'excrement')
	MTA	<i>piai</i> 'coagulated vegetable sap'
	MOK	<i>pia</i> 'coconut cream'
	cf.	BAU <i>yabia</i> 'arrowroot'
		ARE <i>pia</i> 'drip, ooze'
* <i>puk(iu)</i>		
	EF	<i>piki</i> 'vagina'
	BRV(M), SQQ	<i>buku-</i> 'vagina'
	PPN	* <i>puku</i> 'mons veneris' (NUK, KAP, LUA)
	PAN	* <i>puki</i> 'vulva'
* <i>piki</i>	EF	<i>piki</i> '(arm) crooked'
	NIU	<i>piki</i> '(arm) paralyzed, palsied'
	EAS	<i>piki</i> 'cramp'
	TAK	<i>piki</i> '(foot) cramped'
	cf.	GED <i>pik</i> 'limp'

* <i>piki</i>	EF <i>piki-c</i> 'trip up (so), put leg around, cling to'
	PPN * <i>piki</i> 'grip, cling to'
	PAN (Blust 1972) * <i>piki(Ct)</i> 'adhere'
* <i>pila</i>	EF <i>pila-c</i> 'smash (st soft) w stone or heavy object'
	BAU <i>bila-c,∅</i> 'weigh (st) down'
	NGG <i>pila</i> 'crush (st soft)'
	cf. BUG <i>pila</i> 'soft, flexible, ripe'
* <i>pilit</i>	EF <i>pilipilita</i> '(soil) sticky, claggy'
	PPN * <i>pili</i> 'stick together'
	PPH (Zorc and Charles 1971) * <i>pilit</i> 'adhere'
	cf. PAN * <i>pulut</i> 'adhesive'
	BAU <i>bulubuluta</i> 'sticky'
	PPN * <i>pulu</i> 'resin, gum'
* <i>pipi</i>	EF <i>pipi</i> 'k edible shellfish'
	PPN * <i>pipi</i> 'k shellfish'
	cf. GIT <i>pipi</i> 'k edible shellfish'
* <i>pisi-k</i>	EF <i>pisi-k</i> '(liquid) squirt out on'
	PPN * <i>pisi-kia</i> 'splash, squirt, spurt'
	SAA, ARS <i>pwisi</i> 'spurt, splash'
	XWA <i>bisi</i> 'spray, splash on'
	ARE <i>pisi</i> 'spurt, splash, crackle'
	NGG <i>pisi</i> '(faeces) ejected'
	cf. ROV, NAK <i>pisi</i> 'break wind'
	GED <i>pis</i> 'break wind'
	<i>pisipisi, pisikpisik</i> 'drizzle'
	GIT <i>pisitikia</i> 'spurt out, squirt out'
	MAN <i>pisiriri</i> '(st) squirt out'
* <i>pinti</i>	ARE <i>pii-a</i> 'cause to jump'
	NGG <i>pindi</i> 'rebound, fly up'
	cf. MTU <i>pidi</i> 'fillip'
	GED <i>piti</i> 'fly up'
	doublet of * <i>vinti</i>

* <i>pito</i>	EF	<i>pito</i> 'navel'
	PPN	* <i>pito</i> 'navel'
	NH	(Tryon 1976) widespread <i>mbito-</i> , <i>pito-</i> 'navel'
	cf.	KUA <i>bito-</i> 'navel'
	POC	* <i>mputo-</i> 'navel'
* <i>pokata</i>	EF	<i>pōkata</i> '(yam) rotten, because stored while still damp'
	cf.	ROV <i>pokata</i> '(soil, kumala, fruit, flesh) split, torn, burst'
* <i>p(eo)ke-</i>	EF	<i>poke-</i> '(so, turtle) groin'
	NGG	<i>pege</i> 'forepart of thigh, where leg joins trunk'
	cf.	NGG <i>mboke</i> 'thigh, buttocks' BUG <i>boke-</i> 'thigh'
* <i>poko-</i>	EF	<i>poko-</i> 'trunk, body, hull'
	PPN	* <i>poko</i> 'inside section' (HAW, TON)
	SAA, ARE	<i>po'o</i> 'side, part, section'
* <i>poli</i>	EF	<i>polipoli</i> '(leg) misshapen because badly healed'
	NGG	<i>poli</i> '(vein) swollen'
* <i>polo</i>	EF	<i>polopoloa</i> 'black'
	BAU	<i>bolo</i> 'k evil black snake'
	NHBa	<i>mbolo</i> 'black'
	ROT	<i>polo</i> 'young blackfish'
	ARE	<i>poroporo</i> 'black, blue'
	SAA	<i>pulupulu'e</i> 'black'
	NGG	<i>polo</i> 'large, black sea snake'
* <i>popo</i>	EF	<i>popo</i> '(wood) rotten'
	PPN	* <i>popo</i> 'decay'
	ROT	<i>popo</i> 'decay' (could be PN loan)
	MTA	<i>popoi</i> '(wood) rotten'
	cf.	ROV <i>popozu</i> '(wood) rotten'
* <i>potu</i>	EF	<i>potu</i> '(esp turtle net) bulge'
	NGG	<i>potu</i> 'rise, bulge, swell'

* <i>pozi</i>	EF	<i>poci</i> 'blunt, (spear) bounce off'
	cf.	MTU <i>podī</i> '(spear) glance off'
* <i>pozi</i>	EF	<i>pocipociki</i> '(so) short and fat'
	XWA	<i>bosi</i> 'big, well formed, plump'
	cf.	MTU <i>badibadika</i> 'thick-set'
* <i>puu-(l)raki</i>		
	EF	<i>pū-rk</i> 'choke up, spit out'
	BAU	<i>bū-rk</i> 'choke up, spit out'
	PPN	* <i>pu(u)qaki</i> 'eject from mouth' (TON, SAM, NUK)
	NGG	<i>puu-lagi</i> 'puff out, sniff at'
	cf.	GED <i>pu</i> 'blow, spit out'
* <i>puka</i>	EF	<i>puka</i> 'k tree, seashore, longish leaves' ¹²
	PPN	* <i>puka</i> ' <i>Hernandia pisonia</i> ' (coastal tree')
	GIL	<i>buka</i> 'k tree' (possibly a PN loan)
	ARS	<i>puka</i> 'k tree, yellow, scented flowers'
	NGG	<i>puga</i> 'k tree, bark makes women's skirts'
* <i>puku-</i>	EF	<i>puku-</i> '(wood) knot, protuberance'
	BAU	<i>buku-</i> '(wood) knot, protuberance'
	PPN	* <i>puku</i> 'protuberance, lump, swelling'
	BUG	<i>puku</i> 'swelling from blow, lump, knot, tumor'
	cf.	GED <i>bukubuk</i> 'swelling from insect bite'
		<i>buku-</i> '(tree) knot'
* <i>puku</i>	BAU	<i>buku-t</i> 'tie knot'
	NGG	<i>puku</i> 'knot'
	cf.	ROV <i>puku-a</i> 'tie, knot'
* <i>pulu</i>	EF	<i>pulu-t</i> 'cover (wound) w healing leaves'
	MTA	<i>purug</i> 'cover over (swelling, wound)' (but *l > r irregular)

	NGG	<i>pulu</i> 'wrap up in leaf or paper'
	cf.	KUA <i>pulu</i> 'wrap up, cover w leaves'
		BAU <i>bulu-t</i> 'bury'
* <i>puni</i>	EF	<i>puni-c</i> 'block, stop (opening)'
	PPN	* <i>puni</i> 'shut in, stop up' (NIU, LUA, TAK, SIK)
	WOL	<i>piun(iu)</i> 'plugged up, constipated, stopped up'
* <i>puna</i>	EF	<i>puga</i> 'k large coral formation'
	PPN	* <i>puna</i> 'coral'
	MTA	<i>puna</i> 'madrepore coral'
	cf.	GED <i>bun</i> 'a round coral growth'
* <i>pur(iu)</i>	EF	<i>puru-k</i> 'cut (weeds, grass) close to ground'
	NGG	<i>puri</i> 'slash w knife'
* <i>pus(iu)</i>	EF	<i>pusi-</i> ∅ 'blow on'
	PPN	* <i>pusi</i> 'blow'
	cf.	next
* <i>pusu</i>	EF	<i>pusu</i> '(pus) ooze out, (food) crammed into mouth and overflowing'
	GIL	<i>bururua</i> 'spurt out from mouth'
	LAU	<i>busu</i> 'squirt, eject, spray'
	XWA	<i>busu</i> 'explode, leak, urinate involuntarily'
	SAA	<i>pusu</i> 'squirt out, spurt'
	ARE	<i>pusu</i> 'burst, spurt out, spray'
	ARS	<i>pusu</i> 'puff, (boil) discharge' <i>busu</i> 'puff, spurt out'
	NGG	<i>puhu</i> 'puff, spit on'
	cf.	NAK <i>pusu</i> 'blow (conch), blow (st) out of mouth'
	MAN	<i>pusururui</i> '(st) shoot out, squirt out'
* <i>pusu(ki)</i>	EF	<i>pucu</i> 'blunt'
	MAO	<i>puhuki</i> 'blunt'

	NGG	<i>turupuhuki</i> 'blunt'
	MOK	<i>pwud</i> 'blunt'
* <i>rapa</i>	EF	<i>rapa</i> 'flat'
	BAU	<i>rāraba</i> 'broad'
	PPN	*(<i>lr</i>) <i>apa</i> 'flat' (EFU, MAO, TUA)
	WOL	<i>shaap(a)</i> 'become flat'
	cf.	LAU <i>rereba</i> 'broad'
* <i>sapa</i>	EF	<i>sapa-k</i> 'pelt w soft things, food+; slap'
	BAU	<i>saba-k</i> 'slap'
	cf.	ROV <i>sapasapaya</i> 'slapping sound, like footsteps in water'
* <i>sapapa</i>	EF	<i>sapapa</i> 'compressed, (nose) flat'
	BAU	<i>sababa</i> 'compressed, (nose) flat'
	GIL	<i>rababa</i> 'broad'
	cf.	Kapampangan, Philippines (Forman 1971) <i>saparat</i> '(nose) flat, spread'
* <i>sapi</i>	EF	<i>i-sapi</i> '(wool, fishing line) roll, ball'
	NGG	<i>sapi</i> 'one fathom string of red money'
* <i>sapila</i>	EF	<i>sapila</i> 'fall hard from a height'
	BUG	<i>sapila</i> 'let drop'
	NGG	<i>sopila</i> 'sink, fall down, subside onto'
	cf.	* <i>pila</i>
* <i>supu</i>	EF	<i>supu-t</i> '(fish) bite at; hold in mouth'
	cf.	Kapampangan, Philippines (Forman 1971) <i>subuq</i> 'put in mouth'; see * <i>pusu</i> earlier
* <i>top(iu)</i>	EF	<i>topu-k</i> '(bird) peck - at, (fish) bite'
	ARS	<i>topi</i> '(bird) peck - at'

4.2.1.4. Proto Central Pacific **p*

Of those *p*-forms in Fiji that are not of Proto Eastern Oceanic antiquity, many appear to have Polynesian cognates. It was observed earlier that in some cases it is easy to see that the resemblance is due to borrowing, but in others it is difficult to decide whether the resemblance is due to direct inheritance (Biggs 1965:390), or to borrowing from a Polynesian language in the past (indirect inheritance), perhaps, when its sound system was different from today's.

A case in point is *sapo-t* 'catch (ball+)'. The form is under suspicion of having been borrowed because it is confined to Lau, the area of greatest recent Tongan influence; but the Tongan word for 'catch' is *hapo*. Note that, although borrowed verbs usually take the transitive suffix *-tk*, there are a number of exceptions,¹³ so that the mono-syllabic transitive suffix of *sapo-t* does not preclude its being a loan. Samoan has *sapo*, but there is no other evidence of Samoan influence, although Samoans were occasional visitors in prehistoric times (Derrick 1950:6). There are, then, two likely etymologies of *sapo-t*: either it is inherited, or it was borrowed from Tongan before the Tongan *s* changed to *h*.

This change is not necessarily a very ancient one. It might be argued that the Tongan change of *s* to *h* must predate the split of Tongan and Niue, because both have undergone it. I believe, however, that such a position errs in ignoring the possibility of diffusion, or duplication, of a sound change, processes which are very likely with two languages as close, both geographically and genetically, as Tongan and Niue. Rather, in view of the fact that

palatalization, which probably resulted from the *s* to *h* change, was still in progress during historical times, it seems more likely that Tongans were still using *s* in fairly recent prehistorical times.

Another problematic word is *supē* 'nasal mucus', which is found in Vanua Balavu and Tunuloa (Vanua Levu). While its geographical distribution and its *s* argue against it being a recent Tongan loan, there are some indications that it might be a loan from pre-*h* Tongan. The word is clearly historically bimorphemic; its Tongan cognate *ihupe'e* is made up of *ihu* 'nose' and *pe'e* (which is perhaps retained in *pe'e* 'overripe, soft'). The problem with deriving it from two Fijian morphemes is that there is no obvious source for the second morpheme, and that the first, *su-*, shows *s*, whereas the word for 'nose' invariably shows *c* in Fiji, as in LAU *ucu-*. To complicate matters further, the loss of the initial syllable in Fijian is paralleled not in Tonga, nor in Samoa (*isupē*), but in Eastern Polynesia, where all languages point to PEP **hupeqe*. The number of possible etymologies is disturbing.

It has been suggested earlier that a number of instances of *p* in Fijian are attributable to PEO **p*, a bilabial obstruent distinct from **b* and **v*. Since it is preserved in Fiji, this distinction would have been present in the language ancestral to both *p*-Fijian and Polynesian which we shall here, following Grace (1967) and Pawley (1972), term Proto Central Pacific (PCP). The following PCP *p*-forms can be reconstructed with confidence, since there is no Tongan reflex which might have been borrowed into Fijian. It is, of course, possible that the lack of a Tongan (or Niue) reflex is due

to its having been lost recently or, to be sure, its omission by lexicographers.

PCP Reconstructions with *p

* <i>kapa</i>	EF	<i>kapakapa</i> 'pieces of thatch in middle of roof'
	SIK	<i>kapanni</i> 'length of thatch for wall'
	cf.	Vanua Levu <i>kaba</i> '(house) wall'
* <i>na(a)pa'a</i>	EF	<i>napā-tk</i> 'hit, slap'
	REN	<i>naapa'a</i> 'hit, injure by accident'
* <i>paku(')u</i>	EF	<i>pakū</i> 'thud'
	RAR	<i>paku, pakūkū</i> 'splash, bang, clatter'
	NAN	<i>pakuu</i> 'deep noise'
	TOK	<i>pakū</i> 'fall'
	SAM	<i>pa'ū</i> 'fall'
	SIK	<i>pakuu</i> 'fall down'
	LUA	<i>po'uu</i> 'bang, hit'
* <i>pā(')aruru</i>	EF	<i>pāruru-∅,g</i> 'shelter from wind'
	RAR	<i>paruru</i> 'screen, shelter'
	HAW	<i>pālulu</i> 'windbreak'
* <i>piki</i>	EF	<i>sopiki</i> 'curly'
	TAK	<i>sakapikipiki</i> '(so) w curly or frizzly hair'
	EAS	<i>pikipiki</i> 'curly'
* <i>puku</i>	EF	<i>puku</i> 'protrude; (penis) erect; (body) pimpled'
	KAP	<i>bugu</i> 'bulge'
	ANU	<i>puku</i> '(penis) erect'
* <i>puli</i>	EF	<i>puli-∅</i> 'form into balls; knead and shape into loaf; dream up'
	BAU	<i>buli-∅</i> 'shape, create'
	REN	<i>pugi</i> 'fold together, mold'

* <i>pu(q)u</i>	EF	<i>katapū</i> 'blow raspberry, Bronx cheer'
	BAU	<i>katabū</i> 'blow raspberry, Bronx cheer'
	PPN	* <i>pu(q)u</i> 'trumpet'
		<i>kata-</i> is a widespread Fijian prefix marking noises made with the mouth
* <i>pu(u)ru</i>	EF	<i>puru-∅</i> 'cover, shelter from wind and rain'
	REN	<i>puugui</i> 'shield, protect'
* <i>pu(')upu(')u</i>	EF	<i>pūpū</i> 'emptied shell of ripe coconut to carry seawater'
	NAN	<i>puupuu</i> 'green shell coconut container'
* <i>qutupot(ou)</i>	EF	<i>utupotu</i> '(house) longitudinal beam, one from each end of house to nearest crossbeam'
	REN	' <i>utupoto</i> '(house) wall beams at end'
	NAN	<i>utupoto</i> 'pieces going across house on top of top plate'

Another class of PCP *p*-forms which we can be fairly confident are not loans in Fiji are those which are reflected with *b* in non-*p* areas of Fiji (loans would be reflected with *v*):

* <i>poa</i>	EF	<i>poa</i> 'scatter bait to attract fish'
	BAU	<i>i-boai</i> 'bait scattered to attract fish'
	PPN	* <i>poa</i> 'fish odor'
	cf.	NGU <i>poa</i> 'smell bad'
* <i>puke-</i>	EF	<i>puke-</i> '(yam, sweet potato, manioc) mound'
	BAU	<i>buke</i> '(yam, sweet potato, manioc) mound'
	PPN	* <i>puke</i> 'mound'

<i>*(q)apa</i>	EF	<i>yapa-c</i> 'outstretch hands (e.g., beat water to scare (fish); (bird) glide)'
	BAU	<i>yaba-c</i> 'beat water to scare (fish)'
	NIU	<i>apa</i> 'dance w open hands, salute'
<i>*sape</i>	EF	<i>sape-t</i> 'trip up (so, foot); help (so lame) walk by kicking lame leg along'
	BAU	<i>sabe</i> '(foot) malformed'
	PPN	<i>*sape</i> '(foot) malformed'

Of those remaining *p*-forms with no apparent cognates outside Fiji, two classes are most unlikely to be Tongan loans: those with non-*p* Fijian cognates showing *b* rather than *v* (*pipikai*, *pota-n*, *pūpū*, *pupute*, *ripi*, *tepe-tk*, *tepu*, and *wāpipiri*), and those which are suffix-possessed (*pago-*, *poli-*, and *poroka-*).

4.2.2. Summary

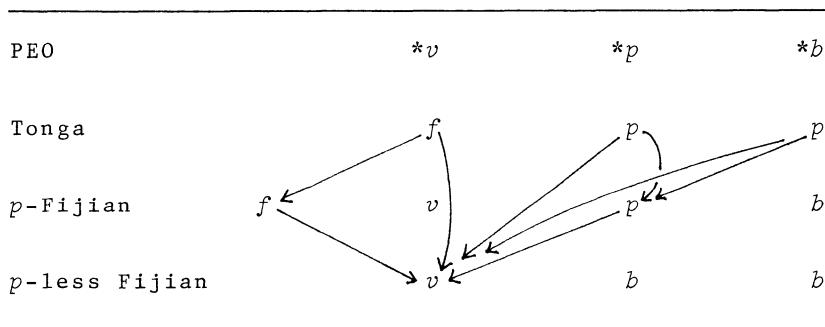
The purpose of this rather detailed survey of *p* in Fijian has been to show that it is not always the result of borrowing from a Polynesian language. Many of the forms which are not loans bear witness to a third bilabial obstruent which can be reconstructed at the Proto Eastern Oceanic level. I label this reconstructed bilabial obstruent **p*, and relabel the **v* and **mp* of previous Eastern Oceanic literature as **v* and **b*, respectively.

The history of the bilabial obstruents in Fiji is complicated by indirect inheritance. For instance, in Bau, and all *p*-less areas of Fiji, *v* may have no less than three historical sources: most commonly it reflects PEO **v*, either directly or indirectly, by borrowing Polynesian *f*; but it

may also reflect $*b$, through borrowing of p from Polynesia, or $*p$, through borrowing from Lau and Eastern Vanua Levu, or from Polynesia. On the other hand, the b of the p -less areas of Fiji can only be a direct reflex of either $*b$ or $*p$. The table below illustrate the multiple origins of the bilabial obstruents in Tonga and Fiji, with arrows showing the direction of indirect inheritance.

Table 7

Direct and Indirect Inheritance of the
PEO Bilabial Obstruents in
Tonga and Fiji



One further complication is that Eastern Vanua Levu dialects with p do not show phonemic f , and borrow phonetic f (from Lau or Polynesia) as p .

4.2.3. Proto Eastern Oceanic $*pw$

We conclude this section on bilabial obstruents in Fiji with some observations on the poorly attested PEO phoneme which Grace (1969) wrote $*\eta p$, and Pawley (1972:25, 28) $*pw$. While Fiji, as we shall see, offers no crucial evidence on the matter,

other languages provide some support, and I include the supporting evidence to complete the revised picture of the PEO bilabial obstruents that we have been developing through consideration of the Fijian data.

Pawley (*loc. cit.*) reconstructed **pw* in two items, **pwatu* 'head' and **topwa* 'belly'. The reflexes of PEO **pw* are given as follows: NGU *p*, MTA *q*, ARS *bw*, SAA *q* (but *oga* given as reflex of **topwa*), and LAU *gw* (*sic*, p. 28, but *pau* given as reflex of **pwatu*, and *oga* as reflex of **topwa*).

Levy (n.d.:4) reconstructs PSS (Proto Southeast Solomons) **bw*, and cites two forms: **buae/abwe* 'armpit' and **tobwa* 'belly'. **bw* merges with **b* in Bugotu-Nggelic, but remains distinct in Cristobal-Malaita, with such reflexes as ARE *p*, LAU *g/gw* (*o_/_*), ARS *bw*, and SAA *pw* (alternatively written *q*). Noting that **bw* lacks Bauan and Polynesian cognates, but that other Eastern Oceanic languages show cognate forms, Levy nevertheless does not reconstruct a PEO source for his PSS **bw*.

What scant evidence I have come across suggests that a case can be made for two velarized bilabial stops in Proto Eastern Oceanic, **bw* and **pw*. Arosi appears to show distinct reflexes of all four bilabial stops (ARS *b*, *p*, *bw*, *pw*). In all other Eastern Oceanic languages, the system has been simplified. In some (Micronesia; Cristobal-Malaita; and Banks Islands, Torres Islands, Maewo, Aoba, Pentecost, parts of Santo, parts of Malekula, parts of Ambrym, half of Epi, Shepherd Islands, and Efate in the New Hebrides (Tryon 1976)), **b* has merged with **p*, and **bw* with **pw*, so that the contrast is between plain and velarized bilabial stops. In others (Guadalcanal-Nggelic, *p*-Fijian), **b* has

merged with **bw*, and **p* with **pw*, so the contrast is between voiced and voiceless bilabial stops.

Finally, both velarization and voice distinction have been lost in Polynesia, *p*-less Fijian, and most of Santo, most of Malekula, most of Ambrym, half of Epi, Tanna, and Aneityum in the New Hebrides (*ibid.*).

Interpretation of the data in Micronesia and at least part of the New Hebrides is complicated by the fact that **b* (< PEO **b* and **p*) became velarized before **o* (and, in Proto Micronesian, before **u*), as witness MTA *qoŋ*, PMC **p'ɔŋi* from PEO **boŋi* 'night'; NGU *pono-ti* 'block, shut', PMC **p'onot* 'blocked' from PEO **pono-t*; but MTA *puto-* (not **queto-*), PMC **p'uto-* from PEO **buto-* 'navel'.

The following comparisons constitute the evidence accumulated so far for PEO **bw* and **pw*:

**bwaRu(sz)u*

	PMC	<i>p'ausu</i> 'nose'
	SAA	<i>qalusu</i> 'nose'
	but	ARS <i>barisu</i> 'nose' (<i>b</i> for expected <i>bw</i>)
* <i>bwatu-</i>	LAU	<i>gwau</i> 'head'
	ARS	<i>bwau</i> 'head'
	MTA	<i>qatu/i</i> 'head'
	cf.	NIU <i>patu</i> 'chief, head of family'
* <i>bweka</i>	PMC	* <i>p'eka</i> 'fruit bat'
	EF, SF	<i>beka</i> 'fruit bat'
	PPN	* <i>peka</i> 'bat'
*(<i>bp</i>) <i>wela</i>	EF	<i>pela</i> 'mud'
	PPN	* <i>pela</i> 'mud'
	ARS	<i>bwera</i> 'swamp'
	NGG	<i>lepa</i> 'mud, swamp'
	but	MTA <i>lepa</i> 'mud' (- <i>p</i> - for expected - <i>q</i> -)
	cf.	PMC * <i>p'al(iu)</i> 'taro patch, soil'

* <i>pwano-</i>	EF	<i>pago-</i>	'(bamboo, sugarcane) node'
	ARS	<i>pwaŋo-</i>	'(cut stalk) end'
	XWA	<i>gwaŋo-</i>	'nose, protuberance'
* <i>pwazi</i>	EF	<i>paci</i>	'tell lie'
	PPN	* <i>pasu</i>	'false, untrue' (MAO)
	ARS	<i>pwasi</i>	'deceive, lie'
* <i>pwelu</i>	EF	<i>pelu-k</i>	'bend'
	BAU	<i>belu-k</i>	'bend'
	PMC	* <i>p'elu</i>	'snap off, break off, bend'
	MTA	<i>qelu</i>	'bend, fold' (also <i>pelu</i>)
	SAA	<i>qeluqelu'e</i>	'folds'
* <i>pwisi</i>	EF	<i>pisi-k</i>	'(liquid) squirt out on'
	PPN	* <i>pisi-kia</i>	'splash, squirt, spurt'
	SAA	<i>qisi</i>	'spurt, splash, crackle'
	ARE	<i>pisi</i>	'spurt, splash, crackle'
	XWA	<i>bisi</i>	'spray, splash on'
	ARS	<i>pwisi</i>	'spurt, splash'
	cf.	WOL <i>bbis</i>	'(water, usu small quantity) shoot up', but WOL <i>s</i> < * <i>t</i>
* <i>tobwa-</i>	MTA	<i>toqa/i</i>	'belly'
	LAU	<i>oga-</i>	'belly'
	SAA	<i>oqa-</i>	'belly'
	NGG	<i>tomba-</i>	'belly'
* <i>tobwa</i>	EF, SF	<i>toba</i>	'bay'
	SAA	<i>aqaaqa</i>	'bay'
	ARS	<i>obwaobwa</i>	'bay'

Table 8 summarizes the reflexes of the Proto Eastern Oceanic bilabial obstruents in a number of Eastern Oceanic languages and protolanguages. Reflexes found in only one form are enclosed in parentheses.

Table 8

Direct Reflexes of the PEO Bilabial Obstruents

PEO	*v	*b	*bw	*p	*pw
PPN	*f	*p	(*p)	*p	*p
p-Fijian	v	b	b	p	p
p-less Fijian	v	b	b	b	b
Nguna	v/w ^a	p	(p)	(p)	
Mota	v/w	p	q	p	(q)
PSS	*v	*b	*bw	*p	*pw ^b
Nggela	v	mb	mb	p	p
Arosi	h	b	bw	p	pw
Sa'a	h	p	q	p	q
PMC	*f	*p	*p'	*p	(*p')

^aSee note 7.^bNot reconstructed by Levy (n.d.).

4.3.0. The Apical Fricatives

The apical fricatives of Fiji, *s* and *c*, reflect the PAN and POC palatals. There are numerous examples of widely attested diaforms showing no variation between *s* and *c*, as was demonstrated in section 4.1.1.3. Of those diaforms that do show variation, many present no discernible pattern. We have succeeded, however, in isolating one pattern (section 4.1.1.3) which is the result of Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization. The second area of regularity is a most unexpected one: Gone Dau and Nalea agree in showing *s* in a number of forms which show *c* elsewhere in Fiji.

4.3.1. A Third Palatal in Fiji

Table 9 lists those forms which show *s* in Gone Dau and Nalea (Gone Dau or Nalea in the lower part of the table) in contrast to *c* elsewhere in Fiji. It should be recalled that Gone Dau is an Eastern Fijian language (albeit far from orthodox) spoken by fishing folk on some islands off the north coast of Vanua Levu, while Nalea is a Western Fijian language spoken by mountain dwellers in the center of Viti Levu. Two more distant peoples, or places, in Fiji would scarcely be imaginable. So this shared *s* is unlikely to be the result of a recently spread innovation comparable to Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization. Nor is there any apparent phonological conditioning. We are obliged to conclude, therefore, that the language ancestral to Gone Dau, Nalea, and the other Fijian languages included a phoneme, presumably a palatal phoneme, that merged with *s* in Gone Dau and Nalea, and with *c* in the other Fijian languages. A possible source for this third palatal will be suggested in section 4.3.5.

4.3.2. Proto Eastern Oceanic **y*

Before considering the outcome of the Proto Eastern Oceanic palatal obstruents, which Biggs (1965) and Pawley (1972) reconstructed as **s* and **ns*, we look at a number of instances of *c* in Fiji which appear to derive not from the PEO palatal obstruents, but from the hitherto rather poorly attested PEO **y*. This **y* has been reconstructed at the "Fiji-Polynesian" level by Hockett (1976: 195-196), from the comparison PPN **ɸ*, BAU *c*. Earlier, Pawley (1972:128) reconstructed PEO **y* and noted that it "sometimes yields *c* in Fijian

Table 9

Evidence for Fiji's Third Palatal

	Gone Dau	Nalea	Elsewhere
what	sava	sava	cava
who	sei	sei	cei
vomit - on	lua-s	lua-s	lua-c
urinate - on	m̄imi-s	m̄i-s	m̄i-c
sleep	mose	mose	moce
a'a- ^a	tasi-	tasi-	taci-
cry - for	tagi-s	tagi-s	tagi-c
defecate - on	veka-s	veke-s	veka-c
how much	visa	visa	vica
name	yasa	-yasa	yaca-
white		busobuso	bucobuco
sail	lasa		laca
dry	m̄amacā	m̄amasa	m̄amacā
when	nesa		neca, naica
rain	usa		uca
blow		uvu-s	uvu-c
alone	kese		kece

^a'younger same-sex sibling'

dialects, sometimes zero, under conditions as yet undefined," but gave only two examples (**kayu* 'wood' and **kuya* 'how'), and did not provide any other reflexes in Eastern Oceanic languages. At the PAN level, **y* is long established, although it has never been attested in a large number of forms.

Table 10 shows that PEO **y* is mostly realized as *c* throughout Fiji, but that some Western dialects

Table 10

Fijian Reflexes of PEO **y*

PEO	Fiji	
*kayu	kacu	'wood'
*laya	laca	'sail' (but GOD <i>lasa</i>)
*yaji	cagi	'wind, blow'
*yajo	cago	'k ginger'
*yanra	Vcadra	'up'
*yaRu	cau	'k ironwood'
*yavaRa	cavā	'storm'
*yavo	cavo	'fish w rod'
*yavu-t	cavu-t	'pull up, pull out' (but also *savu-t)
*yawa	cawa	'food'
*baya	baca	'worm' widespread
	baya	'worm' WAY, KBY, TBW
*kuya	kuca	'how' TNL, LAU, VBL: KBY, NKR, MGD, TBW, BRV
	kuya	'how' WAY
	vakia	Eastern Mainland Kadavu, perhaps from <i>vā</i> + <i>kuya</i>
*qayaoa	yacawa	'k banyan' widespread in Eastern Fiji
	yayawa	'k banyan' TBW (no data elsewhere in Western Fiji)

show *y* in some cases. On this evidence alone, it would be reasonable to hypothesize that Kadavu, Western Viti Levu, and especially Waya, are relic areas where a few examples of **y* have not yet undergone the change to *c* that has affected the rest of Fiji. The problem with this interpretation is that other words showing approximately the same distribution of *c* and *y* within Fiji are clearly derived, not from **y*, but from **z* (**ns*) (**z* is the usual source of *c*; see section 4.3.3):

PEO * <i>zava</i> 'what'	<i>cava</i>	widespread
	(<i>y</i>) <i>ava</i>	TVK, NBL, WAY
PEO * <i>zei</i> 'who'	<i>cei</i>	widespread
	<i>ei</i>	WAY
PEO * <i>qanuza</i>	<i>yanuca</i>	proper name of many small islands
	<i>yanuya</i>	proper name of at least three small islands off the NW Viti Levu coast

So it seems that **y* merged completely with the *c* reflex of **z*, and that the West and Kadavu subsequently innovated with a sporadic and localized change of *c* to \emptyset/y , or even perhaps a regular change, the details of which are lost in time. Tubai shows some examples of a similar, though probably independent, change: TBI *yalevu* 'path', WF *calevu*; *buyobuyo* 'white', WF *bucobuco*; *taiqu a'a-* voc 'my younger same-sex sibling (vocative)', WF *taciqu*; *kara-* \emptyset 'startle', BTW *kara-c*.

It is noteworthy that all instances of **y* thus far reconstructed for PEO--with the exception of **kayu*--precede **a*. Is it possible, then, that

PEO $*y$ was, at least in initial position, a predictable glide before $*a$, as is y in many of its occurrences in contemporary Fijian languages? The answer must be negative, because there are instances of initial $*a$ in PEO which do not yield ca in Fijian:

<u>PEO</u>	<u>Fiji</u>
$*aza-$	$yaca-$
	$yasa-$
$*aza-\emptyset$	$yaca-\emptyset$
$*avu$	$yavu$
$*asi$	$yasi$

Furthermore, if it were the case that PEO $*a > *ya > \text{Fiji } ca$, we would be faced with a rule-ordering problem. The loss of PEO $*R$ would have to be ordered after $*y > c$, as witness Fiji *yaga* 'spider-shell' (not **caga*) from PEO **Raya* (TON *angaanga*, ARS *ranga* 'spider-shell'; and cf. WOL *leyang(a)* 'k shell') and Fiji *yaviyavi* 'evening' (not **cavicavi*) from PEO **RaviRavi* (PPN **afiafi*, PSS **lavi*, MTA *ravrav*). Such an ordering of rules would imply that $*R$ was lost independently in Fijian and Polynesian, something which, while not altogether unlikely, goes against current thinking on the phonological history of Fijian and Polynesian. A similar observation holds for the loss of PEO $*q$, which would have to be ordered after the development of Fijian *c* from $*y$ if there were no $*y-$ distinct from $\emptyset-$.

A final remark on ordering concerns the development of PEO $*aia$ and $*\tilde{n}$. The outcome of $*aia$ is *aya* or *\bar{a}* (POC **vaia* 'k fish, anchovy' > SF, LAU *vaya*, cf. MAN *wayawayā*, GIT *paya*; POC **laqia* 'ginger' > *cagolaya/cagolā*; PEO $*-a+i+a$, final $-a$ of the verb

base+tr+IIIpn > -aya/-ā),¹⁴ and PEO *ñ becomes y/∅ in Western Fijian (see section 4.3.6). If PEO *y was phonetically an apical glide, then the two rules mentioned earlier, both of which yield y, must be ordered after the change of *y to c.

4.3.3. PEO *s and *z

The reconstruction of Oceanic and Eastern Oceanic palatals has long been a problem area (see, among others, Dempwolff (1934-1938), Milke (1961), and Milner (1963)). Quite recently, Pawley (1972), following Biggs (1965), reconstructed two palatal obstruents for Proto Eastern Oceanic, which they labeled *s and *ns. It was suggested that, in those languages in which the *s-*ns distinction is preserved, the following reflexes are found:

PEO	.	*s	*ns
PPN		*s	*h
Bau, Waya		s	c
Nggela		s	h
Vaturanga		j	s

Since Pawley's work, a number of writers have pointed out problems in particular areas. Blust (1976) suggested that Proto Central Pacific *c be reconstructed to account for a palatal obstruent which is reflected in PPN as *t and in Fijian as s or c. Marck (1977) has proposed at least one more Proto Micronesian palatal, Levy (n.d.) requires three for Proto Southeast Solomonic, and Tryon (1976) reports that a number of New Hebridean languages show more than one palatal reflex. My own investigation of the Fijian data has led me to believe that, if Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization

is taken into account, Pawley's correspondence sets are essentially correct; but that there is evidence for at least one more palatal obstruent in PEO. Because of the long and continuing interest in this area of Eastern Oceanic phonology, I shall attempt to justify my conclusions in some detail.

The problems involved in reconstructing PEO palatals can be seen from a comparison of Nggela, Fijian, and Polynesian. We consider Nggela *s* and *h*, Fiji *s* and *c*, and PPN **s* and **h* to reflect palatals, as well as Nggela *d* (orthographic *nd*) and PPN **t* when they correspond to palatals in other Eastern Oceanic witnesses. All but three of the logically possible correspondence sets are attested. The number of forms attesting each correspondence set is as follows (the first of the two figures in each case is the number of forms without doublets, which, therefore, could not be attributed to any other correspondence set):

<u>Nggela</u>	<u>Fiji</u>	<u>PPN</u>	Number of Forms Showing Cor- respondence Set
<i>h</i> ¹⁵	<i>c</i>	<i>h</i>	12-18
<i>h</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>s</i>	19-29
<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	1-3
<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	4-11
<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	7-9
<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	0
<i>s</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>s</i>	5-7
<i>s</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>h</i>	2-3
<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	5-6
<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>t</i>	4
<i>d</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>s</i>	0-2
<i>d</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>t</i>	1-2
<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	0
<i>d</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>h</i>	0

When we consider the languages in pairs, and supplement our data by including forms reflected in only two out of the three languages, but judged to be of PEO antiquity because of other Oceanic witnesses, the following correspondence sets, and numbers of forms attesting them, are found:

Nggela - Fiji

		Fiji	
		<i>s</i>	<i>c</i>
Nggela	<i>h</i>	7-17	47-64
	<i>s</i>	11-13	10-13
	<i>d</i>	10-11	1-4

Nggela - PPN

		PPN	
		<i>h</i>	<i>t</i>
Nggela	<i>h</i>	23-40	15-23
	<i>s</i>	12-16	2-3
	<i>d</i>	5-8	0
			6-8

PPN - Fiji

		PPN	
		<i>h</i>	<i>t</i>
Fiji	<i>c</i>	30-46	17-25
	<i>s</i>	28-36	2-6

Note, first, that the figures contradict Pawley's (1972:120) claim that correlations between palatal obstruents support the Central Pacific subgroup. These figures show, if anything, that Fiji and Nggela correlate better to each other than either does to PPN. The most striking agreement is that between Nggela *h* and Fijian *c*. For this agreement, we choose to follow Milke (1961), who reconstructed

POC $*z$, and Cashmore (1969) in reconstructing PEO $*z$, and note that it may have been a voiced dental fricative, as it is now in Fijian and the Nggela Pile dialect of Nggela (Fox 1955:3). The many instances of $*z$ being reflected by PPN $*s$ rather than $*h$, we see as resulting from internal developments of Polynesian languages; such developments are also suggested by the many PPN $*s$ - $*h$ doublets. The regular PPN reflex of PEO $*z$ is $*h$.

The set Nggela s - Fiji s - PPN $*s$ is not very well attested. For PEO $*s$, then, we take the best $s-s$ correlation--that between Fiji and Polynesia--and in those few instances in which Nggela shows h , we must look for an explanation in the internal development of Nggela. Thus we arrive at the following tentative correspondence table (essentially that of Pawley and earlier writers):

PEO	$*s$	$*z$
Nggela	s	h
Fiji	s	c
PPN	$*s$	$*h$

These correspondences are attested by sixty-five PEO forms:

$*z$ regularly reflected in all three witnesses:

$*keze$	'alone, by self'	NGG	<i>hege</i>
		BUG	<i>gehe</i>
		FIJ	<i>kece</i>
		PNN	<i>*kehe</i> 'different, unusual'
		ROT	<i>'esea</i> 'one, same, only'

		ARS	'etea	'only'
		MTA	gese	'only'
*liz(ae)	'nit'	NGG	liha	
		FIJ	lice	
		PPN	*lih(ae)	
*mazu	'sated'	NGG	mahu	'sated'
		FIJ	macu	'sated'
		PPN	*mahu	'(food) plentiful'
*quza	'rain'	NGG	uha	
		FIJ	uca	
		PPN	*quha	
*tazi	'sea, seawater'	NGG	tahi	
		FIJ	taci	
		PPN	*tahi	
*tazi-	a'a- 'younger same- sex sibling'	NGG	tahi-	
		FIJ	taci-	
		PPN	*tahina	
*viza	'how much, how many'	NGG	ngiha	
		INA	visa	
		FIJ	vica	
		PPN	*fiha	
*voze	'paddle'	NGG	vohe	
		FIJ	voce	
		PPN	*fohe	
*zaa	'what'	NGG	ha	
		FIJ	cā	
		PPN	*haa	
*z(ae)i	'who'	NGG	hei	
		FIJ	cei	
		PPN	*hai	
*zakaRu	'reef'	BUG	hagalu	
		FIJ	cakau	
		PPN	*hakau	

* <i>zake-v</i>	'go up, climb'	NGG	<i>hage-v</i> 'enter into, embark on'
		FIJ	<i>cake-v</i>
		PPN	* <i>hake</i> 'go up'
* <i>zala</i>	'path'	NGG	<i>hala</i>
		FIJ	<i>cala</i>
		PPN	* <i>hala</i>
* <i>zaga</i>	'span'	NGG	<i>hangā</i>
		FIJ	<i>caga</i>
		PPN	* <i>hangā</i>
* <i>zava</i>	'what'	NGG	<i>hava</i>
		FIJ	<i>cava</i>
		PPN	* <i>hafa</i>
* <i>zina</i>	'shine'	NGG	<i>hina</i>
		FIJ	<i>cina</i>
		PPN	* <i>hina</i> (EFU <i>ina</i> 'éclairer', NUK <i>ina</i> 'light up area at night'
V* <i>zivo</i>	'down'	NGG	<i>hivo</i>
		FIJ	<i>civo</i>
		PPN	* <i>hifo</i>
* <i>ziwa</i>	'nine'	NGG	<i>hiua</i>
		FIJ	<i>ciwa</i>
		PPN	* <i>hiwa</i>
* <i>zoka</i>	'pierce, spear (st)'	NGG	<i>hoka</i> 'bore'
		FIJ	<i>coka-</i> ∅
		PPN	* <i>hoka</i>
* <i>zuRi-</i>	'bone'	NGG	<i>huli-</i>
		FIJ	<i>sui-</i> (by apical prenasalization from * <i>cui-</i>)
		PPN	* <i>hui</i>

*z regularly reflected in two witnesses, not reflected in one:	
*aza 'name'	NGG <i>aha-</i> FIJ <i>aca-</i> but cf. PPN *saqa 'title'
*kanaze 'mullet'	FIJ <i>kanace</i> PPN * <i>kanahe</i> MTA <i>ganase</i> ARS <i>'anate</i>
*mimi-z 'urinate - on'	NGG <i>mimi-h</i> FIJ <i>mimi-c</i>
*moze 'sleep'	FIJ <i>moce</i> PPN * <i>mohe</i> cf. MAN <i>more</i> 'sick'
*ŋiza 'when'	NGG <i>ngiha</i> FIJ <i>gica</i>
*(q)anuza proper name of small island	NGG <i>anuha</i> FIJ <i>yanuca</i>
*(q)aza-∅ 'rub, grind'	BUG <i>aaha</i> FIJ <i>aca-∅</i> ARS <i>ata-∅</i>
*qazo 'sun, day'	NGG <i>aho</i> PPN * <i>qaho</i>
*qazu 'smoke'	NGG <i>ahu</i> PPN * <i>qahu</i>
*roŋo-z 'hear'	NGG <i>rongo-h</i> FIJ <i>rogo-c</i>
*vaqu-z 'tie up, bind'	NGG <i>vau-h</i> FIJ <i>vau-c</i>
*vuza 'rotten'	NGG <i>vuha</i> FIJ <i>vuca</i>
*vuzu 'bow' (weapon)	BUG <i>vuhu</i> 'shoot w arrow' FIJ <i>vucu</i>

V*zake	'up'	FIJ <i>cake</i> PPN * <i>hake</i>
*zaq <i>i</i> -t	'copulate'	FIJ <i>cai-t</i> PPN * <i>haqi</i>
*zara	'sweep'	ARE <i>tai</i> NGG <i>hala</i> (but PEO * <i>r</i> > NGG <i>l</i> unexpected) FIJ <i>cara-mk</i> ROV <i>sasara</i> MTA <i>sara</i> SAA <i>tara</i>
*zoko	'(fish) caught in net'	NGG <i>hogo</i> FIJ <i>coko</i>
*zula-t	'sew'	NGG <i>hula-t</i> 'pierce (fester, wound)' FIJ <i>cula-t</i> cf. ROV <i>hula-n</i> 'thread through after piercing'
*zule	'limestone'	NGG <i>hule</i> FIJ <i>cule</i>

*s regularly reflected in all three witnesses:

*(<i>kq</i>)anusi 'spit'	NGG <i>angusu</i> (but PEO * <i>n</i> > NGG <i>ng</i> un- expected) FIJ <i>kānusi</i> PPN * <i>qanusi</i> (TON, EFU, MAE)
	ROT <i>anusi</i>
	MTA <i>anus</i>
	MTU <i>kanudi</i>

* <i>kesa</i>	'dye'	NGG	<i>kakesa</i> 'mangrove root' (mangrove bark yields red dye)
		FIJ	<i>kesa-v</i> 'dye (tapa cloth)'
		PPN	* <i>kesa</i> 'yellowish'
		NGU	<i>kesakesa</i> 'blue'
		NHAo	<i>kesakesa</i> 'green'
		NAK	<i>kesa</i> 'painted w something un- pleasant'
* <i>misi</i>	'suck through teeth'	NGG	<i>misimisi</i> 'make sucking sound w teeth'
		FIJ	<i>misi-k</i> 'suck flesh from bone'
		PPN	* <i>misi</i> 'sucking sound' (SAM, NUK, KAP)
		XWA	<i>misi</i> 'suck on'
* <i>pisi</i>	'squirt out'	NGG	<i>pisi</i> '(feces) ejected'
		FIJ	<i>pisi</i>
		PPN	* <i>pisi</i>
* <i>sali</i>	'flow'	NGG	<i>sali</i> '(tears) trickle'
		FIJ	<i>sali</i>
		PPN	* <i>sali</i> (REN, KAP, NUK, ECE, EFU)
		NAK	<i>sali</i>
* <i>saR(ei)</i>	'tear (st)'	NGG	<i>sali</i> 'tear downward'
		FIJ	<i>se-ø</i> ¹⁶
		PPN	* <i>sae</i>

<i>*i-sele</i>	'knife'	NGG	<i>i-sele</i>
		FIJ	<i>i-sele</i>
		PPN	<i>*sele</i>
<i>*sinu</i>	'k shore tree, white flowers, sweet smelling'	NGG	<i>sinu</i> 'k shore tree'
		FIJ	<i>sinu</i>
		PPN	<i>*suni</i> (TON, SAM)
<i>*(pv)aasua</i>	'clam'	NGG	<i>paupasua</i> 'k mollusk, gastropod: <i>Thais</i> and <i>Murex</i> '
		FIJ	<i>vāsua</i>
		PPN	<i>*(fp)aasua</i>
 <i>*s</i> regularly reflected in two witnesses, not reflected in one:			
<i>*asi</i>	'sandalwood'	FIJ	<i>yasi</i>
		PPN	<i>*asi</i>
		ARE	<i>asi</i> 'k yellowish shrub'
<i>*kisi</i>	'poke'	NGG	<i>kisi, gisi</i> 'touch, poke'
		FIJ	<i>qisi-</i> ∅
		MTA	<i>gisir</i> 'thrust, poke'
<i>*qasu</i>	'scoop'	FIJ	<i>yasu-v</i>
		PPN	<i>*qasu</i> 'ladle out'
		GIL	<i>eri</i>
		NGU	<i>asi</i>
<i>*se-</i>	'flower'	FIJ	<i>se-</i>
		PPN	<i>*see</i> (SIK, MAE)
		NAK	<i>sese-</i>
<i>*i-seru</i>	'comb'	FIJ	<i>i-seru</i>
		PPN	<i>*selu</i>
		LAU(S)	<i>teru</i>
		NGU	<i>seeru</i>

<i>*sika</i>	'net-needle'	FIJ <i>sika</i> PPN <i>*sika</i> ROT <i>si'a</i> GIL <i>rika</i>
<i>*siki-t</i>	'lift'	FIJ <i>siki-t</i> PPN <i>*siki</i> NGU <i>siki-ti</i>
<i>*siko-v</i>	'visit'	NGG <i>sigo-v</i> FIJ <i>siko-v</i>
<i>*si(q)u-v</i>	'wash'	NGG <i>siu-v</i> 'bathe' FIJ <i>siu-v</i> 'pour water on' BUG <i>siu-v</i> 'wash (feet)' MAL <i>siu-fi</i> cf. <i>*suqi</i>
<i>*soko-n</i>	'gather'	NGG <i>sogoni</i> 'put into, pack, fill with' FIJ <i>soqo-n</i> XWA <i>to'o-f</i> 'assemble, gather' NGU <i>sogoni</i> 'gather, congregate' ROT <i>so'o</i> cf. PPN <i>*soko</i> 'join'
<i>*suru</i>	'soup'	FIJ <i>sū</i> PPN <i>*suu</i> 'liquid' EFU <i>suu</i> 'k soup' ARE <i>suru</i> 'boiled coco- nut cream' MAN, GIT <i>suru</i> 'soup'
<i>*sua</i>	'scull'	FIJ <i>sua</i> PPN <i>*sua</i> ROT <i>sua</i>

		MTA	<i>sua</i> 'paddle'
		ARE	<i>sua-hi</i> 'paddle against wind or current'
* <i>sua</i>	'k spear'	NGG	<i>sua</i>
		FIJ	<i>i-sua</i> 'dagger'
* <i>suki</i>	'pierce'	NGG	<i>suki</i> 'prick, lance, sew'
		PNN	* <i>suki</i>
* <i>suqi</i>	'pour water on'	FIJ	<i>sui-</i> ∅
		PPN	* <i>suqi</i> 'dilute'
		cf.	ROT <i>su'i</i> 'water (plants), extin- guish (fire)' (PN loan)
* <i>tosi-∅</i>	'score a line'	FIJ	<i>tosi-∅</i>
		PPN	* <i>tosi</i>
		ARS	<i>osi</i>
*(<i>vb</i>) <i>osa</i>	'speak'	NGG	<i>mbosa</i>
		FIJ	<i>vosa</i>
		KAK	<i>posa</i>
* <i>wase</i>	'divide'	FIJ	<i>wase-∅</i>
		PPN	* <i>wase</i> 'divide, allot'
		ARE	<i>wate</i> '(feast) portions assigned by herald; give'
		KAK	<i>ware</i> 'count, distribute'

The remaining PEO reconstructions involving palatals each show one irregular reflex, which must be accounted for by an internal development, such as borrowing or conditioned change (e.g., Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization). Most notably,

there are many correspondences of Nggela *h* and Fijian *c*, suggesting PEO **z*, which are unexpectedly realized as **s* in PPN:

*(iu)zu-	'nose'	NGG <i>ihu-</i>
		FIJ <i>ucu-</i>
		PPN * <i>(iu)su</i>
*kaz(ie)	'call'	NGG <i>gahē</i> 'shout, boast'
		FIJ <i>kaci</i>
		PPN * <i>kasi</i> (KAP)
*kazo	'rafter'	NGG <i>gaho</i>
		FIJ <i>kaco</i>
		PPN * <i>kaso</i>
*maza	'dry, (tide) low'	NGG <i>mamaha</i>
		FIJ <i>maca, māmaca</i>
		PPN *(<i>ma</i>) <i>masa</i>
*puzuki	'blunt'	NGG <i>puhugi</i>
		FIJ <i>pucu</i>
		PPN * <i>pusuki</i> (MAO)
*qozo	'food for journey'	NGG <i>oho</i>
		FIJ <i>oco</i> 'food for workers'
		PPN * <i>qoso</i>
*(q)uz(iu)-R	'follow, resemble'	NGG <i>uhula</i> 'resemble in face or character'
		FIJ <i>ucu-∅</i> 'resemble'
		PPN *(<i>q</i>) <i>usi</i> 'follow' (MAE, EFU)
		ARE <i>usuri-a</i> 'follow, copy, imitate'
		SAA <i>usuli</i> 'copy, fol- low, succeed to'
		KUA <i>ur</i> 'take the place of'

* <i>tagi-z</i>	'cry - for'	NGG <i>tagi-h</i> FIJ <i>tagi-c</i> PPN * <i>tagi-sia</i>
* <i>tuz(iu)</i>	'point'	NGG <i>tuhu</i> FIJ <i>duci-</i> ∅ ¹⁷ PPN * <i>tusi</i>
* <i>unu-z</i>	'withdraw (st)'	BUG <i>uunuhi</i> 'undo (knot)' FIJ <i>ucu-n</i> PPN * <i>unusi</i>
		NGU <i>muuni</i> 'take out (from bag, pocket)', ¹⁸
		ROV <i>unus-</i> 'pull out (tooth, nail, post)'
* <i>vazi</i>	'split lengthwise'	NGG <i>vahi</i> 'plant yams' FIJ <i>vaci-</i> ∅ PPN * <i>fasi</i> NAK <i>vari</i> 'cut (fire- wood)'
* <i>vezu</i>	'ask'	INA, VAT <i>vesu</i> FIJ <i>vecu-</i> (ng) PPN * <i>fesu</i> (TON, NUK)
* <i>vizo</i>	'k cane w edible flower buds'	NGG <i>vaho</i> 'k shore lily' FIJ <i>vico</i> PPN * <i>fiso</i> (SAM) MTA <i>viso</i> MAN <i>iro</i> MTU <i>hido</i> 'wild cane growing by river- side'

* <i>zanya-</i>	'crotch, thigh'	NGG	<i>hangavi</i> 'crotch, front of thighs' <i>mbahaha</i> 'crotch, thigh'
		FIJ	<i>caga-</i> 'female genitals; thigh'
		PPN	*(-) <i>sanya</i> 'female genitals' (TAK, TAH)
			* <i>ko(iu)sanya</i> 'thigh' (TON, MAO)
* <i>zave</i>	'(st) hang over shoulder'	BUG	<i>haveri</i>
		FIJ	<i>cave-r</i> 'hang'
		PPN	* <i>safe</i>
* <i>zi(k)i</i>	'fart'	NGG	<i>higi</i>
		FIJ	<i>ciki, ci</i>
		PPN	* <i>si(i)sii</i> 'hiss'
		XWA	<i>sii, si'i</i>
* <i>zizi</i>	'k univalve shellfish'	NGG	<i>hihivuhi</i> 'k fresh- water mollusk, gastropod'
		FIJ	<i>cici</i>
		PPN	* <i>sisi</i>
* <i>zizi</i>	'peel off, scoop out'	NGG	<i>hihi</i> 'scoop out (white coconut flesh)'
		FIJ	<i>cici-</i> ∅ 'scoop out (coconut flesh)'
		PPN	* <i>sisi</i> 'scoop, gouge out, pry off'
		NGU	<i>sisi</i> 'plow, scoop'
		GED	<i>sisi</i> 'pull off, peel off, husk' perhaps related to last

* <i>zola</i>	'carry on shoulder'	NGG <i>holā</i> 'take, carry, bring'
		FIJ <i>cola-t</i>
		PPN * <i>sole</i> (REN, TON)
* <i>zulu</i>	'torch'	NGG <i>hulu</i> 'coconut frond'
		FIJ <i>culu-m</i> 'set light to' ¹⁹
		PPN * <i>sulu(i)</i> 'dried leaves' (REN, SAM)
		GIL <i>rin</i> 'dry coconut leaf'
		KUA <i>ul</i> 'leaf of coco-nut palm, torch made from leaves; scorch, ignite, burn'
		GIT <i>sulu</i> 'torch of fronds'
		PMC * <i>sulu</i> 'torch'

In addition, PEO **keze*, **liz(ae)*, **tazi-*, **zakaRu*, **zina*, **ziwa*, and **zoka* all give rise to PPN doublets, one containing (correct) **h*, the other **s*.

Turning now to Fiji, we have already noted that Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization has affected some palatals, initial *c* becoming *s*. However, there is one form, which does not meet the conditions of Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization, in which Fiji shows *s* while Nggela and PPN point to PEO **z*:

<i>*zanjavulu</i>	'ten'	NGG <i>hangavulu</i>
		PPN <i>*hajafulu</i>
		FIJ <i>sagavulu</i>
		'-ty' (suffix marking multiples of ten)

More frequently, Fiji shows *c* while Nggela and PPN point to PEO **s*:

<i>*(pv)us(iu)</i>	'strike'	BUG <i>pusi</i> 'smite, beat, hit, slap'
		PPN <i>*fusu</i>
		FIJ <i>vucu-k</i> 'punch'
		MTA <i>vus</i> 'strike, beat'
		KAK <i>vurua</i> 'injured'
<i>*sala</i>	'wrong'	NGG <i>sala</i>
		PPN <i>*sala</i>
		FIJ <i>cala</i>
<i>*sausau</i>	'breeze'	NGG <i>sautoga</i> 'north wind'
		PPN <i>*sausau</i> '(wind) blow' (REN)
		<i>*sau</i>
		FIJ <i>caucau</i>
		NGU <i>sausau</i> 'blow gently and continuously'
<i>*sangu-m</i>	'take'	NGG <i>saku-m</i> 'snatch up'
		PPN <i>*saqu</i> 'take, get'
		FIJ <i>caqu-m</i> 'take'
<i>*sori</i>	'tell lie'	NGG <i>sori</i>
		PPN <i>*losi</i> (TON, MAE)
		FIJ <i>cori</i>

Finally, Nggela shows some unexpected reflexes. Where Fiji and PPN suggest PEO **s*, Nggela shows *h* in these forms:

In two forms, Nggela shows *s* for expected *h*:

*zama	'outrigger'	FIJ	cama
		PPN	*hama
		NGG	sama
		MAN	rama
*zuzu-	'breast'	FIJ	cucu-
		PPN	*huhu
		NGG	susu-

Proto Polynesian, then, is judged to show many cases of irregular development of palatal obstruents, most especially in PEO *z being reflected as PPN *s. A study of the liquids, which will not be discussed in detail here, reveals a similar situation: PEO *r, as witnessed by Nggela and Fiji, is frequently reflected in PPN by *l rather than *r. It is important now that a detailed study of the historical

phonology of Polynesian languages be undertaken, making use of both internal and external evidence.

4.3.4. Prenasalization in PEO

The hypothesis that irregular reflexes are due to borrowing or recent developments within daughter languages removes the need for the doublets that have been reconstructed for PEO, and implies that PEO probably did not have a regular morphological process of prenasalization (at least in the palatal obstruents), as suggested by Biggs (1965:384). Nevertheless, the presence of prenasalization processes historically in Fijian, and currently in some New Hebridean languages (Lynch 1975) gives us reason to believe that such processes may have cropped up frequently in the history of Eastern Oceanic languages, though there is certainly no syntactic or morphological function which can invariably be associated with them.

In both cases under discussion, the prenasalization rule is phonetically motivated, but the result appears to be that of a grammatically conditioned rule because of the phonetic properties of the markers involved, which contain nasal segments. It would be wise, then, to look for defunct prenasalization processes in doublets showing a consistent difference in syntactic function. Such doublets, in fact, have been pointed out by linguists, but the differences have never been shown to be consistent. We can expect to discover such consistency as we filter out the residue of the most recent prenasalization processes, and as data increase and improve in quality. Naturally, if we are still obliged, even after detailed study of the daughter languages, to reconstruct many doublets for PEO, then we must

reconsider the possibility of a morphological process of prenasalization in PEO.

At the same time, we must beware of looking too hard for doublets. A putative doublet which has long been cited (most recently by Hockett (1976) and Hamp (1973)) consists of SF *sucu-* 'breast' and *susu-g*, which Capell's dictionary defined as 'nurse a baby and, by extension, bring up a child'. It turns out that Capell has been indulging in an etymological flight of fancy. SF *susu-g* means 'bring up, rear (so, animal)', never 'nurse a baby'. There is nothing incongruous about saying *e susuga o tamana* 'he was brought up by his father', or *susu vuaka* 'pig-keeping'; the word for 'nurse (baby)' is simply *vakasucu-m*. A probable cognate of *susu-g* is HAW *huhu* 'pet, cherish'. Such pseudoetymological definitions are a feature of Capell's dictionary, and linguists in search of doublets have not only referred to them, but have improved on them--*susu-g* being defined by Hockett as 'suckle', and by Hamp as 'suck'! The solution of the prenasalization problem certainly calls for imagination, but, equally certainly, nothing will be solved by misrepresentation.

4.3.5. A Third Palatal Obstruent in PEO

We now turn to the observation (section 4.3.3) that Fijian palatals often correspond to Nggela *d* and PPN **t*. A similar observation holds for Rotuman, where the usual palatal reflex is *s*, but there are some instances of *j* (palatal affricate) corresponding to palatals in Fiji and other Eastern Oceanic languages. Careful scrutiny of the data permits us to connect these aberrant reflexes in a number of forms, and to reconstruct a third palatal obstruent

at the Proto Eastern Oceanic level. Following, and amplifying, Levy (n.d.:25), we apply the label **j* to the correspondence set PPN **t*, Fiji *s*, Rotuma *j*, PSS **d*. Some of the reconstructed forms containing **j* appear to be derivable from forms to which Milke (1968) attributed POC **nj*.²¹

The list below gives exemplary reconstructions: those for which there are three or four "correct" reflexes (or at least one correct reflex and a POC **nj* reconstruction), and no incorrect ones.

<i>*jara</i>	'slip, slip on'	PSS <i>*dara</i> ARS <i>dara</i> 'put on (ring, shirt)' ARE <i>tara/ha'inia</i> 'put in, under' ROT <i>jara</i> 'slip' FIJ <i>sara</i> 'slide, push along into' PPN <i>*tala</i> 'wear, change clothes' (ECE, KAP, SIK, LUA, TAK)
<i>*ja(R)o</i>	'spear' ²²	ROT <i>jao</i> FIJ <i>sā</i> ²³ PPN <i>*tao</i>
<i>*ja(R)u</i>	'strike, beat'	ROT <i>jau</i> 'beat, hit' FIJ <i>sau</i> 'tattoo, pierce, break, knock' PPN <i>*tatau</i> 'tattoo'
<i>*jema</i>	'join together'	FIJ <i>sema</i> POC <i>*njema</i> 'caulk'
<i>*jiRi</i>	' <i>Dracaena</i> '	PSS <i>*dili</i> ROT <i>ji</i> PPN <i>*tii</i> ' <i>Cordyline</i> sp.'

* <i>jojo</i> -ŋ	'plug, stop up'	NGG	<i>ndondongaga</i> 'tight-fitting'
		FIJ	<i>soso-g</i>
		POC	*(<i>njo</i>) <i>njonjol</i> 'to cork'
* <i>jona</i>	'(octopus) sucker'	ROT	<i>jona</i>
		FIJ	<i>sonasona</i> '(octopus) sucker, wart'
		PPN	* <i>tona</i> '(octopus) sucker, wart'
* <i>keju-</i>	'back of head'	ROT	' <i>eju</i>
		FIJ	<i>kesu-</i>
		POC	*ŋ <i>kenju</i>
* <i>muj(iu)</i>	'cut off'	PSS	* <i>mudi</i> NGG <i>mundi</i> ²⁴
		FIJ	<i>musu</i>
		PPN	* <i>mutu</i>
*ŋ <i>uju-</i>	'mouth'	PSS	ŋ(<i>iu</i>) <i>du-</i> SAA ŋ <i>idu-</i> 'lips' ARE <i>nutu-</i> 'mouth'
		ROT	<i>nuju</i>
		FIJ	<i>gusu-</i>
		PPN	*ŋ <i>nutu</i>
* <i>Ruja</i>	'load, cargo'	PSS	* <i>luda</i>
		FIJ	<i>usa</i>
		PPN	* <i>uta</i>

The second list contains tentative reconstructions, in each of which one of the reflexes is problematic, or which are reflected in only two witnesses.

* <i>jalī((ŋ)a)</i>	PSS	* <i>dari</i> 'ditch, small channel'	'passage through reef' (but PEO *l > PSS *r irregular)
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		ROT <i>jaliga</i> 'gutter, channel'
		FIJ <i>salia</i> 'small passage through reef'
		PPN <i>*sa(a)lia</i> (TAK; SAM and TUA point to <i>*haalia</i>)
		MTA <i>salea</i> 'creek in reef to bring canoe to shore'
<i>*javi</i>	'pearl shell'	PSS <i>*davi</i> FIJ <i>civa</i> PPN <i>*tifa</i>
<i>*jila</i>	'miss'	PSS <i>*dila</i> ROT <i>jila</i> '(eye) squint'
<i>*jila</i>	'(canoe) sheet'	FIJ <i>sila</i> PPN <i>*tila</i> 'mast, yardarm' MTA <i>pane sila</i> 'project- ing boom of sail' (<i>pane</i> 'boom')
<i>*jobu</i>	'dive, go down'	ROT <i>jopu</i> 'dive, plunge' FIJ <i>sobu</i> 'go down' PPN <i>*sopu</i> 'dive' (MEF)
<i>*jola</i>	'mix'	PSS <i>*dola</i> FIJ <i>vei-sola</i> PPN <i>*solasola</i> (NUK)
<i>*joro</i>	'let out (rope)'	NGG <i>ndoro/vagi</i> 'let down w ropes' FIJ <i>soro-v</i> PPN <i>*solo</i> 'let out sheet of sail' (TAK)
<i>*joRa</i>	'mate, partner'	PSS <i>dola</i> FIJ <i>i-sā</i> ²⁵ PPN <i>*soa</i>

<i>*juli-</i>	'(banana, taro) sucker'	PSS <i>*duli-</i> FIJ <i>suli-</i> ²⁶ PPN <i>*suli</i>
<i>*julu</i>	'take hold of genitals	PSS <i>*dulu</i> FIJ <i>sulu-t</i> of'
<i>*jura</i>	'pull to pieces'	NGG <i>ndura</i> FIJ <i>ka/sura</i> 'come apart'
<i>*kaja-</i>	'(kava) stem'	FIJ <i>kasa-</i> PPN <i>*kata</i>
<i>*kuji</i>	'rub'	PSS <i>*gud(iu)</i> FIJ <i>(kq)usi-φ</i> PPN <i>*qu(hs)i</i> ²⁷
<i>*laaja</i>	'tame' ²⁸	FIJ <i>lasa</i> 'tame, happy' PPN <i>*lata</i>
<i>*laje</i>	'coral'	PSS <i>*lade</i> ROT <i>laje</i> FIJ <i>lase</i> PPN <i>*lase</i>

The most frequent irregularity is PPN showing **s* rather than **t*. There is perhaps some comfort in the observation that PPN also shows unexpected **s* as a reflex of PEO **z*. Again, closer study of the phonological history of Proto Polynesian is called for.

4.3.6. A Fourth Proto Eastern Oceanic Palatal?

We return finally to the pattern of *s-c* variation within Fiji that was noted at the beginning of this section: that *s* is shown in Gone Dau and Nalea, *c* elsewhere. It was argued that it is unlikely that contact occurred between Gone Dau and Nalea at any time after their initial split, and that there is no conceivable motivation for a change from *c* to *s*.

in these items. We conclude that a distinct palatal obstruent must have been present in the common ancestor of Gone Dau and Nalea. Furthermore, since they probably belong to different first-order subgroups within Fiji, their common ancestral stage must be as old as that of any two Fijian languages. It should be conceded, at the same time, that Gone Dau exhibits many unexpected Western traits; if, as is possible, Gone Dau is determined to be a basically Western language, with massive Eastern overlay, then the distinct palatal obstruent can be attributed with certainty only to the common ancestor of the Western languages.

Looking beyond Fiji, we find that this phoneme (which we shall tentatively label *C*) correlates with PAN **j* (Dempwolff's **g'*) in a way that may not be due entirely to chance:

<u>PAN</u>		<u>Fiji</u>
* <i>maja</i> (<i>'h</i>)	'dry'	<i>maCa</i>
*(<i>N</i>) <i>ajan</i>	'name'	<i>aCa</i>
*(<i>q</i>) <i>ija</i> (<i>nN</i>)	'when'	<i>neCa</i>
* <i>aji</i> (<i>h</i>)	'younger sibling'	<i>taCi</i>
* <i>pija</i>	'how much, how many'	<i>viCa</i>

There are, however, irregularities. PAN **ijun* 'nose' is reflected in both GOD and NLE as *gicu* (but *g-* is unexplained); and *C* can be traced also to PAN **z* (*uCa* from **quzan* 'rain'), **y* (*laCa* from **laya* 'sail'), and **s* (*Cava* from **sapa* 'what', *Cei* from **(cs)a(h)i(q'h)* 'who', *tagi-C* from **tagis* 'cry'). Nevertheless, such correlation as exists demands an explanation; and the claim that a distinction might be maintained in Fiji between **j* and the other PAN palatal obstruents has become a little less

preposterous recently in the light of two developments. One is Blust's (1978) suggestion that **j* was not merged with the other palatals in POC. The second is my discovery that the palatal nasal **ñ* remained distinct in Fiji (see section 4.3.7). I should stress that the suggestion that PAN **j* is retained in Fijian is highly tentative, and I have made no attempt to explore its implications in detail.

4.3.7. Reflexes of the PEO Palatal Nasal

The palatal nasal **ñ* which has been reconstructed for PEO (Pawley 1972:28), POC (Blust 1978), and, indeed, as far back as PAN, appears to be reflected as *y/ø* in Western Fijian (WAY, KBY, NKR, MGD, TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI, NLE), and as *n* elsewhere. In neither case is it preserved as a distinct phoneme, but its reconstruction as a separate phoneme in a language ancestral to Western and Eastern Fijian languages is required by its different reflexes. The evidence for the distinction is as follows:

<u>PEO</u>		<u>Western Fijian</u>	<u>Eastern Fijian</u>
*- <i>ña</i>	N-III	- <i>ya</i>	- <i>na</i>
* <i>ñamu</i>	'mosquito'	<i>amu</i>	<i>namu</i>
* <i>moña</i>	'brain'	<i>moya</i>	<i>mona</i>

Two further reconstructions, probably at a lower level than PEO, are warranted by a comparison of Western and Eastern Fijian: **ñā-* 'turn (part of the body)' (WF *ā-*, EF *nā-*) and **tauñā* 'gnat, sandfly' (NDR, KBY *tauyā* (loaned in NDR), SLV, BUA, NVS, BRV, LBS, DGT *taunā*, and GOD *nautā*).

4.4.0. The Velar Obstruents

4.4.1. Velar Obstruents in Fiji

Excluding the labiovelars, no Fijian language (with the qualified exception of Makomako (Buca), see section 3.4) distinguishes more than two velar obstruents. The following are some examples of widely attested diaforms showing unequivocal *k* and *q*.

<i>cakau</i>	<i>kurukuru</i>	<i>caqe-t</i>
'reef'	'thunder'	'kick'
<i>kani-</i> ∅	<i>kutu</i>	<i>qwala-</i>
'eat'	'louse'	'male genitals'
<i>kati-</i> ∅	<i>tuki-</i> ∅	<i>qarau-n</i>
'bite'	'pound'	'beware of'
<i>kavika</i>	<i>vek(ae)</i>	<i>qwele</i>
'Malay apple'	'defecate'	'earth, soil'
<i>kila-</i> (∅t)	<i>vuke-</i> ∅	<i>waqa</i>
'know'	'help'	'boat'
<i>kini-t</i>	<i>vuku</i>	(a) <i>qona</i>
'pinch'	'wise'	'kava'
<i>koti-</i> (∅v)	<i>nikua</i>	<i>qwara-v</i>
'trim'	'today'	'face, attend to'

There is no evidence for any recent prenasalization rule affecting velar obstruents. There are, however, some instances of *k-q* variation which share common ground. The segment which is *k* in *kasi* 'crawl', *kusi* 'rub', *kawa*, *waka* 'burning', *raku* 'scrape w fingers', and *ko(i)* 'this' in most of Fiji is prenasalized *q* in the cognate forms in Lau, coastal Viti Levu, and, for some of the forms, inland Viti Levu and Bua and the Natewa peninsula in Vanua Levu. On the other hand, it is approximately this Lau and coastal Viti Levu area that shows *ka* for 'and', as opposed to *qa* elsewhere.

As with the bilabials, there are sporadic cases of correspondences involving a velar stop and the velar nasal, such as the following: LVN *dekideki*, NMM *degidegi* 'black'; WAY, KBY, MGD, TBW, BRV *dukuV*, SQN *dukiV*, SLV, BUA, NVS, GOD, BRV, SQQ *duguV* 'each'; KBY, NDR *i-saqa*, SLV, BUA, GOD, SQQ, NBB, LBS, DGT, SQN, KRL *i-saga* 'fork'. Perhaps the fact that the equivocal segments co-occur with historically pre-nasalized stops is significant.

4.4.2. Eastern Oceanic Velar Obstruents

Pawley (1972), following Biggs (1965), reconstructed PEO **k* and **ŋk* with reflexes as follows:

PEO	* <i>k</i>	* <i>ŋk</i>
PPN	* <i>k</i>	* <i>k</i>
Bau	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>
Gilbertese	<i>k</i>	
Rotuman	'	<i>k</i>
Mota	<i>g, k/w(/_o, u)</i>	<i>g</i>
Nguna	<i>k, g</i>	
Arosi	', <i>g, k</i>	<i>g</i>
Sa'a	', <i>ɸ</i>	<i>k</i>
Nggela	<i>g, k</i>	<i>ngg</i>

Levy (n.d.) has argued that two velar obstruents are simply not enough to explain the distinctions found in the Southeast Solomons. At least three must be reconstructed for Proto Southeast Solomonic, since most daughter languages (some Malaita languages being exceptional) distinguish three velar obstruents, and largely agree about which of the three is to be reconstructed in particular forms. While granting three velar obstruents in Proto Southeast

Solomonic, I nevertheless tend to support Pawley's conclusion, because there is strong evidence for only two velar obstruents at the PEO level, no languages outside the Southeast Solomons showing any indication of a similar three-way distinction.

By far the best attested correspondence set, in terms of number of cognates, is that which we label PEO **k*. Its reflexes are PSS **y*, NH *g*,²⁹ PMC **k*, ROT ', Fijian *k*, and PPN **k*. A second PEO velar obstruent, **ŋk*, can be reconstructed on the evidence of at least ten cognate sets. PEO **ŋk* is reflected by PSS **g*, NH *k*,³⁰ PMC **x*, ROT *k*, Fijian *q*, and PPN **k*.

I refer with confidence to PMC **x*, which has hitherto led a tenuous existence, because more supporting data has recently come to light. Marck (1977:5) reconstructs PMC **x* in only one item, **waxa* 'canoe', and notes that it disappears in most daughter languages, but is retained in Kosrae as *k* and in Mokil and Ponape as *r*. It was considered wise to note this correspondence set and accord it protophoneme status because of the unequivocal external evidence that PEO **ŋk*, rather than **k*, is the source. As it turned out, there is fairly strong support for PMC **x*, but the *r* which shows up in the word for 'canoe' in Mokil and Ponape must be considered an irregular development. Supporting data is provided by Rehg and Sugita (1975), whose list of pronouns shows that PEO *-*ŋku* I is reflected throughout Micronesia by a single high vowel or glide, except where Kosrae shows -*k*. We, therefore, reconstruct PMC *-*xu*.

More recently, Harrison (1977:3) reconstructed PMC *-*ii* as a third person plural inanimate object marker. Since there is no Kosrae reflex of *-*ii*

(ibid.:7), and a number of Southeast Solomonic languages (e.g., Kwara'ae) show *-xi* or *-gi* as a third person plural inanimate object marker (or NP-suffixed plural marker), we offer the alternative reconstruction, PMC **-ixi*, composed of the transitive suffix **-i* plus the third person plural inanimate object pronoun **-xi*. Other proposed reconstructions involving PMC **x* are:

PEO *waŋka-	PMC *waxa (WOL <i>wa(a)</i> 'frame')
	FIJ <i>waqa</i> 'cover, frame, exterior'
	PPN *waka (TOK <i>whakawaka</i> 'cover, frame')
	ROT <i>vakvaka</i> '(st three- dimensional) side'
PEO *zuŋku	PMC *Su(xu)Suxu (PON <i>duudu</i> , PUA 'bathe'
	MTA <i>sugsug</i> (but <i>g</i> unexpected)
	FIJ <i>cūcuqu</i>
	GED <i>sug</i>
	GIT <i>zugu</i> 'swim'
	MAN <i>ru'u</i> 'wash (so)'

To summarize, there is strong evidence for these two PEO reconstructed phonemes:

PEO	PSS	NH	PMC	ROT	FIJ	PPN
*k	*y	g	*k	'	k	*k
*ŋk	*g	k	*x	k	q	*k

There are, however, considerable problems. We have already noted the third velar obstruent of Proto Southeast Solomons. The Cristobal-Malaita subgroup of the Southeast Solomons, moreover, shows

k rather than *v* in the reflexes of the otherwise regular PEO **kiRa* 'axe', **kanti* 'bulldog ant', and **kasi* 'crawl'; shows *g* rather than *v* in the reflexes of **lako* 'go', **ki(n)ta* IIPn, **laka* 'step', and *kiRe* 'k pandanus'; and shows *k* rather than *g* in the reflexes of **ŋkonko* 'narrow' and **ŋk(ou)ru* 'crunch'. Levy's PSS **k* has no good external correlates, though numbers slightly favor NH *g* rather than *k*; Fiji shows both *k* and *q*.

PPN glottal stop is a fairly common reflex of PEO velar obstruents:

* <i>kuji</i>	'rub'	PSS	* <i>gud(iu)</i>
		TON	<i>faka'uhi</i> 'polish (outside of new canoe)'
		FIJ	(<i>kq</i>) <i>usi-</i> ∅
* <i>kona</i>		MTA	<i>gona</i> 'secure by tying'
		PMC	* <i>kona</i> 'catch'
		FIJ	<i>noka-t</i> 'tie up'
		PPN	* <i>noqa</i> 'tie up'
* <i>vako</i>	'nail'	PAN	* <i>paku</i>
		FIJ	<i>vako</i>
		PPN	* <i>faqo</i>
* <i>sangku-m</i>		NGG	<i>sanggu-m</i> 'snatch'
		FIJ	<i>caqu-m</i> 'take'
		REN	<i>sa'u</i> 'take'
* <i>kola</i>		NGG	<i>kola</i> 'cut through' (soft or rotten)'
		FIJ	<i>kola</i> 'split w wedge'
		PPN	* <i>qola</i> 'wedge'

There are many more examples of PPN **q* corresponding to a velar obstruent in Fijian. Some may be remnants of an incomplete sound-change, others perhaps loans from an area of Fiji where **k* had become glottal stop

(see section 7.3.5). At least as perplexing are some items in which PEO $*q$ is reflected as *k* in Fijian (though the first and third appear to point to PEO doublets):

$*qanusi$ 'spit'	NGG <i>angusu</i>
	MTA <i>anus</i>
	ROT <i>anusi</i>
	PPN $*qanusi$
	FIJ <i>kānusi</i>
	but cf. also MTU <i>kanudi</i>
$*qota$ 'coconut grated and wrung'	NGU <i>ooto</i> (- <i>o</i> shows some regularity)
	GIL <i>ota</i> (but could be PN loan)
	PPN $*qota$
	FIJ <i>kota</i>
$*qonta$ 'eat (sea- food) raw'	PSS $*oda$
	PPN $*qota$
	FIJ <i>koda</i>
	PAN $*qe(\eta)taq$ (Blust 1972)
	but cf. also PMC $*kota$, raw food classifier

4.5.0. Minor Sound Changes

4.5.1. The Development of PEO $*a(Rq\emptyset)e$ and $*a(Rq\emptyset)o$ in Fiji

Hockett (1976:196-197), citing a personal communication from Andrew Pawley, notes that Standard Fijian has very few examples of *ae* and *ao* sequences, and that there is evidence pointing to pre-Fijian $*ae$ being reflected in SF as *a* or *e*, and $*ao$ as *a* or *o*. No conditions are proposed. This problem is dealt with in detail in Geraghty and Pawley (n.d.). Here, I will state the relevant rule and present some

supporting data.

Inherited *ae* and *ao* sequences, including those derived from PEO **aqe*, **aqo*, **aRe*, and **aRo*, were subject to the Vowel Cluster Assimilation rule (VCA). The rule states that the unstressed member of a low-mid vowel cluster assimilates to the stressed member, that is, that *áe* > *áa*, *aé* > *eé*, *áo* > *áa*, and *aó* > *oó*. Long vowels produced by the rule are shortened if they occur before an unstressed syllable, a position in which long vowels are disallowed by a phonotactic constraint common to all Fijian languages. This process is referred to as Vowel Shortening. The VCA rule appears to hold for all of Western Fiji,³¹ and most of Eastern Fiji; but there are a few exceptions, found chiefly in parts of Vanua Levu, so the rule is not attributable to the ancestor of all contemporary Fijian languages.

The PEO form **raqe* 'forehead' will be used here to illustrate the changes involved. The reconstruction is supported by NGG *rae-*, NGU *rae*, and PPN **raqe*, as well as other widely distributed Oceanic and Austronesian forms. The table below contrasts the development of **raqe* in four different areas of Fiji, showing the operation of VCA and other relevant historical processes. **raqe* is particularly well suited to illustrate the effects of stress placement on the development of **ae* because, as a direct possessed noun, it undergoes a change in the formal means of showing possession in three areas of Fiji (mainland Kadavu, Western Viti Levu, and Gau Dau), which results in a change of stress placement. The ordering given is far from being the only possibility, but we shall see that at least some of the rules must be ordered with respect to one another. All areas underwent the first change, loss of **q*. Rule 2,

Table 11

The Development of PEO *raqe in Fiji

	Western Fiji and Mainland Kadavu	Interior Levu, Gone	East Dau	Viti Levu	Rest of Vanua	Eastern Fiji	Rest of
PEO	*raqé-	*raqé-			*raqé-	*raqé-	*raqé-
1.	*q > Ø	rāe-	rāe-	rāe-	rāe-	rāe-	rāe-
2.	Possession Change	rāe	rāe	rāe	rāe	rāe	rāe
3.	Dissimilation			rāi			
4.	VCA		rā		rē-	rē-	rē-
5.	Vowel Shortening				rē-	rē-	rē-
6.	EFAP				dre-	dre-	dre-
7.	*α-Prothesis				yadre-	yadre-	yadre-

"possession change," involves the loss of direct suffixation as a means of possession. In Gone Dau and mainland Kadavu, nouns that had been directly possessed (see section 5.1.3.4.1) became neutral possessed, while in Western Fiji they became prefix-possessed. In both cases the result was the same: stress now always fell on the *a*. Where direct suffixation was maintained, it was the *e* that was usually stressed, since most possessive suffixes were mono- or trisyllabic. In fact, there is good evidence that in earlier stages of Eastern Fijian languages, *all* suffixes were mono- or trisyllabic, so that stress would have always fallen on the *e*.

Rule 3, "dissimilation," refers to the change of **rae* to *rai* in Gone Dau. This rule appears to complement VCA (rule 4), inasmuch as both have the effect of eliminating the sequence *ae*. Of the two rules, rule 3, dissimilation, is by far the lesser in both geographical and lexical extent, affecting only a very small number of lexical items in Gone Dau, Ra, and Northeast Vanua Levu. Rule 4, VCA, on the other hand, affects all parts of Fiji, and all eligible lexical items, with only one or two isolated exceptions.

The fifth rule embodies the phonotactic constraint mentioned above, disallowing a long vowel before an unstressed syllable. Rule 6 is Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization, as discussed in section 4.1.1.4, and the final change is the **a*-prothesis of nouns, mostly monosyllabic body parts, that occurs strongly in all of Eastern Fiji, except in Bua, Navakasiga, and Gone Dau (see section 4.5.6).

Rule 1, loss of **q*, must precede VCA, so that its conditions may be met. Rule 6, Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization, could apply at almost any

point, but not after rule 7, **a*-prothesis. Most important in its implications for Fijian language history is the ordering of rule 2, possession change, and rule 4, VCA. If VCA had preceded possession change, as we might have expected from its greater geographical extent, then the outcome of **raqe-* in Western Fiji and mainland Kadavu would have been *rē*:

PEO	<i>*raqé-</i>
4. VCA	<i>rē-</i>
2. Possession Change	<u><i>rē</i></u>

VCA, then, is a phonological rule which appears to have spread across communalects already differentiated by the possession change rule (see section 5.1.3.4.2). It may well be that certain kinds of sound change spread easily over syntactic isoglosses; recall that a similar inference was drawn in sections 3.3 and 3.4 from the distribution of fricativization of *k* and palatalization of *t* and *d*.

We present below a list of forms affected by the VCA rule.

<i>*ae</i>		
* <i>ŋkalaе</i>	'swamphen'	PPN * <i>kalaе</i>
		FIJ <i>qalā</i>
* <i>katae</i>	'(canoe)	MTA <i>gatae</i>
side opposite		FIJ <i>kata</i>
outtrigger'		cf. PPN * <i>katea</i>
		NGU <i>katea</i>
* <i>sare</i>	'tear (st)'	NGG <i>sali-</i> ∅ (<i>i</i> unexpected)
		PPN * <i>sae</i>
		FIJ <i>se-</i> ∅

<i>*taqe-</i>	'excrement'	PSS <i>*tae</i>
		MTA <i>tae</i>
		PPN <i>*taqe</i>
		WF <i>ta</i>
		EF <i>dā/de-</i>
		but NE Vanua Levu <i>tae</i>
		Gone Dau <i>tai</i>
		Ra <i>dai</i>
<i>*taqeV</i>	'not'	PSS <i>*(t)ae</i> (ARE, ARS)
		PPN <i>*taqe</i> (Clark 1976:87)
		FIJ <i>ta</i> (LAU)
<i>*taqekiv</i>	'not yet'	PPN <i>*taqeki</i> (Clark 1976:87)
		FIJ <i>teki</i> (LAU)
<i>*wa(q)ewa(q)e</i>		MTU <i>vaevae</i>
'often'		FIJ <i>wāwā</i> (TKM)
<u><i>*ao</i></u>		
<i>*a(R)o</i>		PPN <i>*ao</i> 'scoop up'
		FIJ <i>yā</i> 'scoop, draw
		(water)' (KBY)
<i>*ja(R)o</i>	'spear'	ROT <i>jao</i>
		PPN <i>*tao</i>
		FIJ <i>sā</i> (WF)
<i>*na(R)ona(R)o</i>		PEP <i>*naona</i>
	'sandfly'	FIJ <i>nānā</i>
<i>*qa(R)oŋa</i>		PPN <i>*qaŋa</i> 'value, use'
		FIJ <i>oga</i> 'busy, job'
<i>*sa(R)o</i>		PPN <i>*sao</i> 'escaped'
		FIJ <i>sā</i> 'free, at liberty,
		wild'
<i>*vaqoru</i>	'new'	PSS <i>*vaolu</i>
		PPN <i>*foqou</i>
		FIJ <i>vou</i>

* <i>vunŋao-</i>	'in-law'	PSS * <i>vunŋao-</i>
		PPN * <i>funaona</i>
		* <i>funaoi</i>
		FIJ <i>vugo-</i>
* <i>waRo</i>	'vine' ³²	PSS * <i>walo</i>
		MTU <i>varovaro</i>
		FIJ <i>wā</i>
* <i>za(R)o</i>		NGG <i>halo</i> 'catch (palolo worm)'
		MTA <i>sao</i> 'take up fish in net, fruit from tree'
		PPN * <i>sao</i> 'collect' (SAM, TON)
		FIJ <i>cā</i> 'collect (fire- wood)'

There are some problematic cognate sets involving the *ao* sequence:

* <i>qaRo</i>	'cloud'	PSS * <i>alo</i>
		PPN * <i>qao</i>
		FIJ <i>ō</i> (for expected <i>ā</i>)
* <i>qa(R)oŋa</i>	'value, use'	PPN * <i>qaŋa</i>
		FIJ <i>yaga</i> (for expected <i>oga</i> ; but see s.v. * <i>qa(R)oŋa</i> above)
* <i>vunŋao-</i>	'in-law'	PSS * <i>vunŋao-</i>
		PPN * <i>funaona</i>
		* <i>funaoi</i>
		FIJ <i>vuga-</i> (most of Viti Levu, beside ex- pected <i>vugo-</i> elsewhere)

A possible explanation for the development of **qaRo* 'cloud' into *ō* is that it was originally a direct-possessed noun, so that *ō* could be correctly derived from **qaō-*, with subsequent loss of direct suffixation. Evidence in support of this explanation is found in the otherwise inexplicable reflexes, LBS *i-ō* and WAY *kaō*. As will be demonstrated in section 5.2.6, *i-* can be a sign of loss of direct suffixation, and WAY *ka-* could be analyzed as the third person inanimate inalienable possessive prefix. Unfortunately, there is no indication from the Solomons that other reflexes of **qaRo* are ever directly possessed.

The most satisfactory compromise concerning **qa(R)oŋa* requires the reconstruction of both **qa(R)oŋa* (PPN **qaona* 'value, use', FIJ *oga* 'busy, job') and *(*qR∅*)*aŋa* (FIJ *yaga* 'value, use', WOL *yengaang(a)* 'job, work'). The fact, then, that the meanings of **qaona* in PPN and *(*qR∅*)*aŋa* in Fijian have converged is either fortuitous, or the result of calquing. Alternatively, FIJ *yaga* may be a loan from TON '*aonga*', as witness the meaning identity, and the fact that FIJ *yaga* has no monosyllabic transitive ending when causativized (FIJ *vakayaga-tk* 'make use of, use'), a characteristic of some inherited words and nearly all borrowings.

Viti Levu *vuga-* probably derives from a PEO doublet **vunja-*, which is also reflected by ARS *hunga-*. Arosi shows no signs of a rule like Fijian VCA, as witness *haoru* 'new' (< PEO **vaqoRu*) and *aeV* 'not' (< PEO **taqeV*). Other Solomons languages, in fact, point to a third possible reconstruction, **vunjo-*.

This section concludes with a discussion of the possible motivation for Vowel Cluster Assimilation.

It is noteworthy that very few lexical items reconstructed for Proto Eastern Oceanic contain the sequence **ae* or **ao*. Most of the input to the Fijian VCA rule derives from sequences that were separated by **q* or **R* at the PEO level. Furthermore, Fiji is the only part of the Eastern Oceanic area where both **q* and **R* were lost at an early stage, resulting in a large number of **ae* and **ao* sequences. The Fijian VCA rule, then, may be the result of an inherited phonotactic restriction, and the sudden acquisition (through loss of **q* and **R*) of a large number of forms violating it.

There are other Eastern Oceanic languages that have lost both **q* and **R*, and at least one, Niue,³³ has simplified resulting vowel clusters. For the others, it may be merely a matter of time. Even in Fiji, the dislike of *ae* and *ao* sequences is not instantaneous: many have arisen in Labasa as a result of the loss of *k*, but, to my knowledge, none have been changed.

4.5.2. The Diphthongs *ai* and *au*

It has been observed in section 3.10 that, in all Fijian languages except those of Lau, it is the first vowel in a low or mid to high sequence that is always stressed. It is hardly surprising, then, to find instances of loss of the unstressed member of such a sequence, especially since such sequences occurring in penultimate position appear to violate the general principle of measure-penultimate stress (Schütz 1976). For example, a word such as *raica* 'see it' simply conforms to measure-penultimate stress in Lau, as *raīca*. In most of the rest of Eastern Fiji, it conforms to the competing rule that assigns stress to the first vowel in a rising

vowel sequence, as *ráica*. But in Vanua Levu (LBS, SQN, KRL), the competition between the two rules is removed by the loss of the unstressed vowel, as *ráca*.

Sporadic examples of loss of *i* and *u* in penultimate position are widely found. **rau-* 'leaf' becomes *dra-* in Namosi, Tokaimalo, and Lau.³⁴ Nadrau shows *tana* '(limb) swollen with elephantiasis' (SF *tauna*), *ta-ve* 'infect' (SF *tau-va*), *la-te* '(missile) hit' (SF *lau-ta*), and *sele* 'k eye infection' (SF *seila*). Namosi sometimes achieves the same end by monophthongization: *re-ce* 'see it' (SF *rai-ca*), *ko-te* 'bring it' (SF *kau-te*). Only in parts of Vanua Levu, however, is there any degree of consistency in the loss of unstressed penultimate high vowels. The peripheral communalects of Navatu (Bua), Naweni, Tunuloa, and Navatu (Cakaudrove) show no loss whatsoever. The facts concerning other, more central, Vanua Levu communalects are tabulated in Table 12. A blank space means no data are available, *i* or *u* indicates preservation, \emptyset loss, and a hyphen that the form is not reflected. There are other examples, for which I have data from only Nabalebale: *va-ca* 'bind it' (SF *vau-ca*), *raka* '(yam) bad' (SF *rauka*), and *cadre* 'on fire' (SF *caudre*).

The picture that emerges is one of an innovation spreading outward from Central Vanua Levu. Loss of high vowels is relatively infrequent in the extreme West (NVS, BUA) and East (DGT, SQN).

One further example affords us an insight into the mechanics of the change. PEO **kuRita* 'octopus' is reflected in most of Eastern Fiji as *kuita*. In Vanua Levu, however, the form is *kita*; it is the first vowel, rather than the second, in the *ui* sequence that is deleted. Adding this to the data

Table 12
Loss of Unstressed Penultimate High Vowels in Vanua Levu

	SLV	BUA	NVS	GOD	BRV	SQQ	NBB	SAV	LBS	DGT	SQN	KRL.
dai-na 'put it'	∅	-	-	-	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
toto-i-ca 'angry at it'	i	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	i
v-s̥tnai-ta 'fill it'	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
(d)ai-ro 'k sea slug'	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
zai-ro 'land crab'	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
kaila 'shout'	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
kwail-e 'k wild Yam'	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
seila 'k eye infection'	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
rai-ca 'see it'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
kau-ta 'take it'	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
taub-e 'wear around neck'	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
qeū-ta 'scratch it'	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
lēu-ta 'prize it out'	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
tau-ra 'hold it'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	∅	∅	∅	-
bui-ta 'leave it'	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	-
tauci 'candlenut'	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
tauna 'swollen w elephantiasis'	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
rāu-	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
Actual	7	5	3	6	5	10	14	4	11	3	4	6
Potential	10	11	6	6	7	10	14	5	12	8	8	7
Percentage	70	45	50	100	71	100	100	80	92	38	50	86

already at hand, it could perhaps be generalized that it is the glide of a stressed diphthong that is deleted in penultimate position, *ui* being the only diphthong in which the glide is the first element.

Throughout the area under discussion, there are found a number of forms which appear to contradict the rule stated earlier. Since the rule is quite regular in at least some areas, and all the apparent exceptions are also found in SF, I believe them to have been borrowed recently from SF. The following are widespread: *boi-ca* 'smell', *qarau-na* 'beware of', *rau-ta* 'enough for', *sau-ma* 'answer, pay', *lau-ta* '(missile) hit', *v-bau-ta* 'believe', *quu-ta* 'hit w knuckles', and *yauta* 'damp, mildewed'.

4.5.3. Western Fijian α -Raising

A change that is characteristic of most of Western Fiji is the raising of *ai* to *ei*. The change appears to be stress conditioned, occurring only when *ai* is not normally under primary stress, so that such nominals as *kai* 'wood', *vai* 'stingray', and *wai* 'water' are excluded.³⁵ Batiwai and Tubai are little affected by the rule, Nalea not at all. The forms that have been observed to undergo this change are: *na i*-N article plus preformative *i*- of following noun, *lai*-V passive forming prefix, *qaiv* 'then', *dai-n* 'leave, put', *da iV* Iip pn plus nonpast tense marker, *ra iV* IIIp pn plus nonpast tense marker, *maiV* 'come and, then', *laiV* 'go and, then', *Vdai* 'away', *vai-* prefix to time adverbials (e.g., BTW *vaiqwata* 'in the morning'), *tai-* prefix to place adverbials (e.g., TBI *teimuri* 'behind', *teimata* 'ahead'), and *taigwane* 'male'. Some instances of *ei* are further raised to *i*, perhaps by subsequent

application of the *ei*-raising rule (see next section). The following table illustrates the changes:

Table 13
Western Fijian *a*-Raising

	WAY	KBY	NKR	MGD	TBW	BRV	BTW	TBI	NLE
<i>na i-N</i>	ei	ei	ai	ei	ai	ai	ai	ai	ai
<i>lai-V</i>	ei	ei	ei	ei	ai	ai	ai	-	ai
<i>qai V</i>	ei	ei	ai	ei	(a,e)i	ei	ai	ai	ai
<i>dai-n</i>	ei	ei	ei	ei	ai	ei	ai	ai	ai
<i>da i V</i>	-	ei	i	i	i	i	-	ai	-
<i>ra i V</i>	ei	i	i	i	i	i	-	ai	-
<i>mai V</i>	ai	ei	ai	-	ai	ai	ai	ai	ai
<i>lai V</i>	aki	aki	ai	ei	ai	ai	ai	-	ai
<i>v dai</i>	ei	-	-	ai	ei	ei	ai	ai	-
<i>vai-</i>	-	aki	-	ai	-	-	ei	ā	ai
<i>tai-</i>	-	-	-	ei	i	i	e	ei	ai
<i>taigwane</i>	-	-	ei	-	ei	ei	ei	ei	ai
Potential	7	7	9	10	11	11	10	10	10
Actual	6	7	5	8	6	7	2	2	0
Percentage	86	100	56	80	55	64	20	20	0

Considering the Western Fijian area as a whole, the *a*-raising rule appears to be strongest in the Northwest, and weakest in the Southeast. The forms listed under *maiV* may well be loans from SF *maiV*; they are not commonly heard. Some of the instances of *ai* may derive historically from *au*. *lai-V*

corresponds to EF *lau*-V; *taigwane* may be compounded from POC **tau* 'person' and **mwane* 'male'; and *dai-n* 'leave, put' may be a reflex of PEO **taRu* (NGG *talu* 'put, place, set'; KBY, MGD *tau-n* 'leave, put').

4.5.4. Monophthongization of *ei*

Certain forms containing historical **ei* are never stressed, being minor morphemes, and these *ei* sequences have monophthongized in some areas. To the extent that the forms occur in each area, the *ei* in

<i>vei</i> -V	reciprocal prefix
<i>vei</i> -(N)N	collective prefix
<i>vei</i> PN	preposition marking location or direction
<i>kei</i> -	Ix pronoun marker
<i>mei</i>	drink possessive marker (<i>kei</i> and <i>nei</i> , eat and neutral possessive markers respectively, show identical development of <i>ei</i>)

is realized as *i* in all WF communalects, and the East Viti Levu communalects Namosi, Waidina, Lutu, and Naimasimasi; *ei,e* in Tubai (Viti Levu) and Nabalebale and Koroalau (Vanua Levu); in Gone Dau as *i* in *vei*-V and *vei*-(N)N, but *ei* in *vei*PN and *mei*PN; in Ono-i-Kadavu, as *i* in *vei*-V, otherwise *ei*; in Tavuki and Nabukelevu, as *e* in *kei*-, otherwise *i*; and *ei* elsewhere (Nadrau, Tokaimalo, Namena, and Lovoni in East Viti Levu; Lau; all of Vanua Levu except Gone Dau, Nabalebale and Koroalau). To generalize, *ei* has become *i* in Western and Southeast Viti Levu, mainland Kadavu, and Gone Dau--areas which, as we have already seen, tend to share innovations--while the change to *e* occurs sporadically,

with no discernible pattern.

4.5.5. The Development of *oa and *ea

The vowel sequence *oa* is rare in most of Viti Levu, though found in some east coast communalects (including Bau). Table 14 shows the development of **oa* inherited from PEO **qana-ñoRa* 'yesterday', **toa* 'fowl', and **loaloa* 'black'; and in **sikoa* 'grey-headed', for which I know of no cognates outside Fiji.

Table 14
The Development of **oa*

	* <i>qana-ñoRa</i>	* <i>toa</i>	* <i>loaloa</i>	* <i>sikoa</i>
SF	nanoa	toa	loaloa	sikoa, sikā
WF	-	tō	lōlō	sikō
TKM	-	tōtō	lōlō	
NDR	nōnā	tō	lōlō	
NMN	nanoa	tō	lōlō	
NMM	nānā	toā	lālā	
LUT	nanoā	toā	lōaloā	
WDN	nanoā	toā	lōaloā	sikoā
NMS	nīnoā	toā	lōaloā	

Two main patterns are discernible: **oa* becomes ō in all of the West and in Rā (Tokaimalo), but oā in the Southeast (Namosi, Waidina, Lutu). The central eastern communalects (Nadrau, Namena, Naimasimasi) show elements of both, and of a third reflex, ā. Namena *nanoa* may well be a recent SF loan, so Namena is best classified with Tokaimalo. The ā reflex

is not found in **toa* (but see section 4.1.1.1 for the possibility of **toa* being indirectly inherited in Vanua Levu); *ā* probably represents a further development of *oā*, about which little can be said at present.

The development of **sikoa* shows that an *ā* reflex of **oa* can occur in SF. We feel more confident, therefore, in positing cognacy between SF *i-sā* 'mate, partner' and PPN **soa* 'mate, partner'; and, more tentatively, between SF *Vgā* 'only, just' (NMS, NMM *nā*, LUT, WDN *nō*, NDR *nua*, NMN *nū*) and PPN **noa* 'common, worthless'.

A comparable pattern is shown by the reflexes of verbs ending in *o* and the third person singular object pronoun suffix *-a*. The resulting **-oa* is reflected as *-oa* in Northeast Vanua Levu, *-ō* in Gone Dau (which also shows *lōlō* 'black') and Western Viti Levu. In other parts of Eastern Fiji, *-oya* appears, which may or may not be an innovation (see section 5.3.1).

Verbs with final *-e* show a similar distribution. The final vowel sequence *-ea* is absent in much of the West, but appears as *-ē* in the Northwest, and in Gone Dau. Northeast Viti Levu and most of the rest of Fiji show *-ea*, *-ā* being found in Namosi, Waidina, Lutu, and Naimasimasi. These developments, however, only apply to the bimorphemic *-ea* sequence (final *-e* of verb base plus suffixed pronoun object *-a*). Other instances of *-ea* (e.g., *rea* 'albino' < PEO **rea*, witness ARS *rea* 'albino') do not undergo any change. The only possible exception is a third person demonstrative, meaning 'there', which is reflected as SF *keā*, WF *-kwē*, *-k(w)ei*, TKM *bākei*, and NMN, NMM *vakā*, suggesting perhaps **kwea*.

The following generalization can be made: in all instances of *óa*, and some of *éa*, (1) the second vowel assimilates to the first (Western and Northern Viti Levu, Gone Dau), or (2) the second vowel lengthens, and the first may drop (Southeast Viti Levu). Stress clearly plays a part here; *oá* and *ea* are unaltered (e.g., in *veata* 'k sea slug', *soata* 'pumice', *soaqá* 'k banana').

4.5.6. Prothesis and Loss of *#*a*-

In the preceding discussion of the development of PEO **raqe* 'forehead' within Fiji, the final rule necessary to yield SF (and other EF) *yadre-* was one of **a*-prothesis. If we consider the dozen or so forms, all nouns, which vary for initial *a*- in Fiji, we find that two communalects--Bua and Navakasiga--show no initial *a*-, while most of Vanua Levu and parts of Eastern Viti Levu show a 100 percent. This rather unusual distribution is explained by the fact that the PEO source for the optional *a*- is usually \emptyset , but sometimes **a*-: (*a*)*ca*- 'name' from PEO **aza*-, (*a*)*bia* 'arrowroot' from PEO **Rabia* 'sago, arrowroot' (cf. KUA *iabia* 'arrowroot' which may, however, be a nineteenth-century Fijian loan), (*a*)*lo*- 'soul' (cf. EFU *aloalo* 'dispositions intérieures ou extérieures, apparences', TON 'alo'ofa, 'ofa 'love, pity'). In these words, inherited initial **a*- is lost in Bua and Navakasiga. The same is probably true of (*a*)*va*- 'leg' (NAK *hava*- '(chicken) second joint', ROV *avava*- 'groin', PSS **aava* 'thigh, lap'), but there is a competing reconstruction without initial **a*-, witnessed by NAK *vaha*- 'foot, leg' and PPN **faqa* 'stalk'.

This highly localized rule of *a*-deletion complements a rule of *a*-prothesis which is found strongly

in most of Vanua Levu, Lau, and East Coast Viti Levu (approximately the Koro Sea area) and infrequently, if at all, in Western Viti Levu. The forms affected are:

(a)	<i>cile</i>	'nit'	PEO	* <i>liz(ae)</i>	(by metathesis)
(a)	<i>bō</i>	'boil'	PEO	* <i>boo</i>	(PMC * <i>p'oo</i> 'swelling')
(a)	<i>lewa</i>	'woman'	PEO	* <i>lewa</i>	(XWA <i>lekwa</i> 'female cuscus oppossum')
(a)	<i>dre-</i>	'forehead'	PEO	* <i>raqe</i>	
(a)	<i>me-</i>	'tongue'	PEO	* <i>me(a)-</i>	(XWA, LAU <i>mea-</i> , NGU <i>mee-</i>)
(a)	<i>qona</i>	'kava'	PEO	* <i>kona</i>	'bitter, intoxicating'

It is hard to imagine what the motivation for *a*-prothesis might have been. The fact that all the affected forms are nouns is suggestive; it is possible that the *a*- was somehow recut from the common article *na*.

4.5.7. *m*-Deletion in Waidina

In Waidina, there is evidence of a historical rule deleting *m* before an unstressed *u*. Below, we compare some Waidina forms with neighboring Lutu:

<u>Waidina</u>		<u>Lutu</u>
N- <i>u</i>	II	- <i>mu</i>
<i>daudau</i>	'red'	<i>damudámu</i>
<i>malumalú</i>	'weak'	<i>malumalúmu</i>
<i>lau</i>	'holed'	<i>lámú</i>
<i>kímau</i>	Pn Ixp	<i>kímámu</i>
<i>kú-</i>	Pn II2,3,p	<i>kémú-</i>

There are, however, some apparent exceptions: *námu* 'mosquito', *drómu* 'sink', *sámu* 'beat w stick', *mu* fused aspect marker and first person singular subject pronoun. I am unable to state any reasonable conditions on a single rule which would account for both sets of forms. Rather, it seems likely that the *m*-deletion rule applied in a haphazard fashion, or that it applied regularly and that the forms now containing *mu* are either recent acquisitions or, in the case of the fused aspect-marker-pronoun, recent internal developments.

A similar rule may have affected Proto Polynesian, which reflects PEO **malumu* 'soft' as **maluu*, and *-*mu* II as *-*u* (second person singular possessive suffix).

4.5.8. *l* and *c* in Tubai

The Tubai communalect appears to have undergone change of *l* to *y* before *o* and *a*:

<u>Tubai</u>		<u>Others</u>
<i>yaka</i>	'go'	WF <i>laka</i>
<i>kiā</i>	'know it'	NMS <i>kilā</i>
<i>bayavu</i>	'long'	SF <i>balavu</i>
<i>bakaya</i>	term of abuse	NMS <i>bokala</i>
		SF <i>bokola</i>
<i>-yaya</i>	'body'	WF <i>-lala</i>
<i>kayavo</i>	'rat'	NMS <i>kalavo</i>
<i>i-yava</i>	'(meal) meat or fish'	WF <i>i-lava</i>
<i>-yā</i>	'leg'	WF <i>-lā</i>
<i>-yauyau</i>	'tail'	WF <i>-laulau</i>
<i>buya</i>	'live'	NMS <i>bula</i>
<i>yōyō</i>	'black'	WF <i>lōlō</i>
<i>youyou</i>	'tree fern'	WF <i>loulou</i>

There are, as expected, many exceptions. Contrast, for instance, *kiā* 'know' with *kila* 'known', *yaka* 'go' with *laga* 'sing', and note also *cula-t* 'sew', *dola-v* 'open', *labo-t* 'jump', *ilaila* 'wild', *lavi-* 'dodge', *bilo* 'cup', *lokara* '(many things) fall', and *kalokalo* 'star'. Nevertheless, the initial sound change may have been quite regular, because Tubai has a long history of borrowing (see section 6.1.3).

A number of instances of TBI *y* corresponding to *c* elsewhere, before *a* and *o*, may be the residue of a parallel rule:

<u>Tubai</u>		<u>Others</u>
<i>yalevu</i>	'path'	WF <i>calevu</i>
<i>vakayava</i>	'how'	NMS <i>vakacava</i>
<i>yawa</i>	'food'	WF <i>cawa</i>
<i>buyobuyo</i>	'white'	WF <i>bucobuco</i>
<i>mayou</i>	'cinnamon tree'	WF, EF <i>macou</i>
<i>kidai-</i>	'startle'	WF <i>kidaci-</i>

4.5.9. Early Palatalization in Nadrogā

Tubaniwai and Bāravi (Nadrogā) are identical in most respects and are often classed together with other similar communalects of lower Nadrogā-Navosā province, and referred to as "Nadrogā." It was pointed out in section 3.2 that the Nadrogā area is characterized by the change of *s to 'h', and palatalization of t before i, e, and u, and of d before i and u.

While Nadrogā 'h' usually corresponds to s in the rest of Fiji, there are some forms in which Nadrogā 'h' corresponds not to s, but to t:

<u>Nadroga</u>		<u>WF</u>
'hukai'	'no'	tikai
'hila'	'one'	tila
'-hikohiko'	'(shark) dorsal fin'	-tikotiko
'huga-'	xy' 'mother'	tina-
'-huna'	'(root crop) tuber; flesh'	-tina

contrast:

'-siki'	'part'	-tiki
'sio'	'mangrove oyster'	tio

In each case, the WF form shows initial *ti*. Furthermore, external evidence indicates clearly that the irregularity in correspondence is the fault of Nadroga. The protoforms from which the preceding examples derive are: **tikai* 'no' (RAX *sixai*, PPN **tikai* (NIU)), **tila* (GOD *tila*, possibly SAA *ile*), **tikotiko* (ROV *tigotigo*), **tina-*, and **tina-* (PPN **tina(na)* 'body' (KAP *huaitina*, MAO *tinana*), MTA *tina* 'entrails, bowels, middle, midst', PSS **tina-* '(root crop) tuber' (NGG, ARE, SAA)).

What seems to have happened is a classic case of palatalization, initial **ti*- having become [si], and then subjected to the change of **s* to [h]. In the history of Nadroga communalects, then, we must distinguish at least two palatalization rules, one preceding the change of **s* to '*h*', the other following. Of the earlier palatalization rule we know only that some cases of **ti*- became palatalized to *[si]. Alternatively, it is possible that there is only one palatalization rule, which operated on a few lexical items before the change of **s* to '*h*', then went on to affect the remainder of the lexicon.

4.6. Summary of Sound Changes

We shall now attempt to summarize the sound changes described in chapters 2, 3, and 4.

Table 15 lists the direct reflexes of PEO phonemes in each of the Fijian communalects under study. The orthography is the quasi-phonetic described in section 2.2, except that palatalized *d* [ndʒ] is indicated by *d'*. I have attempted to list the most common reflex first. Numbers at the foot of each column refer to the appended list of sound changes.

Table 16 deals only with those sound changes which are neither pan-Fijian nor restricted to one communalect, and therefore will be of interest when we come to discuss the internal relationships of Fijian languages. Each column represents a sound change, identified by the number at the head, which refers back to the list appended to Table 15. Figures in the columns show the percentage of eligible forms that are actually affected by the sound change (+ means 100 percent, and - means 0 percent). Because of insufficient data, Lovoni and Tunuloa are excluded from this table.

Table 17, based on Table 16, lists the number of sound changes shared between pairs of communalects. Generally, I have judged a communalect not to have taken part in a sound change if less than 30 percent of its eligible forms have been affected by it.

Table 15
Direct Reflexes of PEO Phonemes in Fiji

PEO	*a	*e	*i	*o	*u	*v	*b	*bw	*p	*pw
WAY	a/ā/e/o/ɸ	e/i/a	i/ɸ/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	b	b	b	b
KBY	a/ā/e/o/ɸ	e/i/a	i/ɸ/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	b	b	b	b
NKR	a/ā/e/o/ɸ	e/i/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
MGD	a/ā/e/o/ɸ	e/i/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
TBW	a/ā/e/o/ɸ	e/i/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
BRV	a/ā/e/o/ɸ	e/i/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
BTW	a/ā/e/o/ɸ	e/i/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
TBI	a/ā/e/o/ɸ	e/i/a	i/e/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
NLE	a/a/o/ɸ	e/i/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
NMS	a/ā/ɸ	e/i/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
WDN	a/ā/ɸ	e/i/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
LUT	a/ā/ɸ	e/i/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
NDR	a/o/ɸ	e/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
TKM	a/o/ɸ	e/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
NNM	a/o/ɸ	e/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
LVN	a/ɸ	e/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
NMM	a/ā/ɸ	e/i/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
ONO	a/ɸ	e/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
TVK	a/ɸ	e/i/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
NBL	a/ɸ	e/i/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
LAU	a/ɸ	e/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	p	p
VBL	a/ɸ	e/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	p	p
NVT	a/ɸ	e/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
SLV	a/ɸ	e/a	i/ɸ/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	b	b	b	b
BUA	a/ɸ	e/a	i/ɸ/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	b	b	b	b
NVS	a/ɸ	e/a	i/ɸ/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	b	b	b	b
GOD	a/ɸ	e/i/a	i/ɸ/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	b	b	b	b
BRV	a/ɸ	e/a	i/ɸ/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	b	b	b	b
SQQ	a/ɸ	e/a	i/ɸ/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	b	b	b	b
NBB	a/ɸ	e/a	i/ɸ/e/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	p	p	p	p
SAV	a/ɸ	e/a	i/ɸ/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	b	b	b	b
LBS	a/ɸ	e/a	i/ɸ/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	b	b	b	b
DGT	a/ɸ	e/a	i/ɸ/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	b	b	b	b
SQN	a/ɸ	e/a	i/ɸ/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	b	b	p	p
KRL	a/ɸ	e/a	i/ɸ/e/y	o/a	u/ɸ	v	b	b	b	b
NVT	a/ɸ	e/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
TNL	a/ɸ	e/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	p	p
NWN	a/ɸ	e/a	i/y	o/a	u	v	b	b	b	b
+	20, 30, 33, 34, 39	31, 32, 38	20, 29, 31, 32, 40	38	19, 29		16	16	16, 25	16, 25

[†] Refer to *Key to Sound Changes*, page 186.

Table 15. (Continued) Direct Reflexes of PEO Phonemes in Fiji

PEO	*t	*nt	*j	*s	*z	*y	*r	*nr	*l	*R	*k	*jk
WAY	t	d	s	s	c/y	c/y	r	dr	l	ø	k/kw	q/qw
KBY	t	d	s	s	c	c/y	r	dr	l	ø	x/xw	q/qw
NKR	t/j	d	s	s	c	c	r	dr	l	ø	x/xw	q/qw
MGD	t	d	s	s	c	c	r	dr	l	ø	k/kw	q/qw
TBW	t/j/s/h	d/d'	h	h	c	c/y	r	dr	l	ø	k/kw	q/qw
BRV	t/j/s/h	d/d'	h	h	c	c	r	dr	l	ø	k/kw	q/qw
BTW	t/j/d	d/d'	s	s	c	c	r	dr	l	ø	k/kw	q/qw
TBI	t/j/d	d	s	s	c/s/y	c/y	r	dr	l/y	ø	k/kw	q/qw
NLE	t/j/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r	dr	l	ø	k/kw	q/qw
NMS	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	k/kw	q/qw
WDN	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	k/kw	q/qw
LUT	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	k/kw	q/qw
NDR	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	x/xw	q/qw
TKM	?/t	t	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	x	q
NMN	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	k	q
LVN	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	k	q
NMM	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	k/kw	q
ONO	t/d/j	d/d'	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	k,x	q
TVK	t/j/d	d/d'	s	s	c/s/y	c	r	dr	l	ø	x	q
NBL	t/d	d	s	s	c/s/y	c	r	dr	l	ø	x	q
LAU	t/d/j	d/d'	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	k	q
VBL	t/d/j	d/d'	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	k	q
NVT	?/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	x	q
SLV	?/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	x	q
BUA	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	x	q
NVS	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	?	q
GOD	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	?	q
BRV	?/t	t	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	?	k
SQD	?/t	t	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	x	k
NBB	?/t	t	s	s	c/s	c	r/tr	tr	l	ø	x	k
SAV	?/t	t	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	?/x	k
LBS	?/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	ø	k
DGT	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	?	k
SQN	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	?	k
KRL	?/t	t	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	?/x	k
NVT	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	?	q
TNL	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	?	q
NWN	t/d	d	s	s	c/s	c	r/dr	dr	l	ø	?	q
4,5,6,10, 22,37			7,8, 11	9	24,26 41	41	23	17	36	2,12, 13,14	3,15	

Table 15. (Continued) Direct Reflexes of PEO Phonemes in Fiji

PEO	*m	*n	*ñ	*ŋ	*mw	*w	*q	*ɸ/#_a
WAY	m	n	y/ɸ	g	gw	w	ɸ	ɸ
KBY	m	n	y/ɸ	g	gw	w	ɸ	ɸ
NKR	m	n	y	g	gw	w	ɸ/y	y
MGD	m	n	y	g	gw	w	ɸ/y	y
TBW	m	n	y	g	gw	w	ɸ/y	y
BRV	m	n	y	g	gw	w	ɸ/y	y
BTW	m	n	y	g	gw	w	ɸ/y	y
TBI	m	n	y	g	gw	w	ɸ/y	y
NLE	m	n	y	g	gw	w	ɸ/y	y
NMS	m	n	n	g	gw	w	ɸ/y	y
WDN	m/ɸ	n	n	g	gw	w	ɸ/y	y
LUT	m	n	n	g	gw	w	ɸ/y	y
NDR	m	n	n	g	gw/m	w	ɸ/y	y
TKM	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
NMN	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
LVN	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
NMM	m	n	n	g	g/gw	w	ɸ/y	y
ONO	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
TVK	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
NBL	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
LAU	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
VBL	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
NVT	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
SLV	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
BUA	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y/ɸ
NVS	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
GOD	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
BRV	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
SQG	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
NBB	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
SAV	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
LBS	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ	ɸ
DGT	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ	ɸ
SQN	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
KRL	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
NVT	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
TNL	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y
NWN	m	n	n	g	g	w	ɸ/y	y

35

27,
28

1

18

18

Table 15. (Continued) Key to Sound Changes

Sound Changes	References
1. *mw > *gw > ŋ	3.1
2. *k > k/kw / <u>a, e</u> (lex)	3.1
3. *gk > g/gw / <u>a, e</u> (lex)	3.1
4. *t > j/ <u>i</u>	3.2
5. *t > j/ <u>e</u>	3.2
6. *t > s <u>i, e</u>	3.2
7. *nt > d / <u>i</u>	3.2
8. *nt > d' / <u>u</u>	3.2
9. *s > h	3.2
10. *t > ?	3.3
11. *nt > t	3.3
12. *k > x	3.4
13. *k > ?	3.4
14. *k > φ	3.4
15. *gk > k	3.4
16. *b > p	3.6
17. *nr > tr	3.6
18. *φ > y/# <u>a</u>	3.7
19. *ù > φ/m <u>—</u>	3.8
20. *i > φ/t <u>l, n</u>	3.8
21. *a > <u>á/—(C)V(C)V#</u>	3.9
22. *t > d (E.F.Ap.Pren.)	4.1.1.1
23. *r > dr (E.F.Ap.Pren.)	4.1.1.3
24. *z > s (E.F.Ap.Pren.)	4.1.1.3
25. *p, *pw > b	4.2.2
26. *z > s (lex or PAN *j)	4.3.1, 4.3.5
27. *ñ > y	4.3.6
28. *ñ > n	4.3.6
29. *i, *u > φ/a <u>CV#</u>	4.5.2
30. *a > e/ <u>i</u>	4.5.3
31. *èi > i	4.5.4
32. *èi > e	4.5.4
33. *a > o/ <u>ó</u>	4.5.5
34. *a > <u>á/o</u>	4.5.5
35. *m > φ/ <u>ú</u>	4.5.7
36. *l > y/ <u>a, o</u>	4.5.8
37. *t > s/ <u>i</u> (early pal.)	4.5.9
38. *e, *o > a/ <u>á</u>	4.5.1
39. *a > [<u>e</u>] / [<u>é</u>]	4.5.1
40. *i > y/ <u>á</u> <u>a</u>	4.3.2
41. *z > y (lex)	4.3.2

Table 16
Phonological Innovations in Fiji

	1	2,3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	15	18	19	20	21
WAY	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
KBY	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
NKR	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
MGD	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
TBW	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
BRV	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
BTW	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
TBI	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
NLE	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
NMS	-	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
WDN	-	88	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
LUT	-	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
NDR	-	74	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TKM	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
NMM	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
NMM	-	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
ONO	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
TVK	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
NBL	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
LAU	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
VBL	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
NVT	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
SLV	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
BUA	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
NVS	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
GOD	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
BRV	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
SQQ	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
NBB	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
SAV	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
LBS	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
DGT	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
SQN	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
KRL	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
NVT	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
NWN	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-

+ means 100 percent

- means 0 percent

Table 16. (Continued) Phonological Innovations in Fiji

	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	37
WAY	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	86	+	-	+	-	-
KBY	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
NKR	-	-	17	+	-	+	-	-	56	+	-	+	-	-
MGD	7	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	80	+	-	+	-	-
TBW	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	55	+	-	+	-	+
BRV	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	64	+	-	+	-	+
BTW	23	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	20	+	-	+	-	-
TBI	29	-	50	+	+	+	-	-	20	-	+	+	-	-
NLE	25	-	40	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
NMS	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
WDN	93	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
LUT	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
NDR	+	+	83	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
TKM	64	+	83	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
NNM	91	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
NMM	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
ONO	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
TVK	9	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
NBL	17	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
LAU	94	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
VBL	94	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NVT	+	+	60	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SLV	+	+	67	+	-	-	+	70	-	-	-	-	-	-
BUA	+	+	86	+	-	-	+	45	-	-	-	-	-	-
NVS	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	50	-	-	-	-	-	-
GOD	41	60	87	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
BRV	+	+	83	+	-	-	+	71	-	-	-	-	-	-
SQQ	+	+	83	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
NBB	+	+	83	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
SAV	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	80	-	-	-	-	-	-
LBS	56	60	78	+	-	-	+	92	-	-	-	-	-	-
DGT	56	25	71	-	-	-	+	38	-	-	-	-	-	-
SQN	69	50	+	-	-	-	+	50	-	-	-	-	-	-
KRL	57	33	+	+	-	-	+	86	-	-	+	-	-	-
NVT	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NWN	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 17

Number of Phonological Innovations Shared by Pairs of Communalects

	WAY											
KBY	9 KBY											
NKR	7 8 NKR											
MGD	8 8 8 MGD											
TBW	7 7 9 8 TBW											
BTW	6 6 8 7 9 BTW											
TBI	5 5 7 6 7 TBI											
NLE	6 6 8 7 8 8 NLE											
NMS	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	NMS				
NDR	3	4	6	4	5	5	5	7	NDR			
TKM	2	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	7	8	TKM	
NMN	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	6	7	NMN	
NMM	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	9	7	6	NMM	
ONO	2	3	5	3	5	3	4	7	8	7	ONO	
TVK	2	3	5	3	6	5	3	4	5	6	5	9
NBL	2	3	4	3	3	3	2	3	5	5	5	7
LAU	0	0	2	1	3	3	2	2	5	6	6	5
									8	6	4	LAU
NVT	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	6	7	9	7	6
SLV	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	6	7	9	7	6
BIA	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	6	7	8	7	6
NVS	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	6	7	7	6	5
GOD	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	7	8	7	6	6
BRV	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	6	7	10	7	6
SQQ	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	6	7	10	7	6
NEB	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	6	7	10	7	6
SAV	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	6	7	10	7	6
LBS	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	7	6	5
DGT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	5	4	4
SQN	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	5	6	5	6	6
KRL	1	2	3	2	2	3	2	6	7	10	7	6
NVT	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	6	6	7	7	6

N.B. The figures for BRV(N) are the same as those for TBW, for WDN and LUT, as for NMS; for VBL, as for LAU; and for NMM, as for NVT(C).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. There is a fine illustration of the competition between the prenasalization rule and the disassociative tendencies: *taba-* 'skin' has become prenasalized, in spite of the disassociative tendencies, as NMN *daba-*, but an irregular sound-change has brought about a compromise in NMN, WDN, NDR, and LUT *dama-*.
2. *c* also functions as a "thematic consonant," that is, in base-final position, where prenasalized obstruents are not allowed. This fact led Dempwolff (1934-1938, II:138) to consider Fijian *c* the reflex of the simple palatal.
3. In fact, there are slightly more instances of *b/m* variation.
4. My impression is, in fact, that there are probably more Fijian loanwords in Tongan than there are Tongan loanwords in Fijian (other than Lau). Tongan has borrowed words in many diverse semantic fields; apart from many war-related terms, there are words connected with crafts (TON *mangimangi* 'k sennit', SF *magimagi* 'sennit'; TON *masi* 'partially dry tapa cloth', SF *masi* 'tapa cloth'; TON *sā* 'roof timbers between āpai', SF *i-sā* 'rafters'; TON *vū* 'boom socket of canoe', SF *vū*) and even words for concepts introduced by Europeans (TON *veimau* 'draughts', *vulaono* 'k axe', both the same in SF).
5. The word *lūlulu* was subsequently carried by Fijian missionaries to New Britain, where Kuanua now shows *lulul*.
6. Tongan loans cover a wide range of semantic fields, including ceremonial, dress, cosmetics, sickness and cure, tapa manufacture, house building, games,

flora, abuse, and the introduced fields of church, education, and horses. Interestingly, some words which may well be Tongan loans have to do with pig-keeping: *poka* '(pig) barren', *vākafa* 'k means of tying pig', and even *puaka* 'pig', SF *vuaka*.

7. It seems that two sound-changes have operated here. **a* was raised, backed, and rounded before **v* (e.g., *ovata* 'grub' from PEO **qavato*, *tova* 'cut (meat, bread)' from PEO **tava*), and **v* became *w* or *ø* before a mid rounded vowel (e.g., *wose* 'paddle' from PEO **voze*, *wotu* 'scar' from PEO **votu* 'appear'; this, and the comparable change of **b* to *bw* before **o*, appear to be widespread in the New Hebrides).
8. A group of languages that requires further research is the Cristobal-Malaitan in the Southeast Solomons, where some languages appear to have more than one reflex of **p*.
9. C₁V₁C₂V₂C₁V₁C₂V₂ is a regular reduplication pattern in Nggela and Bugoto.
10. Arosi often shows double reflexes of proto-consonants, suggesting heavy borrowing, as witness the following reflexes of PEO **t*:

PEO * <i>tubu</i>	<i>ubu</i>	<i>tubu</i>
	'grow'	'swell'
* <i>tabe</i>	<i>abe</i>	<i>tabe</i>
	'carry against chest'	'lift up, support'
* <i>uto</i>	<i>uwo</i>	<i>uto</i>
	'pith'	'(breadfruit) pith'
* <i>qatu</i>	<i>sau</i>	<i>satu</i>
	'bonito'(rare)	'k big bonito'

My initial impression is that \emptyset is the commoner of the two reflexes of **t*, and occurs more frequently in basic vocabulary, which suggests that the *t*-reflex is indirectly inherited. The usual reflex of **p* seems to be *p*, though Levy lists ARS *hana* from PSS **pana* 'yam w prickly vine'.

11. PMC **p* reflects both PEO **b* (Marck 1977:4) and **p*.
12. The form *puka* (witnessed in Eastern Vanua Levu) has been replaced in Lau by *puko*, a borrowing from Tongan showing Tongan vowel-raising.
13. From English, VBL *pamu-c* 'pump', *sovut* 'soap (st)', *ki-v* 'lock' ('key'), *loka-t* 'lock', *kisi-n* 'put in a box' ('case'), *uku-t* 'hook (st)', *kati-* \emptyset 'cut (cards)', *dili-* \emptyset 'shuffle (cards)' ('deal'), *foka-t* 'dig w fork', and *vaka-lusi-* \emptyset 'waste' ('lose').
14. Nabukelevu, however, retains *aia* in some forms (Andrew Pawley, personal communication).
15. With Nggela *h* we include its close cognates BUG *h*, VAT *s*, and INA *s*.
16. The vowel change is regular; see section 4.5.1 below.
17. It may be significant that there is a variant in Fiji, *dusi-* \emptyset , which is confined to part of Eastern Fiji (Eastern Viti Levu and Vanua Levu). PEO **liz(ae)* 'nit' also is reflected with unexpected *s* in approximately the same area.
18. Other examples of prothetic *m* in Nguni: *mua* 'high tide', *munu* 'drink', *musa* 'carry by boat' from PEO **Rua*, **unu*, **Ruja*.
19. Compare also SF *suluka* 'dried leaves used to roll tobacco', possibly derived from **zulu* by apical prenasalization.

20. NGG *-nga-* unexplained. Moreover, MAN *zalato*, ARS *daraō* (and SAA *duulao?*) point to PEO **jalato*. For other possibilities, note MTA *kalato*, ARE *nunurao*, and SAA *nunulaō*.
21. Blust (1976) also noted the correspondence of Fiji *s*, *c* to PPN **t*, and suggested that PCP **c* be reconstructed.
22. It should be noted, however, that some linguists have claimed that Fijian, Polynesian, and Rotuman constitute a subgroup within Eastern Oceanic (see section 7.2.0).
23. The vowel change is regular; see section 4.5.1.
24. According to Fox (1955:6), a dialect of Nggela spoken in (or on?) "Sandfly Passage, between Nggela Sule and Olevuga" often shows *s* for Nggela *nd*. On inspection, it seems that this *s* only corresponds to Nggela *nd* when derived from PEO **j*, not to any Nggela *nd* from PEO **nt* or **nr*. Sandfly *musi*, then, confirms NGG *mundi* 'cut off, sever' as a reflex of PEO **muj(iu)* rather than **muntu*.
25. SF *ā* as a reflex of **oa* is neither regular nor unparalleled; see section 4.5.5.
26. This reflex is perplexing, since we have argued earlier that the earlier form was *culi-*.
27. TON *faka'uhi* 'polish (new canoe)'; FIJ *k* : PPN **q* is a well-attested correspondence (see section 4.4.2).
28. This reconstruction must be reconsidered if PSS **manasa* 'tame' turns out to be related.
29. For the New Hebrides, Crowley (n.d.) has succeeded in defining two varieties of *k*, the "weaker" of which is realized as *ɸ* in Paama, velar fricative in Mota, Hiw, Maewo, and Raga, and voiceless velar stop in Nguni and Aomba;

- this I label *g*.
30. NH *k* is realized as velar nasal in Nguni, voiceless velar stop in Paama, Mota, Hiw, and Maewo, and prenasalized velar stop in Aomba and Raga.
 31. "Western Fiji" includes WAY, KBY, NKR, MGD, TBW, BRV(N), BTW, TBI, and NLE; all other communalects belong to "Eastern Fiji." A discussion of these, and other, groupings follows in chapter 6.
 32. Distinguish PEO **wao* 'forest' (NGG *ao*, PPN **wao*).
 33. Niue shows *lē* 'forehead' (**raqe*), *tē* 'excrement' (**taqe*), *tē* 'not' (**taqe*), *kale* 'k bird, *Porphyrio* sp.' (**gkalae*), *kata* 'starboard', *hē* 'tear' (**saRe*), *malē* 'village green' (PPN **malaqe*), *vā* 'climbing plant' (**waRo*), but *ao* 'cloud', *hao* 'escape', *mamao* 'distant' (PPN **mamaqo*).
 34. Perhaps an indication that the stress assignment in *raīca* is a recent innovation in Lau.
 35. Raven-Hart (1953), however, reports *wei* 'water' for Nabukeru, Yasawa.

CHAPTER 5

Aspects of Fijian Morphology and Syntax

5.0. Introduction

In this chapter, I continue to provide a background for the coming discussion on the internal and external relationships of Fijian languages by describing how various Fijian languages handle three areas of syntax and morphology. The three topics chosen are: pronouns, possession, and transitive verbs.

5.1.0. Pronouns

I follow the usual practice of using the term "pronoun" to refer to forms which show anaphoric reference to speaker, hearer, or third person, or combinations of these.

5.1.1. Pronoun Number Distinctions

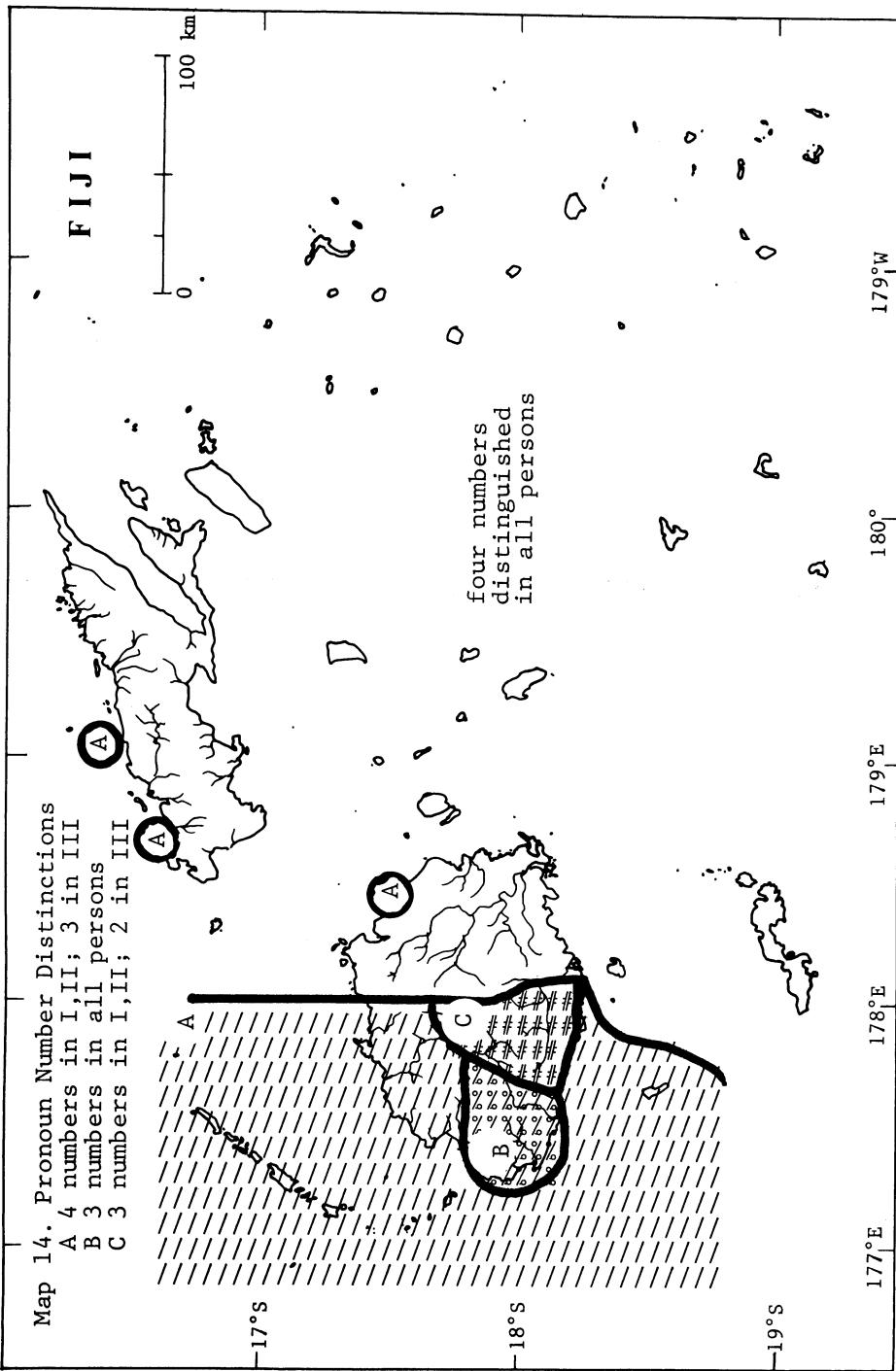
Each Fijian language maintains a constant number of person and number distinctions throughout the various pronoun types used in different syntactic contexts. However, Fijian languages do differ among themselves about the distinctions made in pronoun number, and there are indications that there is (or was at one time) variation also in person-marking. I refer to observations made by Raven-Hart (1953) and Biggs (1948:84) that first person inclusive pronouns are lacking in Nabukeru (Yasawa

Islands) and Nalotawa (mainland Bā), respectively. There are also signs that perhaps Kadavu once lacked first person inclusive pronouns: the inclusive forms throughout Kadavu are identical to those of Standard Fijian, and the dual, *kēdaru*, looks particularly foreign, inasmuch as it lacks the dual marker *-ruka* which is common to the other persons.

Most Fijian languages distinguish four numbers--singular, dual, paucal (often called "trial," used of a group of three or more), and plural. Many of the Western Fijian languages and Gone Dau are exceptional. The most widespread deviation from this norm is the lack of dual-paucal distinction in the third person, the historical dual form being used for both numbers. This development is found in all of the Western languages under discussion, except Tubai and Nalea, and in Gone Dau and Dogoloa (Nakorotubu, Ra).

In some of the Western languages, a further change appears to have taken place, the earlier paucal pronoun being now also used to mark plural in all persons. In Yasawa (Raven-Hart 1953), Tubaniwai, Keiyasi (Pawley n.d.a:6), and Nalotawa (Biggs 1948), however, the third person is excluded from this development, so that these languages all have a paucal-plural distinction in the third person, but a dual-plural distinction in other persons. Magodro, Noikoro, Batiwai, and Bāravi include the third person, so that now the historical third person dual pronoun also marks trial and plural. The remaining Western languages--Waya, Nakoroboya, Nadi (Pawley loc. cit.), and perhaps Nalotawa (Biggs, op. cit., presented conflicting evidence) retain distinct plural forms. Map 14 is an attempt to illustrate the distribution of these patterns of number

Map 14. Pronoun Number Distinctions
A 4 numbers in I, III; 3 in III
B 3 numbers in all persons
C 3 numbers in I, III; 2 in III



distinction.

Note that, if my historical explanation is correct, whenever a number distinction is neutralized, the form that is retained is the one marking the lesser of the two numbers.

5.1.2. Pronoun Morphology

The typical pattern of pronoun morphology in Fiji, and the one Pawley (1972) reconstructs for Proto Eastern Oceanic, is that dual and paucal number are shown by suffixes on the plural forms, the suffixes being derived from the numbers 'two' and 'three', respectively.

There are, however, some departures from this model. The most curious is Waya, in which the number marker is prefixed, and in some cases bears little resemblance to any numeral.¹ In all Eastern Fijian dialects, first person exclusive plural forms must be analyzed as bimorphemic, containing a recurring form which marks person paired with a form that must, by default, mark plural number, as illustrated by the following independent pronouns:

	Ix2	Ix3	Ixp
Nadrau	<i>kairau</i>	<i>kaitou</i>	<i>kaimamu</i>
Tokaimalo, Namena	<i>keirau</i>	<i>keitou</i>	<i>keimamu</i>
Naimasimasi, Lutu,			
Namosi	<i>kirau</i>	<i>kitou</i>	<i>kimamu</i>
Nabukelevu	<i>keruka</i>	<i>ketou</i>	<i>kēmi</i>
Baravi(M), Seaqāqā,			
Bua, Gone Dau,			
Navakasiga, Sōlevu,			
Labasa	<i>iruka</i>	<i>itou</i>	<i>imami</i>

In these cases, it cannot be argued that the plural number marker is zero. For the second person, the same observation holds for some non-Western dialects:

<u>Communialect</u>	II2	II3	IIP
Naimasimasi, Namosi,			
Tunuloa, Naweni,			
Vanua Balavu, Lau	kemudrau	kemudou	kemunu
Lutu	kemudrau	kemudou	kemuniu
Waidina	kūdrau	kūdou	kūnū
Navatu (B)	mudrau	mudou	munū
Bāravi (M), Seaqāqā,			
Nabalebale, Savusavu,			
Sōlevu, Bua, Gone			
Dau, Navakasiga	mudruka	mudou	miau
Dogotuki, Saqani	muruka	mutou	miau
Labasa, Koroalau	muruka	motou	miau

However, in Kadavu, Tavuki and Nabukelevu appear to retain the original pattern:

Tavuki, Nabukelevu kemuruka kemutou kēmu

To complete the picture of diversity, a slice of Eastern Viti Levu bases the whole second person series on the singular, rather than the plural, form:

<u>Communialect</u>	II	II2	II3	IIP
Namena, Waimaro				
(Tailevu),				
Nabōbuco				
(Naitāsiri)	iko	ikodrau	ikodou	ikoniu
Lovoni	iko	ikodrau	ikodou	ikonū

5.1.3.0. Pronoun Function

In Fijian languages, pronouns vary formally according to syntactic function, as they do to some extent in all Oceanic languages. Pawley (1972:61-75) suggests for Proto Eastern Oceanic four types: "focal" and "objective," which are in many cases formally identical, and "subject" and "possessive," which also share quite a few forms. To capture all the distinctions made by Fijian languages, our Fijian diasystem must be a little more complicated:

- (1) independent pronouns ("focal," "nuclear," "emphatic")
- (2) preverbal (subject-marking) pronouns
 - (a) sentence-initial
 - (b) postconjunction
- (3) postverbal (object-marking) pronouns
- (4) possessive pronouns
 - (a) noun-suffixed (direct)
 - (b) possessive-marker-suffixed (indirect)
 - (i) with nominal
 - (ii) without nominal

No language in Fiji makes all of these distinctions for every person and number. In fact, the distinction between the two types of indirect possessive pronoun is relatively uncommon, postverbal (object-marking) pronouns are, in more cases than not, identical to the independent pronouns, and the distinction between sentence-initial and postconjunction preverbal pronouns is never marked in all persons and numbers. Now let us examine in turn each of these pronoun types.

5.1.3.1. Independent Pronouns

Independent pronouns (Pn) function in many ways like proper nouns (PN), and are frequently marked by the same marker (*ko* or *o*). It was at a relatively advanced stage in my fieldwork, however, that I discovered that marking of independent pronouns can vary for person and number, so some variability may have passed unnoticed by me. Some instances of this variability will now be presented.

In all the Western Fijian languages under discussion, with the exception of Nalea, the independent pronoun marker is consistently *o* (with *ko* an optional variant in Waya and Nakoroboya). In Nalea, *o* is also used, but is absent before the second person singular, *koikō*. The resemblance to Namosi, the neighboring Eastern Fijian language, is striking: Namosi likewise uses *o* throughout, except before the second person singular, *koko*. Waidina and Lutu both agree with most Western languages, showing preposed *o* consistently, but Nadrau exhibits interesting variation. The article *o,ko* is used only in the second person, and in the first person singular. In the first person exclusive (nonsingular), no article is used; and in the first person inclusive and the third person, the article is *i* (this *i* is optional in the third person plural). Both article and pronoun are given in Table 18.

One hypothesis that would explain at least part of the irregularity is that the apparent \emptyset article is historically *ko*, which has fused with the base, and changed irregularly to *ka-* (e.g., **ko irau* > *kairau*). This explanation may seem a little *ad hoc* at this stage, but will be needed again when we turn out attention to a similar situation in Kadavu, Lau, and Vanua Levu. The same argument may have to be

Table 18
Nadrau Independent Pronouns

	1	2	3	p
Ix	(k)o <i>yau</i>	<i>kairau</i>	<i>kaitou</i>	<i>kaimamu</i>
Ii		<i>i kitaruka</i>	<i>i kitatou</i>	<i>i kita</i>
II	(k)o <i>keko</i>	(k)o <i>drau</i>	(k)o <i>dou</i>	(k)o <i>niu</i>
III	<i>i kwaya</i>	<i>i kirau</i>	<i>i kiratou</i>	(i) <i>kira</i>

applied to the nonsingular second person forms: if it turns out that these second person pronouns retain the (k)o when incorporated into the verb phrase as objects--unfortunately, the relevant data are lacking --then we must consider (k)o to be part of the pronoun, and not the separate article that it probably was historically.

The possibility that (k)o is not separable from the second person nonsingular pronouns in Nadrau is strengthened by evidence from the nearby Tokaimalo dialect (*t:'*, *d:t*):

Table 19
Tokaimalo Independent Pronouns

	1	2	3	p
Ix	(k)o <i>yau</i>	<i>o keirau</i>	<i>o keitou</i>	<i>o keimamu</i>
Ii		<i>kitaru</i>	<i>kitou</i>	<i>kikita</i>
II	(k)o <i>iko</i>	(k)o <i>drau</i>	(k)o <i>dou</i>	<i>koni</i>
III	(k)o <i>koya</i>	<i>ko rau</i>	<i>ko ratou</i>	<i>kera</i>

Here, the (*k*)*o*- of second person nonsingular pronouns definitely is retained in object-incorporation.

Other forms that appear to show fossilized (*k*)*o*- are the third person plural and the nonsingular first person exclusive. Notice, however, that, although they show initial *k*-, the first person inclusive forms probably do not contain an incorporated article, because the inclusive plural morpheme *kita*(-), of which *kikita* seems to be a partial reduplication, is derived from a well-attested protoform, **kita*. Why the inclusives should admit no marking is unclear, though two possible reasons are suggested by the data: an *i* article, as in Nadrau, has been lost, or a *ko* article lost through dissimilation.

Naimasimasi and Lovoni agree with Namosi, Waidina, Lutu, and most of Western Fiji, in showing consistently one marker, *o*. In Ono (Kadavu), the form is *ko*.

Our other two languages in Kadavu, Tavuki and Nabukelevu, agree in showing *ko,o* only in the first and second person singular; in the third person singular, and all nonsingular forms, there is no article. Similarly, Lau *ko* only occurs before first and second person singular and third person nonsingular pronouns, Vanua Balavu *ko* before singular and first and third person pronouns. Navatu (Cakaudrove, Vanua Levu) shows *ko* before singular and third person pronouns, while Saqani (*k:’*) has two sets of first person exclusive pronouns, only one of which is marked by *o*:

	2	3	p
Ix	<i>keiruka</i>	<i>keitou</i>	<i>keimami</i>
Ix	<i>o iruka</i>	<i>o itou</i>	<i>o imami</i>

Dogotuki appears to have opted for one out of each of the above pairs, thus:

Ix *o iruka* *keitou* *keimami*

In the rest of Vanua Levu, marking is consistent, with either *ko* or *o*, or both in free variation.

A few historical points might be raised here. The first concerns the existence of possible cognates of the pronoun and proper noun marker *i* which is found widely in the Eastern Oceanic language area (Pawley 1972:58). One likely candidate is LAU, VBL *i*PN object-marker. *i* is also found, as noted earlier, marking first person exclusive and third person pronouns in Nadrau. In other cases, it could be argued, the *i* is fossilized, either as the initial element in the pronoun, or between the original pronoun and a reflex of the article **ko*, which has itself become fossilized; both possibilities are exemplified in the preceding Saqani data.

It must be significant that all forms which do not require an article show initial *k-*; it suggests that this *k-* is the remnant of an earlier article, which may well have been **ko*. The case in which this explanation is most likely is that of the first person exclusive pronouns (as in Saqani), since they appear not to be derived from the reconstructed **kami*. For the other persons, widely attested reconstructions (Ii **kita*, II **kemū*, III **kira*) offer an alternative explanation: the absence of an article is simply due to dissimilation between the *k* of **ko* and the initial *k-* of the following pronoun.

5.1.3.2.0. Preverbal (Subject-Marking) Pronouns

Preverbal pronouns appear to be an obligatory constituent of every Fijian sentence, though the third person singular form never surfaces after most conjunctions, and rarely before aspect markers. Formally, they resemble independent pronouns in a recognizable but largely irregular fashion, often giving the impression of being phonologically reduced versions of independent pronouns.

A preverbal pronoun typically occurs at the beginning of the verb phrase, and may be preceded by a conjunction and followed by tense/aspect markers and other preverbal particles with various functions. Some Eastern Fijian languages (e.g., SF, LAU) allow *sā*-aspect and past tense to precede the preverbal pronoun; Nabukelevu requires *ma* (past tense) to precede.

In most Western languages (all in our sample except Batiwai, Tubai, and Nalea) preverbal pronouns show a two-way tense distinction. The present-future set usually ends in *-i*, while the nontime set is formally basic, corresponding to the preverbal pronouns in those Western languages in which no tense distinction is made. The historical development of this tense distinction will be dealt with in the next chapter (section 6.1.2).

5.1.3.2.1. Person-Marked Conjunctions and Aspect-Markers

The conjunction *me* 'that' (irrealis) is unusual in that it incorporates the second person singular preverbal pronoun, yielding the form *mo*, in all the languages under study except LAU and VBL. In Eastern Viti Levu, Western Vanua Levu, and the Natewa peninsula (NWN and NVT(C)), *mo* is also used before

second person nonsingular pronouns. Similar person-marking of other conjunctions does occur sporadically in some places (in the Western Vanua Levu area and parts of Western Viti Levu, *ni* 'that' (realis) and *qa* 'and' become *no* and *qo*, respectively, in the second person), but in inland Eastern Viti Levu, and especially Waidina, a high level of systematicity is reached. For three conjunctions, the vowel is always *o* in the second person, and *u* in the first person exclusive, as shown in Table 20.

Table 20
Waidina Person-Marked Conjunctions

	relative	'if'	'that' (irrealis)
Ix	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>mu</i>
Ii	<i>ka</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>me</i>
II	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>mo</i>
III	<i>ka</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>me</i>

This person-marking in the conjunction may well be the only person-marking in the sentence, because some Waidina preverbal pronouns are ambiguous regarding person--*nu* may be Ixp or IIp, and *to* may be Ii3 or Ix3 (see Table 22).

Waidina is further unusual in that its aspect-markers also carry person-marking; again, the vowel *u* marks first person exclusive, and *o* marks second person, while first inclusive and third person contain a vowel determined by the particular aspect-marker. The three aspect-markers are: *s(a)* perfective, *m(a)* stative, and *qw(ai)* consecutive (the functional labels for *s(a)* and *m(a)* are

are tentative). The person-marked forms are shown in Table 21.

Table 21
Waidina Person-Marked Aspect-Markers

	perfective	stative	consecutive
Ix	<i>su</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>qu</i>
Ii	<i>sa</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>qwai</i>
II	<i>so</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>qo</i>
III	<i>sa</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>qwai</i>

Aspect-markers are immediately followed by the preverbal pronoun proper. As noted, its principal function appears to be number-marking, as person is always marked in a preceding person-marker (*u* Ix, *o* II, *e* Ii, III), conjunction, and/or aspect-marker, and certain of these preverbal pronouns are ambiguous regarding person:

Table 22
Waidina Preverbal Pronouns

	1	2	3	p
Ix	\emptyset	<i>ru</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>nu</i>
Ii	\emptyset	<i>daru</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>ta</i>
II	\emptyset	<i>drau</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>nu</i>
III	\emptyset	<i>rau</i>	<i>rato</i>	<i>ra</i>

In the following examples, note that person is carried not by the preverbal pronoun, but by an inflected conjunction or aspect-marker:

<i>su qu to bau</i>	'then we (Ix3) went'
<i>asp-Ix/asp-Ix/3/go</i>	
<i>sa qwai to bau</i>	'then we (Ii3) went'
<i>asp-IIi/asp-IIi/3/go</i>	
<i>ko so nu kane</i>	'if you (p) had eaten it'
<i>if-II/asp-II/p/eat-tr</i>	
<i>ku su nu kane</i>	'if we (Ix _p) had eaten it'
<i>if-Ix/asp-Ix/p/eat-tr</i>	

In many aspects of preverbal subject-marking, Lau provides a sharp contrast to Waidina. Waidina has extensive and systematic person-marking of conjunctions, while Lau has none. Person-marking of aspect-markers is also absent in Lau, as are the separate person-markers *u*, *o*, and *e*. Lau carries all pronoun information in one form, while Waidina carries number information in one form, but spreads person information liberally over the preverbal string. It is perhaps in response to the need to signal all information in one form that Lau allows the longer independent pronoun forms to be used in preverbal subject-marking position, where they would be quite ungrammatical in Waidina.

Other parts of Fiji range between these two extremes. We have already noted the distribution of the second-person marked conjunction *mo*, and some other conjunctions which are marked for second person in Western Vanua Levu and Western Viti Levu. There is sporadic marking of other conjunctions in Waidina's neighbors, Lutu and Naimasimasi. Lutu also shows some person-marking in aspect-markers,

which in Naimasimasi is found only in the singular, with the aspect-marker *su/so/sa* (I/II/III, Ii). Standard Fijian occupies a midway position, possessing a partial set of person-markers, *e/o/e* (Ii/II/III) which are, however, optional. The historical implications of this intermediate position of Bauan (on which SF is based) are discussed in detail in Geraghty (1977). Closer to the Lauan end of the scale are Western languages, Kadavu, and Central and Eastern Vanua Levu (but excluding the Natewa peninsula and, I suspect, Taveuni).

5.1.3.2.2. Postconjunction Pronouns

Unfortunately, I have data on postconjunction pronouns for only half of the languages surveyed. The behavior of Waidina postconjunction pronouns has been mentioned; they are the same as the sentence-initial set, except that person-marking is fused with certain conjunctions. Western languages uniformly show very few or no distinct postconjunction forms; and the same can be said of Lau, Vanua Balavu, and the Vanua Levu dialects Bua, Nabalebale, Savusavu, and possibly Saqani. The preverbal pronouns of some dialects with important differences between sentence-initial and postconjunction forms are shown below, using the conjunction *me* 'that' (irrealis), which is common throughout Fiji.

Nadrau	Ix2	Ix3	Ixp
sentence-initial	<i>airau</i>	<i>aitou</i>	<i>(ai)mamu</i>
postconjunction	<i>me (qa)irau</i>	<i>me qaitou</i>	<i>me qaimamu</i>
Tavuki	III2	III3	IIIp
sentence-initial	<i>dru</i>	<i>dratou</i>	<i>dra</i>
postconjunction	<i>me ru</i>	<i>me ratu</i>	<i>me ra</i>
Solevu	Ix2	Ix3	Ixp
sentence-initial	<i>koru</i>	<i>koitou</i>	<i>komi</i>
postconjunction	<i>mo iruka</i>	<i>mo itou</i>	<i>mo imami</i>
	II2	II3	IIp
sentence-initial	<i>(ko)dru</i>	<i>(ko)dou</i>	<i>(ko)miau</i>
postconjunction	<i>mo mudruka</i>	<i>mo mudou</i>	<i>mo miau</i>
Dogotuki	Ix2	Ix3	Ixp
sentence-initial	<i>keru, keiruka</i>	<i>keitou</i>	<i>keimami</i>
postconjunction	<i>me ru</i>	<i>me itou</i>	<i>me imami</i>
Navatu (C)	II2	II3	IIp
sentence-initial	<i>mudrau</i>	<i>mudou</i>	<i>muni</i>
postconjunction	<i>mo drau</i>	<i>mo dou</i>	<i>mo ni</i>
Naweni	Ix2	Ix3	Ixp
sentence-initial	<i>keirau</i>	<i>keitou</i>	<i>keimami</i>
postconjunction	<i>me rau</i>	<i>me tou</i>	<i>me mami</i>

The differences observed in the Dogotuki and Naweni first exclusive forms have prompted me to suggest elsewhere (Geraghty 1977) that the historical first person exclusive preverbal pronouns have been retained in postconjunction position, while being replaced by independent pronoun forms in sentence-initial position.

5.1.3.3. Postverbal (Object-Marking) Pronouns

This is another type of pronoun I discovered at a relatively late stage in my fieldwork, therefore, only a partial picture can be established. The main reason for my neglect of postverbal pronouns was the

observation that in SF they are formally identical to independent pronouns, and their presence in object position immediately following the verb and its transitive suffix is the result of a general rule requiring all proper noun objects, including personal and place names, to be incorporated into the verb phrase in that position. This obligatory incorporation of independent pronouns as object pronouns may be said to apply in at least Lau (LAU, VBL), Kadavu (ONO, TVK), and inland Viti Levu (WDN, LUT).

Elsewhere, however, the situation is not so simple. For example, incorporation of pronoun objects is not required in Tubai. Like other proper objects, it remains marked by a preceding *o* outside the verb phrase.

qu raiia o kokō 'I see you'
pnI/see-tr/art/PnII
e lewaia o matou 'he rules us'
pnIII/rule-tr/art/PnIx3

In Batiwai, incorporation is not required with first and second person nonsingular pronouns. In the remaining languages, in which incorporation is required, the forms used as object pronouns are not always the same as those used as independent pronouns. Most Western and Ra languages have a set of monosyllabic forms which are suffixed² to the verb as object pronouns, for at least first and second person singular and third person singular and plural:

TBW *qu danira* 'I saw them'
pnI/see-IIIp

TKM *au wadraviko* 'I saw you'
pnI/see-II

In many languages, a particle is prefixed to an independent pronoun when it is incorporated to mark an object. In Batiwai, Tubai, and Magodro, which incorporate independent forms for the first and second person nonsingular, the particle is *ko-*.

BTW *qu vō tolavi komuru devu*
pnI/asp/see-tr/ko-PnII2/already
'I have already seen you two'
aru toci komaudou
pnIIIP.follow-tr/ko-PnIxp
'they followed us'

This *ko-* also shows up marking the first person singular pronoun object in Bāravi (N) and Tubaniwai. A similar function is served by *ke-* in some Vanua Levu languages--at least Navatu (B), Sōlevu, Bua, Gone Dau, and Seaqāqā--usually with the proviso that *ke-k* is not an acceptable sequence. Thus the object form of GOD *daruka* Pn Ii2 is *kedaruka*, but the object form of *kodatou* PnIi3 is *kedatou*.

No small amount of confusion is contributed by Navatu (C), where the initial *ke-* of all first inclusive, second, and third person independent pronouns is *deleted* when they are incorporated as objects, with the sole exception of *keda* Iip.

It is clear that *ke* and *ko* figure prominently as the first element in both independent and object pronouns, throughout Fiji. What the significance of this observation is, and how these forms might be related to the widespread independent pronoun marker *ko*, are questions which must await better data.

5.1.3.4.1. Possessive Pronouns

There are certain nouns, often called "inalienable," in which the possessor is marked by one of a set of affixed pronouns. This set we shall call "direct possessive" pronouns. In Eastern Fijian, these pronouns are suffixed to the head noun, while in Western Fijian they are suffixed only to kin terms, prefixed to other types of inalienable nouns. All "alienable" nouns (those which are not "inalienable") show possession by suffixing pronouns, not directly to the noun, but indirectly, to a possessive marker, the form of which defines the relationship between the noun and its possessor. These types of possession will be dealt with in more detail in section 5.2.3. Here, it is sufficient to note the two major subdivisions of possessive pronoun--"direct," which is affixed to the head noun, and "indirect," which is suffixed to a possessive marker--and to add that the form of an indirect possessive pronoun may also be determined by whether or not it is immediately followed by the head noun.

Once again, my data are not as complete as they should be, and for a familiar reason: Standard Fijian makes no distinction at all between indirect possessive pronouns which are immediately followed by the head noun and those which are not, and distinguishes between direct and indirect possessive pronouns only in the nonsingular first person exclusive. I have suggested elsewhere (Geraghty 1977) that Standard Fijian first exclusive direct possessive pronouns derive historically from independent pronoun forms, probably by analogy with the replacement of original preverbal first exclusive pronouns by their independent counterparts. Similar replacement by independent pronoun forms is

found in many Eastern Fijian dialects, affecting primarily sentence-initial preverbal pronouns, and also postconjunction preverbals, and direct possessives.

Some of the dialects under study (at least Waidina, Lutu, Nadrau, and Namena--all in Eastern Viti Levu) show no variation at all in possessive pronoun form. Of the variations that are found in other dialects, some appear to be totally idiosyncratic, some are related to the innovation mentioned earlier (independent forms coming to function as possessives), and others appear to be phonologically motivated.

Table 23 illustrates the variations in possessive pronoun form found in some of the better documented dialects--Nakoroboya, Tubaniwai, Tubai, Tavuki, Lau, Navatu (B), Sōlevu, Bua, Navakasiga, Gone Dau, Seaqāqā, Labasa, Saqani, and Navatu (C).

Some irregularities are difficult to explain at present: for example, the Ii2 N-daru in Tubaniwai, where -taru would seem more likely; or *qou* for expected **oqu*, as the realization of neutral possessive marker *o-* and I pm-*qu* in Lau (and Vanua Balavu and Tunuloa). The form *qau* frequently found in Eastern Fiji rather than *kequ*, first singular eat possessive, may be preferred because of the sequence of two velar stops, *k* and *q*, which violates phonotactic rules. It is also possible that vowel assimilation could account for the aberrant forms N-dotou Ii3 and N-drotou III3 in NVT(B) and SLV, and N-modou II3 in Gone Dau.

Other kinds of variation fall under two broad headings--*replacement* (usually the replacement of a direct possessive by an independent pronoun) and

Table 23
Variation in Possessive Pronoun Form

	Nakoroboya		Tubaniwai		Tubai		
	N-	Pm-	N-	Pm-	N-	Pm-	N-
I	yau	qiau	qu	qu	qu	qu	qu
II	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu
III	ya	a	ya	a	a ²	-	a ²
III1	daru	daru	daru	daru	daru	daru	daru
III2	daru	daru	daru	daru	daru	daru	daru
III3	datou	datou	du	datou	datou	datou	dato
IIp	dā	da	da	da	-	da	da
Ix2	maru	maru	maru	maru	maru	maru	maru
Ix3	mamudou	mamudou	madu	matou	matou	matou	matou
Ixp	manu	manu	manu	(as paucal)	(as paucal)	manu	manu
II12	muru	muru	muru	muru	muru	muru	muru
II13	mutou	mutou	mutu	mutou	mutu	mutou	muto
II1p	mū	dru	dru	dru	dru	dru	mū
II112	dru	(as dual)	dru	dru	dru	dru	dru
II113	dra	dra	dra	dra	(as dual)	dra	dra
II11p	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra

Table 23. (Continued) Variation in Possessive Pronoun Form

Tavuki				Lau				Navatu(B)			
N-	pm-	N-	pm-	N-	pm-	N-	pm-	N-	pm-	N-	pm-
I	qu	qu	qu	qu	qu ³	qu ³	qu ³	qu	qu	qu	qu
II	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu
III	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
II12	daru	daru	daru	iketaru	taru	taru	taru	daru	daru	daru	daru
II13	datou	datou	datou	iketatou	tatou	tatou	tatou	datou	datou	datou	datou
IIip	da	da	da	iketa	ta	ta	ta	da	da	da	da
Ix2	ikeruka	ruka	ru	ikeirau	irau	irau	irau	ikeirau	irau	irau	irau
Ix3	ikeitou	tou	tu	ikeitou	itou	itou	itou	ikeitou	itou	itou	itou
Ixp	ikēmī	mi	mi	ikeimami	imami	imami	imami	ikeimami	imami	imami	imami
II12	muruka	muru	muru	mudrau	mudrau	mudrau	mudrau	mudrau	mudrau	mudrau	mudrau
II13	mutou	mutu	mutu	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou
IIip	ma	druka	dru	mund	mund	mund	mund	mund	mund	mund	mund
II112	druka	drotou	drotu	drau	drau	drau	drau	idrau	idrau	idrau	idrau
II113	drotou	drutu	drutu	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou
IIIP	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra

	Gone	Dau	Sōlevu	Bua	
N-	pm-	pm- N	N-	pm- N	N-
I	qiau	qu	qiau, qu	qu	qiau
II	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu
III	na	na	na	na	na
i12	daruka	daru	daruka	daruka	daruka
i13	datou	datou	dotou	datou	datou
I1P	da	da	da	da	da
Ix2	iruka	ru	iruka	iruka	iruka
Ix3	itou	itou	itou	itou	itou
Ixp	imani	imani	imami	imami	imami
II2	mudruka	mudruka	mudruka	mudruka	mudruka
II3	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou
IIP	miau	miau	miau	miau	miau
III2	dru	dru	idruka	idruka	idruka
III3	(as dual)	dra	drotou	dratou	dratou
IIIP	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra

Table 23. (Continued) Variation in Possessive Pronoun Form

	Navakasiga				Seaqaqa				Labasa			
	N-	Pm-	Pm-N	N-	N-	Pm-	Pm-N	N-	N-	Pm-	Pm-N	
I	qiau	qiau	qu	qiau, qu	qiau, qu	qu	qu	qu	qu	qu	qu	
II	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	
III	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	
II12	daruka	daruka	daru	daruka	daru	daru	daru	daru	daru	daru	daru	
II13	datou	datou	datou	dotou	dotou	dotou	dotou	dotou	dotou	dotou	dotou	
IIIP	da	da	da	da	da	da	da	da	da	da	da	
Ix2	iruka	iruka	ru	iruka	iruka	ru	ru	iruka	iruka	ru	ru	
Ix3	itou	itou	itou	itou	itou	(i)to	(i)to	itou	itou	itou	itou	
Ixp	imami	imami	imami	imami	imami	imami	imami	imami	imami	imami	imami	
II12	mudruka	mudruka	mudru	mudruka	mudruka	mudru	mudru	muruka	muruka	muru	muru	
II13	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou	moto	moto	moto	moto	
IIIP	miau	miau	miau	miau	miau	miau	miau	miau	miau	miau	miau	
III12	idruka	idruka	dru	idruka	(i)druka	dru	dru	draruka	draruka	drau	drau	
III13	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou	drotou	drotou	drotou	drotou	
IIIP	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	

Saqani

	N-	pm-	pm- N	N-	pm-	N-
I	qu	qu	qu	qu	qu	qu
II	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu
III	na	na	na	na	na	na
Ii2	daruka	daruka	daru	daru	daru	daru
Ii3	datou	datou	datou	datou	datou	datou
IIp	da	da	da	da	da	da
Ix2	iruka	iruka	ru	irau	irau	irau
Ix3	itou	itou	itou	itou	itou	itou
Ixp	imami	imami	imami	imami	imami	imami
II2	muruка	muruка	muru	mudraу	mudraу	mudraу
II3	mutou	mutou	mutou	mudou	mudou	mudou
IIp	miau	miau	miau	mun†	mun†	mun†
III2	draruka	draruka	dru	drau	drau	drau
III3	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou
IIIp	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra

Navatu(C)⁴

	N-	pm-	N-	N-	pm-	N-
I	qu	qu	qu	qu	qu	qu
II	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu
III	na	na	na	na	na	na
Ii2	daru	daru	daru	daru	daru	daru
Ii3	datou	datou	datou	datou	datou	datou
IIp	da	da	da	da	da	da
Ix2	ikeirau	ikeirau	ikeirau	ikeirau	ikeirau	ikeirau
Ix3	ikeitou	ikeitou	ikeitou	ikeitou	ikeitou	ikeitou
Ixp	ikeimami	ikeimami	ikeimami	ikeimami	ikeimami	ikeimami
II2	mudraу	mudraу	mudraу	mudraу	mudraу	mudraу
II3	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou	mudou
IIp	mun†	mun†	mun†	mun†	mun†	mun†
III2	drau	drau	drau	drau	drau	drau
III3	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou	dratou
IIIp	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra	dra

¹Tubai has no suffix-possessed nouns.²*ke-a* may be shortened to *ka* in this position.³*o-qu* is realized as *qou*, *ke-qu* as *qau*.⁴This system is the same as that of SF.

shortening (the shortening of an indirect possessive pronoun, usually when it occurs before its head nominal).

I speculated in my 1977 paper that replacement of preverbal pronouns (by independent pronoun forms) may have begun as an attempt to minimize the misunderstandings which could have arisen with the use of the original preverbal pronouns which were monosyllabic and in some cases ambiguous. Replacement of direct possessive pronouns may well have been a subsequent analogical development, particularly as it occurs within the area in which replacement of preverbal pronouns has taken place. Replacement of direct possessive pronouns has been carried furthest in Lau, where all first person pronouns, inclusive and exclusive have been affected. In Tavuki, Navatu (B), and Navatu (C), replacement is confined to non-singular first person exclusive pronouns, except for the extraordinary case of the Navatu (B) third person dual (see Table 20). The *-yau* first person singular suffix of Nakoroboya appears to be another example of replacement; and the *-qiau* of Nakoroboya, Gone Dau, Sōlevu, Bua, Navakasiga, and Seaqāqā may involve the addition of an independent form, rather than replacement by it, since a change from **qu-yau* to *qiau* is paralleled in the widespread change of verb-final *u* to *i* when followed by the transitive suffix *-i* (e.g., NVS *dōniau* 'opposite me' from *dōnu-φ* 'opposite'; see 5.3.1).

Shortening occurs most notably in dual forms, *-(d)ruka* being shortened to *-(d)ru* (Tavuki, Gone Dau, Navakasiga, Seaqāqā, Labasa, Saqani), and in paucal forms, *-tou* being shortened to *-tu*, *-du*, or *-to* (Nakoroboya, Tubaniwai, Tubai, Tavuki, Seaqāqā). First inclusive plural is shortened in Nakoroboya

(*dā* to *da*), and first exclusive plural in Tavuki (*mī* to *mi*) and Seaqāqā (*imami* to *mi*).

Shortening is usually found only before the head noun. The only exception is Labasa, where all indirect possessives are shortened where possible. The fact that shortening does not usually take place in utterance-final position suggests that it may be related to a suprasegmental phenomenon: it is conceivable that the stress associated with the penultimate syllable precludes shortening, while the same stress on the head noun permits shortening by leaving the number marker of the preceding possessive pronoun unstressed.

5.1.3.4.2. Western Fijian Prefixed Possessives

The prefixing of possessive pronouns to nonkin inalienable nouns in Western Fijian is virtually without parallel in Oceanic languages. The forms used in Nakoroboya, Magodro, Tubaniwai, and Tubai are presented in Table 24.

These pronouns strongly resemble the indirect (possessive-marker-suffixed) possessive pronouns, differing only in most of the third person forms. They are prefixed to words denoting integral parts of things, places, and bodies. In contrast, the set of nouns that is suffix-possessed in most of Eastern Fiji includes kin terms, and excludes some part terms that are prefix possessed in the West. Compare, for instance, the following: KBY *qu-drā* 'my blood', *e-bō* 'his boil', *dra-mavoa* 'their wounds'; SF *noqu drā*, *nona bō*, *nodra mavoa*. Notice that the common article, *na*, which usually precedes possessive NPs in Western Fijian languages, cannot co-occur with prefix possession.

Table 24
Western Fijian Prefixed Possessive Pronouns

	KBY	MGD	TBW	TBI
I	qu	qu	qu	qu
II	mu	mu	mu	mu
III	e	e	e	e
Ii2	daru	daru	taru	daru
Ii3	du	du	tu	dato
Iip	da	du	tu	da
Ix2	maru	maru	maru	maru
Ix3	madu	madu	matu	mato
Ixp	mamu	madu	matu	mamu
II2	muru	muru	muru	muru
II3	mutu	mutu	mutu	muto
IIp	mū	mutu	mutu	mū
III2	dru	eru	eru	dru
III3	dru	eru	eru	drato
IIIp	dra	eru	era	dra

Because of the uniqueness of these prefixed possessive pronouns, we can be quite confident that they are an innovation of Western Fijian. How they developed from the earlier system, witnessed by most Eastern Fijian and many other (non-Polynesian) Eastern Oceanic languages (see Pawley 1973:154), is a difficult question. I believe that the first step was a change from direct possession to neutral indirect possession for all nonkin inalienables.³ Exactly this change has taken place in Kadavu and Gone Dau, two widely separated Eastern Fijian communalects. If Western Fijian did not take part in this change, then Kadavu and Gone Dau must each

have innovated independently. If, on the other hand, we consider Western Fijian to have participated, then only one innovation is required. Moreover, as we shall see in the next chapter, there are other reasons to believe that Kadavu and Gone Dau, although now classed as Eastern Fijian languages, had an especially close relationship with Western Fijian.

The next steps require rather more credulity: we must explain the loss of the common article *na*, the loss of the neutral possessive marker, and the change of some of the pronoun forms, for inalienable nouns only (not for the alienable nouns that were also neutral possessed). We must first accept that the concept of "inalienability" remained, even though it now lacked distinct marking.⁴ If we had omitted the first stage, and claimed simply that Western Fijian prefixed possession was the result of morphological metathesis, we would still need to explain why many nouns which are not suffix-possessed in Eastern Fijian are prefix-possessed in Western Fijian. A solution to the discrepancy lies in the (admittedly undefined) notion of "inalienability," which we presume to be the criterion by which neutral-possessed nouns were selected to become prefix-possessed.

The final stages in the development of Western Fijian prefixed possessives are the result of a tendency to mark inalienable nouns verbally. Why inalienable nouns should become marked like verbs is far from clear, but the formal similarities are striking. Perhaps the catalyst was a phonological change: when *ñ changed to *y/ø* in Western Fijian, the third person singular possessive suffix became -(*y*)*a*, homophonous with the third person singular object suffix. It may be that this change provided

the model for another uniquely Western Fijian development--the replacement of *-qu* by *-yau*, the first person singular object pronoun, as the first person singular possessive suffix (suffixed to kin terms) in at least Waya and Nakoroboya. And in at least one Western Fijian communalect, Magodro, first and second person nonsingular suffixed possessive pronouns are formally identical to their verb-suffixed object pronoun counterparts, even to the apparently innovative intervening particle *-ko-*:

MGD	<i>tama-ko-matou</i>	<i>tola-vi ko-matou</i>
	<i>father-ko-Ixp</i>	<i>look at-tr/ko-Ixp</i>
	'our father'	'look at us'

Such a tendency to use verbal marking with inalienable nouns, when applied to neutral possessed inalienables, could help explain not only the loss of both the article and the possessive marker, but also certain changes in pronoun form (see Table 21). When we compare these prefixed possessive pronouns to the indirect possessive pronouns from which I suggest they were derived, the formal changes which must have taken place (all in the third person) involve replacement by a preverbal pronoun. Thus in the third person singular

na pm-yā N

has become

e-N

throughout the West; while in the third person dual

na pm-dru N

has become

dru-N

in Nakoroboya and Tubai, but

eru-N

in Magodro and Tubaniwai, and the plural *dra-N* has likewise become *era-N* in those two communalects.

To summarize, I propose two main stages in the development of the Western Fijian prefixed possessives:

(1) In common with Gone Dau and Kadavu, Western Fijian switched nonkin inalienables from direct (suffixed) to indirect (neutral) possession. Gone Dau and Kadavu have remained unchanged.

(2) In Western Fijian, the change of **ñ* to *y/∅* caused the distinction between noun-suffixed (that is, kin term suffixed) and verb-suffixed pronouns to be lost in the third person singular. Some Western Fijian languages have pursued the analogy, eliminating the distinction in other persons and numbers by replacing noun-suffixed with verb-suffixed pronoun forms. In all Western Fijian languages, nonkin inalienables, following the pattern set by kin inalienables, also came to be marked more like verbs, so that both the article *na* and the neutral possessive marker were deleted, and the remaining indirect possessive suffix now reanalyzed as a direct prefix to the following noun. Throughout Western Fiji, the third person singular possessive pronoun *-ya* was replaced by its preverbal counterpart *e*,

and the same type of replacement affected the third person nonsingular in some areas.

5.1.4. Inherent Instability of Eastern Oceanic Pronouns

The diversity of the Fijian pronoun systems is astonishing. They seem to have been highly vulnerable to analogical changes in many directions, and to irregular sound changes.

Analogical change has particularly affected pronouns because they possess inherent features of number, person, and grammatical use, each of which is liable to demand a consistent formalization. Although it appears that these pragmatic and grammatical features had no discrete formal realization in the sets of pronouns inherited by Proto Oceanic, the subsequent development of dual and paucal number marking has created a multidimensional space within which forms continually realign themselves. Even within Fijian, there are examples of all kinds of analogical patterning. By number analogy, Nabukelevu has come to show *ke-* as the prefix to all nonsingular focal pronouns. By person analogy, Waidina has characteristic vowels marking person in preverbal pronouns, and a large area of Eastern Viti Levu shows *iko-* in all second person focal pronouns. By person and number analogy, the Bua first person singular possessive pronoun has changed from *-qu* to *-qiau* (*au* being the first person singular independent pronoun), and independent pronouns have partly replaced preverbal pronouns in some Eastern dialects (LAU, VBL).⁵

Pronouns also appear to be particularly susceptible to irregular sound change, which may or may not be attributable to analogy. The generally

accepted history of the Polynesian pronouns involves such oddities as *u* being epenthesized in Tongic plurals, **r* being lost in Nuclear Polynesian duals, prothesis of *n* to first person singular in some outliers, Samoan epenthesis of glottal stop in first person singular and first and third person dual, Easter epenthesis of glottal stop in third person dual, **l* becoming *n* in the Tongan and Kapingamarangi third person forms, second person marking changing from **kimo* to **kou* to *koo*, and plural marker from **tou* to *teu* in the Nukuoro first and third person; none of these is a regular sound change.

The knowledge of this peculiar behavior of pronouns should serve to alert us to the possibility of highly idiosyncratic changes taking place independently in Eastern Oceanic languages. A number of innovations of areas within Fiji have parallels in odd corners of Eastern Oceania. Waidina's person-marking vowels (*u* I, *o* II, *e* III) are also found in Nggela and related languages of the Southeast Solomons. In approximately the same area of the Solomons, number-markers are prefixed to the pronoun, a situation which is duplicated in Waya, and probably nowhere else in the Eastern Oceanic language area. The use of a second person singular pronoun *iko-* as the base for the nonsingular second person pronouns, restricted in Fiji to part of Northeast Viti Levu, turns up in two languages of Santo, New Hebrides:

	II	II2	IIp
Penantsiro	<i>iniko</i>	<i>ikomiurua</i>	<i>ikomiu</i>
Tambotalo	<i>iko</i>	<i>ikoniru</i>	<i>ikoni</i>

(Tryon 1976)

And, while the loss of plural pronouns in favor of paucal forms is shared by Western Fijian and (at least) Nuclear Polynesian, Lau shares with Niue and Eastern Polynesian the replacement of preverbal by independent pronouns.

All of these are innovations to which the unwary linguist might be tempted to attach undue importance. Indeed, one or two of them may, in fact, represent shared innovations, and so constitute subgrouping evidence; but they cannot all be admitted as evidence, because each implies a different subgrouping. Clearly, the language historian in Eastern Oceania must now set about determining what kinds of change in pronoun systems are unnatural enough to constitute sound subgrouping evidence.

5.2.0. Possession

In this section, I shall define two areas of Fiji, East and West, which differ radically in the syntax of possession, and suggest some historical reasons for the differences. I shall also discuss the different types of possessive relationship marked in Fiji.

5.2.1. Western Possession

We begin our exploration of Fijian possession in the West, where the least complex systems are found. The same basic system exists in Nalea, Tubai, Batiwai, Bāravi, Tubaniwai, Magodro, and Noikoro, that is, all Western dialects except Waya and Nakoroboya; in all of mainland Kadavu (Nabukelevu and Tavuki, optionally in Ono); and in Nadrau, an Eastern language with some strong Western affinities.

The defining feature of the possessive systems in these areas is that all possession is overtly

pronominal. A common or proper noun phrase can only be a possessor by standing as an independent NP external to the possessive phrase, and in apposition to an appropriate pronominal possessor. For example, 'John's taro (he eats it)' is constructed thus in the Western⁶ area:

TVK	<i>ke-na suli ko Jone</i>
	eat pm-III/taro/art/J
NBL	<i>nana suli ko Jone</i>
TBI	<i>nā boka o Jone</i>
BTW, BRV, TBW, NKR, MGD	<i>kea doko o Jone</i>
NDR	<i>kena qau o Jone</i>

5.2.2.1. Eastern Possession

Eastern Fijian languages, other than those of Kadavu and Nadrau, do not allow the Western possessive construction just illustrated, but require that a proper noun possessor immediately follow the possessive marker and a suffixed particle *-i*:

SF	<i>na dalo kei Jone</i>
	art/taro/eat pm-i/J

Common noun possessors are not, however, subject to this requirement, and generally follow the Western pattern:

SF	<i>na kena dalo na gone</i>
	art/eat pm-III/taro/art/child
	'the child's taro (he eats it)'

5.2.2.2. Proper Noun Incorporation

Note now that a similar requirement is made of noun phrase objects in most Eastern languages:

proper noun objects following the verb phrase must be incorporated into the verb phrase, immediately following the verb and its transitive suffix *-i*:

SF *au sā rai-ci Jone oti*
pnI/asp/see-tr/J/already
'I've already seen John'

On the other hand, common noun objects (when not generic) must remain outside the verb phrase, in apposition to a suffixed object pronoun:

SF *au sā raici ira oti na gone*
pnI/asp/see-tr/IIIp/already/art/child
'I've already seen the children'

This incorporation of proper noun objects into the verb phrase is not found in any of the Western Fijian dialects except Nakoroboya and Waya, nor in one Eastern dialect, namely, Nadrau. Historically, it appears to be an innovation, since it is not found in related languages outside Fiji (Clark 1973:563, 567). The form of the possessive marker suffix and transitive suffix, *-i*, the obligatory movement, and the geographical extent of the two rules suggest strongly that proper noun object incorporation and proper noun possessor movement are manifestations of a single phenomenon, which we might call "proper noun incorporation."

What could have been the reasons for such an innovation? Each of the manifestations we have discussed suggests a different possibility, and either one may be entirely or partly the result of analogy with the other. We shall discuss first the case of proper noun object incorporation.

It was noted in the previous section that the inherited partial set of short postverbal object-marking pronouns has been maintained intact only in the West and in Ra (TKM). In most of the East, the set has been lost, and the independent pronoun forms have been pressed into service as postverbal object markers, occupying the vacant postverbal object-marking slot, but preserving their form as independent pronouns. It is easy to envisage a rule which incorporated independent pronoun objects into postverbal position being applied also to proper nouns; indeed, it is difficult to imagine how such a rule might exclude proper nouns, since in most respects independent pronouns and proper nouns function identically. So it is possible that the loss of the short postverbal object-marking pronouns gave rise to obligatory proper noun object incorporation. A more remote analogy may have been the obligatory incorporation of generic (common) noun objects, which is a widespread Oceanic phenomenon.

The reason for proper noun possessor movement might have been simply analogy to proper noun object incorporation, but another explanation suggests itself. It has to do with a word which could be reconstructed as **tia*, and which has such reflexes as TVK *te*, NBL *tia*, *te*, YML, TBI, BTW, NKR *tia*, BRV, TBW '*sā*', and MGD, KBY *te* (like many hard-working words, it has been the victim of some phonological defacement). It is that rarity among Oceanic languages, a word for 'to be'--at least in its "equational" sense. The following sentences illustrate its use:

ONO	<i>au na je qasenivuli</i>
	pnI/fut/be/teacher
	'I shall be a teacher'
TVK	<i>au kilā ni te cakacaka levu</i>
	pnI/know/comp/be/job/big
	'I know that it's a big job'
TBI	<i>tari jia vēkai kō</i>
	not/be/bush/this
	'this isn't bush'
TBW	<i>'e tamu sā seigwane'</i>
	pnIII/not/be/male
	'it's not a male'
KBY	<i>ei tamu te tūqwaqwa</i>
	pnIII/not/be/old man
	'he isn't an old man'
	<i>te vakaraubalavu nikua, se?</i>
	be/Friday/today/or
	'It's Friday today, isn't it?'

The reflexes of **tia*, then, mark the comment (as opposed to the topic) of a nominal ("equational") sentence. When the comment is a pronoun or proper noun, '*je*' is still used in Kadavu, but Western languages proper (with the possible exception of Noikoro) use what is perhaps best described as an "equational verb," *ni-*:

TVK	<i>sā te ko iko</i>	'it's you'
	asp/be/art/PnII	
KBY	<i>sā ni-ko</i>	'it's you'
	asp/be-II	
TBI	<i>vō ni koikō</i>	'it's you'
	asp/be/PnII	

What **tia* and *ni-* do is to mark uniquely comments of nominal sentences. In Eastern languages, however, there is no special marking for comments of nominal sentences.⁷ The commonest way that Eastern languages form nominal sentences is by juxtaposing two noun phrases:

SF	<i>o koya na qasenivuli</i>	'he's a teacher'
	art/PnIII/art/teacher	
	<i>o yau o Jone</i>	'I am Jone'
	art/PnI/art/J	

If there were no proper noun possessor movement in Eastern Fijian languages, there would be two possible readings of a possessed common NP followed by a proper NP, since there is no way of distinguishing whether the proper NP is the comment of the possessed NP in a nominal sentence, or standing in apposition to the pronominal possessor in a possessive phrase. In many cases, of course, only one reading would be possible. In this sentence:

*SF	<i>na kena kākana o Jone</i>
	art/eat pm-III/food/art/J
	'John's food (he eats it)'

the coming of Christianity has made the possible nominal sentence reading rather less likely.

However, the real confusion arises with kinship terms. In answer to the question "who's that?" a speaker of the hypothetical SF (without proper noun possessor movement) might reply:

*SF	<i>na tamana o Seci</i>
	art/father-III/art/S

for which two readings would be possible--'his father is Seci' (that is, he is Seci's son), or simply 'Seci's father'. In Western languages, the two readings are quite distinct:

KBY *te tamaya o Seci*
be/father-III/art/S
'Seci is his father',
'he is Seci's son'
ko tamaya ko Seci
art/father-III/art/S
'Seci's father'

In Eastern languages, then, proper noun possessor movement, which removes the ambiguities discussed earlier, is the functional equivalent of the Western equational forms **tia* and *ni-*. After its application, the two readings assigned to the preceding hypothetical SF sentence are distinctly represented:

SF *na tamana o Seci*
art/father/III/art/S
'Seci is his father',
'he is Seci's son'
o tama i Seci
art/father/i/S
'Seci's father'

Note, incidentally, that *na tamana ko Jone* means one thing to a Kadavu speaker, and quite the opposite to a speaker of SF.

So we have an explanation for proper noun possessor movement. Why it took the form it did is not clear. We hinted at the possibility of the structure being based on proper noun object

incorporation, using the *-i* transitive suffix. Another possibility which should be mentioned is that the equational verbs of the West are innovations (I know of no external cognates), allowing the simplification of an earlier, more Eastern, system in which *i*, the inherited proper noun marker (see section 5.1.3.1) was preserved as a marker of proper noun possessors, as it has been preserved in LAU and VBL as a marker of proper noun objects.

Having suggested a historical explanation for proper noun possessor movement, let us now examine its realizations and elaborations in those languages in which it is found.

5.2.2.3. Eastern Possessive Morphology

We may define "Eastern" possession as a system of indirect possession in which a proper noun possessor occurs after the possessive marker, which is *i*-suffixed. This system is found in all languages of Vanua Levu, Lau, and Eastern Viti Levu, except Nadrau.⁸

That the marker is *i*-suffixed there appears to be little doubt. The form is most clearly seen with directly possessed head-nouns, where the possessive marker is zero. The phrase

<i>tama i Jone</i>	'John's father'
father/pm- <i>i/J</i>	

is found throughout the Eastern possessive area, and appears to have spread into (or been retained in?) parts of mainland Kadavu.

When a (nonzero) possessive marker is used, certain phonological changes take place in some areas, some of which are regular, others irregular

but not unexpected. With the widespread *ke-* 'eat' and *me-* 'drink' possessive markers, the proper noun possessor form is the expected *kei*, *mei* in Tokaimalo, Namena, Lovoni, Ono, Lau, Vanua Balavu, and most of Vanua Levu. In Southeast Viti Levu--Namosi, Waidina, Lutu, Naimasimasi--the forms are *kī* and *mī*, both of which represent a regular sound change (see section 4.5.4). Labasa is problematic: *mei* appears, but not *kei*, which is replaced by *nei*. The reason for this rather bizarre replacement is to be found in the loss of *k*, a sound change which has created some confusion in Labasa possessive morphology (see section 5.2.5).

The equivalents of SF *nei*, the *i*-suffixed "neutral" and "active" possessive marker, are interesting in two respects: they are replaced by *i* in some places, and are phonologically irregular in others (as indeed in SF, where the possessive marker is *no-*, but the expected **noi* is realized as *nei*). Dealing first with the phonological problems, we suggest that SF *nei* (also found in TKM, NMN, LVN, NVT(B), DGT, SQN, and NVT(C)) might have come about by analogy with *kei* or *mei*, or with the first person exclusive neutral/active forms *neirau*, *neitou*, and *neimami*; and we refer back also to the suggestion that the SF (and other) exclusive pronouns *keirau* Ix2, and so on, are derived from a fossilized article *ko* prefixed to forms such as *irau* (section 5.1.3.1).⁹ Southeast Viti Levu *nī* and Koroalau *nē* are both expected reflexes of **nei* (see section 4.5.4). Labasa *noi* is apparently a regular form. In most of the rest of Eastern Fiji --Lau and Western and Central Vanua Levu--the neutral/active possessive marker is not *no-* but *o-*. The expected proper noun possessor form *oi* is found

in Gone Dau, Sōlevu, Bua, Navakasiga, Bāravi, and Seaqāqā. A form *wei*, which may parallel *nei* in its development, is used in Lau, Vanua Balavu, Naweni, Savusavu, Nabalebale, and Seaqāqā.

The second problem with *nei* and its equivalents may be stated as follows: in all of Eastern Fiji, except Tokaimalo and Western Vanua Levu (SLV, BUA, NVS), the above forms--*nei*, *noi*, *nī*, *nē*, *oi*, *wei*--are replaced by *i* when following the head noun, e.g.:

LAU	<i>a wei Lebaiei</i> art/n-a pm-i/L/this 'this is Leba's' <i>e na wei Pu</i> III/tense/n-a pm-i/P 'it will be Pu's', 'Pu will have it'
but	<i>a i-kovu i Lebaiei</i> art/dress/i/L/this 'this is Leba's dress'

This replacement is not the result of any sound change; rather, it seems to be a case of neutralization of possession type marking, neutral-active indirect being marked here in the same way as direct possession. Moreover, what data I have suggest that with passive possession (pm *ke-*), but not eat possession (pm *ke-*), the proper noun possessor may be marked by *i* in some dialects. For Lau and Vanua Balavu, which make no distinction between neutral-active and passive possession, this is certainly true; and it is the current usage in Colloquial Fijian.

The reason for the apparent collapsing of expected *kei*, *nei*, and *i* as *i* after the head noun and before a proper noun possessor may be related to facts concerning the pan-Fijian *ni*, which is inherited from Proto Austronesian. We shall pause for a while to discuss *ni*, and then return to the problem at hand.

5.2.2.4. Common Noun Movement

It was claimed earlier that Eastern possession is characterized by the movement of proper noun possessors to a position immediately following the possessive marker and a suffixed *-i*, but that Western possession, which is exclusively and overtly pronominal, does not permit such movement. It was also noted that common nouns are not subject to movement. A partial exception must, however, be made when the possessor is a generic common noun. In all Fijian languages, a generic common noun possessor follows the head and marker *ni* in all possession types, e.g.:

TBW	<i>rau ni kai</i> leaf/ <i>ni</i> /tree
LAU	<i>dra-ni kacu</i> leaf- <i>ni</i> /tree '(tree) leaves'
TBW	<i>tama ni me</i> father/ <i>ni</i> /goat 'billy goat'
TBW	<i>were ni kwai Valagi</i> house/ <i>ni</i> /native-of/overseas 'European-style house'

- LAU *wai ni gone*
 water/*ni*/child
 'children's water' (e.g., for children
 to drink, to be applied to children,
 to help produce children, etc.)
- LAU, SF, TVK *i-taba ni tūrāga*
 photograph/*ni*/chief
 'photographs of chiefs' (which they
 own, or in which they are depicted)

This structure, and the particle *ni*, appear to be attributable to PEO, probably even to PAN (Blust 1974).

In the Eastern possession area, this same movement applies (obligatorily for some speakers, optionally for others) also to singular *specific* (i.e., nongeneric) common noun possessors:

- LAU (*)*a drau-na a kacu* (direct possession)
 art/leaf-III/art/tree
 a dra-ni kacu
 art/leaf-*ni*/tree
 'the leaves of the tree'
- SF (*)*na nona vuli na gone* (indirect possession)
 art/n-a pm-III/learn/art/child
 'the child's education'
 na vuli ni gone
 art/learn/*ni*/child
 'the child's education'
 (*)*na nona i-taba na tūrāga*
 art/n-a pm-III/photo/art/chief
 'the chief's photograph' (he owns it)

SF (*)*na kena i-taba na tūraga*
 art/pass pm-III/photo/art/chief
 'the chief's photograph' (he is
 depicted)
na i-taba ni tūraga
 art/photo/ni/chief
 'the chief's photograph' (he owns
 it, or is depicted in it)
na kedra i-taba na tūraga
 art/pass pm-III^p/photo/art/chief
 'the chiefs' photograph' (they are
 depicted)

Note that common noun movement using *ni* applies only to neutral-active and passive types of possession, not to eat or drink possession. This obligatory movement of certain specific common noun objects may serve the same function as that of proper noun possessors, removing possible ambiguity between equational and possessive constructions, so that, for example, SF *tama-na na mē* is usually read only as 'his father is a goat', not 'the goat's father'.

We now return to the question why some Eastern languages allow *i* to be used to connect head noun and proper noun possessor not only in direct possession (as expected, and probably reconstructable for POC (Pawley 1973:158), but also in neutral, active, and passive possession, instead of, or in free variation with, the expected *nei*, *nei* and *kei*. A possible explanation is that *i* was perceived as analogous to the *ni* discussed earlier, so that *i* came to mark a proper noun as a possessor in precisely those types of possession in which *ni* marked a singular specific common noun as a possessor.

A postscript to this discussion of common noun possessor movement is provided by the inland Viti Levu dialects of Waidina and Namosi. These two dialects have taken the obvious next step--they allow movement of common noun possessors with all possession types, including eat and drink possession, simply by suffixing *ni* to the appropriate possessive marker:

WDN	<i>na yaqona meni tūraga</i> art/kava/drink pm- <i>ni</i> /chief 'the chief's kava' (he drinks it)
	<i>sa ma warai na boka keni gone</i> asp/asp/none/art/taro/eat pm- <i>ni</i> /child 'the child doesn't have any taro to eat'

The forms used in Namosi are *kini* and *mini*.

5.2.3.0. Possession Types

What I have been discussing so far in this section is the way that the structure of the possessive phrase varies according to the syntactic properties of the possessor. Under the rubric "possession types" I now bundle together those variations observed in possessive phrases which are determined by two factors: first, and primarily, by the type of relationship obtaining between possessor and possessed, and, second, by the particular lexical item which is the head of the possessive construction. In all of Fiji, perhaps only the system of Tubai is not in part lexically determined.

5.2.3.1. Inalienability and Direct Possession

It has become traditional in Oceanic linguistics to refer to a particular class of nouns which are possessed by direct affixation as "inalienable." The reason is that such nouns are "inalienable" from their possessors--that is, a possessor is obligatory, and must be expressed.

While there may well have been a time in the history of the Fijian languages when the inherent semantic property of inalienability alone determined how a noun was possessed, the situation has now changed in most Fijian languages, and semantically inalienable nouns are not all possessed in the same way.

I, therefore, propose two terminological changes: that inalienable nouns which can take a possessive affix directly be referred to as "directly possessed," and that the term "inalienable" be used to refer to all nouns with which an expressed possessor is obligatory--a class considerably larger than the class of directly possessed nouns. For example, in SF all ordinal numerals are "inalienable," although they are not directly possessed, but take a kind of indirect possession (passive, *ke-*); the same is true of such nouns as *mesamesa* 'skill, specialty', *i-coi* '(meal) meat or fish', and all stative-derived nouns such as *levu* 'size', *balavu* 'height', and *totoka* 'beauty'.

That some of these indirectly possessed inalienables of SF are directly possessed in some Western languages (TBI, BTW, BRV, TBW) is considered as supporting evidence for the distinction I am proposing:

TBI *ka-leuv*
 III-size
 'its size'

ka-iyava
III-(meal) meat or fish
'the meal's meat or fish part'

"Nominalized sentences" are also inalienable, as are some, but not all, "deverbal nouns." A deverbal noun is a noun derived from a verb with some kind of marking (such as the prefix *i-* in deriving *i-vacu* '(a) punch' from *vacu-k* '(to) punch') and which allows no tense-markers or other verbal modifiers. A nominalized sentence is one in which no marking is used in the derivation process, and verbal modifiers are permitted. Saying that such nominalizations are "inalienable" is, of course, the same as saying that they require a possessor in the same way that a verb phrase requires a subject. To illustrate:

SF *o ā vacuki koya*
 pnII/past/punch-tr/PnIII
 'you punched him'

Nominalized Sentence:

na nomu ā vacuki koya (may be tense-
 art/a-n pm-II/past/punch-tr/PnIII marked)
 'your having punched him',
 'when you had punched him'

*na ā vacuki koya (must be possessed)

*na vacuki koya (must be possessed)

Deverbal Noun:

na nomu i-vacu (may be possessed
art/a-n pm-II/punch by underlying
'your punch' subject)
(you punched)

na kemu i-vacu (may be possessed
art/pass pm-II/punch by underlying
'your punch' object)
(you were punched)

na i-vacu (may be without
art/punch possessor)
'the punch'

**na noqu a i-vacu* (may not be tense-marked)

5.2.3.2. Variations in Possession Type

From a historical point of view, one source of the present complexity appears to be the demise of direct affixation as a means of possessing all inalienable nouns. The ordinal numerals, though clearly "inalienable" in Fijian languages, in the sense that a possessor must be expressed, are not directly possessed. Direct possession of ordinal numerals is, however, still found in such Eastern Oceanic languages as Inakona (Capell 1930:128) and Kwara'ae (Deck 1934:91). We now find in SF some inalienables, presumably innovations, which are neutral-active possessed (*mōmō xy't* 'maternal uncle', *nei xt'y* 'paternal aunt', *qāvokavoka* 'skull', *temo* 'calf'), and some which are passive possessed (*i-coi* '(meal) meat or fish', *i-sā* '(house) rafter', *levu* 'size'). Some, at least, of the subsequent

developments in Fijian possessive systems can be attributed to a tendency to reduce the extent of lexical conditioning, which Tubai has carried the furthest.¹⁰ In two areas, Kadavu (TVK, NBL) and Gone Dau, kin terms remain mostly directly possessed, but part terms have all shifted to indirect possession. I have argued earlier that Western Fijian also took part in this change, and then developed distinct marking (prefixed pronouns) for most nonkin inalienables. Similarly, the Western languages of Sērua and highland Namosi and Naitāsiri (BTW, TBI, NLE) have replaced many referential kin terms with their vocative equivalents, and Tubai has completely eliminated lexical conditioning for kin terms by applying this change to all kin terms, so that all are now indirectly possessed. In this complete absence of noun-suffixed possession, Tubai is unique in Fiji.

Turning from the West to the East, it is seen that Lau (LAU, VBL) shows one unusual feature: passive possession is marked not in the same way as eat possession, but in the same way as neutral-active possession. This neutralization of active and passive possession is quite unexpected, especially as this distinction has been claimed to constitute much of what little common ground there is between Fijian and Polynesian possession (Milner 1963; 1971:408-411). Another surprise is found in one of the earliest descriptions of Lauan. Cargill (1839:101) notes that *qau* at Lakeba is used with names of both eatables and drinkables, e.g., *a qau yaqona* 'my kava' (I drink it). It appears, then, that early nineteenth-century Lauan did not distinguish eat and drink possession in the first person singular, but used for both the marking now associated only with eat possession.

5.2.3.3. Summary of Possession Types

Table 25 illustrates the possessive markers and positions of pronouns for each of the seven possessive types which are distinguished in Fijian pronominal possession. The various uses of each of the types are now discussed.

Kin. Kin possession shows kinship between the head and the possessor. Generally, most, but not all, kin terms are directly possessed. Only LAU (and possibly VBL) uses direct possession for all kin terms. In BTW and NLE, most of the kin terms are not directly possessed; in TBI, none are. KBY has some prefix-possessed kin terms: *-lewe* 'spouse' appears to be derived from the part term *-lewe* 'flesh, body', but KBY, MGD *-i-cawai* 'parent-in-law' has no obvious etymology.

Part. In part possession, the head is an integral part or spatial aspect of the possessor.

Neutral. In neutral possession, the head belongs to the possessor. This category is really quite broad, but it would be counterproductive to define it in any more detail. The term "neutral" is especially apt because it appears to have accepted refugees of all persuasions--kin, part, and (in LAU and VBL) passive.

Active. In active possession the head is either a sentence of which the possessor is the animate subject, or a deverbal noun derived from an underlying structure in which the possessor is the actor. Note that (contra Milner 1971:410-411) a nominalized subject is always active possessed if the surface subject is animate, regardless of whether it is the underlying subject. Only if the grammatical subject is inanimate is passive possession used, hence the

Table 25
Possessive Markers

	kin	part	neutral-active	passive	eat	drink	contribute
WAY, KBY, NKR, MGD, TBW, BRV	N-pn	pn-N	le-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	me-pn(N)	-
BTW, NLE	N-pn, le-pnN	pn-N	le-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	me-pn(N)	-
TBI	na-pnN	pn-N	na-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	me-pn(N)	-
NMS, TKM, NMN, ONO, NVT(B), DGT, SQN, NVT(C)	N-pn	N-pn	no-pn(N) ¹	ke-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	me-pn(N)	-
LUT, NMM	N-pn	N-pn	no-pn(N) ²	ke-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	me-pn(N)	laga-pn(N)
NDR, NMM, LVN	N-pn	N-pn	no-pn(N) ¹	ke-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	me-pn(N)	loga-pn(N)
WDN, KRL	N-pn	N-pn	no-pn(N) ²	ke-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	me-pn(N)	-
TVK	N-pn	no-pnN ¹	no-pn(N) ¹	ke-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	me-pn(N)	-
NBL	N-pn	ne-pnN ³	ne-pn(N) ³	na-pn(N)	na-pn(N)	me-pn(N)	-
LAU, VBL	N-pn	o-pn(N) ⁴	o-pn(N)	o-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	me-pn(N)	-
GOD	N-pn	o-pnN	o-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	me-pn(N)	-
SLV, BUA, NVS, BRV(M), SQQ, NBB, SAV, LBS, TNL, NWN ⁶	N-pn	N-pn	o-pn(N) ⁴	ke-pn(N)	ke-pn(N)	me-pn(N)	-

¹*nō-* before -i is realized as *ne-* in LUT, TRM, NMM, ONO, TVK, NBL, NVT(B), DGT, SQN, and NVT(C), and as *ni* in NMS. In NDR it remains *nō-*. For LBS, see section 5.2.5.

²*nē-* before -i is realized as *nī* in WDN. In KRL, *nō-* replaces *nē-* in I, II, III, Tip, and IIIP.

³*nē-* is obsolescent, being replaced by SF and TVK *nō-/nē-* (A. Pawley, personal communication).

⁴*o-* before -i is realized as *we-* in LAU, BVL, TNL, and NWN.

⁵Possibly *ke-* in nineteenth-century LAU (see section 5.2.3.2).

⁶See section 5.2.5 for a more detailed discussion of Seaqāqā and Labasa possession.

contrast between SF *nona cici* 'his/her running' and *kena cici* 'its running (e.g., bus, boat)'.

Passive. In passive possession, the head is either a sentence of which the possessor is the inanimate subject, or a deverbal noun derived from an underlying structure in which the possessor is not the actor. That is, with a deverbal noun (which is usually *i*-prefixed), if the actor of the underlying sentence is expressed, it is active possessed, whereas the underlying patient (or other nonactor) is passive possessed:

SF	<i>nomu i-talanoa</i>	<i>kemu i-talanoa</i>
act	pm-II/story	pass pm-II/story
	'the story you tell'	'the story about you'
	<i>nomu i-taba</i>	<i>kemu i-taba</i>
	act pm-II/photograph	pass pm-II/photograph
	'the photograph you have'	'the photograph of you'
	<i>nomu i-vacu</i>	<i>kemu i-vacu</i>
	act pm-II/punch	pass pm-II/punch
	'the punch you give'	'the punch you receive'
	<i>nomu yaqona</i>	<i>kemu yaqona</i>
	act pm-II/kava	pass pm-II/kava
	'the kava you have/make'	'the kava made for you (for your sake, in your honor)'

The distinction between active and passive possession is seen at its finest with certain quality-denoting words which may function either as a verb or as a (deverbal) inalienable noun. As a nominalized verb, its subject is active possessed:

SF *nomu sā levu tiko mai*
act pm-II/asp/big/asp/asp
'the fact that you have been getting
bigger'

As a deverbal noun, the underlying subject is not actor, so passive possession applies:

SF *kemu levu*
pass pm-II/big
'your size'
**kemu sā levu* (no verbal marking
permitted)

There are some uses of passive possession which are difficult to explain, and may well be lexically determined. Why, for instance, is 'your friend' *nomu i-tau*, but 'your enemy' *kemu meca*? Why might a wife be referred to in SF as *wati-qu* ('my spouse'), *noqu kābani* ('my companion'), or *qau i-sā* ('my partner')?

Eat. In eat possession, the possessor eats or suffers the head nominal. The concept of 'eat' is culturally defined: Fijians 'eat' tobacco, for instance, rather than 'smoke' it. The 'suffer' meaning has been neglected in previous descriptions, probably because it is not common; but it is important because it constitutes the middle ground between passive and eat possession, and helps explain why the two types are usually marked in the same way. It would be reasonable to consider the following as examples of passive possessed deverbal nouns:

SF *kemu i-caqe* 'your kick' (you are kicked)
kemu i-roba 'your slap' (you are slapped)

were it not for the fact that they appear to be somehow related to the verb *kana* 'eat, suffer', as exemplified in these attested sentences:

<i>kana i-caqe</i>	'suffer kicking, get kicked'
<i>kana i-roba</i>	'suffer slapping, get slapped'
<i>kana vosa</i>	'get told off' (<i>vosa</i> 'talk')
<i>kana uca</i>	'get drenched by the rain' (<i>uca</i> 'rain')

Drink. In drink possession, the possessor drinks the head nominal, 'drink' being also culturally defined. 'Drink' is used throughout Fiji for consumption of soft fruits, sugarcane, or anything sucked. Some areas include boiled greens such as taro leaves and *Hibiscus manihot* (SF *bele*).

Contribute. Contribute possession is confined to a string of Eastern Viti Levu communalects which include NDR, LUT, NMM, and LVN. The possessor contributes the head noun, particularly as a customary obligation--a mat or pig for presentation at a feast, a house being built for a chief, or a spade to be used in a communal gardening project. The nearest equivalent in SF is, according to informants, the noun *i-tavi* 'duty', which is neutral possessed, so that these two phrases are synonymous:

NDR	<i>na logaitou vuaka</i> art/cont pm-Ix3/pig 'our contribution of a pig', 'the pig we are contributing'
-----	--

SF	<i>na neitou i-tavi vuaka</i> art/n pm-Ix3/duty/pig
----	--

Some Western speakers who are familiar with Nadrau assured me that their languages (KBY and Savatu) have a translation of contribute possession which is prefix possessed, and (unlike the SF translation) has no independent meaning:

KBY	<i>qu-saku cawa</i>
	I- <i>saku</i> /food
	'my contribution of food'
Savatu	<i>qu-kato cawa</i>
	I- <i>kato</i> /food

This point is brought up to suggest something of what is missed by a straightforward comparison of possession types, such as that presented in Table 25. It appears that the Eastern Viti Levu and Western dialects share a possessive concept independently of other Fijian dialects, but only in Eastern Viti Levu is the concept realized as a distinct possessive type.

5.2.4. Nominal Marking of Possessive Constructions

A possessive phrase may function either as a noun phrase or as a verb phrase. Evidence from the Western possessive area (where the comment of a nominal sentence is preceded by a reflex of **tia*) shows that, when functioning as a verb phrase, a possessive phrase is marked in the same way as the comment of a nominal sentence:

TVK	<i>na vale kā i te noqu</i>
	art/house/this/pnIII/be/pm-I
	'this house is mine'

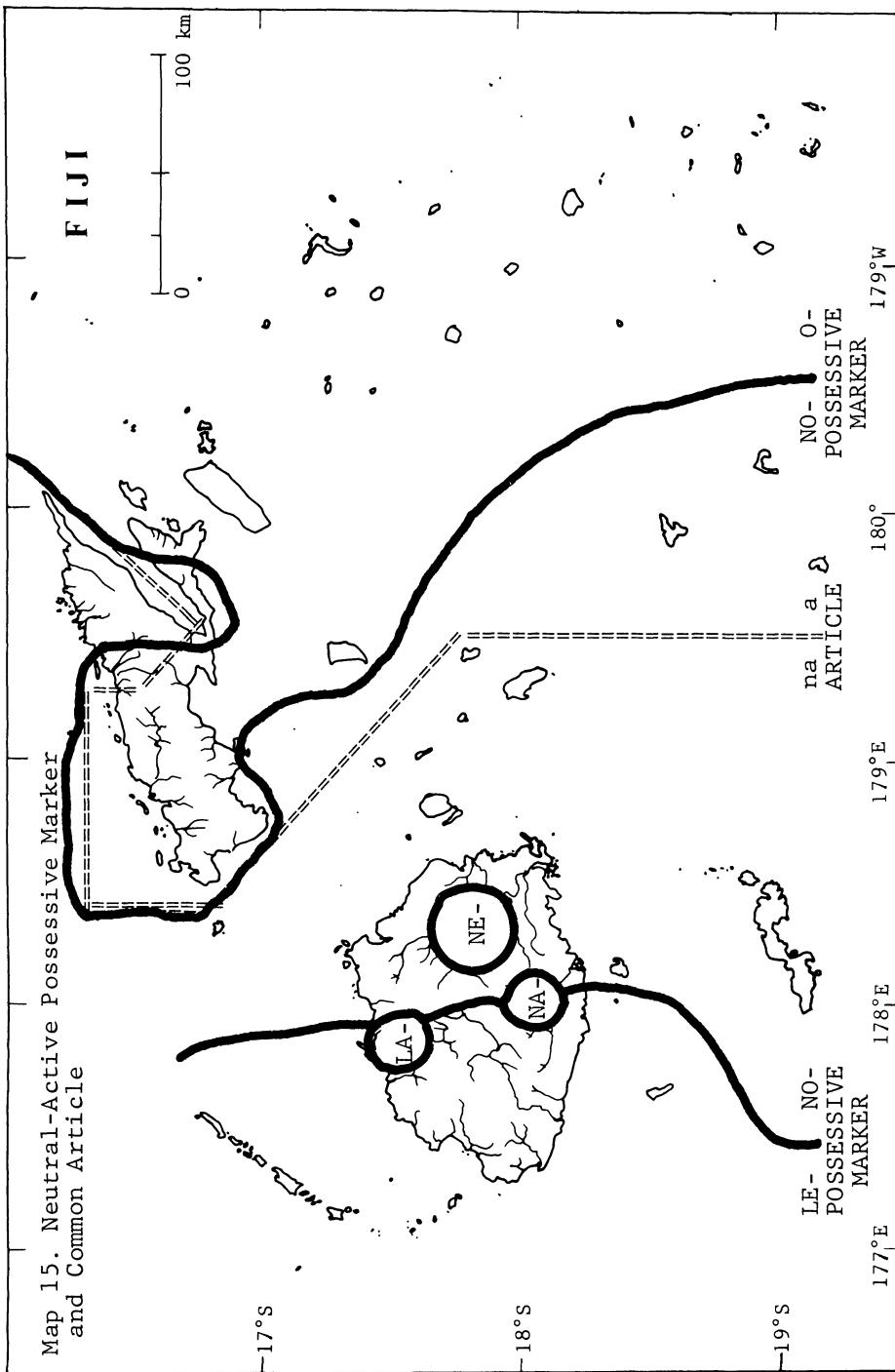
When a possessive construction functions as a noun phrase, normal nominal marking (*na* or *a*) is used in most languages:

LAU	<i>a omu pato iei</i> art/pm-II/duck/this 'this is your duck'
KBY	<i>qu kani-a na keqiau</i> pnI/eat-III/art/pm-I 'I ate my food'

Kadavu is exceptional in disallowing nominal marking of possessive phrases, while Tubai only allows nominal marking with singular pronouns (at least for neutral-active possession, which is *na*-marked; dissimilation may be involved here). In Colloquial Fijian, nominal marking is frequently omitted, except when the head nominal is deleted:

CF	<i>sā damudamu(na)nona sote</i> asp/red/art/pm-III/shirt 'his shirt is red'
	<i>sā damudamu na nona</i> 'his is red'
	<i>*sā damudamu nona</i>

In a large area of Eastern Fiji, comprising Lau, Koro (Lomaiviti), and all of Vanua Levu except the Northeast, the phrase-initial common article is not *na* but *a*. It is a curious fact that this area is almost identical with the area in which the neutral-active possessive marker is not the widespread Eastern *no-*, but *o-*. As shown on Map 15, there are only four small areas of overlap, Yasayasa Moala (Lau), Labasa, Navatu (Bua), and Navatu (Cakaudrove);



both Navatu languages and Yasayasa Moala use the article *a*, but neutral-active possessive marker *no-*, while Labasa has article *na* and possessive marker *o-*. Part of the explanation for these irregularities may lie in the reported fact that both of the Navatu dialects are spoken by people who originate from *no-* areas in Eastern Viti Levu. It is more difficult to arrive at an explanation for the observed regularity. We might have recourse to a sound change involving loss of initial *n*, but the conditioning would have to be extraordinarily specific.

5.2.5. Two Case Studies: Seaqāqā and Labasa

The possessive system of Seaqāqā is especially interesting in that it demonstrates almost every kind of complication we have been discussing--proper noun possessor movement, shortened prenominal pronouns, common article *a*, neutral-active possessive marker *o-*--and one that has not yet been mentioned. The forms in Table 26 are diaphonemic (*k:x*, *t:'*, *q:k*, *d:t*). Note that the possessive marker *o-* is realized as *we-* in some unexpected forms, that is, not only before *i*. All the optional *wei-* forms may be the result of replacement by independent pronouns. Whatever the case, it is at least clear that a stressed *o-* is not replaced by *we-*, while *o-* before *i* must be.

The feature mentioned as unique to Seaqāqā (in fact, it is shared with Bāravi (M)) is that *o-* is optionally (obligatorily in BRV) replaced by the form *loga-* when the head noun is deleted:

a i-sele ia a loga_{qu} 'this knife is mine'
art/knife/this/art/pm-I

Table 26
Seaqāqā Pronominal Possession, Neutral-Active Type

	Free (noun deleted)	Prenominal (noun present)
I	oqu	oqu, qu
II	omu	omu, mu
III	ona	ona, na
Ii2	odaruka, wedaruka	odaru, wedaru, daru
Ii3	odotou, wedotou	odotou, wedotou, dotou
Iip	oda	oda, da
Ix2	weiruka	oru, ru
Ix3	weitou	weitou, itou
Ixp	weimami	weimami, mami, mi
II2	omudruka, weimudruka	weimudru, mudru
II3	omudou, weimudou	weimudou, mudou
IIp	omiau, weimiau	weimiau, miau
III2	weidruka	odru, dru
III3	wedrotou	odrotou, drotou
IIIp	odra	odra, dra

The resemblance of this to the contribute possessive marker (*laga-/loga-*) is probably accidental, since their respective functions are very different.

As Table 26 shows, the possessive marker *o-* is optionally deleted when the head noun is present. Note also in the following examples that the common article, which is *a* phrase-initially, is *na* after a preposition.

a (o)doto_u vale
art/pm-II3/house
'our house' (inclusive paucal)

(i) *na itou vale*
 prep/art/(pm-)Ix3/house
 'at our house' (exclusive paucal)
e-duga a qu moto
 one/art/(pm)-I/spear
 'a spear of mine'

Labasa (*k:φ*, *t:'*, *q:k*) possession poses some interesting problems, caused particularly by the apparent fusion of the common article *na* with two of the possessive markers, and by the loss of *k* and the occurrence of some unexpected glottal stops. The examples given below are in the "phonetic" orthography.

LBS *i'i no'oku vale*
 this/art-pm-I/house
 'this is my house'
ni oku na vale
 because/pm-I/art/house
 'because the house is mine'
na i-pamu ni oi'ou va'u
 art/pump/of/pm-Ix3/iron
 'the pump for our iron'
nei cei na magi'i
 art/eat pm-i/who/art/food
 'whose is the food (to eat)'
ne'eku
 art-eat pm-I
 'mine (to eat)'
noi cei na i-sele
 art-n-a pm-i/who/art/knife
 'whose is the knife'

na meku akona i'i
art/drink pm-I/kava/this
'this is my kava (to drink)'

For the moment, leaving aside the problem of the common article, note that in the first example the neutral-active possessive marker is, quite unexpectedly, ''*o*''. The usual source of glottal stop in Labasa is *t*: are we then to believe that the neutral-active possessive marker is *to-*, when all around show *o-* or *no-*? A look at the other persons is reassuring--only first and second person singular show this glottal stop, and other persons point to *o-* as the possessive marker.

The first sentence also contains a demonstrative '*i'i*' 'this', apparently composed of *i-*, a prefix forming pronouns from demonstrative adjectives, and the base '*i*' 'this'. In surrounding dialects, there is evidence of *i* 'this', but none for *ti*. So there seem to be some cases of glottal stop epenthesis in Labasa, perhaps marking morpheme boundaries between identical vowels. This epenthetic glottal stop can also appear optionally between certain nonidentical vowels, as when the eat-passive possessive marker follows a conjunction (e.g., *ni 'eku* 'because it's mine (to eat)').

While the common article is clearly present when a possessive phrase is used nominally, its form varies. *na*, the unmarked form, appears before directly possessed nouns and the drink possessive marker *me-*. Before the neutral-active possessive marker ''*o*'', the article is *no-*; and if the epenthetic glottal stop is not present, the article and the possessive marker coalesce as *no-*. Before the eat-passive possessive marker ''*e*'', the form is

ne-; the two morphemes do not coalesce because the epenthetic glottal stop is not optional.

With proper noun possessors, more difficulties arise. The forms used when the head nominal is deleted do appear to follow the pattern of article and possessive marker coalescence described earlier:

<i>noi cei i'i</i>	'whose is this thing'
art-pm-i/who/this	
<i>nei cei i'i</i>	'whose is this food'
art-pm-i/who/this	

but our interpretation of the initial *n-* in *noi* and *nei* as the common article fails when the head nominal is present:

<i>na i-sele noi Mere</i>	'Mere's knife'
art/knife/ ? -pm-i/M	
<i>na 'alo nei Leba</i>	'Leba's taro (to eat)'
art/taro/ ? -pm-i/L	

We must conclude here that the *n-* which remains of the common article *na* when the article and possessive marker are coalesced has been reinterpreted as part of the possessive marker. If we now return to consider the pronominal possessive marker, we see that, while *no'o* is best analyzed as containing the common article as its first element, the alternative form *no-*, nevertheless, admits the interpretation that nominal possessive phrases are not marked by the common article *na*, and that *no-* is a monomorphemic possessive marker. Furthermore, a change from *o-* to *no-* possessive marker would be consistent with the tendency noted in Map 15 for *no-* to be associated with the common article *na*.

5.2.6. The Preformative *i*-

It has been generally accepted by students of Fijian languages that an *i*- prefix derives nouns from verbs, often with an instrumental meaning (Churchward 1941:12-13, Milner 1956:57-58). Often cited as examples are SF *i-sele* 'knife' from *sele* 'cut', and *i-ubi* 'a cover' from *ubi* 'to cover'. Churchward has also pointed out (1941:64-65) that this *i*- has cognates in such Melanesian languages as Malo (New Hebrides) and Bugotu (Solomons), always with an instrumental meaning.

One problem, then, for the history of Fijian languages is to account for the many instances in which a noun with the *i*- prefix clearly is not an instrument. A partial answer is suggested by two observations: that many noninstrumental *i*-prefixed nouns are semantically inalienable, and that *i*-prefixation and suffixed (direct) possession are in complementary distribution. Thus we might hypothesize that *i*-prefixing is one alternative to suffixed possession in the marking of inalienability. We could cast this hypothesis historically, and claim that, as the use of direct suffixation as a mark of semantic inalienability declined, its functional replacement was *i*-prefixing.

The ordinal numerals have already been mentioned as inalienable but not directly possessed. In all contemporary Fijian languages they are *i*-prefixed. It is particularly noteworthy that the kin term SF *karua-* *a=c'da* 'same-sex spouse's cross-cousin' has preserved suffixed possession, while the part term *i-karua* 'second' has lost it. In Waidina, however, the kin term too has lost suffixed possession and become *i-karua* (neutral-active possessed).¹¹ There are other examples of inalienable kin (and other

personal relationship) terms with the *i*- prefix, such as SF *i-tau* 'friend' (perhaps from POC **tau* 'person'), *i-caba* 'contemporary and friend', *i-tōkani* 'companion, close friend', *i-sā* 'opponent, counterpart, partner'; and TBI *i-luve* 'xx 'offspring' (SF *luve-*), which has become alienable in BTW and NLE as *i-luve* 'child'.

Examples of inalienable part terms with the *i*- prefix abound. From SF: *i-matau* 'right side', *i-mawi* 'left side', *i-kaso* 'outrigger boom', *i-vanā* 'mast', *i-coi* '(meal) meat or fish', *i-tekivū* 'beginning'; and elsewhere LAU *i-roka* 'color' (SF *roka-*), WDN *i-varivari* '(fish) scales' (SF *vari-*).

The weakness in this historical explanation is that there is no obvious source for the *i*-. It may be related to MTA (and other New Hebridean) -*i*, which is suffixed to inalienable nouns with no expressed possessor.

5.3.0. Transitive Verbs

It is not possible here to do full justice to the topic of transitivity. My remarks will be concerned primarily with outlining differences between Fijian communalects in the marking of transitive verbs and their objects and will touch incidentally on parallel phenomena in areas outside Fiji.

A verb when used intransitively appears as an unsuffixed base, sometimes reduplicated. When used transitively, one of two types of suffix is attached to the verb. The "short" transitive suffix is of the shape -*Ci*, where C is zero or a (nonprenasalized) consonant, determined lexically,¹² and the object of the verb is in a "close" semantic relationship, such as "goal," "patient," or "(affected) location" (see Pawley 1973:128). The "long" transitive suffix,

-Caki, usually either intensifies the meaning of the verb or marks a different kind of case for the object, such as "cause," "instrument," or "beneficiary," and the C is undoubtedly more often semantically than lexically determined, as will be shown later.

5.3.1. The Short Transitive Suffix

When the short transitive suffix is used without a pronoun object (as with reciprocal verbs, incorporated proper noun objects, and, for some verbs, incorporated generic objects), or with a pronoun object other than third person singular, the form is clearly -(C)*i*, throughout Fiji. It is only when the short transitive suffix is used with a third person singular object pronoun that certain formal problems arise in the analysis.

We must distinguish between bases with and without a final "thematic" consonant. Bases without a final thematic consonant are further distinguished according to the final vowel of the base. If we assume for the moment that the PEO transitive suffix was *-*i*, and the third person singular object pronoun *-*a*, then we can postulate the following series of possible verb endings for Proto Eastern Oceanic: *-C-*i-a*, *-*i-i-a*, *-*e-i-a*, *-*a-i-a*, *-*o-i-a*, *-*a-i-a*. Table 27 shows how different areas of Fiji reflect these reconstructed endings. If, in fact, our PEO reconstructions are accurate, then this array of reflexes is puzzling. Admittedly, we know little of how such sequences of vowels are reflected in Fijian; but there seems to be surprisingly little remaining of the transitive suffix *-*i* after vowel-final bases. Indeed, the data show that there is practically no irrefutable evidence in Fiji for the presence of *-*i*.

Table 27
Short Transitive Endings in Fiji

PEO	*-Cia	*-iia	*-eia	*-aia	*-oia	*-uia
West Viti Levu	Cia	ia	é	á	ó	ia
Gone Dau	Cia	ia	é	á	ó	ia
NE Vanua Levu (LBS,DGT,SQN, KRL)	Ca	ia	ea	á	oa	ua
NE Viti Levu (TKM,NMN,LVN)	Cia	ia	ea	á	oya	uya
SE Viti Levu (NMS,WDN,LUT, NDR,NMM)	Ce	e	á	á	á, oya	ue
Bua	Ca	ia	ea	aya	oya	ia
West and Central Vanua Levu	Ca	ia	ea	aya	oya	uya
Lau,Kadavu, SE Vanua Levu, SF	Ca	ia	ea	á	oya	uya

after vowel-final bases. Western Viti Levu, Gone Dau, and Northeast Vanua Levu all point unequivocally to a set of endings to vowel-final verbs without any $*-i$: $*-ia$, $*-ea$, $*-\bar{a}$, $*-oa$, $*-ua$ ¹³ (see section 4.5.5 for the development of $*oa$ and $*ea$). The only problematic reflex is WF, GOD -ia from $*-ua$, where the apparent fronting of $*u$ to i suggests $*-uia$ rather than $*-ua$ as the source. The -ya endings which appear in parts of Eastern Fiji after nonfront vowels could reflect the third person singular independent pronoun $*ia$,¹⁴ which may have replaced the corresponding object pronoun $*-a$. I have already discussed the phenomenon of replacement of object pronouns by independent pronouns in Eastern Fijian (section

5.1.3.3). If the *-ya* endings are the result of replacement, then we must conclude that replacement affected the third person singular less extensively than it did the other persons, because parts of Eastern Fiji (including SF) appear to have replaced all object pronouns but the third person singular.

Turning now to consonant-final bases, we approach the question why the putative *-Cia has become variously *-Cia*, *-Ce*, and *-Ca*. The problem can be reduced somewhat by referring to the development of vowel-final bases in Southeast Viti Levu. It can be seen that *-ia has become *-e*, and *-uia is realized as *-ue*, in the same area that *-Cia is reflected as *-Ce*. Therefore, there are grounds for suspecting that a regular phonological change, albeit of restricted application, is responsible for *-Ce*, and that it is the regular reflex of an earlier *-Cia. The only totally irregular development, then, is *-Ca*.

Pawley and Sayaba (1971:423) write of an "irregular loss of *-i-*," and no alternative explanation has, to my knowledge, been offered.¹⁵ There is no question but that the apparent loss of *-i-* is irregular, as witness SF *viaV* 'want to' from **via*, *kia* 'axe' from **kiRa*, and, most especially, all the instances of *i*-final verbs followed by *-a* which are unchanged in SF (*soli-a* 'give it', *kari-a* 'grate it', *vakaoti-a* 'finish it'). That is not to say, however, that the development of *-Ca* is entirely unparalleled. There is a small set of derived statives which show the same endings as transitive verbs in the areas in which they occur. Such data as I have been able to uncover are presented in Table 28.

Comparison within Fiji also suggests that more forms could be added to this class: *cevativa*

Table 28
PEO Derived Statives in **-i_a*

PEO	PSS	PPN	WF, GOD	Southeast Viti Levu	Vanua Levu Kadavu, Lau
*yaŋnia	*auŋna [†]	caginia	cagine	cagina	'blown away'
(n)tave()ia	*tavesia	*tafea		davena	'washed away'
*boŋŋi()ia	*boŋisia	*poŋŋia			'overcome by night'
*zokotia		*sokotia	cokotia	cokota	'whole, solidified; (PPN) gathered together'

[†]*ni_a appears to have metathesized to *-i_a in PPN.

'solidified', *kidoria* 'startled', *karacia* 'startled', *cevukia* 'blown away', *dakalia* 'open-mouthed', and *katia* 'burned'. The final **-a* of these derived statives is probably related to the *-a* which makes statives out of (usually) reduplicated nominals throughout Fiji, and is reconstructable for PEO (**ravuravua* 'gray' from **ravu* 'ashes' is reflected by NGG *rauravua* and SF *dravudravua*). The *-a* in Table 28, however, appears to derive statives from an unreduplicated base and a transitive-like suffix. We now know of two classes of forms with **-ia* endings that have become *-a* irregularly in Vanua Levu, Kadavu, and Lau. A third will be discussed in section 5.3.2.

Support for the belief that *-a* in these Eastern Fijian areas was once *-ia* comes from an unexpected quarter. Standard Fijian has no instances of *l* as a thematic consonant, and no Fiji communalect has many. One, however, used to be widespread in Fiji: **tovo-l* 'try, test', from PEO **tovo-ŋ* (ARS *ohongi*; PAN **(C_T)epeŋ* (Blust 1972)). Tubai, Tubaniwai, and the Macuata-i-wai dialect of Gome Dau still preserve *tovo-l*. But in some areas, certainly in the East, *-l* has been reanalyzed as part of the base, along with the transitive suffix *i*, so that **tovol-i-a* has been reanalyzed as **tovoli-∅-a*, a base with zero thematic consonant. The modern form in most of Vanua Levu, Lau, and Kadavu is *tovole-a*. This single example bears testimony to the former presence of the ending *-Cia* throughout Fiji.

Another possible reflex of the PEO **-a* stativizing suffix worth noting is that found in Southeast Viti Levu--Namosi, Waidina, Lutu, Nadrau, and Naimasimasi. Here, the *-a* is suffixed to the base and thematic consonant, without any intervening *-i-*, and gives the

same meaning of spontaneity as is associated with the prefix *ta-* elsewhere in Fiji, e.g., *dolava* 'opened by itself' (SF *tadola*), *sovvara* 'spilled' (SF *tasova*), *sereka* 'come to pieces' (SF *tasere*). The prefix *ta-* is absent in Southeast Viti Levu.

5.3.2. The Long Transitive Suffix

The long transitive suffix has the PEO form **(C)aki/- (C)akini-*. The latter variant is used before pronoun objects.¹⁶ **-(C)aki* is reflected throughout Fiji as *-(C)aki*, except in the Western communalects of Batiwai and Tubai, where an irregular sound change has yielded *-(C)ai*. **-(C)akini-* has a more complicated history. First, it should be noted that, with proper noun object incorporation (see section 5.2.2.2) its scope has increased to include proper noun objects in most of Eastern Fiji and parts of the West. Second, the *-ni-* of *-(C)akini-* has been lost in Eastern Viti Levu, resulting in the form *-(C)aki*. A possible model for this development was the short transitive suffix, which shows no formal alternation between word-final and pronoun-suffixed allomorphs; that is, *-aki:-akini-* became *-aki:-aki-* by analogy with *-i:-i-*. Finally, the *-(C)aki-a* which is formed by suffixation of a third singular object pronoun has undergone the same changes as were described earlier for the short transitive suffix, becoming *-(C)ake* in Southeast Viti Levu; and, by the same change, **-(C)akini-a* became *-(C)akina* in Vanua Levu (except Gone Dau), Lau, and Kadavu. The Batiwai and Tubai *-(C)ainia*, *-Ceinia* (and possibly Tokaimalo *-(C)ānia*) are the result of loss of *k*, as noted previously. For the Nabukelevu form *-(C)akaina* I know of no satisfactory explanation.

5.3.3. The Thematic Consonants

Nothing has been said about what determines the consonant *C*, apart from noting that *l* is not a popular choice. The consensus of opinion now, after valuable studies by Arms (1973), Clark (1977), and Lichtenberk (1978),¹⁷ appears to be that Oceanic languages have retained the original *C* (that is, the final consonant of the Proto Oceanic base) before the short transitive suffix in some cases, and in other cases replaced the historically correct *C* with a *C* defined by semantic properties of the verb. I feel, however, that Arms' claim that each thematic consonant in Fijian has a broad semantic area associated with it is too strong (Clark (1977:10-11) expresses similar reservations), and would prefer to say that there are certain groups of semantically related verbs that show the same thematic consonant. For example, rather than saying that *-c* marks "pliancy, gentle contact, bodily experience" (Arms 1973:504), we would prefer to say that verbs of excretion take *c*, most verbs of perception take *c*, some verbs of bending take *c*; and there are probably some other small groups which take *c*, as well as others that show *c* historically, or for no apparent reason.

At least two thematic consonants certainly can be reconstructed at PEO level. **z* is associated with verbs of excretion:

* <i>veka-z</i>	'defecate - on'	XWA	<i>fe'a-s</i>
		SAA	<i>he'a-s</i>
		EF	<i>veka-c</i>
* <i>mimi-z</i>	'urinate - on'	NGG	<i>mimi-h</i>
		XWA	<i>mimi-s</i>
		ARS	<i>mimi-s</i>
		FIJ	<i>m̄im̄i-c, mi-c</i>

Manam *r*, which Lichtenberk (1978) associates with verbs of excretion, is cognate with PEO **z*, so the phenomenon is probably attributable to Proto Oceanic. **v* is likewise associated with verbs of motion:

* <i>la(q)e-v</i>	'go - to, for'	SAA <i>lae-h</i>
		WF <i>lā-v</i>
* <i>siko-v</i>	'visit'	NGG <i>sigo-v</i>
		BUG <i>sigo-v</i>
		FIJ <i>siko-v</i>

Clark (1977) gives many more examples of verbs of motion showing reflexes of **v* in Sa'a and Nggela, and there are many more in Fiji, but there are few cognate bases.

In Fiji, the semantic associations of the short transitive suffix are far less consistent than those of the long transitive suffix. The functions of the various long transitive suffixes are fairly easily summed up. *-vaki* is usually associated with verbs of motion, and takes as object something carried in the motion, e.g., SF *cici-vaka na kuro* 'run with the pot', *nunu-vaka na lawa* 'dive with the net'. Mota *-vag* and 'Are'are *-ha'i(ni-)* serve the same function as Fijian *vaki(ni-)*, and are clearly cognate. Although it functions only as a long transitive suffix in contemporary Fijian languages, evidence from the South-east Solomons suggest that it may also have been a prepositional verb in PEO. 'Are'are even appears to retain the source morpheme, in *ha'i* 'together, simultaneously, again', which, as a prepositional verb *ha'ini-*, is glossed 'with, in the company of'. An external cognate is furnished by Motu, where *lao-hai* 'take' suggests POC **lako-vaki* 'go with'.

EF *-yaki* co-occurs with the reciprocal prefix *vei-*, meaning 'all over the place', and appears to be an innovation of Eastern Fiji and Polynesia (PPN **fe_qaki*). In Eastern Fiji, *-taki* is the productive transitivizer, used with loanwords and many derived verbs; Western languages prefer *-ni* in many cases. *-raki* and *-laki* add violence to a verb (SF *vacu-ka* 'punch', *vacu-laka* 'punch repeatedly'; *butu-ka* 'tread on', *butu-raka* 'stamp on, kick repeatedly'; *dresu-ka* 'rip', *dresu-laka* 'rip to shreds'), a function carried out in Southeast Viti Levu by *-kaki*. *-caki* and *-maki* are not very common. They generally have a similar function to *-vaki*, showing the same thematic consonant as the short transitive suffix, but a different, more "remote" semantic relationship between the verb and its object:

SF	<i>curu-m</i>	<i>curu-mk</i>
	'enter - into'	'insert' ¹⁸
	<i>sili-m</i>	<i>sili-mk</i>
	'dive - for'	'dive with'
	<i>cudru-v</i>	<i>cudru-vk</i>
	'angry - with'	'angry - at'
	<i>tagi-c</i>	<i>tagi-ck</i>
	'cry - for'	'cry - because of'

Of the long transitive suffixes, *-raki*, *-laki*, *-kaki*, and *-taki* appear to be innovations of Fijian languages, at least in their most common functions, while *-yaki* is shared with PPN, and *-vaki* is inherited from PEO, possibly POC.

5.4. Summary of Morpho-Syntactic Innovations

Table 29 is a list of innovations discussed in this chapter, showing which communalects participate

in each innovation. A number of innovations mentioned in the text are not included in Table 29, either because of insufficient data, or because of problems in historical interpretation, or because they are confined to one communalect, and, therefore, irrelevant to internal grouping.

Table 30 shows the number of morpho-syntactic innovations shared by pairs of communalects.

Table 29
Morpho-Syntactic Innovations

	† ₁	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
WAY	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KBY	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NKR	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MGD	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TBW	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BRV	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BTW	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TBI	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NLE	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NMS	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
WDN	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
LUT	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
NDR	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
TKM	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NMN	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
LVN	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
NMM	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
ONO	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
TVK	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
NBL	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
LAU	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
VBL	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
NVT	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
SLV	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
BUA	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
NVS	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
GOD	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
BRV	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
SQG	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
NBB	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
SAV	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
LBS	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
DGT	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
SQN	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
KRL	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
NVT	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
TNL	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
NWN	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-

† Refer to key on page 272.

Table 29. (Continued) Key to Morpho-Syntactic Innovations

Key	Reference
1. III2 form marks III3	5.1.1
2. I,II3 form marks p	5.1.1
3. I,II,III3 form marks p	5.1.1
4. <i>me</i> + II > <i>mo</i>	5.1.3.2.1
5. loss of suffixed object pronouns	5.1.3.3
6. II <i>iko-</i> as second person marker	5.1.2
7. preverbal pronouns marked for present-future tense	5.1.3.2.0, 6.1.2
8. proper noun possessor incorporation	5.2.2.2
9. * <i>tia</i> , equational verb	5.2.2.2
10. common noun incorporation for all possession types	5.2.2.4
11. loss of direct suffixed possession for part terms	5.1.3.4.2
12. prefixed possession for part terms	5.1.3.4.2
13. passive possession marked as neutral-active	5.2.3.2
14. contributive possession	5.2.3.2
15. neutral-active possessive marker <i>o-</i>	5.2.3.3
16. neutral-active possessive marker <i>le-</i>	5.2.3.3
17. phrase-initial common article <i>a</i>	5.2.4
18. neutral-active pm <i>loga-</i> when head deleted	5.2.5
19. neutral-active pm deleted before <i>i</i> after head	5.2.2.3
20. *-ia > e	5.3.1
21. *-ia > a	5.3.1
22. spontaneous suffix -Ca	5.3.1
23. * <i>akini-</i> > <i>aki</i>	5.3.2

Table 30

Morpho-Syntactic Innovations Shared by
Pairs of Communalects

WAY													
NKR	7	NKR											
TBW	7	8	TBW										
BRV	7	9	8	BRV									
BTW	6	8	7	8	BTW								
TBI	4	4	4	4	4	TBI							
NLE	5	5	5	5	5	4	NLE						
NMS	1	1	1	1	1	1	NMS						
LUT	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	LUT					
NDR	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	6	NDR				
TKM	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	TKM			
NMN	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	3	2	NMN		
LVN	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	6	4	2	5	LVN	
NMM	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	8	6	2	5	7	NMM
ONO	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	2	2	4	4
TVK	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	2
LAU	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	1	1	3	3
NVT	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	3	2	5	5
SLV	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	2	2	3	3
GOD	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	4	4	4	4	3	5
BRV	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	2	2	4	4
NBB	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	2	2	4	4
LBS	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	2	2	4	4
DGT	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	2	2	4	4
NVT	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	2	2	4	4

N.B. KBY shows the same figures as WAY, MGD as NKR, WDN as NMS, NBL as TVK, VBL as LAU, BUA and NVS as SLV, SQQ as BRV, SAV, NWN, and TNL as NBB, and SQN and KRL as DGT.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Andrew Pawley (personal communication) suggests that the Wayan dual markers *ru* and *tu* might be derived from **rua* 'two' and the paucal markers *va*, *vati*, and *ba* from **vaa* or **vati* 'four'.
2. This assertion is, in a sense, tautological, since all monosyllabic forms in Fijian are bound. Similarly, a bisyllabic object pronoun following the verb cannot be classed unambiguously as a suffix or clitic, because suffixation by a bisyllabic form does not affect stress assignment in the base.
3. A similar change probably took place in the history of Polynesian languages; what traces of suffixed possession remain are found only on kin terms, not on part terms.
4. In Gone Dau and Kadavu, where nonkin inalienables are still neutral possessed, they are nevertheless identifiable as "inalienable" by the fact that they are not normally used without an expressed possessor.
5. This process appears to have been carried to completion in Niue and Eastern Polynesia.
6. That is, the Western possessive area--NKR, MGD, TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI, NLE; NDR; (ONO), TVK, NBL--as opposed to the usual sense of "Western" in this work--WAY, KBY, NKR, MGD, TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI, NLE.
7. There are partial exceptions. For instance, TKM *me-∅* marks proper noun and pronoun comments of nominal sentences.
8. Nakoroboya appears to show features of both Western and Eastern possession. A proper noun possessor must be incorporated after the

possessive marker and the *i* suffix (as in Eastern possession) and the head noun must be preceded by the possessive marker and an appositional suffixed pronoun (as in Western possession), e.g.:

na le-a sue lī Jone 'John's house'
art/pm-III/house/pm-i/J

9. Andrew Pawley (personal communication) suggests that both *no-* and *ne-* may derive historically from **na-*.
10. The same tendency may have underlain the development of Polynesian possession, in which direct suffixation has all but disappeared, and which is, arguably, semantically determined (see Wilson 1976).
11. A more common means of deriving indirectly possessed kin terms is by suffixing *-ni*: compare TBI *tacini a'a-*, *karuani* 'yyx, and *vugani* y'tx with SF *taci-*, *karua-*, *vugo-*.
12. There is strong evidence that semantic criteria are also involved in C-selection, at least historically. See section 5.3.3.
13. Other Eastern Oceanic languages (e.g., Arosi, 'Are'are) show no evidence of the transitive suffix *-i* after vowel-final bases.
14. **ia* PnIII is reconstructed for PEO, and retained as *ia* in Northeast Vanua Levu and parts of Northeast Viti Levu.
15. There is possibly some connection between Fijian *-Ca* and the functionally similar *-Ca* of Gilbertese, which Harrison (1977:3) has claimed is a feature of Proto Micronesian, **-a* marking

singular noun phrase objects, while **-i* marks pronominal objects.

16. Alternatively, we could reconstruct PEO **(C)akin* as the remote suffix; the final *-n* is retained when supported by the suffix *-i* (that is, before pronoun objects), but is deleted elsewhere by the regular process of final consonant deletion. This position is preferred by Clark (1973:565) and Pawley (personal communication).
17. In fact, the first remarks on the subject were those made by Hazlewood (1850).
18. Compare PPN **huru* 'enter' and **hurumaki* 'insert'; and NGG *sulupa* 'go through' and *sulupagi* 'thrust in, thrust through'.

CHAPTER 6

A Grouping of Communalects by Exclusively Shared Features

6.0. Introduction

In this chapter, the phonological and morpho-syntactic innovations discussed in the preceding chapters are combined with lexical data to provide a grouping of Fijian communalects based on exclusively shared features which, on present evidence, appear to be innovations.

It should be understood from the start that the historical significance of these shared features is diminished by the fact that Fiji is, or has been, a dialect chain (see Pawley and Sayaba (1971), who argue that there are now two separate dialect chains). Exclusively shared features merely serve to suggest that languages were once in contact, and if features are shared exclusively by languages which are not in contact, those features constitute strong evidence that the languages were once in contact. In a dialect chain such as exists in Fiji, however, all adjoining communalects have generally maintained some degree of contact, so any observed innovation can be attributed to any time between the establishment of the dialect chain and the present. A feature found all over Fiji, therefore, may be a recent innovation.

But there are some ways of dating innovations. First, the nature of the innovation may tell us something. While changes in (nonfunctional) lexicon and certain kinds of sound change may be very casually borrowed, shared innovations in syntax or the form of functors suggest long and intense contact. Second, in some cases it may be possible to order changes relatively, according to their outcome in contemporary communalects (e.g., loss of suffixed possession preceded Vowel Cluster Assimilation (see section 4.5.1), palatalization preceded fusion of preverbal pronoun and tense marker in Nadroga (section 6.1.2)). Third, we can use observations on current and recent patterns of contact: for instance, we know that there has been a very influential prestige center in coastal Southeast Viti Levu in recent history (see Geraghty 1977:26-27; 1978; and references therein), so we may consider innovations coterminous with its influence to be relatively recent.

A synthesis of the historical development of the Fijian communalects will be presented in the next chapter. Our main purpose here is to show which communalects share features exclusively, and which do not, and to comment on possible historical implications of the geographical extent and relative ordering of some apparent innovations.

6.1.0. The Western Fijian Group

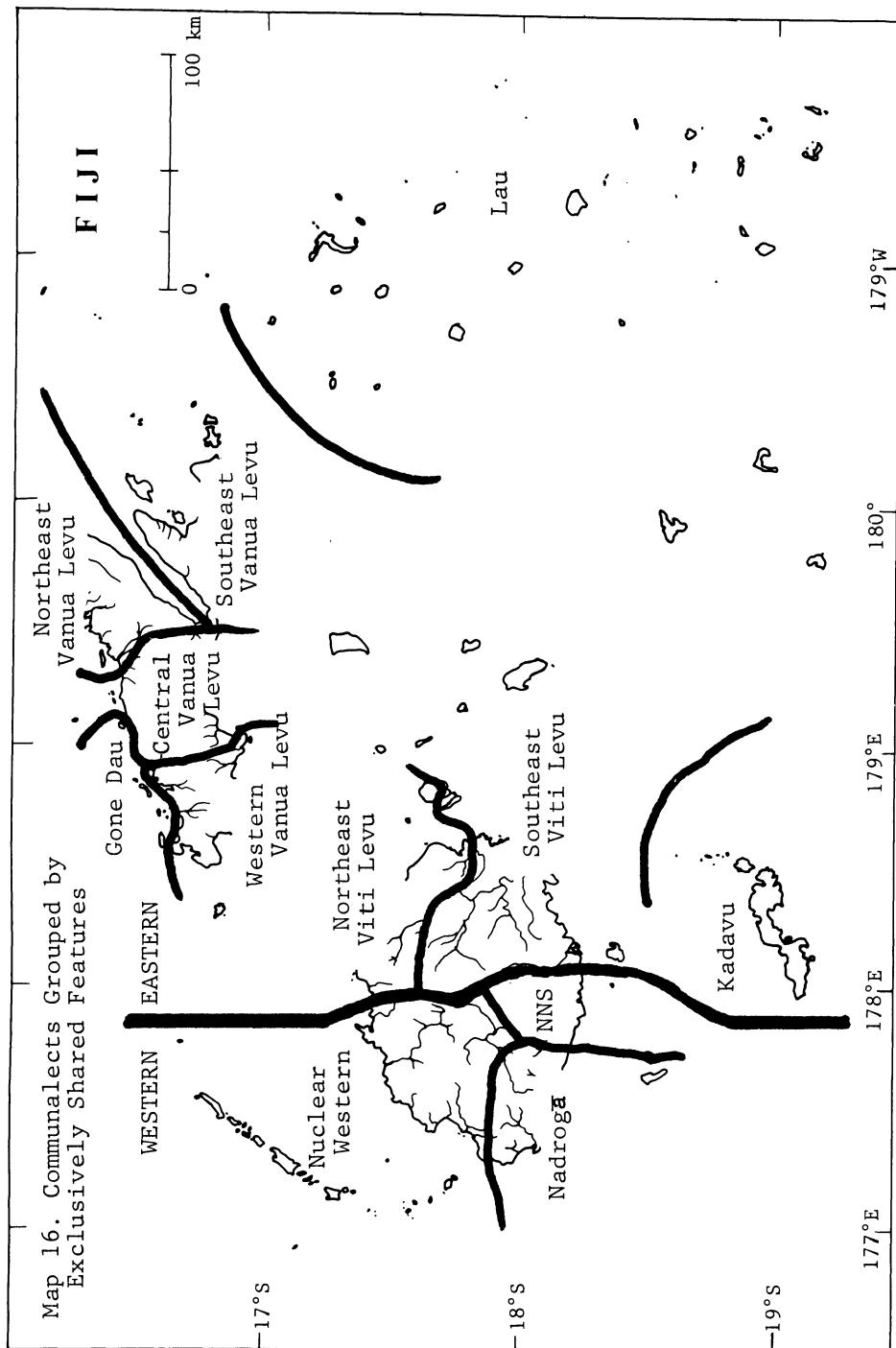
One of the important observations that most previous writers on Fijian dialects have agreed on, namely, that there is a clearly defined Western Fijian group (see Pawley and Sayaba 1971; Schütz 1972, and section 7.1 for a review of previous studies), is confirmed by my data. There is a

heavy bundle of isoglosses dividing Viti Levu into an Eastern and a Western area. On the other hand, some of the more detailed claims made by Pawley and Sayaba (1971) concerning the innovations that characterize the Western area fail in the face of more detailed information than was available to them.

The Western Fijian group covers the following area:

- (a) all of Bā province, with the sole exception of the village of Navai, near Nadarivatu, which was settled within living memory from Nasoqo (Naitāsiri province)
- (b) all of the province of Nadrogā-Navosā, except the villages Nadrau, Nabouwaqa, Nagā (alias Vanualevu), Rewasau, and Naqelewai¹
- (c) all of the province of Sērua except (i) the Deuba area, by Navua on the coast, comprising the villages of Sadrō and Sauniviuto, (ii) the island of Yanuca, and (iii) the Namosi-speaking village of Nukusere on the Navua river
- (d) a portion of western Namosi province containing the villages of Wainimākutu, Navuadrā, Nadoli, Korovou, Wainilotulevu, Naiyalayala, and Nasoqo and
- (e) a portion of western Naitāsiri province containing the villages of Nasauvere, Nasava, Matawailevu, Narokorokoyawa, Korovou, and part of Sawanikula

The communalects in this study belonging to the Western Subgroup are: WAY, KBY, NKR, MGD, TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI, NLE (see Map 16).



6.1.1. Phonological Innovations of Western Fijian

All and only the Western dialects share the rule which lengthens *a* when it occurs in phrase-antepenultimate position, and the realization of PEO $*\tilde{n}$ as *y/ø*.

Pawley and Sayaba (1971:417) suggested that the labiovelar stop series (*kw*, *qw*, and *gw*) might be peculiar to the West and that the presence of the set in parts of Eastern Viti Levu might be due to borrowing and analogical derivation. It was clear from Schütz (1962:64-65), however, that the use of labiovelars in Eastern Fiji covers such a wide geographical area, and includes so many words (many of which are not attested in Western Fiji) that it is quite unlikely that they are an innovation of Western Fijian (see section 3.1 and Map 2).

Another observation of Pawley and Sayaba (1971: 418) is that "Western dialects all appear to reflect Proto-Fijian final unstressed *a* by *e* in the context CeC__ (C= any consonant)." A handful of forms do, indeed, suggest such a change (e.g., WF *lekeleke* 'short', cf. SF *lekaleka*), but many more deny it, e.g., BRV *leqwa* 'in trouble', *bekwa* 'fruit bat', *sema* 'join', *reba* 'fall', *bewa* 'ridge pole', *segwa* 'wild', *sewasewa* 'small', *vevewa* 'owl', *lewa* 'woman', *cewa* 'blind', WAY, KBY *tera* 'show off'. The matter is further complicated by the fact that an apparent *a* to *e* change occurs under different conditions in the West (compare WF *lue* 'vomit' and *rewa* 'possible' with SF *lua* and *rawa*), and also crops up in Vanua Levu (*berebere* 'slow', cf. SF *berabera*).

6.1.2. Morpho-Syntactic Innovations of Western Fijian

As discussed in section 5.1.3.4.2, all and only the Western dialects share prefixed possession of

part terms. Another pan-Western innovation, not listed in Table 26, is the replacement of the process of partial reduplication (C_1V_1-) by the prefixation of *ya-* as a marker of plural agreement with a small set of statives, as in:

SF	<i>na gone lalai</i>	'the small children'
	art/child/ C_1V_1 -small	
KBY	<i>na driadria yasewa</i>	
	art/child/ <i>ya</i> -small	

The partial reduplication of Eastern Fijian is believed to be older than Western Fijian *ya-* because the latter has no external cognates, whereas the former process has clear cognates in Polynesian languages (see, for example, Churchward 1953:34-35 on Tongan).

Pawley and Sayaba (1971:418-419) attribute to their Proto Western Fijian a special set of pre-verbal pronouns which are marked for present or future tense, differing from the "nontime" set by the change of the final vowel to *i*, or by addition of final *i*, sometimes with umlaut. Because this special set is found in the Western languages Pawley and Sayaba studied, they considered it an important innovation of the ancestor of all Western languages. Milner (1971:412-413) believed the special set to be of even greater antiquity, pointing out that the tense distinction has parallels in languages to the West of Fiji (especially the Northern New Hebrides and the Solomons), and that the absence of it in Eastern languages of Fiji might be due to Polynesian influence.

The evidence of a more detailed survey, however, points to their being a relatively recent innovation

of only some Western languages. Pawley and Sayaba did not allow for sampling error--the Western languages they used as evidence did not include any from Namosi, Naitasiri, or Seraua (the area represented in our sample by BTW, TBI, and NLE). In this area, the special pronoun set is absent, suggesting that it is a development postdating the putative breakup of Proto Western.

Further evidence in support of the relatively recent development of the special pronoun set emerges when we consider its morphological history. As Pawley and Sayaba pointed out (*loc. cit.*), the special set probably results from the fusion of the inherited preverbal pronouns and a following tense-marker *i*.² Nabukelevu and Tavuki (Kadavu) apparently still reflect this *i* as a discrete tense-marker, as does Tubai, where it has a consecutive meaning:

TBI *mato i bogi vā kē*
pnIx3/i/night/four/there
'then we spent four nights there'
da yaka i Beqa, da i vejiqa kē
pnIip/go/to/B/pnIip/i/play spear-throwing/
there
'let's go to Beqa and play spear-throwing
there'

Consider now the two sets of preverbal pronouns of Tubaniwai:

Table 31
Tubaniwai Preverbal Pronouns

	Nontime	Present-Future
I	qu	qi
II	o	i
III	a	ei
Ii2	taru	tari
Ii3,p	ju	ji
Ix2	maru	mari
Ix3,p	maju	maji
II2	muru	miri
II3,p	muju	miji
III2,3	aru	eri
IIIp	ara	eri

Tubaniwai has undergone palatalization, **ti* being realized as *si* (*oti*: '*osi*', *tiliva*: '*siliva*'). Yet we find '*ji*' in the first and second person plural of the special pronouns, where we would have expected '*si*', '*masi*', and '*misi*'. There is a possible analogical explanation for the presence of '*ji*' in these forms, but it is more likely that the palatalization rule occurred *before* fusion of the basic pronouns and the tense-marker *i*, thus:

	'finished'	Ixp non-tense	Ixp present-future
		<i>matu</i>	<i>matu i</i>
1. Palatalization	<i>osi</i>	<i>maju</i>	<i>maju i</i>
2. Fusion			<i>maji</i>

From Tubaniwai, then, we have evidence that fusion is a relatively recent development.

A number of other innovations of the Proto Western pronoun system are mentioned by Pawley and Sayaba (*ibid.*, p. 420). One is the loss of contrast between third person dual and third person trial. Again, their survey did not show that the distinction is preserved in at least Nalea and Tubai, and lost in Gone Dau in the Vanua Levu area (see Map 14, section 5.1.1). Likewise, the formal change of the trial number suffix from *-tou* to *-tu* is found throughout mainland Kadavu and, for the first inclusive and second persons, in most of Southern Tailevu and Rewa in Eastern Viti Levu. *mamu* as first person exclusive plural is found all over Eastern Viti Levu, except for a small part of Southern Tailevu. And the initial *a-* and *e-* of third person nonsingular forms are not found in Nalea and Tubai, but do occur in parts of Eastern Viti Levu, Lomaiviti, and Western Vanua Levu. In fact, there is nothing in the pronoun morphology of Western Fiji that we could confidently call a uniquely shared innovation.

There are, however, certain formal changes in other functors that do help define Western Fijian. **Vrawa* (EF *Vrawa* 'able to', PPN **lawa* 'enough, abundant, completed') is irregularly reflected as WF *Vrewa* 'able to'. The neutral-active possessive marker, which may have been **ne-* (WDN, KRL *ne-*, GIT *ne-*), **no-* (EF widespread *no-*, MTA, RAX *no-*), or **na-* (TBI *na-*, SAA, ARS *na-* 'for'), is reflected in all Western Fijian communalects except Tubai with an unexpected change of **n* to *l* (*la-* in Savatu, *Bā;* *le-* elsewhere).

Two Western Fijian functors are formally

distinct from their Eastern Fijian cognates, but it is not clear in either case which of the two is the innovator. WF *lai-/lei-* (*a*-raising rule) is a passive-forming prefix, cognate with EF *lau-V*. Again, Tubai is exceptional, showing *yakai-.*³ Secondly, WF *siV*, which marks continuing aspect, contrasts with EF *se/saV*. If SAA *siV* 'first time, just, only' is cognate, then EF is the innovator.

6.1.3. Exclusively Shared Lexical Items of Western Fiji

The following are exclusively shared lexical items of Western Fiji, some of which appear to be innovations.

<i>-boti</i>	'(leg) calf'
<i>Vboto</i>	'only' (SF <i>wale gā</i>)
<i>cō-v</i>	'call' (but cf. TAK <i>fakasoo</i> 'shout', NGU <i>soso</i> 'call, summon, name')
<i>cula-t</i>	'sew' (EF <i>cula-∅</i> , but NDR has borrowed <i>cula-t</i>)
<i>dagi-t/∅</i>	'carry on shoulder' (KBY/rest) (PEO * <i>zola</i>)
<i>dere-k/∅</i>	'touch' (BTW, TBI, NLE/rest)
<i>kere-v</i>	'ask for' (EF <i>kere-∅</i>)
<i>-lala</i>	'body' (meaning change from PEO * <i>lala-</i> 'side, rib': MTA <i>lala/i</i> , EAS <i>rara</i>)
<i>niti-∅</i>	'circumcise' (EF <i>teve</i>)
<i>qulu-m</i>	'hold'
<i>somu-∅</i>	'drink' (EF <i>somi-c/∅</i>)
<i>v-tabu-n</i>	'forbid' (EF <i>v-tabu-∅</i>)
<i>vulaū</i>	'girl'

The list can be increased considerably if we add items shared exclusively by all of the Western communalects except those bordering on the East (BTW, TBI, NLE) in cases where the exceptional items are clearly loans from Eastern Fiji. In the following list, such exceptions are noted in parentheses.

<i>doko</i>	'taro' (TBI <i>boka</i> , from NMS)
<i>dua/duaka</i> (/YML)	'dislike, refuse' (TBI <i>vutā</i> from NMS)
<i>drili</i>	'blunt' (BTW, TBI, NLE <i>drelī</i> , from NMS)
<i>garu-t</i>	'smell' (TBI, NLE <i>bui-t</i> , TBI <i>bui-c</i> , from NMS <i>bui-c</i>)
<i>kila-t</i>	'know' (TBI <i>kiā</i> , from NMS <i>kila-a</i> , with <i>l:y/∅</i>)
<i>liva-t</i>	'take off (clothes, covering)' (TBI <i>luva-t</i> from EF)
<i>lue</i>	'vomit' (TBI, NLE <i>lua</i> , from NMS)
<i>lūlū</i>	'wet' (BTW, TBI <i>bitebite</i> , TBI, NLE <i>bite</i> , cf. WDN <i>bite</i> 'dew')
<i>rārā</i>	'village' (TBI, NLE <i>koro</i> , from NMS; cf. EF <i>rārā</i> 'village green, cleared area')
<i>-saro</i>	'chest' (BTW, YML <i>sanisani</i> is 'rib' elsewhere in WF)
<i>sina</i>	'reed' (TBI, YML <i>gwasau</i> , from WDN; NMS has <i>gosau</i>)
<i>tabu-r</i>	'spear (st)' (TBI <i>coka-∅</i> , from NMS)
<i>tola-v</i>	'see, look at' (TBI <i>rai-∅</i> , from EF <i>rai-c</i> ; but YML <i>liga-s</i> also WF; cf. NGG <i>tolavi</i> 'stare at')

6.1.4.1. Internal Relationships of Western Fiji

Different criteria allow us to divide the Western Fijian language area in different ways; but, if we disregard for the moment the extraordinary pronoun system of Waya (apart from which Waya closely resembles Nakoroboya), we can say that the most significant isogloss bundle is that which sets Batiwai, Tubai, and Nalea apart from the rest. For want of a better term, I shall refer to these three communalects collectively as NNS, from the initials of the provinces of Namosi, Naitasiri, and Serua. Within the remaining Western Fijian area--approximately, the provinces of Ba and Nadrogā-Navosā, which we may label Nuclear Western--isogloss distribution appears to be fairly even. Within Nuclear Western, the adjoining communalects of Tubaniwai and Baravi form a well-defined "Nadrogā" group; otherwise, there are no two areas which are particularly close geographically and remote linguistically, or vice versa. No doubt a more finely grained survey will reveal more internal groups.

6.1.4.2. The NNS Group

The phonological history of the NNS area reflects its geographical position. The apparent apical prenasalization is the result of heavy borrowing from Eastern languages with which members of the NNS group share the valleys of the Navua, Wainikoroiluva, and Wainimala rivers. Conversely, NNS languages fail to participate in the raising of *ai* to *ei* presumably because of their geographical isolation from the Nuclear Western languages (see Map 14). The same isolation prevented the spread of the fusion of subject pronouns and the

present-future tense marker, and lessened the effect of the various reductions in pronoun number. An important innovation in the NNS possessive systems is the partial elimination (total in the case of Tubai) of direct possession, even for kin terms.

The following lexical items are shared exclusively by members of the NNS group:

<i>kalaV</i>	'each' (SF <i>dui</i>)
<i>-limalima</i>	'(tree) branch'
<i>loulou</i>	'tree-fern'
<i>i-luve</i>	'child' (EF <i>luve-</i> 'offspring')
<i>ne-∅</i>	verb introducing pronoun complement of nominal sentence, <i>ni-∅</i> elsewhere in West
<i>taimuri</i>	'behind' (EF <i>muri</i>)
<i>tinv</i>	'not' (probably from * <i>tikai ni</i>)
<i>tiniwa</i>	'door'
<i>vata o</i> PN	'with'
<i>vo</i> PN	locative preposition (SF <i>vei</i>)
<i>Vvua</i>	locative preposition plus pnIII (SF <i>vua</i>)
<i>wata</i>	'taro leaves'

6.1.4.3. The Nuclear Western Group

Being an extensive dialect chain, Nuclear Western offers only a small number of innovations which meet the "all and only" criterion. In addition to the raising of *ai* to *ei* (almost totally absent in NNS) and the fusion of preverbal pronouns with the tense marker *i*, we can cite the following exclusively shared lexical items:

<i>dukuV</i>	'each' (NNS <i>kala</i> , SF <i>dui</i>)
<i>-lobo</i>	'back'
<i>ni-∅</i>	verb introducing pronoun complement of nominal sentence (NNS <i>ne-∅</i>)
<i>tata</i>	'talk' (but probably from POC * <i>tata</i> (KUA <i>tata</i>))
<i>vina</i>	'good' (SF <i>vinaka</i>)

Within Nuclear Western, Tubaniwai and Bāravi form a group apart, which has often been referred to as "Nadroga." Phonologically it is very innovative, showing *s:h* and palatalization of *ti*, *te*, and *tu* to '*si*', '*se*', and '*ju*'. There are also many exclusively shared lexical items:

<i>cadru-k</i>	'throw st at'
<i>cewa</i>	'blind' (cf. SF <i>seua</i> 'sty in the eye')
<i>ciqa</i>	'happy'
<i>kakasali</i>	'cold'
<i>kes</i>	'lest, in case, maybe' (SF <i>de</i>)
<i>kou</i>	'bring' (WF, EF <i>kau</i>)
<i>kū</i>	'(rain) fall'
<i>kua</i>	PnIII
<i>lugi-∅</i>	'pick up'
<i>-mā</i>	'tongue'
<i>qere</i>	'there' adverbial demonstrative II (SF <i>keri</i>)
<i>racia</i>	'painful'
<i>-ravota</i>	'heart'
<i>soga-t</i>	'shut' (WF, EF <i>sogo-t</i>)
<i>taboi-n</i>	'cover'
<i>taka-v</i>	'cut, chop'
<i>vaca</i>	'sneeze'
<i>vitua</i>	'yam' (from * <i>uvvi-tua</i> 'k yam')

Vvuka	aspect particle (SF <i>toka, koto</i>)
Vwā	'thither' directional II, III (SF <i>yani</i>)
watoto	'fast'

No other two Western communalects in this study show a comparable array of exclusively shared features.

6.1.5.1. External Relationships of Western Fiji

Given the location of the Western Fijian languages, one might expect their closest linguistic relatives in Eastern Fiji to be found, if anywhere, in Eastern Viti Levu. But the facts show otherwise. If we count lexical items, very few are shared exclusively by Southeast Viti Levu and the Western subgroup. Northeast Viti Levu and Kadavu each share about twice as many. Of an entirely different dimension, however, is the extent of the relationship between the Western group and parts of Vanua Levu which, in view of the distance involved, is quite startling.

Capell and Lester (1942:36) must be credited with first suggesting that a close relationship exists between parts of Vanua Levu and Western Viti Levu. Their evidence was mainly culled from Macuata-i-wai, part of the communalect I refer to as Gone Dau. It is, indeed, the Gone Dau communalect that most closely resembles Western Fijian, but mainland Vanua Levu also shares a large number of innovations, particularly Western Vanua Levu; the number decreases toward the East, and becomes insignificant in the Natewa peninsula (NVT(C), TNL, NWN).

Kadavu presents a similar situation on a smaller scale, Nabukelevu and Tavuki sharing a number of innovations with Western Fijian, Ono rather less. Moreover, whereas Vanua Levu more closely resembles

the north of the Western Fijian area, Kadavu shows greater similarity to the south.

6.1.5.2. Western Fiji and Vanua Levu

The close relationship between Western Fiji and Gone Dau is well illustrated by the fact that they share a number of phonological and morphological innovations. First, if we choose not to derive **c* (which becomes *s* in Gone Dau and Nalea, *c* elsewhere) from PAN **j* (see section 4.3.5), then the occurrence of *s* in the set of forms discussed earlier must be a shared innovation of Gone Dau and Nalea. In any case, the reflex *s* in those forms which are clearly not from PAN **j* (*sava* from PAN **sapa* 'what', *tagi-s* from PAN **tagis* 'cry', etc.) is evidence of a shared innovation. Gone Dau also shares with the West the change of the verb endings *-oa and *-ea to *ō* and *ē*; Northeast Viti Levu also shares the **oa* to *ō* rule. In pronoun morphology, Gone Dau and most of Western Fiji (Tubai and Nalea excluded) agree in losing the trial form of the third person pronouns and extending the semantic range of the dual form to cover the loss. And Gone Dau, Western Fiji, and Kadavu all show the loss of direct suffixation of part nouns which has resulted in the Western prefixed possessive pronouns.

In the following list of exclusively shared lexical items, we note especially the distribution of the forms within Western Fiji and Vanua Levu.

I. Lexical items shared exclusively by Gone Dau and Western Fiji

<i>care-t</i>	'look for' (MGD)
<i>driadria</i>	'child' (Yasawa, WAY; cf. TBI <i>adria</i>)

<i>-gicu</i>	'nose' (all WF but TBI)
<i>kādrīdri</i>	'ant' (Yasawa, BRV, BTW, TBI; cf. WAY, TBW <i>kādrīudriu</i> , KBY, NKR, MGD <i>vukadrīdri</i>)
<i>koda</i>	PnIip (TBI)
<i>kova</i>	'sit' (NKR, Nadi)
<i>-lā</i>	'leg' (all WF; but ROT <i>lā</i> is probably cognate)
<i>-laulau</i>	'tail' (all WF; cf. <i>lauqe-</i> widespread Vanua Levu)
<i>vleqwa</i>	'again, more' (Yasawa, WAY, KBY, MGD)
<i>vmuni</i>	'again, more' (TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI, NLE)
<i>nō</i>	'sit' (WAY; cf. ROT <i>nō</i> 'remain')
<i>Vnō</i>	progressive aspect (SF <i>tiko</i>) (Yasawa, WAY, KBY, BTW, TBI, NLE)
<i>quto</i>	'firewood' (all WF)
<i>rusu</i>	'enter' (WAY, KBY)
<i>tila</i>	'one, a' (Yasawa, KBY; TBW, BRV ' <i>hila</i> ')
<i>v-toka-n</i>	'cook by boiling' (GOD), <i>v-toko-</i> ∅ (Yasawa, WAY, KBY)
<i>-tutu</i>	'side' (KBY, MGD; also NDR, presumably borrowed)
<i>varogo-∅</i>	'hear' (Yasawa, KBY, NKR, MGD, BTW, TBI; but cf. TON <i>fanongo</i> , LUA <i>haalongo</i>)

II. Lexical items shared exclusively by Gone Dau, Northeast Viti Levu, and Western Fiji

<i>bō-k</i>	'squeeze, massage' (TKM, WF; cf. EF <i>bobo-k</i>)
<i>Vdevu</i>	'already, finished', perfect tense marker (TKM, Yasawa, KBY, NKR, MGD,

	TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI)
<i>tā-k</i>	'cut, chop' (TKM, Yasawa, WAY; cf. EF <i>tā-y</i>)
<i>tara</i>	'do, make' (TKM, WF but NNS)
<i>-vatuvatu</i>	'shoulder' (NMN, WAY, MGD)

III. Lexical items shared exclusively by Vanua Levu
and Western Fiji

<i>bēv</i>	'too, too much' (BUA, NVS, GOD; WAY)
<i>bekev</i>	'too, too much' (BUA; KBY)
<i>bel(iu)</i>	'pus' (<i>beli</i> LBS, DGT; <i>belu</i> WAY, KBY, MGD)
<i>v dai</i>	'away' (SLV, BUA, SQQ, SAV, LBS, NVT(C); Yasawa, NKR, MGD, BTW, TBI; <i>dei</i> WAY, TBW, BRV; this <i>dai</i> is clearly related to <i>dai-n</i> 'leave, put')
<i>dū</i>	'true, real' (SQQ <i>vatu dū</i> , k stone referred to in SF as <i>vatu dina</i> 'true stone'--no data elsewhere in Vanua Levu on this kind of stone; Yasawa, WAY, KBY, MGD <i>dū</i> 'true, real')
<i>duk(iu)v</i>	'each' (SQN <i>duki</i> ; NWF <i>duku</i>)
<i>kolikoli</i>	'sour' (all Vanua Levu; Yasawa, WAY, KBY, MGD)
<i>lewe</i>	(SQQ <i>vilewe a=a</i> 'same-sex same- generation in-law'; WAY, KBY <i>lewe</i> <i>x= spouse</i>)
<i>loa-(c/v)</i>	'extinguish' (<i>loa-c</i> SLV, BUA, NVS, BRV, SQQ, NBB, LBS, DGT, SQN, KRL; <i>lo-c</i> Yadua; <i>loa-v</i> Yasawa, WAY, KBY, MGD)

<i>loga</i>	'mat' (all Vanua Levu; Yasawa, WAY, KBY, MGD)
<i>nas</i>	'lest, in case, maybe' (SF <i>de</i>) (SLV, BUA, SQQ, NBB, NVT(C); KBY; perhaps cognate with PPN *naq(ae) (TON, REN, EFU))
<i>namo</i>	'mosquito' (<i>namo</i> NVT, SLV, BUA, NVS, GOD, BRV, SQQ, NBB, SAV, LBS, DGT, KRL; <i>yamo</i> Yasawa; irregular development of PEO *namu, also witnessed by NDR (WF loan?), ECE, ANI, WFU; and cf. MTU <i>nāmo</i> , NAK <i>lamo</i>)
(<i>i-</i>) <i>nunu</i>	'heart' (<i>i-nunu</i> SLV, BUA, NVS, GOD, SQQ; - <i>nunu</i> Yasawa, WAY, KBY, MGD)
<i>qani- (v/ϕ)</i>	'how about, where is/are' interrogative verb, object of enquiry is object of verb (<i>qani-v</i> BUA; <i>qani-ϕ</i> MGD, KBY)
<i>-qelev-</i>	'seed' (GOD, BRV, SQQ, LBS, DGT; Yasawa, WAY, KBY)
<i>roaroa</i>	'morning' (NVS, GOD, Yadua; Yasawa, KBY, MGD; cf. <i>iloiloa</i> SQQ, <i>lailoa</i> BRV)
<i>sā</i>	'(smell) fishy' (BUA; WAY, TBW, BRV)
<i>-sakesake-</i>	'rib' (BUA, Yadua; Yasawa, WAY, KBY)
<i>seu</i>	'play' (SLV, BUA, NVS; Yasawa)
<i>tamuV</i>	'not' (SLV, BUA, NVS, GOD, BRV, SQQ, NBB, SAV, LBS, KRL; NWF; irregular development from <i>tabu</i> 'forbidden')
<i>terav</i>	'show off - to' (BUA, GOD; WAY, KBY)
<i>tomi-ϕ</i>	'pick up' (BUA, NVS; WAY, KBY, TBI; cf. EF <i>tomi-k</i>)
<i>tui</i>	'dog' (NVT, SQQ, NBB, SAV; WF)
<i>tule-g</i>	'push' (LBS, DGT; KBY; cf. PPN * <i>tule(kq)i</i> 'push over')

<i>v(iu)tua</i>	'yam' (<i>vutua</i> GOD, BRV; <i>vitua</i> TBW, BRV; evidently from <i>uvi</i> + <i>tua</i> , a kind of wild yam (SF <i>tikau</i>) which is KBY <i>vitua</i> , SLV, BUA, GOD <i>uvitua</i>)
<i>wā-c</i>	'wait - for' (SQQ, NBB, SAV, LBS, DGT, SQN, KRL; WAY, KBY, NKR, MGD, TBW, BRV, BTW; <i>wā-s</i> NLE)
<i>wāwā</i>	'vine, string' (NVT, SLV, BUA, NVS, GOD, BRV, SQQ, NBB, SAV, LBS, DGT, NWN; Yasawa, KBY, MGD, TBW, BRV, NLE; cf. EF <i>wā</i> , from PEO * <i>waRo</i>)

IV. Lexical innovations shared exclusively by Vanua Levu, Northeast Viti Levu, and Western Fiji

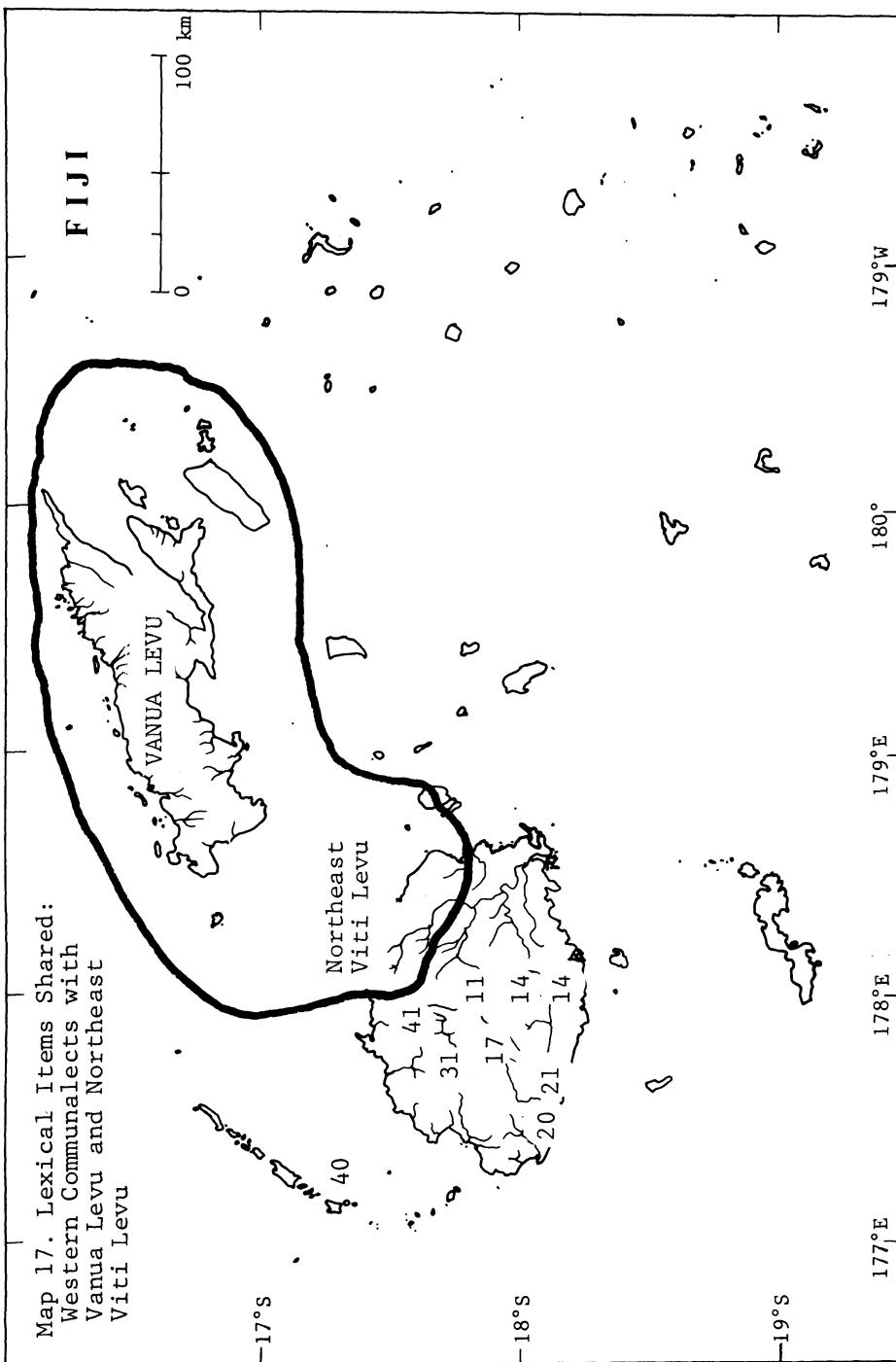
<i>baraV</i>	'perhaps' (BUA, NVS, GOD, BRV; TKM; NKR, TBW, BRV; possible external cognates are XWA <i>bale'e</i> , KUA <i>Sbara</i> , and MAN <i>barawāV</i> 'perhaps' (future))
<i>berebere</i>	'slow' (NVT, SLV, BUA, NVS, GOD; TKM; NWF; <i>bere</i> BRV, SQQ; BTW, NLE; cf. NDR <i>bere</i> (loan?), SF <i>berabera</i>)
<i>cere na masala</i>	'low tide' (SLV, BUA, NVS, GOD, BRV, SQQ, NBB; TKM, NMN; WAY, MGD; no data from SAV, KBY, NKR)
<i>take-(v/∅)</i>	'draw (liquid)' (<i>take-∅</i> SLV, BUA, NVS, GOD; TKM; <i>take-v</i> WAY, KBY; irregular development of * <i>taqaki</i>)
<i>ula</i>	'jump' (GOD, BRV, SQQ, LBS, DGT, SQN, KRL; TKM; Yasawa, WAY, KBY, MGD; also NDR)
<i>welu</i>	'spittle' (all Vanua Levu except TNL; TKM; Yasawa)
<i>yabo-t</i>	'kiss' (SLV, BUA, NVS, GOD; TKM; Yasawa, WAY, KBY, MGD, TBW, BRV;

	also NDR)
<i>yavita</i>	'(house) wall' (NBB, SAV, SQN, KRL; TKM, NMN; WAY; cf. <i>Yadua</i> , <i>Yasawa</i>
	<i>yavita</i> 'reed')
<i>yavu</i>	'burned' (NVT, SLV, BUA, NVS, GOD, BRV, SQQ, NBB; TKM, LVN; WAY; perhaps cognate with PPN * <i>afi</i> 'fire' or * <i>qafu</i> 'heated', and cf. REN ' <i>a'ahu</i> 'burn, smart, hurt')

Table 32 and Map 17 show that more items are shared by Vanua Levu with Northwestern than with Southwestern, and particularly NNS, communalects.

Table 32
 Lexical Items Shared Exclusively by
 the Various Western Communalects
 with Northeast Viti Levu and
 Vanua Levu

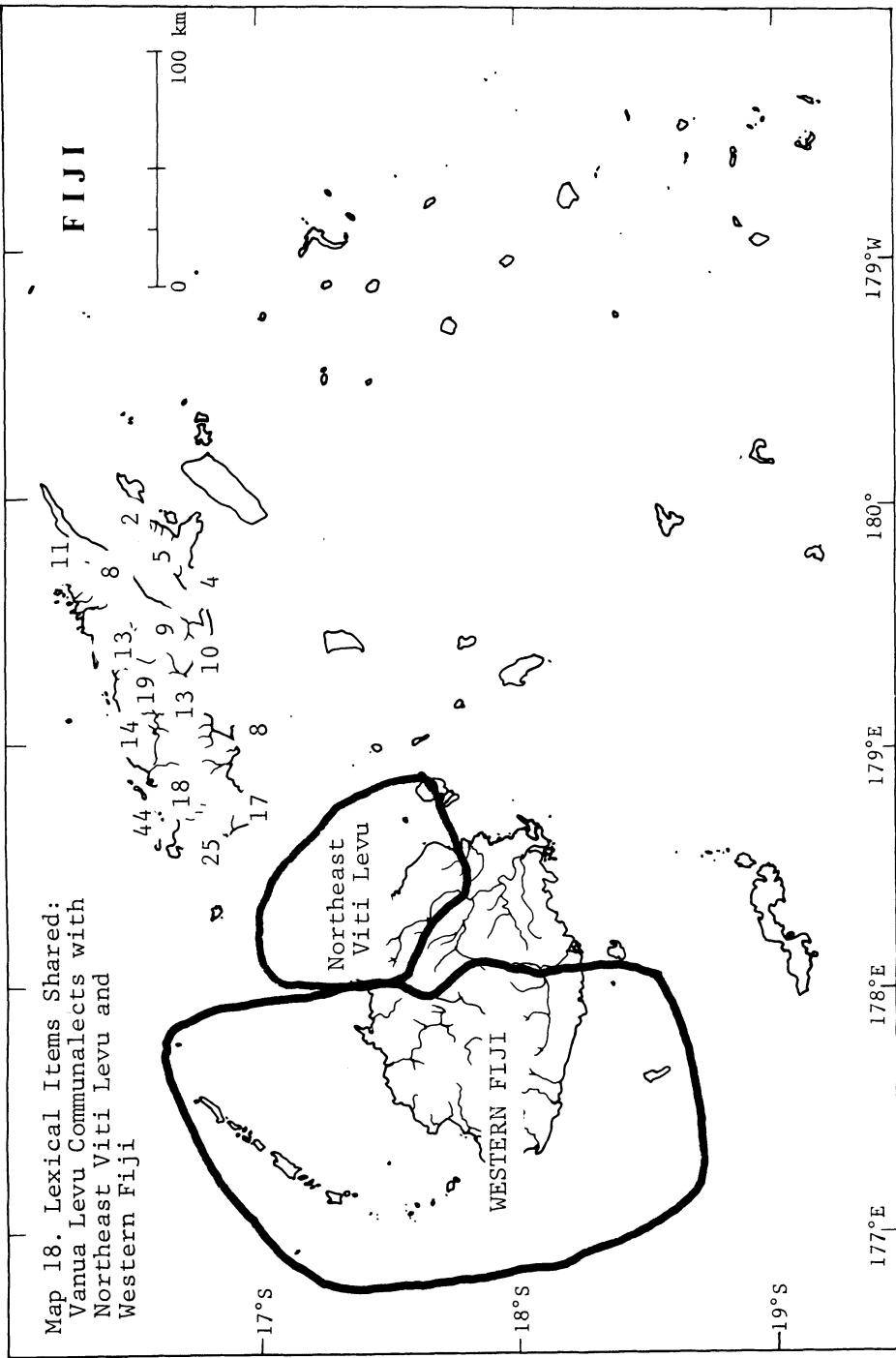
	Gone Dau	Gone Dau	Vanua Levu	Vanua Levu	Total
	NE Viti Levu	Levu	NE Viti Levu	Levu	
Waya	11	4	18	7	40
Nakoroboya	12	3	22	4	41
Noikoro	7	3	5	2	17
Magodro	9	4	14	4	31
Tubaniwai	6	3	8	3	20
Baravi	7	3	8	3	21
Batiwai	8	2	3	1	14
Tubai	9	2	3	0	14
Nalea	6	1	3	1	11



The converse holds for Vanua Levu; it is the more westerly dialects of Vanua Levu that share more items with Western Fijian, as Table 33 and Map 18 show.

Table 33
 Lexical Items Shared Exclusively by the Various
 Vanua Levu Communalects with Northeast
 Viti Levu and Western Fiji

	Western Fiji only	Western Fiji and NE Viti Levu	Total
Navatu(B)	5	3	8
Solevu	11	6	17
Bua	18	7	25
Navakasiga	11	7	18
Gone Dau	31	13	44
Baravi	8	6	14
Seaqaqā	14	5	19
Nabalebale	9	4	13
Savusavu	8	2	10
Labasa	11	2	13
Dogotuki	9	2	11
Saqani	5	3	8
Koroalau	6	3	9
Navatu(C)	4	1	5
Tunuloa	2	0	2
Naweni	3	1	4



Thus there is a very close positive correlation between number of exclusively shared lexical items and westerliness among mainland Vanua Levu languages. Navatu (B) scores low, because the Navatu people are immigrants. The exceptionally high score of Gone Dau, however, allows for no such explanation, because there are no indications that the Gone Dau people are immigrants. The lists for Savusavu and Tunuloa are slightly deficient.

6.1.5.3. Western Fiji and Kadavu

Pawley and Sayaba (1971:409) speculated that the dialects of Nabukelevu, in Western Kadavu, might belong to the Western Fijian subgroup, but hesitated to make specific claims because of the paucity of data. The results of my own brief survey of Kadavu, however, indicate that Kadavu, like parts of Vanua Levu, contains communalects which share features with both East Fijian and West Fijian. Nabukelevu and Tavuki, like Western Vanua Levu, look very Western, while Ono-i-Kadavu, like the Natawa peninsula (NVT(C), TNL, NWN), looks decidedly Eastern. A more detailed study of the linguistic position of Kadavu (Pawley and Sayaba, forthcoming) is now being prepared.

The only phonological rule Kadavu appears to share with WF is the sporadic change of *c* to *y/ø* (see section 4.3.2), which affects very few items. With WF, Southeast Viti Levu, and Gone Dau, Tavuki and Nabukelevu share the change of *èi* to *i*. The loss of direct possession for part terms is paralleled in Gone Dau, and has become prefixed possession in WF. Finally, Kadavu and WF share the obligatory marking of complements of nominal sentences with a reflex of **tia*.

We now list lexical items shared exclusively by Western and Kadavu languages.

<i>cile</i>	'nit'	(WAY, KBY, MGD; ONO, TVK, NBL; <i>yacile</i> NKR, TBW, BRV; ir- regular development from PEO * <i>liz(ae)</i>)
<i>drigo</i>	'snot'	(WAY form unknown; NKR, TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI, NLE; ONO, TVK; NBL form unknown)
<i>driwadriwa</i>	'cold'	(WAY, KBY, NKR, MGD, BTW, TBI, NLE; ONO, TVK, NBL; cf. EF <i>liwaliwa</i>)
<i>kara-c</i>	'startle'	(NKR, TBW, BRV; <i>karaca</i> 'surprised' NBL; see section 5.3.1 for development of <i>kara-c</i>)
<i>kia</i>	PnIII	(NKR; TVK; possibly cognate are INA <i>gia</i> and NHMa <i>xia</i>)
<i>ogo</i>	'cough'	(all WF but NKR; ONO, TVK, NBL; possibly cognate are ROT <i>ogo</i> 'puff, pant', KUA <i>kaongo</i> 'cough')
<i>-qau</i>	'(taro, banana) sucker'	(MGD, TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI; ONO, TVK, NBL; possible PN cognates are REN <i>kau</i> '(tuber) long end', TAK <i>kau</i> '(yam, k taro, banana) underground tuber')
<i>qou-t</i>	'punch'	(TBW, BRV, BTW, NLE; TVK, NBL; cf. SF <i>qou-t</i> 'rap w knuckles')
<i>raqwa-t</i>	'show off - to'	(BRV, TBI; TVK, NBL; cf. BTW <i>rekwa-t</i>)
<i>sina</i>	'torch'	(TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI, NLE; TVK, NBL; cf. EF <i>cina</i>)

<i>tabuV</i>	'not'	(TBW, BRV; TVK, NBL; possibly cognate are PSS * <i>tabu-</i> negative prefix, and MAR * <i>jabV</i> 'not')
<i>tai</i>	<i>xxt'</i> ref 'grandfather'	(WAY, TBW, BRV; TVK; NBL form not known)
<i>tiaN</i>	marks complement of nominal sentence	(KBY, MGD <i>te</i> ; WAY, NKR, BTW, TBI, NLE <i>tia</i> ; TBW, BRV ' <i>sā</i> '; ONO, TVK, NBL ' <i>jia,je</i> ')
<i>tuei</i>	'long time'	(WAY, BRV; ONO, TVK, NBL; cf. LAU, VBL, SQN <i>tuai</i> , from PEO * <i>tuaRi</i> ; ANU and LOB also show unexpected change to <i>tuei</i> , but there is no reason to believe these developments to be related)
<i>Vvali</i>	'around, about'	(WAY, MGD; TVK)
<i>vore</i>	'pig'	(NKR, TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI, NLE; ONO, TVK, NBL)

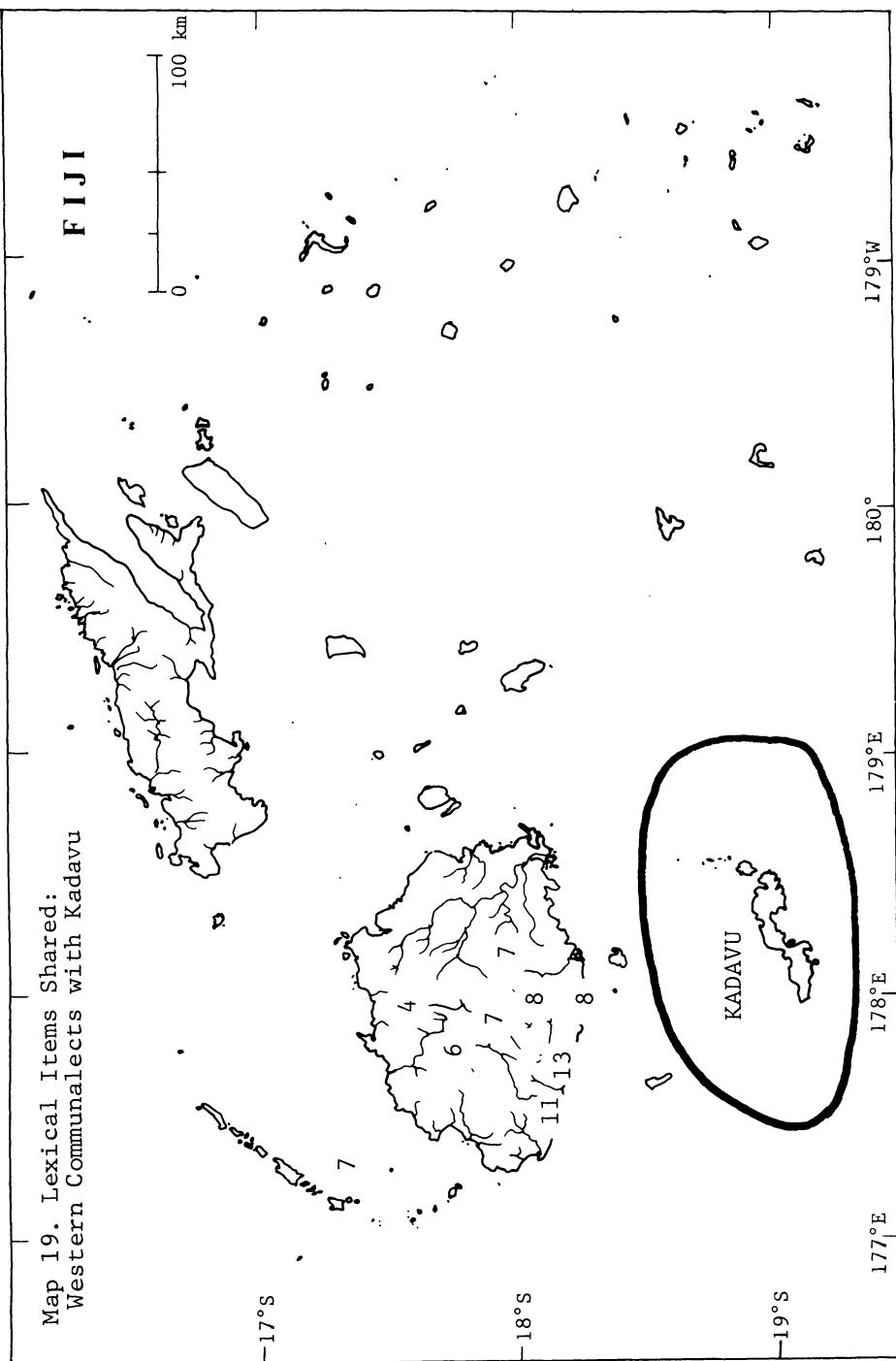
A small number of lexical items are shared exclusively by Western Fijian, Kadavu, and Southeast Viti Levu:

<i>gasagasa</i>	'sweet'	(WAY, BTW, TBI, NLE; WDN, NMS; ONO, TVK, NBL)
<i>obo</i>	'clap'	(WAY, KBY, NKR, BTW, TBI, NLE; NMS, WDN, LUT, NDR; ONO, TVK, NBL; cf. TBW, BRV <i>sobo</i> , elsewhere <i>cobo</i>)
<i>winiwini</i>	'sour'	(TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI, NLE; WDN, LUT, NDR; TVK (NBL unknown); possible cognate is MTA <i>win</i> 'turn red, rust, mildewed, (food) off')

It can now be shown that lexical items shared with Kadavu are not distributed randomly in the West, but occur more often in the Southwest (see Map 19):

Table 34
 Lexical Items Shared Exclusively by the Various
 Western Communalects with Southeast
 Viti Levu and Kadavu

	Kadavu	Kadavu and SE Viti Levu	Total
Waya	7	2	9
Nakoroboya	4	1	5
Noikoro	7	1	8
Magodro	6	0	6
Tubaniwai	11	1	12
Baravi	13	1	14
Batiwai	8	3	11
Tubai	8	3	11
Nalea	7	3	10



In viewing the data from the Kadavu side, we see that Nabukelevu and, especially, Tavuki share more lexical items exclusively with Western Fijian than does Ono-i-Kadavu:

Table 35

Lexical Items Shared Exclusively by the Various
Kadavu Communalects with Southeast
Viti Levu and Western Fijian

	Western Fiji	Western Fiji and SE Viti Levu	Total
Ono	8	2	10
Tavuki	15	3	18
Nabukelevu	12	2	14

6.1.5.4. Western Fiji and Northeast Viti Levu

In the preceding section in which Western Fiji and Vanua Levu relationships were discussed, Northeast Viti Levu (TKM, NMN, LVN), especially Tokaimalo, was seen to share a number of items with Western Fiji and Vanua Levu, notably the change of *oa* to *ō*. We now present some lexical innovations shared by Northeast Viti Levu and WF, exclusively of Vanua Levu.

<i>comi-</i> ∅	'pick up'	(Yasawa, MGD; TKM; cf. WAY, KBY, TBI <i>tomi-</i> ∅, MGD <i>cogi-</i> ∅, BRV <i>cugi-</i> ∅, NDR <i>cami-</i> ∅)
<i>Ngana</i>	'that'	III (TBI, NLE; TKM; cf. SLV, Kubulau, Yadua <i>gona</i>)

<i>-kalavā-</i>	'thigh'	(WAY, KBY, NKR, TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI, NLE; TKM)
<i>kobo</i>	'uncircumcised'	(WAY, KBY, MGD, TBW, BRV; TKM)
<i>Vkolo</i>	'prematurely'	(KBY, MGD, TBW, BRV, BTW; NDR, TKM)
<i>lavi-∅</i>	'dodge, evade'	(WF but NKR; NMN (TKM unknown))
<i>madila</i>	'wounded'	(WAY, NKR, TBW, BRV; TKM)
<i>māragi</i>	'bright, light'	(<i>mamaragi</i> KBY, <i>māragi</i> TKM; probably from PEO <i>*raŋi</i> 'light, shine')
<i>sēsevu</i>	'white'	(Yasawa, KBY, MGD; TKM; WAY <i>sevusevu</i>)
<i>sobe-t</i>	'catch (st moving away)'	(WAY, KBY; TKM)
<i>sue</i>	'house'	(Yasawa, KBY, MGD; TKM)
<i>sugi-∅</i>	'rear, bring up'	(KBY, MGD, TBW; TKM; cf. SF <i>susu-g</i>)
<i>vuse</i>	'sated'	(Yasawa, KBY; TKM; also NDR (loan?))

Adding these shared items to those in which Vanua Levu also takes part, we find that Tokaimalo far exceeds any other Northeast Viti Levu communalect in the number of items it shares with WF:

Table 36
 Lexical Items Shared Exclusively by the Various
 Northeast Viti Levu Communalects
 with Western Fijian

	Western Fiji	Western Fiji and Vanua Levu	Total
Tokaimalo	12	13	25
Namena	1	3	4
Lovoni	0	1	1

Similarly, when we look closely at the Western Fijian items shared with Northeast Viti Levu, we find the Northwest Viti Levu, and especially Nakoroboya, shows a particularly close relationship with Tokaimalo and the other Northeast Viti Levu communalects (see Map 20):

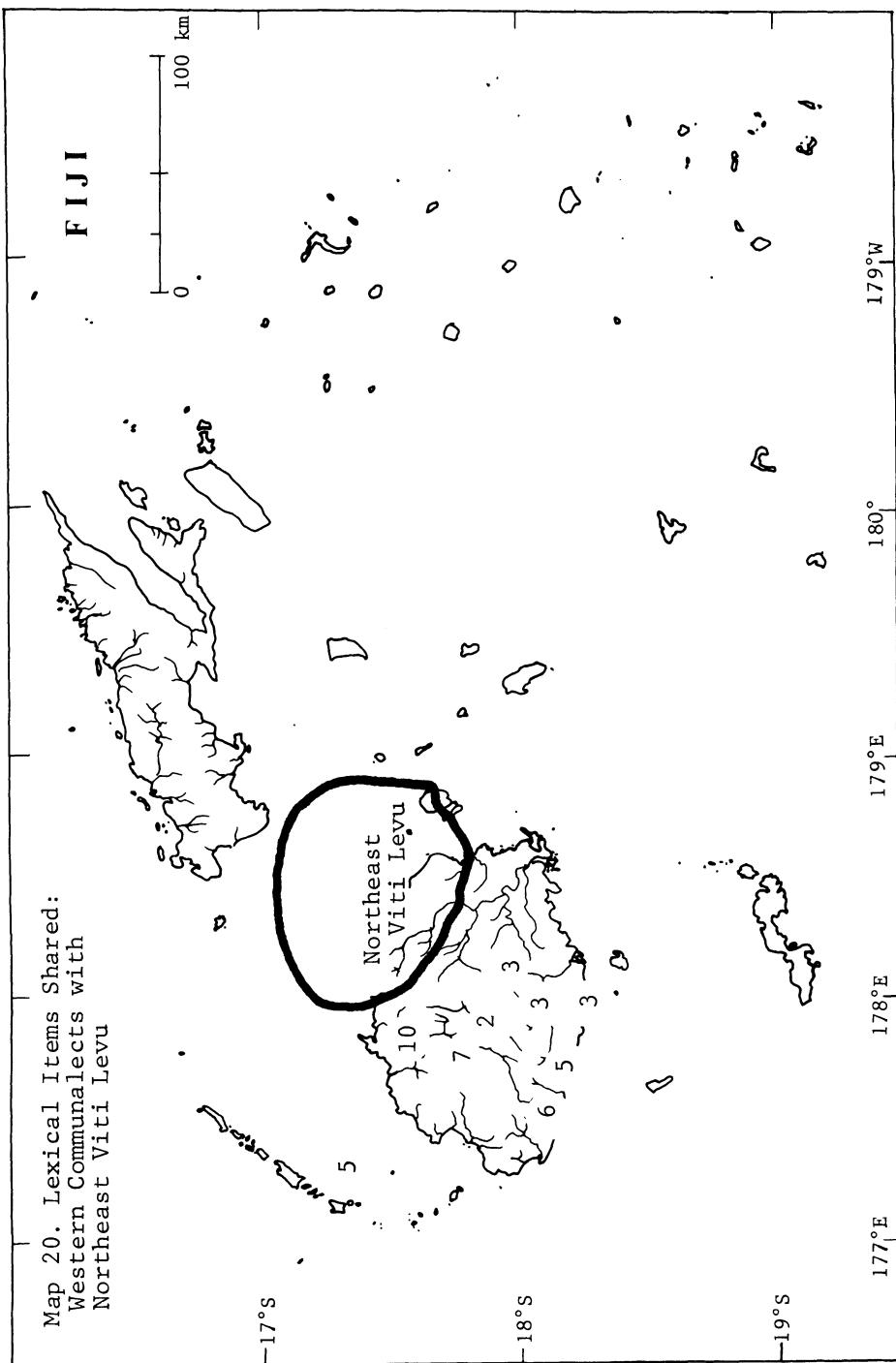
Table 37

Lexical Items Shared Exclusively by the Various
Western Fiji Communalects with
Northeast Viti Levu

	NE Viti Levu	NE Viti Levu Vanua Levu	Total
Waya	5	11	16
Nakoroboya	10	7	17
Noikoro	2	5	7
Magodro	7	8	15
Tubaniwai	6	6	12
Bāravi	5	6	11
Batiwai	3	2	5
Tubai	3	2	5
Nalea	3	1	4

6.1.5.5. Other Items Shared with Western Fiji

A few items are shared exclusively by Western Fijian and Southeast Viti Levu. The labiovelars *kw* and *qw* appear to constitute an innovation, as do some of the following lexical items:



<i>kākā</i>	'painful'	(WAY, MGD, BTW, TBI, NLE; NMS, WDN, LUT, NDR, NMM; but cf. possible cognates ANU <i>kakaa</i> 'get hurt', MTA <i>gagas</i> 'annoy, pain')
<i>katasivi-t</i>	'spit - on'	(WF; NMS, WDN, NDR; cf. SF <i>kāsivi-t</i>)
<i>kivi-t</i>	'rap w knuckles'	(WAY, NKR, TBW, BRV, BTW, TBI; WDN; cf. ONO, TVK <i>kivi-</i> ∅)
<i>maciv</i>	'again'	(WF; NMS, WDN, LUT, NDR, NMM)
<i>sabo</i>	'sneeze'	(KBY, TBI; WDN, LUT, NDR; <i>sabu</i> MGD)
<i>veike</i>	'where'	(TBW, BTW, TBI, NLE; NMS; <i>vīke</i> WDN)

Two forms show shared innovations of all of Viti Levu--West, Northeast, and Southeast:

<i>Vbale</i>	'down'	(WF but WAY; NMS, LUT, NDR; TKM, NMN; cf. SF <i>bale</i> 'fall over, collapse', PPN * <i>pale</i> 'lean' (NAN, TAK), GED <i>bale</i> 'lean, droop')
<i>taci-</i>	'txx '(male) son's child'	(KBY, MGD; WDN, LUT; cf. EF, WF <i>taci-</i> , PEO * <i>tazi-</i> a'a- 'younger same-sex sibling'. This apparent lexical innovation reflects some properties of kinship systems common to most of inland

Viti Levu, where alternate generations are assigned to one of two moieties, *tako* and *lavō*. All members of the same moiety are said to stand in a sibling relationship, so that kin two generations removed address each other as "brothers.")

Two innovative lexical items are shared by Western Fiji, Vanua Levu, and Kadavu:

(c,s)ālevu	'path, road'	(WF <i>calevu</i> ; ONO, TVK, NBL sālevu; GOD, BRV, NBB, SAV, LBS, DGT, SQN, KRL, NVT(C), NWN <i>sālevu</i> ; cf. SQQ <i>salalevu</i> ; probably from (c,s)ala 'path' and levu 'big')
<i>sulua</i>	'octopus'	(WF (but no NNS data); TVK (ONO, NBL no data); NVS, GOD; cf. ROT <i>sulua</i> 'k fish, red, large eyes, anal fin has projecting spike')

Finally, even as far away as Lau there appear to be lexical items shared only with Western Fijian:

<i>borisi</i>	'angry'	(Yasawa, WAY; LAU)
<i>riva</i>	'mad'	(WAY, KBY, TBW, BRV; LAU, VBL)

6.1.5.6. Summary

We have been attempting to demonstrate that some parts of Eastern Fiji have been in closer contact with Western Fiji than others, by using the classic argument of exclusively shared innovations, and comparing exclusively shared lexical items. In so doing, we have, without comment, divided the Eastern Fijian language area up into five areas--Vanua Levu, Lau, Kadavu, Northeast Viti Levu, and Southeast Viti Levu. Without such impressionistic groupings, it would be almost impossible to demonstrate anything--if we compared individual communalects with Western Fijian, the *exclusively* shared items would be very few, and then would become increasingly fewer as we turned to consider communalects not in this study. We shall see, however, that the Eastern Fijian groups we have been using are well supported by internal Eastern Fijian data.

A convenient way of summarizing the relationships of the Eastern Fijian groupings to Western Fijian is by stating the number of exclusively shared lexical items, thus:

Vanua Levu	45	(18 only Gone Dau)
Lau	3	
Kadavu	16	
NE Viti Levu	13	(12 only Tokaimalo)
SE Viti Levu	6	

6.2.0. The Eastern Fijian Group

The Eastern Fijian languages are probably more diverse internally than those of Western Fiji; this, at least, is the opinion of Pawley and Sayaba (1971: 417), and receives some support from our study of morpho-syntactic innovations (see Table 2). Nevertheless, we can point to some innovative features common to all, and only, the Eastern languages under study. One phonological innovation--the merger of PEO $*\tilde{n}$ and $*n$ as n --serves to distinguish East from West (though not from most other Eastern Oceanic languages). Another is the very heavy prenasalization of $*z$ as s , as demonstrated earlier (Map 13); EF languages show 60-100 percent, Western 0-40 percent. Lexical items exclusive to Eastern Fijian are as follows:

<i>buka</i>	'firewood'
<i>bula</i>	'live, healthy'
<i>doka(-)</i>	'(house) ridge'
<i>kaba-t</i>	'climb'
<i>kere-</i> \emptyset	'ask for' (cf. WF <i>kere-v</i> , PPN <i>*kole</i>)
<i>meke</i>	'dance'
<i>mila-</i> \emptyset	'scratch (itch)'
<i>nunu-v</i>	'dive - for'
<i>rārā</i>	'village green, open field' (cf. WF <i>rārā</i> 'village')
<i>saresare(-)</i>	'rib'
<i>Vrawa</i>	'able to'
<i>loma(LN)</i>	'inside'

We might add to this list those that are absent in only one communalect or area:

<i>dredre</i>	'laugh'	(WDN, LUT <i>viwali</i> , NDR <i>veiwali</i> ; cf. SF <i>veiwali</i> 'joke')
<i>kalavo</i>	'rat'	(ONO, TVK, NBL <i>kuve</i> ; <i>kalavo</i> may derive from PAN * <i>labaw</i>)
<i>sore-</i>	'seed'	(GOD, BRV, SQQ, LBS, DGT <i>qelev-</i> , also WF)
<i>suru</i>	'sneeze'	(WDN, LUT, NDR <i>sabo</i> , also WF)
<i>Vtiko</i>	progressive aspect	(GOD <i>nō</i> , also WF)
<i>uto</i>	'breadfruit'	(GOD <i>kulu</i> , also WF, from PEO * <i>kulu</i>)
<i>vū</i>	'cough'	(ONO, TVK, NBL <i>ogo</i> , also WF)

6.2.1.1. The Internal Relationships of Eastern Fiji

To study the relationships of Eastern Fijian languages to Western Fiji, I found it useful, indeed necessary, to group certain communalects together on an impressionistic basis, in order to have a finite number of units to compare. Namosi, Waidina, Lutu, Nadrau, and Naimasimasi constitute a Southeast Viti Levu group, while Tokaimalo, Namena, and Lovoni represent Northeast Viti Levu. In Vanua Levu, we distinguish four groups: a western one, comprising Navatu (B), Sōlevu, Bua, Navakasiga, and Gone Dau; a central one, consisting of Bāravi, Seaqāqā, Nabalebale, and Savusavu; a northeastern group, to which Labasa, Dogotuki, Saqani, and Koroalau belong; and a southeastern one, with Navatu (C), Tunuloa, and Naweni as members. Lau (LAU and Vanua Balavu) is a natural group, as is Kadavu (Ono, Tavuki, and Nabukelevu). Each of these tentative groups was found to be supported by evidence of

exclusively shared features, but it became clear also that there are features exclusively shared by any pair of adjacent communalects, and even by geographically remote communalects, in cases of recent population movement or prestige language influence. Navatu (B) and Navatu (C) both represent cases of recent population movement, while Ono (Kadavu) and Naweni (Southeast Vanua Levu) both appear to have borrowed extensively from the prestigious Bau-Rewa area (not included in the survey). Accordingly, I have generally allowed for borrowing in designating a form as exclusive to a particular group, requiring only that the form be present in most of the communalects of the group, and allowing its presence in an adjacent communalect of a different group.

6.2.1.2. Kadavu

Probably the most clearly defined group in Eastern Fiji is Kadavu, which contains a large body of unique features, and very few features shared with other Eastern regions. In the compilation of the following list of exclusively shared lexical items, data from Togoni (Naceva) and Solotavui (Nakasaleka) were also considered.

<i>baci</i>	'bad'	(cf. LAU, VBL <i>piaci</i> 'very bad, spoilt')
<i>caca</i>	'burn'	(cf. TBW, BRV <i>cece</i>)
<i>cobo</i>	'buttocks'	(cf. TBI, WDN <i>cobo</i> 'anus')
<i>dora</i>	'pus'	
<i>drisi</i>	'bald'	
<i>i</i>	numeral prefix (no data from ONO)	
<i>kanisu-v</i>	'spit - on'	(probably by metathesis from PEO * <i>kanusi</i>)

<i>kāniuniu</i>	'ant'	(cf. NMS <i>kasiniuniu</i> , NDR, TKM <i>kāsiviniuniu</i> , WAY, TBW <i>kādriudriu</i>)
<i>kuve</i>	'rat'	
<i>lusu-g</i>	'dig'	
<i>ravo</i>	'vine, string, rope'	(cf. LUT, TKM, NMN, NMM, LVN <i>dravo</i> 'reed')
<i>reto-vk</i>	'fear'	
<i>rewa-v</i>	'angry - with'	
<i>taliga vara</i>	'deaf'	(ONO <i>daliga vara</i> shows apical prenasalization)
<i>tānu-m</i>	'forget'	(probably by recutting from * <i>taqe</i> 'not' and * <i>numi-</i> ∅ 'remember')
<i>viākole</i>	'play'	
<i>i-vuso</i>	'taro leaves'	(cf. TKM, NVT(B), SLV, BUA, NVS, GOD <i>vusou</i> ; NMS, WDN, LUT, NMN <i>sovou</i>)

If it is accepted that Ono has had a recent history of borrowing from Rewa, or a similar dialect, and that some of these borrowings may have crossed over to mainland Kadavu, this list can be extended considerably:

<i>bera</i> (LN)	'behind, after'	(ONO, Nakasaleka, Naceva <i>muri</i> , also SF)
<i>ere</i>	'thing'	(ONO <i>kā</i> , also SF)
<i>ila</i>	'name'	(ONO <i>yaca-</i> , also SF)
<i>kēmī</i>	PnIxp	(ONO, Nakasaleka, Naceva <i>keimamu</i> , also SE Viti Levu)
<i>kēmū</i>	PnIIp	(ONO <i>kemunū</i> , also LAU)
<i>laga</i>	'leg'	(ONO <i>yava-</i> , also SF)
<i>nikia</i>	'when'	(ONO <i>i naica</i> , SF <i>e naica</i> , CF <i>i naica</i> ; but NBL <i>nikiā</i>)

<i>rina</i>	'jump'	(ONO <i>lade</i> , also SF)
<i>tatama</i>	'fast, quick'	(ONO, Nakasaleka <i>totolo</i> , also SF)
<i>ti-(l̪)</i>	'do'	(ONO <i>caka-v</i> , also SF; TVK, NBL <i>ti-∅</i> , Nakasaleka, Naceva <i>ti-l</i> ; cf. NDR, SLV, BUA, NVS <i>tu-l</i> , LBS <i>v-tu-l</i>)
<i>wate-v</i>	'smell'	(ONO <i>boi-c</i> , also SF)
<i>yā</i>	'where'	(ONO <i>vei</i> , also SF; perhaps cognate with PMC *iaa)
<i>yava</i>	'who'	(ONO <i>cei</i> , also SF)

External influence on Ono is also seen in its high prenasalization of *t* and *r*, optional incorporation of proper noun possessor, and direct possession of part nouns (which may, however, be a retention; further investigation is warranted here).

Within Kadavu, Tavuki and Nabukelevu appear to form a group apart from the rest, as witness these few forms:

<u>TVK, NBL</u>	<u>Nakasaleka, Naceva</u>	<u>Ono</u>
<i>i-coni</i>	<i>levulevu</i>	<i>levulevu, ibe</i> 'mat'
<i>kātuba</i>	<i>matātuba</i>	<i>matātuba</i> 'door'
<i>qaluga</i>	<i>qaluka</i>	<i>qaluka</i> 'finger'
<i>ē</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>kē</i> 'here'

6.2.1.3. Southeast Viti Levu

The Southeast Viti Levu group--Namosi, Waidina, Lutu, Nadrau, and Naimasimasii--is characterized by the realization of the verb ending *-ia as -e (see section 5.3.1), a feature which coincides roughly with the presence of labiovelars in Eastern Fiji. It is a clearly definable group internally, but

differs from Kadavu in that it shares numerous features with other groups, particularly Northeast Viti Levu, Nadrau and Tokaimalo showing a very close relationship. The number of lexical items shared by all and only the members of this group is very small:

<i>balei</i>	'snake'	(borrowed by TBI)
?(<i>bu</i>) <i>atuvu</i>	<i>t'yx</i> '(male) sister's child'	(NDR <i>batuvu</i> , WDN, LUT <i>vatuvu</i> , no data from NMS, NMM)
? <i>diva</i>	' <i>ytx</i> '(woman) son's child'	(no data from NMS, NMM)
<i>gwalo</i>	'evening'	(perhaps from POC * <i>mwalo</i> 'middle of night')
<i>kali-</i>	'cheek'	(cf. WF <i>kaliga</i>)

By allowing one witness to disagree (usually Nadrau), we can add the following:

<i>cou</i>	'bald'	(NDR <i>drika</i> , also TKM, Vanua Levu, Lau)
<i>dama-</i>	'skin, bark'	(NMM <i>kuli-</i> , also SF)
<i>dro</i>	'run away'	(NDR <i>tuba</i> , also WF)
<i>gunu</i>	'drink'	(NDR <i>sому</i> , also WF; irregular development from PEO * <i>unu</i>)
<i>i-lava</i>	'fish'	(NDR <i>ika</i> ; elsewhere in Fiji, <i>i-lava</i> means '(meal) meat or fish')
? <i>lei</i>	<i>xt'</i> voc	'mother!' (NDR <i>nau</i> , widespread in Fiji; but no data from NMS)
<i>moku-t</i>	'beat, strike, kill'	(cf. NDR, TKM, NMN, Vanua Levu, Lau <i>motu-k</i>)

?viwali	'laugh'	(NDR <i>dredre</i> , widespread in EF; but no data from NMS)
voro-vk	'fear'	(NDR <i>rere-vk</i> , also TKM, SF)
warai	'no, none'	(NDR <i>wara</i> , also TKM, NMN, LVN)

A large body of lexical items is shared exclusively by three communalects--Namosi, Waidina, and Lutu--which occupy a relatively isolated area in the mountains of Southeast Viti Levu. In addition to the above, they share the following:

bau	'go'	
boka	'taro'	(borrowed by TBI)
bou	'night'	
dosi-v	'run - for'	
koko	PnII	(cf. NDR <i>keko</i> , YML <i>koikō</i> , TBI <i>kokō</i>)
kudukudua	'cold'	
vkwari	'only'	
labo	'jump'	(borrowed by TBI)
laqwā	'speak'	
maV	aspect particle	(cf. widespread EF <i>maV</i> past tense marker)
nakwa	'good'	
tā	'cry'	
vākabukabu	'morning'	(cf. widespread <i>kabu</i> 'mist')
wāri(rī)	'fast, quick'	(<i>wāri(rī)</i> NMS, WDN, and borrowed by NLE; <i>wārī</i> LUT)

There remain a few items shared by three of the five communalects:

-Ca		nonagentive passive suffix (see section 5.3.1) (NMS, NMM <i>ta-</i> , from PEO * <i>ta-</i>)
<i>cece</i>	'fly'	(WDN, NMM <i>vuka</i> , also wide- spread WF and EF; cf. TKM <i>cece</i> 'run')
<i>lada</i>	'small'	(NDR, LUT <i>lailai</i> , widespread EF)
<i>lase</i>	'sand'	(LUT, NMM <i>nuku</i> , widespread EF; <i>lase</i> from PEO * <i>laje</i> 'coral')
<i>uva</i>	'sated'	(NMS <i>mamau</i> , also SF; NDR <i>vuse</i> , also KBY, TKM)
<i>vua</i>	'yam'	(NMS <i>dasi</i> , cf. NLE <i>tasi</i> ; NDR <i>uvu</i> , widespread)

6.2.1.4. Northeast Viti Levu

The Northeast Viti Levu group appears to be the converse of the Southeast Viti Levu group--retaining the *-ia* verb ending, and showing no labiovelars. But, like the Southeast Viti Levu group, it is barely definable in terms of uniquely shared features, and shares many features with Southeast Viti Levu, and some with Western Vanua Levu. I take this observation to mean that the Northeast Viti Levu communalects are relatively conservative (Table 29 shows that Tokaimalo has participated in only two morpho-syntactic innovations), and have not innovated a great deal, but have changed largely by borrowing lexicon from neighbors. My impression is that this borrowing, too, has probably been in small doses, except that recent Standard Fijian influence has been felt strongly, especially in Lovoni and Namena.

One feature that is shared by all Northeast Viti Levu communalects from which I have data (Namena, Lovoni, Nailuva, Navunisole), except Tokaimalo, is the use of the second person singular pronoun *iko* as the marker of person for all the members (as discussed in section 5.1.2). Even Tokaimalo may retain a trace of it in the second person plural (*i*)*koniu*.

There is one possible shared lexical innovation:

kasu-v 'spit-on' (but cf. XWA '*asi-a* 'spit on', NHPe *kasu* 'spit')

The form *mosa* 'fall over, collapse' is found in Tokaimalo and Namena (the Lovoni form is missing), and *Vwaca* 'only' is common to all three communalects, but also found further south, in Naimasimasi, and probably even as far as parts of the Rewa delta.

I shall return later to discuss features shared by Northeast Viti Levu and other Eastern languages.

6.2.1.5. Western Vanua Levu

The Western Vanua Levu area, approximately the province of Bua, includes the communalects of Navatu, Sōlevu, Bua, Navakasiga, and Gone Dau. Sōlevu, Bua, and Navakasiga form something of a continuum, while Navatu and Gone Dau stand apart, for reasons already discussed. It appears that Gone Dau is a relic area, while Navatu is an intrusive language from the East Viti Levu or Lomaiviti area. Features which Navatu shares with the continuum are, therefore, probably recently acquired, while features shared by Gone Dau and the continuum may be retentions, or mainland innovations which have spread to Gone Dau. Here, "retentions"

means simply features that have resisted change or replacement in recent times; many are innovations shared with Western Fijian, and bear witness to a time in the past when there was such intercourse between Western Fiji and Vanua Levu as facilitated the spread of innovations between them.

There are no phonological or morpho-syntactic innovations common and unique to the members of the Western Vanua Levu group, even if Navatu were excluded. These lexical items, however, are shared exclusively by the group, and have been accepted in Navatu:

batiri (LN) 'opposite bank, opposite side' (SF *tai*)
civo-t 'angry - with'
senilato 'k hibiscus' (said to be same as SF
 senitoa, which is intro-
 duced; but probably once
 referred to an indigenous
 plant)

These shared lexical items have not yet become common usage on Navatu:

didi 'deaf' (cf. *dudu*, *didivara*, *didivatu*
 elsewhere in EF)
iloiloa 'dark'
nuidai 'forget' (compounded from *nui-*∅
 'think, remember' and *dai*
 'leave, put; away')
N-qiau I 'my', possessive pronoun suffixed to
 noun, and to possessive
 marker when noun is not
 following; NW Viti Levu -*yau*,
 elsewhere -*qu*.

uso-k 'punch'

The following, absent in Gone Dau, appear to be relatively recent innovations of Western Vanua Levu:

cōcō 'grass' (also NVT; cf. widespread
 cō)
de-g 'lay, spread out (mat, cloth, sheet)'
 (SF *tevu-k*)
takailade 'surprised' (also NVT)

Finally, the forms below are exclusive, but not shared by all witnesses. There is evidence here that Navatu, Sōlevu, and Bua share some features exclusively of Navakasiga and Gone Dau.

babu- 'chest' (NVT, SLV, BUA; irregular
 development from **mabu-*
 (LAU, TVK; NHSA, Ao *mambu-*
 'heart'); GOD and NVS show
 mama-, a form unparalleled
 elsewhere)
būtu- 'cover' (SLV, NVS, GOD; in SF this
 word has the specific
 meaning of covering the
 walls and roof of a house
 with leaves)
duri 'sit' (SLV, NVS)
kaba '(house) wall' (NVT, SLV, BUA, GOD;
 perhaps cognate with PPN
 *(*q*)*apa* (SIK, TAK *apaapa*),
 for which initial corres-
 pondence see section 4.4.2)
kene(LN) III 'there' (BUA, NVS, GOD; cf. *kena*
 SLV, BRV, SQQ, SAV)

<i>kuti-</i> ø	'chase away'	(SLV, BUA, GOD)
<i>matakavula</i>	'morning'	(NVT, SLV, BUA; <i>mataka</i> and <i>vulaci</i> elsewhere in EF)
<i>reti</i>	'refuse, dislike'	(NVT, SLV, BUA)
<i>riqa</i>	'run'	(SLV, NVS; cf. NDR <i>riqwariqwa</i> 'fast', SF <i>rika</i> 'jump down')
<i>sisina</i>	'mud'	(NVT, SLV, BUA)
<i>soganiwai</i>	'river'	(NVT, BUA, GOD)

The many forms Western Vanua Levu shares with Central Vanua Levu and the few it shares with Northeast Viti Levu will be dealt with presently.

6.2.1.6. Central Vanua Levu

Lying between two fairly well-defined groups-- Northeast and West Vanua Levu--Central Vanua Levu (Bāravi, Seaqāqā, Nabalebale, and Savusavu) is poorly defined, and shares features East and West as much as it shows them internally. Such a situation is not, of course, surprising: any Central Vanua Levu innovation would be expected to be diffused relatively easily, and likewise external innovations to be admitted, simply because there are two fronts over which innovations can pass. A handful have, however, been contained:

<i>magua</i>	'tired'	(also KRL)
<i>rara</i>	'salty'	(but no data from SAV)
<i>valakaya</i>	'do it'	(a curious, and quite irregular, transitive form of <i>vala</i> 'do'; cf. GOD <i>veleke</i> , which is even stranger)
<i>Vyaqe</i>	'thither'	(SF <i>yani</i>)

Two lexical items are absent only in Baravi:

<i>qata-</i>	'skin'	(cf. BUA, DGT <i>taqa-</i>)
<i>tobulevu</i>	'deep'	(a compound, probably of <i>tobu</i> 'depth' and <i>levu</i> 'great')

and two absent only in Savusavu:

<i>lāCN</i>	very common prenominal marker meaning 'aforementioned', rather like 'this' and 'that' of colloquial English; the function appears to be absent in SF, but CF uses <i>ko na</i> or <i>ka na</i> ; <i>lā</i> is probably analyzable as <i>la</i> plus <i>a</i> , the second element being the common article <i>a</i> .
<i>mecemece</i>	'(mouth) lips'

Within the Central Vanua Levu languages, there appears to be a north-south division. South Central (Nabalebale and Savusavu) shows *vulaci* 'morning' (also KRL), and the distinctive aspect marker *bā* (SF, BRV, SQQ *sā*). Baravi and Seaqāqā share these forms:

<i>loga-</i>	neutral-active possessive marker used when the possessed noun is absent (see section 5.2.5)
<i>meqeV</i>	'too, too much' (cf. BUA, KBY <i>beke</i>)
<i>nai</i>	xy' voc (term of address to mother, etc.; <i>nau</i> is common elsewhere)
<i>niPN</i>	preposition marking location, direction, etc. (SF <i>vei</i> ; possibly a retention, cf. NGU, PON <i>ni</i> , which have similar functions)

6.2.1.7. Northeast Vanua Levu

Like its counterpart at the other end of the Vanua Levu dialect chain, Northeast Vanua Levu is quite well defined internally, and shares many features exclusively with Central Vanua Levu. Moreover, its relationship with Southeast Vanua Levu is not unlike that of Western Vanua Levu with Northeast Viti Levu--slight, but not altogether negligible.

Some remarkable retentions of Northeast Vanua Levu should first be mentioned. Almost alone in Vanua Levu and Lau, it retains the common article *na* and the neutral-active possessive marker *no-*, and shows relatively low apical prenasalization. Like Northeast Viti Levu, it retains *ia* IIIPn; and the first and second person nominal demonstratives also appear to be PEO retentions--SQN, KRL *Nē* 'this', SQN *eni* 'this'; LBS, SQN, KRL *Nena* 'that'. Exclusively lexical items of Northeast Vanua Levu are as follows:

<i>bere-</i>	'footprint'	(no KRL form)
<i>kālesu-v</i>	'spit - on'	(also NVT(C), but possibly loan)
<i>kina</i> (LN)	'there'	II (also NVT(C), but possibly loan)
<i>kovo-c</i>	'alight, burning'	(no KRL form)
<i>lāwe-</i>	'body hair'	(cf. PPN * <i>lāwe</i> and SF <i>lāwe-</i> 'tail-feather')
<i>mālo-</i>	'thigh'	(but no data from SE Vanua Levu)
<i>mōdulu</i>	'buttocks'	(also BRV)
<i>nobo</i>	'hide'	(but no KRL form; perhaps related to PPN * <i>nofo</i> 'stay', cf. GOD <i>novo</i> 'hide')

<i>qisi</i>	'small'	(possibly related to TON <i>kihi</i> 'stunted, dwarfed', PMC * <i>kisi</i> 'little, not much')
<i>qo-</i>	'head'	
<i>sika</i>	'good'	
<i>voka</i>	'low tide'	(SF <i>voka</i> '(tide) ebb'; SF <i>di na mati</i> is 'low tide')
<i>yaqiti</i>	'child'	(perhaps related to PMC *kiti 'little, not much', NUK <i>gidigidi</i> 'short')

Other lexical items are shown by three out of the four witnesses:

<i>daci</i>	'tell lies'	(not LBS)
<i>dreka</i>	'earth, soil'	(not DGT)
<i>k(ao)mu naCN</i>	combined 'aforementioned' marker	and common article, <i>kamu na</i> in SQN and DGT, <i>komu na</i> in DGT and LBS; used in the same way as BRV, SQQ, NBB <i>lā</i> (see section 6.2.1.6); not KRL.
<i>kuva</i>	'belch'	(not LBS; means 'vomit' in TKM)
<i>redevuka</i>	'surprised'	(also BRV)
<i>taukei</i>	'tame'	(not KRL; <i>i-taukei</i> is wide- spread in Fiji meaning 'owner, native')

Internally, Labasa and Dogotuki appear to share at least two lexical items exclusively of Saqani and Koroalau:

vovō 'difficult' (*drēdrē* is widespread in both
WF and EF)
tumutumu 'heart'

6.2.1.8. Southeast Vanua Levu

The Southeast Vanua Levu languages--Navatu (C), Tunuloa, and Naweni--show very little cohesion as a group, but share a few features with both Northeast Vanua Levu and Lau. I suspect, however, that my sample is not a good one. The Navatu people are immigrants, and the language of Naweni appears to have undergone heavy SF/CF influence in recent times. Tunuloa may, therefore, be the only bona fide Southeast Vanua Levu language in our sample, and it is unfortunate that the data from Tunuloa are not as extensive as those for most other communalects. Taveuni is an important part of Southeast Vanua Levu from which I have collected very little data; its absence renders any conclusions drawn here about Southeast Vanua Levu particularly suspect.

The following exclusively shared lexical items tend to support the Southeast Vanua Levu grouping:

<i>qē</i>	'here'	(cf. SF, NE Vanua Levu <i>kē</i>)
<i>qeiv</i>	'then'	(cf. SF <i>qai</i> ; <i>qeい</i> , however, is also found in nearby Savusavu; WF <i>qeい</i> is a regular reflex of earlier <i>qai</i> (see section 4.5.3))
<i>qere</i>	'there' II	(TNL, NWN; NVT has <i>kina</i> , agreeing with NE Vanua Levu)

6.2.1.9. Lau

The LAU and VBL communalects share many innovations, as well as a number of noteworthy retentions. Within the Lau Islands, there are at least three major groups. One (Northern) is represented by VBL, the second (Southern) by LAU, and the third (Yasayasa Moala) is not represented in our sample. Two retentions of particular note are (i) an extensive set of numeral classifiers (as opposed to the single human/nonhuman distinction in most of the rest of Fiji),⁴ and (ii) the lack of incorporation of proper noun objects, which are usually preceded by *i* and stand outside the verb phrase. An important grammatical innovation is the neutralization of the distinction between active and passive possession (see section 5.2.3.2). The following appear to be exclusively shared lexical items of Lau:

<i>bārawa</i>	'(coconut) calyx'	(SF <i>bāwara</i> , Vanua Levu <i>sabarewa</i>)
<i>bese</i>	'(child) disobedient, cheeky'	(cf. SF <i>bese</i> 'dislike, refuse')
<i>drakai</i>	'tired'	
<i>kayavi</i>	'evening'	(cf. PEO * <i>RaviRavi</i> , SF <i>yakavi</i>)
<i>leweti</i>	'papaya'	(possibly a neologism, but shows metathesis with respect to the widespread EF <i>weleti</i>)
<i>pākia</i>	'taro leaves'	
<i>peso-k</i>	'poke'	
<i>pikeu</i>	'bent'	
<i>pilo</i>	'uncircumcized'	
<i>pono-k</i>	'catch (st moving away)'	

<i>popo</i>	'(wood) rotten'
<i>soco-</i>	'buttocks' (elsewhere <i>soco</i> means '(coconut, banana) flower' (TBW, KBY), '(coconut) young nut' (BRV, GOD))
<i>tāligo-c</i>	'forget' (presumably from PEO * <i>tage</i> 'not' and <i>ligo-c</i> 'remember' --but <i>ligo-c</i> is not now used; cf. Kadavu <i>tānu-m</i> , of a similar construction)
<i>tāvia</i>	'refuse, dislike' (from PEO * <i>tage</i> 'not' and * <i>viaV</i> 'want to')
<i>vala-t</i>	'do' (cf. Central Vanua Levu <i>valakaya</i>)
<i>wākolo</i>	'path'
<i>yaba</i>	'mat' (perhaps an irregular develop- ment from PEO * <i>qeba</i> 'sleeping mat')
<i>yasa-v</i>	'look for'

6.2.2.0. Larger Groupings within Eastern Fiji

By continuing the method of counting exclusively shared items, we can determine relationships among the preceding groups of Eastern Fiji. The results show clearly that land has been a better conductor of innovations than sea. By far the closest ties are between Southeast and Northeast Viti Levu, and between West and Central Vanua Levu, and Central and Northeast Vanua Levu. Over a greater distance, a larger number of innovations are shared by Western, Central, and Northeast Vanua Levu.

6.2.2.1. Eastern Viti Levu

An Eastern Viti Levu group is defined by these exclusively shared lexical items:

colo(LN) 'up, above'
dreke-t 'carry on back' (also loaned from SF by
 ONO and NWN)
sivi 'fart'
liu(LN) 'in front, ahead, before'

The following items are not reflected in only one
 communalect of Southeast and/or Northeast Viti Levu:

i-coi '(meal) fish or meat' (NMS, WDN, LUT,
 NMM; NMN, LVN)
darava 'door' (all but WDN)
sere- 'chest' (all but TKM)

Lexical items with a more patchy distribution are
 listed below:

cici-v 'run - for' (NMM; NMN, LVN; also NVT(B))
didivara 'deaf' (NMS, LUT, NMM; NMN, LVN; cf.
 Kadavu *taliga vara*, Western
 Vanua Levu *didi*; TBW, BTW,
 TBI, NLE *duduvara*; TKM
didivatu)
dravo 'reed' (LUT, NMM; TKM, NMN, LVN; cf.
 Kadavu *ravo* 'vine, string'
 and NGG *ravo* 'k rattan',
 ARS *raho* 'sago palm thatch')
(e,ya)gu- 'to, at' (inalienable noun used as
 preposition with same func-
 tions as SF *vei*, i.e.,
 locative and directional
 preposition with human
 references; presumably from
yagu- 'body', which has the

		same distribution; NMS, WDN, LUT, NDR; TKM)
<i>guileca-v</i>	'forget'	(LUT, NMM; NMN, LVN; a compound: <i>gui</i> may be related to Vanua Levu <i>nui-</i> ∅ 'think', and <i>leca</i> occurs in SF compound verbs meaning 'missing, wrong'. The wide- spread Vanua Levu word for 'forget', <i>manisega</i> , is a similar compound of <i>māni-</i> ∅ 'think' and <i>sega</i> 'missing')
<i>kāsivi</i>	'ant'	(NMS, WDN; NDR, NMM; TKM; LVN form unknown)
<i>kwaici-</i>	'kin' name	(WDN, LUT, NDR; TKM)
	'float'	(WDN, LUT, NDR; NMN; LVN form unknown)
<i>qai</i>	'go'	(NMM; NMN, LVN; perhaps related to pan-Fijian <i>qai/qeiv</i> 'then, just now')
<i>tovu-</i>	'(so) back'	(WDN, LUT, NMM; NMN; LVN form unknown)

The "contribute" possession type discussed in section 5.2.3.2 is shared by Lutu, Nadrau, Naimasimasi, and Lovoni. The *-ni-* of the remote transitive suffix (PEO *-akini-) is lost in all Eastern Viti Levu communalects except Tokaimalo, and in Navatu (Bua), which is probably originally an Eastern Viti Levu language.

6.2.2.2. Vanua Levu

Central Vanua Levu shares many lexical items with both Western Vanua Levu and Northeast Vanua Levu. These are exclusive to all Western and

Central Vanua Levu communalects:

<i>droto</i>	'uncircumcised'
<i>kido-</i>	'thigh'
<i>rē</i>	'good'
<i>reka</i>	'alight, burning'

Some are found in all of Western and parts of Central Vanua Levu:

<i>duguV</i>	'each'	(BRV, SQQ; cf. SF <i>dui</i> , WF <i>duku</i> , SQN <i>duki</i> , NBB, SAV <i>duga</i>)
<i>gula</i>	'dumb'	(metathesis of widespread <i>galu</i>)
<i>kenaivei</i>	'how'	(BRV, SQQ, SAV; <i>kena</i> 'like', <i>ivei</i> 'where'; cf. SF <i>vakaisei</i>)
<i>seni</i>	'tell lie'	(BRV, SQQ, SAV; cf. TKM <i>taiseni</i>)

Others are found in all of Central Vanua Levu and parts of Western Vanua Levu:

<i>dāke-∅</i>	'tread - on'	(SLV, NVS)
<i>di-v</i>	'see'	(SLV, BUA)
<i>duga</i>	'one'	(SLV, BUA, NVS; cf. wide- spread EF <i>dua</i>)
<i>moriti</i>	'(so) follow on'	(SLV, NVS, GOD; perhaps from * <i>muri-ati</i> 'follow thither')
<i>qāre-t</i>	'look for'	(NVT, SLV, NVS; cf. TKM <i>qara-t</i> , SQQ, LBS <i>qāle-t</i>)

The remaining shared lexical items have a more limited distribution within Western and Central Vanua Levu:

<i>cobu</i>	'(so) hide'	(BRV, SQQ; SLV, BUA, NVS)
<i>dolo-k</i>	'cut off'	(BRV, SQQ, NBB; SLV, NVS, GOD)
<i>Nkai</i>	'this'	(BRV, SQQ; BUA, NVS, GOD)
<i>Nkana</i>	'that'	III (BRV, SQQ; BUA, NVS, GOD)
<i>kena</i> (LN)	'there'	III (BRV, SQQ, SAV; SLV)
<i>kena</i> S	'if'	(BRV, SQQ, SAV; SLV, BUA; cf. PEO * <i>kana</i> 'if' (SAM 'ana, GIL <i>ngkana</i> , ARE 'ana))
<i>nēnē</i>	'shallow'	(BRV, SQQ, NBB; BUA, NVS, GOD)
<i>qa-v</i>	'hold'	(BRV; SLV, BUA, NVS)
<i>saki-t</i>	'curse'	(NBB; SLV, BUA, NVS)
<i>Vwaqe</i>	'thither', directional to second or third person	(SQQ, NBB, SAV; BUA, NVS, GOD; cf. Central Vanua Levu <i>yafe</i>)
<i>yawa</i>	'long time'	(BRV, SQQ; BUA, GOD; cf. widespread <i>yawa</i> 'long distance, far')

Turning now to relationships between Central and Northeast Vanua Levu, we note a similar array of shared lexical items. All witnesses show these forms:

<i>dei</i>	'want to'	(SF <i>via</i>)
<i>eba</i>	'fall over, collapse'	(cf. WVL <i>oba</i>)
<i>lauqe-</i>	'tail'	(cf. WF <i>laulau</i>)

All Central and some Northeast Vanua Levu communalects show these:

<i>diadia</i>	'reed'	(LBS, DGT; also NVT(B))
<i>ditodito</i>	'dark'	(LBS, KRL)
<i>dromu</i>	'dead'	(LBS, DGT, KRL)
<i>tivi-</i>	'side'	(LBS, KRL)

while all Northeast and some Central Vanua Levu communalects show:

<i>māmada</i>	'fast'	(BRV, SQQ; means 'light (weight)' in SF)
<i>manisega</i>	'forget'	(BRV, SQQ; compound of <i>māni-</i> ∅ 'think' and <i>sega</i> (not VL word) 'missing')

A narrower distribution is shown by these forms:

<i>vda</i>	politeness particle	(NBB, SAV; DGT, SQN, KRL; SF <i>mada</i>)
<i>mata-dreve</i>	'blind'	(BRV, SAV; LBS)
<i>sau</i>	'wooden bowl'	(BRV, SAV; LBS, SQN, KRL; SF <i>tānoa</i>)
<i>te-c</i>	'follow (st, so)'	(SQN, NBB, SAV; LBS, KRL)
<i>totoi-c</i>	'angry - with'	(SQN, NBB; LBS, KRL)

A more extensive group including Western, Central, and Northeastern Vanua Levu is suggested by a number of shared items. All communalects in the area agree on the following:

<i>cevu</i>	'swollen'	(metathesis of * <i>vuze</i> (SF <i>vuce</i> , TUA <i>huhe</i>))
<i>drō</i>	'snot'	
<i>maqa</i>	'no, none'	(cf. NMM <i>maka</i> 'finished')
<i>miau</i>	PnIIp	

Supporting evidence for this Vanua Levu grouping, which includes all but Southeast Vanua Levu, is provided by these lexical items, each of which is followed by a list of communalects within the area that do *not* show the form.

<i>vce</i>	'prematurely'	(SQN; SF <i>koso</i>)
<i>dre</i>	'carry on back'	(SQQ, SQN; cf. widespread EF <i>drewē</i> , and Eastern Viti Levu <i>dreke</i>)
<i>kada-v</i>	'chase away'	(SLV, NVS, GOD; BRV, SQQ, SAV)
<i>leva</i>	'missing'	(GOD <i>revā</i> ; but MAN <i>lewa</i> 'lost, missing' is probably cognate)
<i>mari-</i>	'(fish) scale'	(GOD; SQN, KRL; cf. widespread <i>vari-</i>)
<i>niS</i>	'lest, in case'	(BUA, SAV; cf. wide- spread <i>ni</i> realis complementizer)
<i>qoli</i> (CN)	'fish'	(SLV, GOD; NBB, SAV; cf. widespread <i>qoli</i> 'net- fishing')
<i>rita</i>	'refuse to, dislike'	(SLV, BUA; SAV)
<i>taranavi</i>	'evening'	(DGT, SQN)
<i>tovo-l</i>	'say'	(NVT(B), GOD; NVT(C); probably from PEO * <i>tovo-n</i> 'try')

<i>Vviro</i>	'again, more'	(GOD <i>leqa/muni</i> ; NVT(C))
<i>wēwe-</i>	'intestines'	(NVT(B), SLV; NVT(C); cf. SF <i>wāwā</i>)
<i>yau</i>	'dew'	(SQQ, NBB, SAV; KRL)

There is some support for an even larger group comprising the whole of Vanua Levu, including Southeast Vanua Levu. There are two forms shared by all and only the Vanua Levu communalects:

<i>takari</i>	'door'	
<i>vua-</i>	'xxx'	'grandchild' (cf. LGU <i>vua</i> 'forefather', PEP * <i>fuaana</i> 'relative, descendant')

Other widespread lexical items (with dissenting communalects listed) are:

<i>cere</i>	'stand'	(NVT(B), BUA, NVS; NVT(C))
<i>drotu</i>	'sated'	(TNL)
<i>lōlō</i>	'ant'	(NVT(B), SLV, BUA, GOD; SAV; cf. LAU <i>lō</i> , PPN * <i>loo</i> , PEO * <i>loRo</i>)
<i>raiV</i>	'seems to, probably'	(NVT(B); NWN; TNL form unknown; SF <i>rairaiV</i>)
<i>vaga</i>	'parrot'	(SLV, BUA)
<i>vūvute</i>	'light(weight)'	(NVT(B), NVT(C))

6.2.3. More Tenuous Relationships

It has been argued, thus far, that there is an especially strong connection between Southeast and Northeast Viti Levu; between West, Central, and Northeast Vanua Levu; and between West, Central, Northeast, and Southeast Vanua Levu. I shall now discuss relationships of a more tenuous kind,

suggested by small, but not insignificant, numbers of exclusively shared lexical items. Such relationships exist between adjacent groups separated by water, that is, between Southeast Viti Levu and Kadavu, Kadavu and Lau, Lau and Southeast Vanua Levu, Southeast Vanua Levu and Northeast Vanua Levu, and West Vanua Levu and Northeast Viti Levu. The number of items shared exclusively by other, nonadjacent, pairs --e.g., Northeast Viti Levu and Lau, Kadavu and Central Vanua Levu--is mostly nil, sometimes one or two (see Table 38).

One of the most tenuous of all these adjacent relationships is that between Southeast Viti Levu and Kadavu. Note these forms and their distributions:

<i>bola</i>	'basket'	(NMS, WDN, LUT; ONO, TVK, NBL)
<i>eri(LN)</i>	'there'	II (WDN, NDR; TVK)
<i>vei-V</i>	passive-forming prefix	(NMS, WDN, LUT; ONO, TVK, NBL; SF <i>lau-</i>)

There are slightly more forms shared by Kadavu and Lau:

<i>buci</i>	'wet'	(<i>bubuci</i> TVK, NBL; <i>buci</i> LAU)
<i>katuba</i>	'door'	(TVK, NBL; LAU, VBL)
<i>teree-g</i>	'touch'	(ONO, TVK; LAU, VBL)
<i>toto</i>	'hurt, painful'	(ONO, TVK, NBL; LAU)

This small sample suggests that LAU may share more forms with Kadavu than VBL. Such a situation is to be expected, because LAU is closer to Kadavu than is VBL. Yasayasa Moala, the third subgroup of Lau, is

closer still, and shows a number of forms usually considered to be peculiar to Kadavu (though whether they are innovations is not clear).

Lau and Southeast Vanua Levu share these lexical items:

<i>bo-k</i>	'see'	(LAU, VBL; TNL)
<i>dai</i>	'tell lie'	(LAU, VBL, TNL; perhaps related to SF <i>dai</i> 'trap')
<i>qore</i>	'that' II	(LAU <i>iqore</i> ; TNL, NWN)
<i>titi-</i>	'buttocks'	

Recall that Tunuloa is possibly the only bona fide Southeast Vanua Levu language in our sample and that it is underrepresented in the data. The number of shared items would no doubt increase with adequate data, even more so if Taveuni were considered.

Only one form appears to be shared exclusively by Southeast and Northeast Vanua Levu (but note the remark above on the paucity of Southeast Vanua Levu data):

<i>kamuVS</i>	'the__one'	(NVT(C), TNL, NWN; DGT, SQN)
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The few forms that were judged to be exclusive to Northeast Vanua Levu but borrowed by Navatu (see section 6.2.1.7) may also turn out to be shared by Northeast and Southeast Vanua Levu.

Western Vanua Levu shares the following lexical items with Northeast Viti Levu (only Tokaimalo):

<i>dame</i>	'sit'	(BUA, TKM; also NDR; cf. SF <i>dabe</i>)
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take-∅ 'draw, serve (liquid)' (SLV, BUA, NVS,
 GOD; TKM; cf. WAY, KBY
 take-v)
volau-c 'find' (SLV *volo-c*; TKM)
vusou 'taro leaves' (NVT, SLV, BUA, NVS, GOD;
 TKM; cf. Kadavu *i-vuso*,
 SE Viti Levu *sovuu*)

6.2.4. Widely Distributed Lexical Items in Eastern Fiji

I have so far attempted to define eight groups within Eastern Fiji, justify them by means of exclusively shared features, and use the same means to suggest certain larger groupings. But the discussion has dealt mainly with those features which are shared by two adjacent groups. Only where no sea barrier is involved have we ventured to state relationships among more than two groups, as in Vanua Levu. Our strategy in discussing features with even broader distribution will be to reduce the divisions of Eastern Fiji to four--namely, Viti Levu, Vanua Levu, Lau, and Kadavu--according to the wider groups that have been indicated earlier. The relationship between Kadavu and Lau has already been discussed.

Lexical items present in all four groups are as follows:

bui- 'tail'
cauravou 'unmarried youth or man' (cf. WF
 caravou, suravou)
dua 'one' (cf. Vanua Levu *duga*,
 WF *tia*)
dredre 'laugh'
gone 'child'

<i>koli</i>	'dog'	(cf. PPN * <i>kulii</i>)
<i>ni-matakwa</i>	'tomorrow'	
<i>suru</i>	'sneeze'	
<i>tilo-m</i>	'swallow'	(cf. PAN *(tT)elen, POC * <i>tolo</i>)
<i>uto-</i>	'heart'	

Additions may similarly be made to the Vanua Levu inventory of shared items by admitting those witnesses in nonadjacent groups within Vanua Levu:

<i>kena</i>	'like, resembling'	(SF <i>vaka</i>)
<i>kubu</i>	'flee, run away'	
<i>maqu</i>	xt' voc 'dad'	(from <i>tama-</i> (or <i>ma-</i> ?) 'father' plus - <i>qu</i> 'my')
<i>tikau</i>	'yam'	(SF <i>tikau</i> 'k wild yam')
<i>welu-c</i>	'spit - on'	(GOD <i>welu-s</i>)
<i>VV-yaga</i>	'place for V-ing'	(formally related to PPN derivational suffix *- <i>qana</i> , but semantically restricted in comparison; irregular change from POC *-(<i>q</i>)ana 'place for V-ing')

The following items are shared by Vanua Levu, Lau, and Kadavu, exclusively of Viti Levu:

<i>V-α</i>	fused transitive suffix and IIIpn (cf. NE Viti Levu and WF - <i>iα</i> , SE Viti Levu - <i>e</i>)
<i>talaga</i>	'(house) wall'
<i>mabu-</i>	'chest'
	(cf. West Vanua Levu <i>babu-</i> ; NHSA, Ao <i>mambu-</i> 'heart')
<i>Vmada</i>	politeness particle

vsobu 'down' (cf. PEO **jō(bpv)u* 'dive')
waliwali 'oil'

Only Kadavu fails to show these items:

bibi 'heavy'
drika 'bald'
kada 'run'
kākana 'food' (possibly from *kā* 'thing'
and *kana* 'eat')
kemunu PnIIp
māmada 'light(weight)'
rere-vk 'fear' (possibly from PEO **rere*
'tremble')
vacu-k 'punch'

Lau is excluded from:

davo 'lie down'

and Vanua Levu from:

dakas 'lest, in case'
sev 'still' incomplete aspect (Vanua Levu
sa/cau/bau)

Vanua Levu shares many items with Viti Levu:

balawa 'pandanus' (widespread Fiji *vadra*)
buli- 'buttocks'
butako 'steal'
ceva-(tɸ) 'open' (SF *ceva-ɸ* 'lift up (cover)')
dedē 'long time'
dridri 'swollen'
kaiPN 'and' (cf. widespread EF *kei*)

<i>kea</i> (LN)III	'there'
<i>keri</i> (LN)II	'there'
<i>kuvai</i>	'how' (presumably a compound, part of which is <i>-vai</i> 'where'; the distribution, however, arouses suspicion: in Vanua Levu, it is found only in NVT(C), whose people are of East Viti Levu origin)
<i>makala</i>	'charcoal, ember' (cf. <i>maqala</i> Vanua Levu and Lau)
<i>mucu</i>	'blunt' (cf. Vanua Levu and Lau <i>pucu</i>)
<i>neca</i>	'when' (cf. EF <i>naica</i>)
<i>nene-t</i>	'angry - with'
<i>Nqoi</i>	'this'
<i>Nqori</i>	'that' II
<i>tītobu</i>	'deep' (cf. Central Vanua Levu <i>tobulevu</i> ; and SF <i>tobu</i> 'deep place, pool')
<i>vakacava</i>	'how' (<i>vakā-</i> 'like' derivative prefix, and <i>cava</i> 'what')
<i>wālili</i>	'long time'
<i>yadi-∅</i>	'bring, carry'

Rather fewer are shared by Vanua Levu and Lau:

<i>a</i>	common article (widespread <i>na</i>)
<i>ba-</i>	'branch'
<i>bore-t</i>	'curse'
<i>draka-</i>	'mouth'
<i>Nz</i>	'this'
<i>maqala</i>	'charcoal, ember' (cf. Vanua Levu and Viti Levu <i>makala</i>)
<i>na</i>	xy' voc 'mum'

<i>o-</i>	neutral-active possessive marker (cf. widespread EF <i>no-</i>)
<i>koto</i>	'lie down' (cf. PPN * <i>takoto</i> 'lie down')
<i>lalai</i>	'child' (cf. widespread EF <i>lailai</i> 'small')
<i>Nmai</i>	'that' III
<i>pucu</i>	'blunt' (cf. Vanua Levu and Viti Levu <i>mucu</i> , PEO * <i>puzuki</i>)
<i>sega</i>	'no, none'
<i>susu</i>	'nest'
<i>vuli</i>	'flee, run away'

Considerably fewer items are shared by Viti Levu and Lau:

<i>ei</i> (LN)	'here'
<i>lau</i> -V	passive prefix (Kadavu and SE Viti Levu <i>vei-</i>)
<i>sisiva</i>	'smell fishy' (<i>sisiga</i> elsewhere in EF)
<i>Vyani</i>	'thither' second or third person directional

Kadavu shares the following with Vanua Levu:

<i>drasa</i>	'red'
<i>Nkari</i>	'that' II
<i>suli</i>	'taro' (PEO * <i>juli-</i> '(taro, banana) sucker'; note an identical meaning change in Western Bukidnon, Manobo (Philippines), where <i>suli</i> means 'taro' (Blust 1972))
<i>tiko</i>	'sit'

Surprisingly, only one item is shared by Kadavu and (nonadjacent) Eastern Viti Levu:

dabe 'sit'

6.2.5. Summary

Table 38 summarizes the evidence provided by exclusively shared lexical items for the existence of the proposed groups within Eastern Fiji, and for close relationships between certain pairs. As discussed, I have generally required that an item be shown by most of the communalects in a putative group (but both in Lau, where there are only two communalects in our sample), but allowed its presence in an adjacent communalect of a different group; and I have made appropriate allowances for communalects known to be spoken by migrant communities.

Table 38
Uniquely Shared Lexical Items of Eight
Groups in Eastern Fiji

	SE	NE	WVL	CVL	NEVL	SEVL	L	K
SE	15 [†]							
NE	7	2						
WVL	1	4	8					
CVL	0	2	13	4				
NEVL	0	1	0	9	13			
SEVL	2	2	0	0	1	4		
L	2	0	1	2	0	4	18	
K	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	30

[†]Fourteen more lexical items are shared exclusively by Namosi, Waidina, and Lutu.

Table 39 shows the numbers of shared lexical items justifying two larger groups (Vanua Levu and Eastern Viti Levu), and indicating the relationships among these larger groups, Lau, and Kadavu.

Table 39
Uniquely Shared Lexical Items of Four
Groups in Eastern Fiji

	EVtL	VL	L	K
EVtL	17			
VL	20	14 [†]		
L	4	15	18	
K	1	4	4	30

[†]Seventeen more lexical items are shared exclusively by West, Central, and Northeast Vanua Levu.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. The first three, which are more westerly than the other two, appear to be relatively recent settlements (but pre-mid-nineteenth century).
2. A future (or purposive) tense marker *i* is found in Fangani and Marau Sound (Southeast Solomons) and in Raga and Aoba (New Hebrides), suggesting PEO **i*.
3. This form, apparently composed of *yaka* 'go' plus *i*, suggests that *lai-* may be derived from WF *la* 'go' plus *i*, which in turn suggests that EF *lau-* is the innovative form.
4. SF has a numeral classifier for humans, *lewe/lē*. Briefly, the principal Lau numeral classifiers are: *vua-* for spherical objects (fruit, egg, stone, certain kinds of fish), *poko-* or *poroka-* for long objects (root crops, sticks, cigarettes), and *qete-* or *raba-* for flat objects (cloth, planks, sheet iron, biscuits).

CHAPTER 7

The Development of the Fijian Languages

7.0. Introduction

In interpreting the archaeological evidence, I follow Pawley and Green (1973:16), who suggested that Tonga and the coastal areas of Fiji were well settled by 1,000 B.C. (and Samoa shortly thereafter) by people with a culture which continued to develop uninterrupted within Polynesia until historical times, but which underwent considerable modification in Fiji. Very little evidence is found for a single language ancestral to all the Fijian and Polynesian languages, but a good deal of evidence to suggest that languages ancestral to those of Eastern Fiji, especially Lau and Eastern Vanua Levu, underwent a period of common development with the language ancestral to the Polynesian languages. The area comprising Lau and Eastern Vanua Levu shall be called "Tokalau Fiji" (*tokalau* 'east wind'), and the dialect chain comprising the languages ancestral to Tokalau Fijian and Polynesian languages "Proto Tokalau Polynesian."

Some time after the settlement of Tonga, the dialects remaining in Fiji began to evolve as a separate dialect chain, independent of the languages of Tonga and Samoa. Subsequently, Western and Eastern Fiji increasingly tended to develop separately as inland populations built up on either

side of the central plateau of Viti Levu, and rivers became important as channels of communication. The communalects of the Tokalau area from which Polynesia was settled have come to resemble other Fijian communalects more closely. At an early stage, Kadavu, Rā, and much of Vanua Levu were in close contact with Western Viti Levu, but these areas more recently have come under the influence of the coastal Southeast Viti Levu prestige area, as has much of Eastern Fiji.

7.1. Previous Studies

The very first students of Fijian, the missionary linguists, were quick to note the variety of Fijian dialects, and especially the East-West distinction (Schütz 1972:11, 29-34). Waterhouse (1866:348-350) was so impressed by the differences that he concluded that there must have been two separate immigrations into Fiji. In this implicit denial of a single language ancestral to all contemporary Fijian languages, he was followed by Capell and Lester (1942:48), who identified three separate traditions contributing to the present picture. Although they presented much useful data from nonstandard Fijian languages, their methodology lacked rigor, and the data hardly warranted the conclusions (for a more detailed review, see Pawley and Sayaba (1971) and Schütz (1972:92-95)).

The first systematic investigation of the position of Fijian within the Oceanic group was carried out by Grace, who proposed in 1959 that "the extra-Polynesian languages to which Polynesian is most closely related are the languages of Fiji and Rotuma; i.e., that Fijian, Rotuman, and Polynesian constitute a subgroup within the Austronesian family" (Grace 1959:1). This subgroup

he later termed "Central Pacific" (Grace 1967:290). Dyen (1960) was critical of the proposed subgroup, but a later reappraisal of the evidence led Pawley (1972) to replicate Grace's subgrouping, except that he remained uncertain about the position of Rotuman.

During this same period, the internal linguistic history of Fiji was likewise subjected to rigorous study for the first time. Schütz (1962) carried out a fine-grained and phonetically detailed survey of Viti Levu, without attempting a historical interpretation of the results. Pawley and Sayaba (1971), however, relying heavily on Schütz' survey, and incorporating the increasing fund of archaeological knowledge, tackled the problem of the origin of the Fijian dialects, and arrived at a solution very different from that of Waterhouse and Capell and Lester.

Essentially, Pawley and Sayaba differed from earlier writers in being impressed with the unity rather than the diversity of Fijian languages. For Capell and Lester, the present situation was the result of centuries of convergence of originally distinct speech traditions. For Pawley and Sayaba (1971:411) it was centuries of divergence from a relatively homogeneous protolanguage:

The evidence for positing a common ancestral stage, Proto-Fijian, for both Eastern and Western dialects seems to us to be overwhelming. Only by doing this can one satisfactorily explain the fact that all Fijian dialects share a great many innovations found in no other language. It is inconceivable that all these innovations

evolved and spread over the whole of Fiji after Eastern and Western Fijian became sharply differentiated. They must therefore have developed before this point, at a time when Fijian was already differentiated from other Austronesian languages, but was itself still spoken by a single speech community.

(Pawley and Sayaba 1971:411)

Combining their analysis of the linguistic situation with archaeological and topographical considerations, Pawley and Sayaba suggested that most of the favorable coastal regions of all the main islands of Fiji had been settled by 1,000 B.C. As for the East-West division within Fiji, the following explanation was proposed:

The coastal regions of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, and the smaller islands, are all fairly readily accessible to each other by sea. The only really effective barriers to movement in Fiji are the mountain ranges, and particularly the mountains which cover most of central Viti Levu from north to south Once a sizeable proportion of the Viti Levu population moved inland up the main river valleys [as a result of decreasing reliance on maritime resources and/or overpopulation in coastal areas], the central mountain chain would have neatly divided the inland population into two. (Ibid., p. 433)

I will discuss in turn the Central Pacific hypothesis and Pawley and Sayaba's account of the evolution of the Fijian dialects.

7.2.0. The Central Pacific Hypothesis

The purpose of this section is to review Grace's and Pawley's arguments for the Central Pacific subgroup (while ignoring the question of the status of Rotuman). I hope to show that most of the features proposed as exclusively shared innovations of Proto Central Pacific are for various reasons invalid. In the next section it is argued that the geographical distribution within Fiji of those that are valid supports a grouping of Polynesian with Tokalau Fijian (and, to a lesser extent, other areas of Eastern Fiji), rather than with all of Fiji.

It is both important and opportune to take a fresh look at the Central Pacific subgroup now, because it appears to be increasingly accepted (for example, by the archaeologists Groube (1971) and Shutler and Marck (1975:28), and by the linguists Clark (1973, 1976), Foley (1976), Hockett (1976), Chung (1976), and Blust (1976)); and because there has been a considerable increase in this decade of data on languages closely related to Fijian and Polynesian, and on nonstandard Fijian languages.

In the following discussion of the evidence for the Central Pacific subgroup, I refer chiefly to Pawley, since he enlarges on Grace's original arguments. Both rely principally on the method of subgrouping by shared innovations.

7.2.1. Lexicostatistical Evidence for Central Pacific

Pawley sets out (1972:120) by stating that the evidence for Central Pacific is mostly grammatical, but that slight support is offered by lexicostatistics. Grace (1961) and Walsh (1963), both using the Swadesh 200 word list, had arrived at similar results, Grace using dictionaries, and Walsh

informants. Taking Tongan and Maori as their Polynesian representatives, they found that the highest cognate percentage between Bauan Fijian and a Polynesian language was with Tongan--24 percent (Grace), 26 percent (Walsh). Between Bauan Fijian and the non-Polynesian languages Mota, Sa'a, and Rotuman, the highest were Rotuman--19 percent (Grace), 17 percent (Walsh)--and Mota--18 percent (Grace), 17 percent (Walsh). However, as Pawley points out, the significance of the results is diminished first by the fact that only three languages from outside Fiji and Polynesia were used, and second by Biggs' (1965) later demonstration of extensive basic vocabulary borrowing by Rotuman from Polynesian. Moreover, my own (unpublished) calculations indicate that the Bau-Nggela (Southeast Solomons) figure is higher than Bau-Tonga; and Tryon's (1976) survey surprisingly shows many New Hebrides languages to share 30 percent and more (on a 300-word list, which generally yields lower percentages than 200-word list) with geographically distant Polynesian outlier languages (where there is little likelihood of recent borrowing inflating the figures).

7.2.2. Phonological Evidence for Central Pacific

Although Fiji and Polynesia both show loss of PEO $*R$, this innovation, as Pawley notes (1972:120) is also shared by Rotuman, Gilbertese, and most North Hebridean languages (but see Tryon (1976) and Geraghty (1978b) for a more detailed charting of loss of $*R$ in the New Hebrides). As a possible uniquely shared innovation, Pawley pointed to the similarity in the reflexes of POC $*mw$, which is a velar nasal in both Fijian and Polynesian, with labialization in Western Fijian. But this

observation is not helpful because, as Pawley (1972:120) notes, we cannot be certain enough about the phonetic nature of POC **mw* to decide whether velar articulation is a retention or an innovation. Moreover, it now seems that **mw* is reflected as [ŋw] in Aoba and parts of the Torres and Banks islands (Tryon 1976), and as [ŋw/ŋ] (/__o,u) in parts of Malaita (Southeast Solomons) (Levy n.d.:17). Finally, in Nadrau, as noted in section 3.1, we find traces of a bilabial reflex of **mw*.

Another possible phonological argument mentioned by Pawley is the putatively high correlation between Fijian and Polynesian reflexes of PEO **s* and **ns* (my **z*). However, my own interpretation of lists of cognates, far greater than those available to Ho-Min Sohn and Milke (1961), to whom Pawley refers, indicate that there is no stronger correlation between Fijian and Polynesian than between Fijian and the Southeast Solomons (see section 4.3.3).

7.2.3. Grammatical Morphemes Shared by Fijian and Polynesian Languages

The strongest arguments put forward for a Central Pacific subgroup have been in the form of cognate grammatical morphemes uniquely shared by Fijian and Polynesian languages. I shall discuss the list presented by Pawley; the first four items were originally pointed out by Grace (1959), but Pawley observes that items 3 and 4 are of doubtful value.

1. Bau *ko,o* and Waya *o* before proper nouns and pronouns as focus (topic) or subject of the sentence. PPN **ko* before personal,

common, and locative phrases as focus of the sentence.

There are many problems with this proposed reconstruction. First, Standard Fijian grammars have been consistently inaccurate in describing the function of *ko,o*. It does not mark "focus (topic) or subject of the sentence": it marks only proper nouns (and, with some exceptions, independent pronouns), regardless of case, and with no consistent focusing or topicalizing function.¹ In Standard Fijian, *ko,o* marks such nominals when they appear in nominal ("equational") sentences, and when they function as subject (in any position) or object (fronted for focus) of a verbal sentence²:

SF	<i>o Leba e raici au</i>	'Leba sees me'
	art/L/pnIII/see-tr/pnI	
SF	<i>o Leba au raica</i>	'I see <u>Leba</u> '
	art/L/pnI/see-tr-pnIII	

Proper noun objects are subject to Proper Noun Incorporation (see section 5.2.2.2) when they occur after the verb phrase, which is the unmarked position, and also after a preposition (there are only two, *vei* 'to, at' and *kei* 'and', and *vei* at least is verbal in origin (Geraghty 1976)). In languages without Proper Noun Incorporation--that is, most Western languages--*o* marks proper noun subjects and objects in all positions:

BTW	<i>qu tolavia o Leba</i>	'I see Leba'
	pnI/see-tr-pnIII/art/L	
TBI	<i>yaka vua o Maraji</i>	'go to Maraji'
	go/to-III/art/M	

In short, Fijian *ko/o* does not agree with PPN **ko* in marking focus. Nor is there much common ground in what is marked (as Milner (1971:411-412) has pointed out). Fijian *ko/o* marks a noun phrase as proper rather than common, while PN *ko* marks all noun phrases, and locative phrases.³ If we still allow cognacy with this amount of functional disparity, then we must admit at least one competing reconstruction, based on the comparison of Mota *o*, which marks common nouns and place names (Codrington 1855:257) with Fijian *o*. Another possible source for Fijian *o* is the PEO proper article **qa* (PSS **a*, PPN **qa*), with which it shows formal disparity, but functional similarity (cf. Pawley 1972:100). All three possibilities have problems, and require more detailed investigation than is possible here.

2. Bau, Waya *ke-*, prefix to first and second person focal and object pronouns (*sic*, but nonsingular clearly intended): PPN **ki-*, prefix to nonsingular focal and object pronouns.

We have already mentioned (section 5.1.4) the need for caution in inferring relationships from similarity of pronoun form; extra caution is called for when formal irregularities are involved.

Pawley's explanation of the relationship between Fijian *ke-* and their derivation from PEO includes not only a metathesis of the PEO first exclusive person marker **kami* to PCP **kima-*, but an analogical change of the second person marker **kamu* to PCP **kimu-*, and an irregular change of **kita-*, **kima-*, and **kimu-* to *keta-*, *kema-*, and *kemu-* in Fijian. I

believe that there are ways of accounting for the data that are more plausible.

To set off on common ground, the following PEO nonsingular independent pronouns, reconstructed by Pawley, are strongly suggested by the data:

Ii	Ix	II	III
<i>kita-</i>	<i>kami-</i>	<i>kam(i)u-</i>	<i>(k)ira-</i>

These forms served both as plural pronouns and as the base to which number-markers were suffixed to form the dual and trial/paucal pronouns. There is, likewise, good evidence for these PPN non-singular focal and object person markers:

Ii	Ix	II	III
<i>kita-</i>	<i>kima-</i>	<i>kim(o)u-</i>	<i>(k)ila-</i>

On the other hand, on internal evidence alone, it is very difficult to reconstruct a full set of "Proto Fijian" nonsingular person markers. The various forms may be listed as follows:

Table 40
Base Forms of Fijian Nonsingular Person Markers

	Ii	Ix	II	III
Waya	-keta	-kemamu	-kemu	kor(a)-
Northwest	da-	ma((m)u)-	mu-	kor(a)-
Southwest	keta-	kema-	kemu-	kur(a)-
NNs	da-	ma(u)-	mu-	ra-
Southwest	keda-	ki-	kemu-	ra-
Northeast	kita-	k(ae)i-	(iko)-	(i)ra-, kora-
Kadavu	keda-	ke-	kemu-	(ki)ra-
W Vanua Levu	kita-, (ko)da-	i-	mu-	(i)ra-
C Vanua Levu	da-	(i)-	mu-	dr(a)-
NE Vanua Levu	da-	(i)-	mu-	dr(a)-
SE Vanua Levu	keda-	kei-	kemu-	(d)ra-
Lau	keta-	kei-	kemu-	(i)ra-

Both PEO **kita* and *(*k*)*ira* appear to have regular reflexes in Fiji, so the change of **kita*- to *keta*- is almost certainly an internal innovation of Fiji.

The first person exclusive is somewhat problematic, but Western forms point to **kemamu*-, rather than **kema*-, as their historical source. Note particularly BTW *mau*-, a form intermediate between **kemamu*- and its phonologically reduced reflex *kema*-:

	Ixp	Ix3	Ix2
Waya	<i>kemamu</i>	<i>vati-kemamu</i>	<i>ru-kemamu</i>
Yasawa	-	<i>mamu-tou</i>	<i>ma-ru</i>
Nakoroboya	<i>mamu</i>	<i>mamu-dou</i>	<i>ma-ru</i>
Tubaniwai	-	<i>kema-tou</i>	<i>kema-ru</i>
Batiwai	-	<i>mau-dou</i>	<i>ma-ru</i>
Tubai	<i>mamu</i>	<i>ma-tou</i>	<i>ma-ru</i>

The reconstruction of **kemamu* is supported by data from beyond Fiji. Rehg and Sugita (1975) reconstruct both **kami* and **kamami* as Proto Micronesian, though the latter is reflected only in Trukic languages. Many New Hebridean languages also show an innovative first person exclusive plural form derivable from the formula *k(ae)ma(m)(iu)* (e.g., MTA (*i*)*kamam*, Sasar *kemam* (Codrington 1885); Bay of St. Philip and St. James *amamu* (Ray 1926)). Moreover, Codrington's and Ray's data show clearly that these forms function not only as plurals, but as person marking bases to which number markers are suffixed, though the base frequently shows loss of the final vowel or consonant. We have argued that the same is true for Western Fiji: the plural pronoun (*ke)mamu* is also used as a person marker but is often reduced to (*ke)mau-* or (*ke)ma-*. We conclude that, while it is possible that PPN **kima-* was derived by metathesis from PEO **kami-*, this development was not shared by Fijian languages. Rather, Fijian languages appear to share with some other Eastern Oceanic languages an innovative first person exclusive plural independent pronoun and person marker, which might be reconstructed as **kamam(iu)*.⁴

Finally, we see no reason to derive the Fijian second person nonsingular marker **kemu-* from PEO

**kamu*- via a PCP **kimu*- stage, as Pawley's argument implies. It is more likely that there was a single change, perhaps paralleling that of **kamam(iu)* to **kemam(iu)*.

3. Bau, Waya *mai*, preposition meaning 'from'.
PPN **mai*, preposition meaning 'from'.

As Pawley observes, cognates are found in Gilbertese *mai* and Truk *me*, both meaning 'from'. Another cognate is PSS **mai* (as in SAA *mäi i nume* 'in the house', *mäi i purine* 'behind it', ARE *mai puri* 'afterward', KWA *ma'i Heaven* 'in heaven', *ma'i fa'i* 'from where') which also shows the basic meaning and function of SF *mai*, indicating distant location or source (Geraghty 1976). Even further afield, we find Bambatana *me* (Ray 1926:581) and Kuanua *ma*, both glossed as 'from'.

4. Bau *-tou*, paucal suffix to pronouns. PPN
*-*tou*, plural suffix to pronouns. Both
show irregular loss of **l* from PEO *-*tolu*.

Pawley notes external cognates showing the same irregularity in parts of the New Hebrides (Bay of St. Philip and St. James (Ray 1926)), and in Nakanai (New Britain). To these might be added ARS *-au/-ou/-eu*, which also shows apparent irregular loss of **-l-*.⁵

5. (a) Bau *viaV* 'want to', PPN **fiaV* 'want to'; (b) Bau *viaviaV* 'inclined to', TON *fiefieV* 'inclined to'.

The forms *via* and **fia* do have possible external cognates, but none that are not in some way different (ROT *pa* 'want to', MTU *wia* 'good').⁶ However, while **fia* is found throughout Polynesia, *fiefie* is only found in Tonga, so may well be a loanword from Fiji.

6. Bau, Waya *dauV* 'always, habitually'.
PPN **tauV* 'always, habitually'.

Woleai *tauV* 'usually, habitually, expert, often' is clearly cognate in form and function. Note also Lo (Torres, New Hebrides) *to-V* 'fond of' and NGG *ndauV* 'expert, quick at, try' (Fijian *dauV* also means 'expert at').

7. Bau V-(C)*a*, Waya V-(C)*ia*, transitive marker before common noun phrase objects.
PPN *V-(C)*ia* passive marker.

The claim here is that the PEO sequence of transitive suffix **-(C)i* and third person singular object marker **-a* was reinterpreted in Proto Central Pacific as a single transitive suffix, and subsequently in PPN as a passive marker.⁷ This claim has since been retracted by Pawley (1973:137), and requires no further discussion.

8. Bau *-tā-*, which always follows the causative prefix *vaka-*, and which itself possesses a causative function (e.g., *vaka-tā-vuli-ca* 'teach, cause to learn').
PPN **tā-* causative prefix (NIU *tā-*, HAW *kā-*).

The problem with this PCP reconstruction is that Bau -*tā*- is not a causative prefix. It does, indeed, only occur after *vaka-*, which is, among many other things, a causative prefix. But there is nothing to suggest that -*tā*- itself has any causative meaning. In fact, the only context in which *vakata-* is at all productive is before some partially reduplicated bases where it has the meaning 'play at, for fun':

<i>soko</i>	<i>vakatāsosoko</i>
'sail'	'play at sailing, sail around for fun'
<i>voce</i>	<i>vakatāvovoce</i>
'paddle'	'play at paddling, etc.'
<i>kana</i>	<i>vakatākakana</i>
'eat'	'picnic'
<i>lovo</i>	<i>vakatālolovo</i>
'earth oven'	'play at making an earth oven'

The apparent causative meaning in:

<i>vuli</i>	<i>vakatāvuli-c</i>
'learn'	'teach'
<i>kila</i>	<i>vakatākila-∅</i>
'know'	'show'

is brought about by *vaka-* (*vakavuli-c* also means 'teach'), not by -*tā*-.

9. Bau, Waya *kua*, *kākua* 'don't'. PPN **kaua* 'don't'.

There are unresolved formal problems here, but nonetheless there is a striking resemblance in both form and function. Note also ROT 'u'ua

'leave off, stop', ARS *au* 'don't', *kakoa* 'disobey, refuse', XWA *aua* 'insist on observance of word taboo', and Sesake *gwa* 'don't' (Codrington 1885:467; Codrington adds, "*gw* should probably be *q*").

10. Bau *Vrawa*, Waya *Vrewa* 'able'. PPN **lawa* 'enough, sufficient'.

It seems likely that these forms are cognate, particularly since TON *lava* and SAM *lavā* include the meaning 'able'. A possibly related form is MAN *barawaV* 'perhaps (only future)'. What is rather less likely, however, is that the ancestral form was a grammatical morpheme, since only in Fiji is it used as such. The ancestral form was probably a verb that acquired a special grammatical function as a postverbal particle in Fijian.

11. Bau, Waya *vā* 'four'. PPN **faa* 'four'.

These forms are intended to show a shared irregular development of PEO **vati* 'four'. Pawley discusses the possibility that Gilbertese *a-* is cognate, arguing that it is unlikely to be a borrowing, but could be the result of independent loss of *-ti* under suffixation, since *a-* is always followed by a suffixed classifier. The problem with this explanation is that loss of *-CV* is not experienced by other numerals: *ten(i)-* 'three', *iti-* 'seven', *wan(i)-* 'eight' from PEO **tolu*, **vitu*, **walu*. Moreover, Woleai has two forms for 'four', *fangi* and *faa*, so that **faa* would appear to be Proto Micronesian. Even further afield, Nakanai (New Britain) has *vaa* (beside *tolu* 'three', *vitu* 'seven'). There is no strong evidence here for a Central Pacific

subgroup. Indeed, PEO **vati* does seem to be reflected in Fiji, in the Waya paucal pronoun prefix *vati-*.⁸

12. Bau *koto* 'lie down', V*koto* concluded aspect, stretched out position. PPN **ta/koto* 'lie down'.

The reconstruction of PCP **koto* 'lie down' is justified by the observation that "ta- is a common verbal prefix in Polynesian." However, as in number 10, there is no indication that this form had any grammatical function in PCP; its grammatical use is an innovation of some Fijian dialects, and it follows an ancient pattern of verbs of motion and staying being pressed into use as postverbal aspect markers.

13. Bau *teiV*, *teiteiV*, Waya *teiV*, *teteiV* 'first'. TON *teiV*, SAM *taīV* 'very soon'.

If, as suggested, the two PN forms cited are cognate, the required PPN reconstruction is **ta(a)i*, with raising of *a in Tongan, as paralleled by **mai* > *mei* in number 3. In view of the disparity of both meaning and form, some doubt must be cast on the cognacy of this PPN reconstruction and the Fijian forms cited.

14. Bau, Waya *meV*, appropriateness or purpose with respect to future action. MAO *me*, weak imperative, desired action, LUA *meV*, *miV*, future, *meiV* future, subjunctive. Both show irregular development of PEO **maV*, future or subjunctive marker.

Maori, in particular, shows formal identity and syntactic and semantic proximity to Fijian *me*, and there seems to be no doubt that the two are cognate. By the same token, Woleai *me*, complementizer used after verbs such as 'wish', is a good external cognate showing the same irregular development (PMC **me* is glossed 'complex sentence marker'), suggesting that the form is not an innovation of PCP.

15. Bau *ka*, Waya *qa* coordinating conjunction.
PPN **ka* coordinating conjunction.

The Rotuman *ka* 'and' may be a borrowing, but more likely reflects PEO **ŋka*. Other witnesses indicate that these forms are of venerable antiquity. Kaliai-Kove (New Britain) has *xa*, a conjoiner of both noun and verb phrases, Inakona *ga* is a kind of conjoiner--perhaps a relative, but conclusive data are lacking--and Lotora (Maewo, New Hebrides) shows *ka* 'and, but'.

7.2.4. Summary

Reviewing the above evidence, we find that the following possible shared innovations are consistent with a subgrouping comprising Fiji and Polynesia:

Phonological changes: loss of **R*
Grammatical morphemes:

- (1) **ko*. Despite the considerable discrepancies, there still remains an area of overlap, in that both Fijian and PN *ko* can mark proper nouns.

- (2) **fiaV* 'want to'
 (3) **k(a)ua* 'don't'--provided the Arosi,
 Xwaio, and Sesake forms
 cited prove to be
 noncognate.
 (4) **t(ae)iV* 'first, very soon'

Lexical items:

- (1) **rawa* 'able'
 (2) **koto* 'lie down'

The distribution of the Fijian reflexes of these forms is very interesting. *ko* is found in Lau, Kadavu, and parts of Vanua Levu. Where it occurs in the Western Fijian area, it is in free variation with *o*; most communalects of Western Fiji have *o* exclusively. *viaV* 'want to' is confined to Lau, Kadavu, and Southeast Vanua Levu. *kua* 'don't' is widespread, but one area of the West (including NKR and NLE) has a dehortative *gwani*, which may be cognate with the Sa'a dehortative *mwane*, and possibly also with Manam *moa'i*, so an earlier dehortative may be preserved in the highlands of Western Viti Levu. While the preverbal particle *tei* is reported for Waya, the fact that it is found in none of the Western Fijian languages I have studied suggests that it might be a SF loan. And, although cognates of PPN **lawa* are found throughout Fiji, the WF form *rewa* shows formal problems not shared by EF *rawa*. Finally, *koto* 'lie down' is confined to Lau, Vanua Levu, and Waidina.

7.3.0. The Evidence for a Subgroup Comprising Tokalau Fijian and Polynesian

The data presented show that a number of innovations are shared by Proto Polynesian and Eastern

Fijian (especially Tokalau Fiji) exclusively of Western Fijian; more extensive data now available confirm this picture, and will now be presented.

The following lists contain apparent innovations shared exclusively by Fijian and Polynesian. Forms are reconstructed using Fijian diaphonemic orthography, except that '*' is added where PN evidence indicates glottal stop, and **j* where Fijian *s* corresponds to PPN **t*.

7.3.1. Phonology

While there is only one possible phonological innovation shared exclusively by PPN and all of Fiji, two are shared by PPN and Eastern Fiji:

- (1) PEO **mw* > PPN **ŋ*, EF *g*. Western Fiji shares the reflex [ŋw] with parts of the New Hebrides and Southeast Solomons, but the reflex [ŋ], with complete absence of labial constriction, is confined to PPN and EF (with the exception of SE Viti Levu, which shows [ŋw] and, possibly, [m]).
- (2) PEO **ñ* > PPN, EF *n* (but WF *y/∅*). This change, of course, is very common in Oceanic languages, and does not constitute strong evidence, since the chances are high of its occurring independently.

7.3.2. Lexicon

The following forms are on present evidence uniquely shared by Fiji and Polynesia. The first list is of "nonfunctors," i.e., morphemes without grammatical function. In stating the distribution of forms within Fiji, we have been obliged to cut

some corners. Usually, we refer to the "groups" delineated in the last chapter, using these abbreviations:

CVL	Central Vanua Levu
EF	Eastern Fiji
K	Kadavu
L	Lau
NE	Northeast Viti Levu
NEVL	Northeast Vanua Levu
NNS	Namosi, Naitasiri, Serua
NW	Northwest Viti Levu
SE	Southeast Viti Levu
SEVL	Southeast Vanua Levu
SW	Southwest Viti Levu (Nadroga)
VL	Vanua Levu
WF	Western Fiji
WVL	Western Vanua Levu

Because the purpose of this comparison is to determine how the number of items shared exclusively with PN languages varies within Fiji, the Fijian forms compared are only those for which I have enough data to make the distribution within Fiji reasonably clear.

* <i>baku</i>	SE <i>baku</i> 'uncircumcised' SAM <i>pa'u</i> 'skin; foreskin'
* <i>bala</i>	EF, NW, SW <i>balabala</i> 'tree fern' PEP * <i>pala</i> 'k fern'
	EFU <i>palapala</i> 'tree fern' (Fiji loan?)
* <i>ba(')u</i>	NEVL <i>bau</i> 'like, resemble' ECE, NAN <i>pau</i> 'same'
* <i>bari</i>	EF, WF <i>bari</i> 'cliff' PPN * <i>pari</i> 'cliff' (PEP * <i>pali</i> , NIU

		<i>paipai</i> 'slope, small hill'
* <i>bele</i>	NE,K,L,VL	<i>bele</i> 'k shrub, leaves eaten, <i>Hibiscus manihot</i> ' PPN * <i>pele</i> ' <i>Hibiscus manihot</i> '
* <i>boko</i>	SW,SE,K,L	<i>boko</i> 'extinguish' PNP * <i>poko</i> 'extinguish' cf. NGG <i>poko-l</i> 'cover over, spread over, enclose'
* <i>bogibogi</i>	K,NEVL	<i>bogibogi</i> 'morning' PPN * <i>poŋiponi</i> 'morning'
* <i>bua</i>	EF,WF	<i>bua</i> 'k tree, plumeria' PPN * <i>pua</i> 'k tree w showy flowers' cf. ARS <i>buaabua</i> 'k tree, white flowers, large leaves' NGG <i>mbumbula</i> 'k tree, sweet- smelling flowers'
* <i>buku-</i>	CVL	<i>buku-</i> 'female genitals' PEC * <i>puku</i> 'mons veneris' (NUK,KAP,LUA)
* <i>bu'i</i>	SE	<i>bui-c</i> 'smell' NNs <i>bui-t</i> 'smell' PSO * <i>puqi</i> 'smell' (REN,ANU) cf. Buli (Halmahera) <i>pupui</i> 'stench, stink' SF <i>boi-c</i> 'smell'
*(<i>bv</i>) <i>acu</i>	SE,NE,L,SEVL	<i>vacu-k</i> 'punch' PPN * <i>pasu</i> 'thump'
*(<i>bv</i>) <i>iu</i>	SW,SE,K,L,SEVL	<i>biu-t</i> 'leave, put' PNP * <i>fiu</i> 'fling'
*(<i>bv</i>) <i>uaka</i>	SE,NE,VL	<i>vuaka</i> 'pig' L,SEVL <i>puaka</i> 'pig' PPN * <i>puaka</i> 'pig' The Fiji forms may be PN loans.
* <i>cara</i>	SE	<i>v-cara-ɸ</i> 'look for' PSO * <i>sala</i> 'look for' (NAN,ECE,NUK, KAP,REN,MEF)

* <i>curu</i>	VL,L,K <i>curu</i> 'enter' PPN * <i>huru</i> 'enter' cf. PSS * <i>sulupa</i> 'enter'
* <i>dia-</i>	K,L,WVL,CVL,NEVL <i>dia-</i> 'handle, shaft' PPN * <i>tia</i> 'stake, post' *(<i>qe</i>) <i>tia</i> 'handle' (TON ' <i>esia</i> ; NUK <i>dia</i> 'cover (st) by plaiting or lashing around')
* <i>dreu</i>	NW,SW,SE,K,L,VL <i>dreu</i> 'ripe' PPN * <i>leu</i> 'ripe'
* <i>drō</i>	SE <i>drō</i> 'flee' PPN * <i>roo</i> 'go'
* <i>gadru</i>	WVL <i>gadru</i> 'snore' TON <i>ngalu</i> '(throat) rattle when speaking' cf. SE <i>dragu</i> 'snore' ARS <i>arangu</i> 'grunt and groan in sleep'
* <i>gwasau</i>	NNs,SE,K,L,WVL,NEVL,SEVL <i>gwasau</i> 'reed, arrow' PPN * <i>ŋasau</i> 'arrow' (TON,EFU,REN,TIK, MEF,WFU)
*(<i>iuɸ</i>) <i>supe' e</i>	L <i>supē</i> 'snot' PPN *(<i>iuɸ</i>) <i>supeqə</i> 'snot'
* <i>jona</i>	L <i>sonasona</i> 'wart' PNP * <i>tona</i> 'wart'
* <i>ka(a)tia</i>	CVL,SEVL <i>katia</i> '(st) burnt' REN <i>kaatia</i> '(st) burnt'
* <i>kaba</i>	WVL <i>kaba</i> '(house) wall' PCO * <i>apaapa</i> '(house) wall' (see section 4.4.2)
* <i>kabu</i>	SW,EF <i>kabu</i> 'mist' PPN * <i>kapu</i> 'mist' (TON <i>kakapu</i> , MAO <i>kapua</i>)

	cf. NW <i>kavu</i> 'mist'
	PEO * <i>kavu</i> 'mist'
* <i>kaci</i>	SE,K,L,VL <i>kaci</i> 'call'
	KAP <i>kahi</i> 'call'
	cf. NGG <i>gahe</i> 'shout, boast'
* <i>kaute</i>	NEVL <i>kaute</i> 'hibiscus'
	PPN * <i>kaute</i> 'hibiscus'
* <i>kawa</i>	NE <i>kawa</i> 'spittle'
	PPN *(<i>ka</i>) <i>kawa</i> 'sweat'
* <i>kiv(iu)</i>	NW <i>kivi</i> 'run'
	EFU <i>kifu</i> 'run'
* <i>kubu</i>	SE,L <i>kubu-t</i> 'hold in mouth'
	PSO * <i>puku</i> 'hold in mouth' (REN,ANU)
	cf. PEO *(ŋ) <i>kumu</i> 'hold in mouth'
* <i>kui</i>	L <i>mata kui</i> 'blind'
	PPN * <i>kui</i> (TON <i>kui</i> , MAE <i>kivi</i> ⁹)
* <i>kula</i>	NEVL <i>kulaivika</i> 'circumcision'
	PNP * <i>kula</i> 'circumcision' (REN <i>kuga</i> ,
	EFU <i>kūlaga</i>)
	cf. WOL <i>kiur(a)</i> '(foreskin) pulled back; circumcise'
* <i>laja</i>	L,WVL <i>lasa</i> 'tame'
	PPN * <i>lata</i> 'tame'
	cf. KUA <i>la</i> 'tame'
* <i>lasu</i>	SE,NE,SEVL <i>lasu</i> 'tell lie'
	PNP * <i>lasu</i> 'trick, deceive' (LUA,MAO)
	cf. BUG <i>laulahu</i> '(child) play'
	PAN * <i>la(n)cu(mŋ)</i> 'Verfälschen'
* <i>leka</i>	SW,SE,NE,K,L,VL <i>lekaleka</i> 'short'
	PPN * <i>leka</i> 'small, dwarf'
	cf. NW,NNS <i>lekeleke</i> 'short'
* <i>loi</i>	CVL,NEVL <i>loi</i> 'play'
	PPN * <i>loi</i> 'tell lie' (TON,MAE) ¹⁰

* <i>luka</i>	SE <i>luka</i> 'snot' PPN * <i>kalu</i> 'sputum' (TON, NUK, KAP) cf. Kapampangan (Philippines) <i>lugaq</i> 'earwax'
* <i>lulu</i>	NNS, EF <i>lulu</i> 'owl' PPN * <i>lulu</i> 'owl'
* <i>makubu-</i>	SW, SE, L <i>makubu-</i> 'xxx' 'grandchild' PPN * <i>makupuna</i> cf. NDR <i>makobu-</i> , NMN <i>makabu-</i>
* <i>ma(a)rō</i>	CVL, NEVL <i>marō</i> 'bold' PPN * <i>maaloo</i> 'unyielding, victorious'
* <i>maumau</i>	EF, WF <i>maumau</i> 'wasted' PPN * <i>maumau</i> 'wasted' cf. GED <i>mau</i> 'spoil, rot'
* <i>mavoa</i>	NW, NNS, SE, NE, L, VL <i>mavoa</i> 'wounded, damaged' PPN * <i>mafua</i> (TON <i>mafua</i> 'broken', REN <i>maho</i> 'blistered')
* <i>mino</i>	K <i>mino</i> 'missing' PPN * <i>nimo</i> 'vanish'
* <i>moko</i>	EF, WF <i>moko</i> 'lizard' PPN * <i>moko</i> 'lizard'
* <i>moko</i>	NW <i>moko-t</i> 'bind, tie' TON <i>moko</i> 'fasten w sinnet'
* <i>mo(')a</i>	NNS <i>moa</i> 'grass' HAW <i>moa</i> 'k short leafless plant'
* <i>munā</i>	SEVL <i>munā</i> 'say' MAE <i>munā</i> 'say'
* <i>na(')ona(')o</i> ¹¹	NE, CVL <i>nānā</i> 'midge, gnat' PEP * <i>na(q)ona(q)o</i> 'midge, gnat' (EAS, TUA, RAR, MAO)
* <i>nau</i>	NE, WVL, NEVL <i>nau</i> xy' voc 'mum' PSO * <i>nau</i> xy' voc 'mum' (MAE, REN <i>tinau</i> ; ANU <i>nau</i> title of married woman)

* <i>nene</i>	SE,NE,NEVL <i>nene-t</i> 'angry - with' KAP <i>haga-nneennee</i> 'anger, tease'
* <i>noka</i>	NE,WVL,CVL,NEVL <i>noka-t</i> 'tie' PPN * <i>noqa</i> 'tie' cf. MTA <i>gona-tag</i> 'secure by tying', PMC * <i>kona-a</i> 'catch', of which * <i>noka</i> appears to be a metathesized form
* <i>nuve</i>	L,VL <i>nuve</i> 'caterpillar' PPN * <i>nufe</i> 'caterpillar' cf. WF,NE,SE,K <i>bānuve</i>
* <i>osi</i>	L <i>osi-∅</i> 'rear, bring up' PPN * <i>osi</i> 'rear, bring up'
* <i>pusi</i>	SEVL <i>pusi-∅</i> 'blow (st)' PPN * <i>pusi</i> 'blow'
* <i>qau</i>	WF,K <i>qau</i> '(taro, banana) sucker' PSO * <i>kau</i> (REN '(tuber) long end', TAK '(tuber, banana) underground runner') cf. NGG <i>nggaunggau</i> 'k wild yam'
* <i>qovu</i>	NE <i>qovu</i> 'mist' PPN * <i>kofu</i> 'mist'
* <i>rawa</i>	EF <i>rawa</i> 'possible, achieved' PPN * <i>lawa</i> 'possible, achieve, enough' cf. WF <i>rewa</i> 'possible, achieved'
* <i>ru(bv)e</i>	NW,SW,NE,K,L,VL <i>ruve</i> 'k pigeon' PPN * <i>lupe</i> 'k pigeon'
* <i>sapo</i>	L <i>sapo-t</i> 'catch' PPN * <i>sapo</i> 'catch'
* <i>sasau</i>	L <i>sasau</i> 'dew' TON <i>hahau</i> 'dew' cf. VL <i>yau</i> 'dew', YML,NMS <i>caucau</i> 'dew'
* <i>sema</i>	L <i>sema</i> 'left hand' PPN * <i>sema</i> 'left hand'

* <i>soli</i>	EF,WF <i>soli-</i> ∅ 'give' PPN * <i>soli</i> 'give' (EFU,ANU,MAE,WUV) cf. PSS * <i>soli(nŋ)i</i> 'assign food, distribute'
* <i>solo</i>	L,VL <i>solo</i> 'grate, rub hard' PPN * <i>holo</i> 'grate, grind' * <i>solo</i> 'rub'
* <i>sosoko</i>	WF,EF <i>sosoko</i> '(liquid) thick' NAN <i>hohoko</i> '(liquid) thick'
* <i>takona</i>	NEVL,SEVL <i>takona</i> 'wooden kava bowl' PPN * <i>taanoqa</i> 'wooden kava bowl' cf. NW,SE,NE,WVL,CVL <i>tānoa</i> and SE,NE, CVL <i>tānoya</i> , which appear to be PN loans postdating Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization.
* <i>tari</i>	WVL <i>tari</i> 'touch, take in hand' PPN * <i>tali</i> 'receive'
* <i>tavo</i>	SW <i>tavo</i> 'side' NUK <i>daho</i> 'side' cf. PMC * <i>tap'o</i> 'end'
* <i>tono</i>	EF,WF <i>tono-k</i> 'poke' EAS <i>tono</i> 'push'
* <i>tule</i>	NW,NEVL <i>tule-g</i> 'push' PPN * <i>tule(kq)i</i> 'push over' cf. KUA <i>tulan</i> 'push, knock'
* <i>v-māwā</i>	WVL <i>v-māwā</i> 'yawn' ECE <i>fakamaavaa</i> 'yawn'
* <i>vuce</i>	SW,SE,L,WVL,CVL,NEVL <i>vuce</i> 'swollen' TUA <i>huhe</i> 'swollen'
* <i>vucu</i>	NW,CVL,NEVL,SEVL <i>vucu-k</i> 'punch' PPN * <i>fusu</i> 'punch'
* <i>vua-</i>	VL <i>vua-</i> 'xxx 'grandchild' PEP * <i>fuaaña</i> 'relative, descendant'

* <i>waku</i>	L,CVL,NEVL <i>waku</i> 'scrape up w hand'
	PPN * <i>waku</i> 'scrape, scratch (w hand)'
* <i>wale</i>	NW,SW <i>wale</i> 'spittle'
	PPN * <i>wale</i> 'spittle'
	cf. XWA <i>kwalebo</i> 'slobber'
* <i>wasa</i>	EF,WF <i>wasawasa</i> 'open sea'
	PPN * <i>wasa</i> 'open sea'
	cf. ROT <i>vasa</i> 'far out at sea', but could be PN loan
* <i>wa(')awa(')a</i>	WF,NE,K,L,WVL,SEVL <i>wāwā</i> 'intestines'
	PSO * <i>wa(q)awa(q)a</i> 'intestines' (EFU,TAK,LUA)
* <i>weka-</i>	SE,K,L <i>weka-</i> a'b 'opposite sex sibling'
	PNP * <i>kawe</i> 'opposite sex sibling'
	This form is reflected elsewhere in Fiji meaning 'kin'; it is not clear which meaning is innovative.
* <i>were</i>	NNS,SE,NE,L,VL <i>were-c</i> 'clear (garden)'
	PNP * <i>wele</i> 'clear (garden)'
	cf. ARE <i>were-a</i> 'bring in harvest'
* <i>wīwī</i>	NE <i>wīwī</i> 'sour'
	PPN * <i>wii(wii)</i> 'sour' (NIU,ECE,NUK, KAP,LUA,SIK,TAK,REN,ANU)
*(') <i>adi</i>	NE,WVL,NEVL (<i>a</i>) <i>di</i> -∅ 'carry, bring'
	SAM <i>ati</i> 'fetch fire'
*(') <i>alaga</i>	K <i>laga</i> 'leg'
	PPN *(<i>q</i>) <i>alaya</i> 'thigh, (animal) leg'
	cf. ROT <i>araga</i> 'thigh', GIL <i>ranga</i> 'leg', both of which are probably PN loans
*(') <i>are</i>	WVL,CVL,NEVL <i>yare-∅</i> 'rear, bring up'
	MEF <i>faka-area</i> 'care for (so, animal)'

*(')aviga-	SE <i>yave(gn)a-</i> 'armpit'
	PPN *(')afinga 'armpit' (NAN, NUK, TAK, LUA, EAS)
	cf. MTA <i>vinai</i> 'armpit', WOL <i>yafiyef</i> 'carry under arm'
*'u(bv)i	SE, L, CVL, NEVL <i>ubi-</i> ∅ 'cover'
	PPN * <i>qufi</i> 'cover'
*'uma	L <i>uma-c</i> 'kiss'
	PPN * <i>quma</i> 'kiss' (TON, NAN, ECE)
	cf. Kapampangan (Philippines) <i>uma</i> 'kiss'

7.3.3. Functors

The following list of items shared uniquely by Fijian and Polynesian languages concerns "functors" ("grammatical morphemes"), a type of morpheme that is generally considered by linguists to be rarely borrowed, and therefore a reliable indicator of genetic relationships.

*(<i>cy</i>)a(')uv	L <i>cauV</i> 'not' SAM <i>au-</i> 'without, free from'
* <i>deiV</i>	CVL, NEVL <i>deiV</i> 'want to' PTO * <i>teiV</i> 'nearly, about to' (TON, NIU)
* <i>da(a)to(')uv</i>	NE, NEVL, SEVL <i>datouV</i> pn Ii3 SAM <i>taatouV</i> pn Ii3, p
* <i>k(a)ua</i>	EF, WF <i>kua</i> 'not to, stop', forms dehortative of embedded S PPN *(<i>kq</i>) <i>aua</i> 'don't'
* <i>kiN</i>	NW, NE, K, L, WVL, CVL, SEVL <i>kiN</i> 'to' PPN * <i>ki</i> 'to'
* <i>Vkina</i>	L, VL <i>Vkina</i> indirect object pronoun, 'to it, with it, etc.'
	PSO * <i>Vkina(i)</i> indirect object pronoun (KAP <i>ginai</i> , REN <i>kinai</i> ,

		NUK <i>agina</i>)
*koPN, Pn	NW, NE, K, L, VL	<i>koPN, Pn</i> , article marking (unincorporated) proper nouns and pronouns
PPN *koN	specifier particle	(<i>koPN, Pn</i> in ANI, WFU)
*kodo(')uV	WVL <i>kodouV</i>	pn II3 EFU <i>kotouV</i> pn II3,p
*koia	NW, SE, NE, L, WVL, NEVL	<i>koya</i> Pn III PPN *koia Pn III (SAM, TAH, MAE)
*(kq)anaS	SE (<i>kq)anaS</i>	'lest, in case' NUK <i>ganaS</i> 'warning aspect'
*(kq)a(')uV	NE, L, CVL, SEVL	(<i>kq)auV</i> pn I EFU <i>kauV</i>
*na(')(ae))	NW, WVL, CVL, SEVL	<i>naS</i> 'lest, in case' PPN *naq(ae)S 'lest' (TON <i>na'a</i> , EFU <i>na</i> , REN <i>na'e</i>)
*Vnoa	SE <i>Vnā/nō</i> , NE <i>Vnā/nū</i>	'just, only' PPN *Vnoa 'just, only'
*Vrā	SW, SE, NE, WVL	<i>Vrā</i> polite imperative PPN *Vraa polite imperative
*sa(a)V	NW, EF	<i>sāV</i> perfective aspect SAM <i>sav</i> past tense
*tau-Nkin	VL <i>tau-</i>	reciprocal prefix to kin terms PSO *tau- reciprocal prefix to kin terms (ANU, TIK, REN)
*ta'ekiv	L <i>tekiV</i>	'not yet' PPN *taqekiv 'not yet' cf. WDN <i>tekiV</i> 'not' PON <i>saikV</i> 'not yet'
*to(')uV	SE, NE, L, WVL, NEVL	<i>touV</i> pn Ii3 EFU <i>touV</i> pn Ii3
*ve(i)V'aki	SW, NNS, EF	<i>veiVyaki</i> 'to and fro, all over'

	PPN *feVqaki 'to and fro, all over'
*viaV	NE,K,L,SEVL viaV 'want to'
	PPN *fia 'want to'
*Vvoki	NE Vvoki 'again, also'
	PPN *Vfoki 'again, also'
*Vvoli	SE,L,VL Vvoli 'round, about'
	TON Vfoli 'round, about' (cf. MEF fori 'go round, turn round')
*Vwale	K,L,VL Vwale 'only, freely'
	HAW Vwale 'only, freely'
*V-'aga	CVL,NEVL (V)V-yaga 'place for V'
	PPN *V-qaq'a nominalizer
*V(')ane	NE,SEVL Vyane 'thither'
	SAM *Vane 'along'
*V'oti	SW,SE,L,VL Voti 'finished, already' perfect tense marker
	TON 'osiv 'finished, already' perfect tense marker
*(NV)'oti	CVL,NEVL (NV)oti 'all' PSO *qoti 'all' (REN,PIL,ANI,WFU)

7.3.4. Quantities of Exclusively Shared Items

When the numbers of lexical items shared with Polynesian languages by various areas of Fiji are compared, a clear pattern emerges:

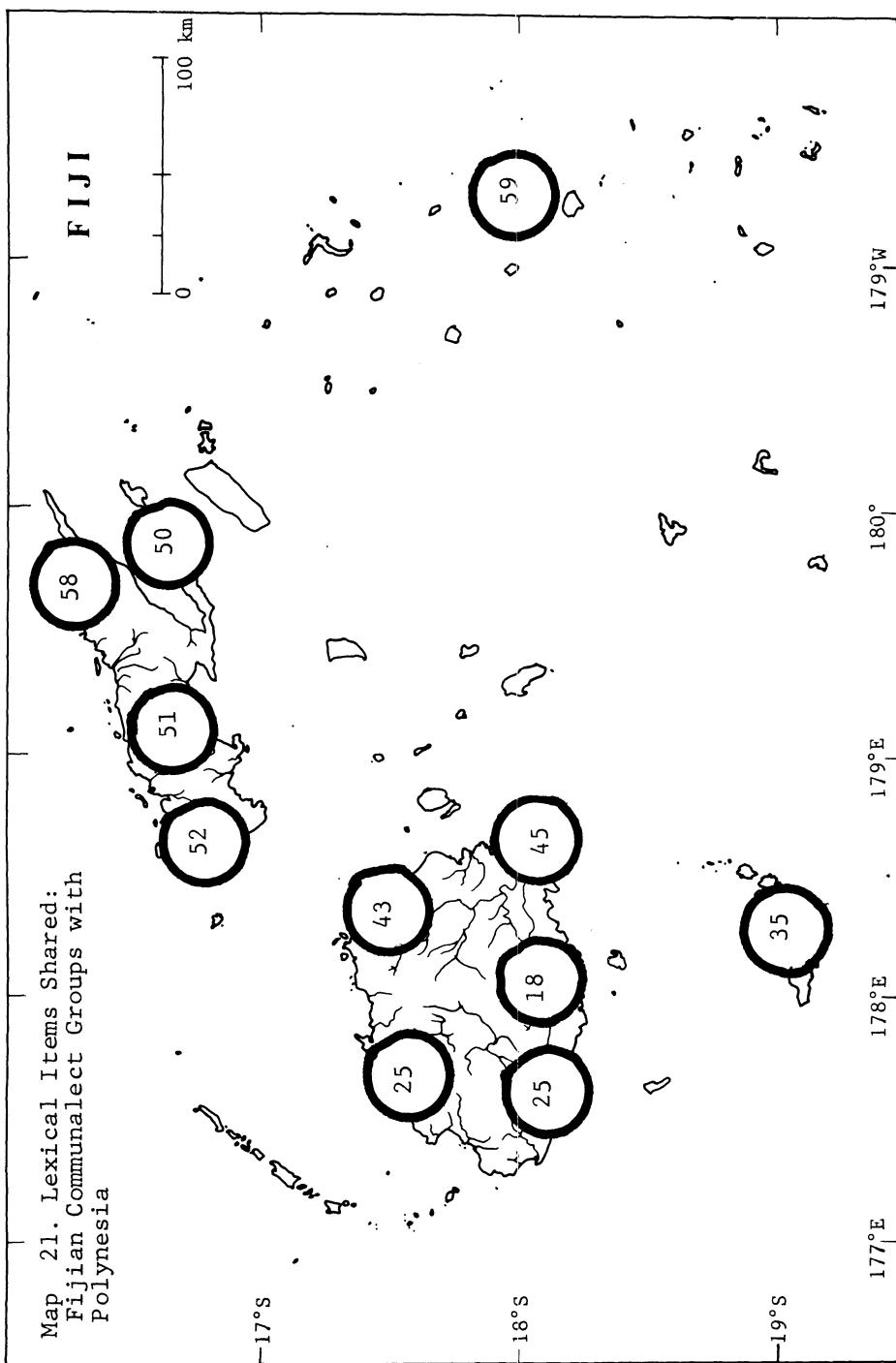
Table 41
 Lexical Items Shared Exclusively by the Various
 Fijian Communalect Groups with Polynesia

	Nonfunctors	Functors	Total
NW	19	6	25
SW	21	4	25
NNS	16	2	18
SE	35	10	45
NE	29	14	43
K	28	7	35
L	44	15	59
WVL	37	15	52
CVL	36	15	51
NEVL	43	15	58
SEVL	34	16	50

The Western areas score particularly low (18-25 total), while the Eastern areas range from 35 (Kadavu) through 43 and 45 (Viti Levu), 51 and 52 (West and Central Vanua Levu), to 58 and 59 (Northeast Vanua Levu, Lau), as shown on Map 21. As already noted, the figure for Southeast Vanua Levu may be too low, because our sample is inadequate.

7.3.5. The Polynesian Homeland

The figures in Table 41 show that the areas sharing most items with Polynesian languages are Lau, Northeast Vanua Levu, and, possibly, Southeast Vanua Levu. Under the present Proto Central Pacific hypothesis, this distribution of exclusively shared



lexical items is hard to explain. If Proto Central Pacific broke up into Proto Polynesian and Proto Fijian, and Proto Fijian subsequently underwent further division, then there is no cause for any particular daughter language of Proto Fijian to show a closer relationship with Polynesian languages than any other. The only explanation compatible with the Proto Central Pacific hypothesis--that the shared items are loans--seems unlikely, because of the large number of grammatical morphemes involved. Nor is the situation explicable by the other possible strictly genetic hypothesis: Tokalau Fijian cannot be subgrouped with Polynesian, since Tokalau Fijian is unquestionably a Fijian language.

The genetic model, therefore, is supplemented to explain the relationships observed, by allowing a language to change its subgroup membership over time. Thus it is claimed that Tokalau Fijian, although it clearly subgroups now with other Fijian languages (that is, shares most innovations), originally subgrouped with Polynesian.

This linguistic situation is not incompatible with the findings of archaeology that Lapita people, who had occupied Fiji by 1590 B.C., had settled in Tonga by 1230 B.C., and in Samoa by 1000 B.C. (Shutler 1978:225). It may be assumed that the Lapita people, who came to Fiji with a homogeneous material culture, had initially also a homogeneous language, but that a dialect chain developed within Fiji before the settlement of Polynesia, and it was speakers of the dialect of Tokalau Fiji (Proto Tokalau Polynesian) who settled Polynesia. The next section will deal with the subsequent development of Tokalau Fijian.

Although geographically Lau is considerably closer to Polynesia, Eastern Vanua Levu should not be discounted as a possible Polynesian homeland. While the Lau figures for shared innovations with Polynesia may have been inflated by undetected borrowings, because Lau is known to have been heavily influenced by Tonga, the same cannot be said of Vanua Levu. Moreover, the words in which *k is reflected as *q in PPN (e.g., PPN *noqa 'tie', *taanoqa 'wooden kava bowl', *qapa '(house) wall', *faqo 'nail', *quuti 'bite', *meqe 'dance', *qota 'dregs', *qola 'wedge', and many more) suggest borrowing from a dialect in which *k had changed to [?] regularly. k: is, of course, a feature of contemporary Eastern Vanua Levu speech; perhaps it was present in all or part of the same area before the settlement of Polynesia.

7.4. Development within Fiji

After the settlement of Polynesia, the physical barrier of hundreds of miles of open sea encouraged the gradual divergence of the pre-Polynesian dialect of Proto Tokalau Polynesian from the Proto Tokalau Polynesian dialects remaining in Fiji. There is, of course, no physical barrier in Fiji comparable to that between Fiji and Tonga, and Fijian languages continued to develop as a dialect chain, each in some degree of contact with its neighbors. The development, however, was probably not a simple process of divergence, as Pawley and Sayaba (1971:415) have argued. Certain facts suggest a more complex picture.

First, what little is known of language change in the historical period, and what can be inferred of recent prehistorical times, points to convergence

being more prevalent than divergence. The reason for most of the convergence has been the influence of the coastal Southeast Viti Levu "prestige area." This prestige area, the usual domain of which I have referred to as the Koro Sea area, has been associated with a number of important prehistoric innovations (e.g., Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization (section 4.1.1.4), pronoun replacement (section 5.1.3.4.1, and Geraghty 1977), change of *-ia* verb ending to *-a* (section 5.3.1), perhaps Proper Noun Incorporation (section 5.2.2.2) and a great deal of lexical replacement in historic times (Schütz 1963b, Geraghty 1978a)). There are good reasons to be fairly confident that the area has been prestigious for some time, not only because of its known historical prestige, but also because it participates in all of the Koro Sea area innovations, whereas other Eastern Fijian areas have been excluded from some. Proper Noun Incorporation has not quite conquered Lau, where a Proper Noun object may be left outside the verb phrase marked by a preposed *i*. Kadavu, Rā, Gone Dau, and Northeast Vanua Levu have resisted Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization, but only Rā and Gone Dau have resisted the *-ia* to *-a* change.

Striking evidence for the extent of the convergence is to be found in Lau, where there are indications of a very different possessive morphology in the past.

First, consider the irregular bimorphemic forms *qou* and *qau* (LAU, VBL) (see section 5.2.3.3). *qou* represents the neutral-active possessive marker (*o-*) plus the first person singular possessive pronoun (*-qu*). The irregularity appears to be the result of metathesis; the expected *oqu* is, in fact, found in Vanua Levu. The form *qau* represents the eat

possessive marker (*ke-*) plus the first person singular possessive pronoun (-*qu*). But, if this form is the product of the same metathesis that produced *qau*, its source must have been **a-qu*, rather than **ke-qu*.

It is possible, therefore, that the form *qau* (which may have resisted replacement because the "regular" *ke-qu* violates certain phonotactic rules (see section 4.1.1.1)) preserves an eat possessive marker **a-*, which is cognate with the PPN possessive marker **a* (Clark 1976:42) which marks, among many other categories, possession of things to eat.¹²

Second, recall that nineteenth-century Lauan was described by Cargill as showing no distinct possessive marker for 'drink' as opposed to 'eat' possession in the first person singular. Polynesian languages likewise have no distinct drink possessive marker.¹³

Third, note the names of two reefs in the Lau group, *Matacucu* and *Batiyanitu*. Both appear to be lexicalized possessive constructions of the type that is marked in contemporary Lauan by the genitive particle *ni*: *mata-cucu*¹⁴ 'eye of breast' (i.e., 'nipple') and *bati-yanitu*¹⁵ 'tooth of devil' would be *mata-ni-sucu* and *bati-ni-timoni* in contemporary Lauan. Polynesian languages also show frequent loss of the genitive particle *ni* (or **qi*) in such constructions¹⁶ (see Churchward (1953:214-217) for Tongan), so it may be that this loss of the genitive particle was shared by Proto Polynesian and Lauan.¹⁷

There are, therefore, grounds for suspecting that, in possessive morphology at least, Lau has borrowed heavily from more central Fijian languages. Convergence is also apparent in the Vowel Cluster Assimilation rule (4.5.1), which spread almost throughout Fiji at a time when there were already important differences in possessive morphology.

We must be alert, therefore, to the possibility of convergence in making claims about the language history of Fiji: not every feature found throughout Fiji is necessarily very old.

Bearing this in mind, nevertheless, it is useful to suggest a tentative ordering of rules, based on their present distribution, beginning with what were probably early developments, possibly predating the settlement of Polynesia. Changes in the sound system are that of $*\tilde{n}$ (to y/\emptyset in Western Viti Levu, n elsewhere), $*mw$ (gw in West and Southeast Viti Levu, g elsewhere), and, possibly, the development of kw and qw in West and Southeast Viti Levu. It was also mentioned in the last section that the change of $*k$ to glottal stop may even date back to the Proto Central Pacific dialect chain. To judge from their present distribution, some grammatical morphemes shared by Fijian and Polynesian were quite widespread before the settlement of Polynesia (the dehortative $*k(a)ua$, the conjunction $*na('ae)$ 'lest', the proper article (?) $*ko$, the preposition $*ki$ 'to', the derivational affixes $*veiV'aki$ 'to and fro, all over', and the postposed particles $*noa$ 'just' and $*rā$ polite imperative), while others were probably less widely used (the prefix $*tau-$, deriving reciprocal verbs from kin terms, the verbal suffix $*-aga$ 'place for V-ing', the preposed particle $*via$ 'want to', and the postposed participles $*voki$ 'again, also', $*wale$ 'only, freely', and $*'oti$ 'all', all of which appear to have been confined to the eastern part of the Proto Fijian dialect chain). A number of innovations not shared by Polynesian languages, but widespread in Fiji, may be attributable to a period shortly after the settlement of Polynesia, notably the loss of $*q$, merger of the

reflex of PEO **z* and **y* as *c*, merger of the reflexes of PEO **s* and **j* as *s*, fusion of the conjunction *me* and second person preverbal pronoun *o* as *mo* (now absent only in Lau), and merger of PEO **p* and **b* as *b* (now absent only in Lau and Eastern Vanua Levu).

7.5. Internal Divisions

In chapter 6 it was noted that Western Vanua Levu (especially Gone Dau), Northeast Viti Levu, and Kadavu share many innovations with Western Fijian, exclusively of other Eastern Fijian communalects. These innovations probably date from a relatively early period, before the buildup of population in inland Viti Levu, when communication was still mostly coastal and inter-island. It is possible that these features were even more widespread before the rise of the Koro Sea prestige area. Some of the important innovations of this period are: marking of complements of nominal sentences by **tia*, loss of suffixed possession for part terms in favor of neutral-active possession, loss of the third person paucal pronoun in favor of the dual, change of unstressed *ei* to *i*, change of *ōa* to *ō*, change of *c* to *s* in certain lexical items (now preserved only in Nalea and Gone Dau), and vowel cluster assimilation (which, as we have seen (section 4.5.1), must be ordered after the loss of suffixed possession, even though it now shows a wider distribution). The nature and distribution of these innovations may indicate that there was an innovative prestige area centered on Western Viti Levu during this period. Other parts of Fiji, especially the Far East, appear to have been relatively conservative.

The only innovations which appear to have originated in the East at a relatively early date are those that followed from the loss of the suffixed

object pronouns--Proper Noun Incorporation (now obligatory in all Eastern communalects except LAU and VBL, and in parts of the Northwest) and Proper Noun Possessor Movement (obligatory in all Eastern communalects except TVK, NBL, and NDR, and in parts of the Northwest).

As Pawley and Sayaba (1971:433) suggested, it was probably the heavy settlement of inland Viti Levu that led to an increase in communication along rivers, and a consequent decrease in coastal and interisland communication. At the same time, however, interisland communication within Eastern Fiji appears to have been maintained in the Koro Sea area, as witness such important innovations as Eastern Fijian Apical Prenasalization and the replacement of the *-ia* verb ending by *-a*. Western Viti Levu, now isolated from the rest of Fiji, innovated with ante-penultimate *a*-lengthening and prefixed possession of part terms. A number of subsequent Western innovations have failed to penetrate all or part of the NNS area: replacement of the initial *n-* of the neutral-active possessive marker by *l-* has not affected Tubai, the change of unstressed *ai* to *ei* is absent in most of NNS, and the fusion of pre-verbal pronouns with the tense marker *i* is absent throughout NNS.

This historical outline is, of course, tentative, and may have to be altered radically as new data come to light. An innovation with a restricted distribution may be an ancient innovation lost in many witnesses; conversely, a widely distributed innovation may have been recently borrowed across a wide area. Some ways in which innovations may be dated relatively have already been pointed out in section 6.0, and this discussion is merely a preliminary

attempt at reconstructing language history by combining such methods with the data and analyses presented in earlier chapters, and building on the archaeologically and linguistically based hypothesis of Pawley and Sayaba.

7.6. Polygenesis and Intrusive Languages

We have observed that certain nineteenth- (Waterhouse) and twentieth-century linguists (Capell and Lester) believed that the present linguistic diversity of Fiji was the result of separate immigrations. Pawley and Sayaba (1971:411) and Pawley (1972: 127-128) have agreed that Fiji was probably settled more than once, but argued that the linguistic evidence for multiple settlement is slight, amounting to only a few competing reconstructions in Proto Fijian. There is, then, agreement that at least some fragments of linguistic evidence point to more than one population movement into Fiji.

Available archaeological evidence tends to reinforce this view, suggesting that, after the original settlement of Fiji about thirty-five hundred years ago, at least two intrusive populations have left their mark (Pawley and Green 1973:15-17). Pawley and Green (*ibid.*, 47) addressed themselves to the obvious question: which of these three populations spoke the language from which the contemporary Fijian languages evolved? They argue that the first settlers, the Lapita people, were the ones who determined Fiji's linguistic history. One reason is that the diversity of Fijian languages suggests a breakup of Proto Fijian at a date considerably earlier than the arrival of the intrusive populations. Another is that the Fijian languages subgroup immediately with Polynesian, and not with any languages

to the West, where the intrusive populations might have originated.

While I agree with Pawley and Green that the Lapita people laid a linguistic base, I believe that later arrivals may well have been responsible for important changes. Let us reconsider their two reasons for discounting the effect of intrusive populations. The first begs the question: its truth depends on the intrusive populations having had no effect. As for the second, while there is ample evidence that Tokalau Fijian and Polynesian form a subgroup, the immediate relationships of the rest of Fiji are far from clear. Lexicostatistics offers no support for a Fiji-Polynesian rather than, say, a Fiji-Solomons grouping (7.2.1), and my own investigations indicate that all Western Fijian languages share more features exclusively with Melanesian than with Polynesian languages, while many Eastern Fijian languages show little difference. Equally important, recently published data from the New Hebrides and the Southeast Solomons, and the results of my own research within Fiji, suggest that there are many competing reconstructions, involving even functors and basic vocabulary.¹⁸ I believe it may be possible to establish a connection between these competing forms and the intrusive populations suggested by the archaeological evidence, and perhaps to locate the source of some of the competing forms in the same way that we have attempted to locate the area in Fiji in which pre-Polynesian began its separate development. I hope to document the linguistic evidence at a future date. Meanwhile, suffice it to say that the Oceanic languages of Melanesia, like the Polynesian languages, show a complex relationship with the Fijian languages, and

there is a need to continue to work both within and without the framework of strict genetic subgrouping if we are to arrive at a realistic reconstruction of the history of the Eastern Oceanic language area.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. In Lau, however, proper noun objects following the verb phrase are marked with *i*.
2. Note, incidentally, that the source of Fiji's renown among typologists--that it is a "VOS" language--is a fabrication wrought by generations of informants and grammarians guided more by translations than by spoken Fijian. In a sample of 97 verbal sentences in two recorded conversations (one from Bau Island, one from Tubai), I found that over half (56) had only one NP complement, and that more than a third (34) had no NP complement at all. Of the remaining seven sentences with two NP complements, three were SVO, two were OVS, one VSO, and one VOS. My impression is that such a distribution of sentence types is not untypical for all Fijian languages. Why VOS was--and continues to be--dominant in translation from English is not at all clear; but the practice almost certainly originated with the early missionaries.
3. However, in Aniwa and West Futuna, *ko* is apparently only used with proper nouns and pronouns (Capell 1958).
4. Pawley also reconstructs Proto-North Hebridean-Central Pacific **kamami* (1972:110), but only as a plural form, not as a nonsingular person marker.
5. A further objection, also cited by Pawley, is that the Tongic languages suggest PPN *-*tolu*, rather than *-*tou*. A glance at the following tabular material, however, reveals that the form suggested by the Tongic languages is not *-*tolu*, but *-*utolu*:

	Ixp	Iip	IIp	IIIp
TON	<i>kimautolu</i>	<i>kitautolu</i>	<i>kimoutolu</i>	<i>kinautolu</i>
NIU	<i>mautolu</i>	<i>tautolu</i>	<i>mutolu</i>	<i>lautolu</i>
PNP	<i>*ma(a)tou</i>	<i>*ta(a)tou</i>	<i>*ko(u)tou</i>	<i>*la(a)tou</i>

In view of the fact that the meaning of this suffix is not paucal, but plural, it seems quite likely that its source is not the word for 'three', but a cognate of SF *udolu* 'thousand' and NGG *undolu* 'whole, all' (as in *rogita undolu* 'both of us'). Note also that in Aomba, New Hebrides (Codrington 1885:422), *teri* 'thousand' also functions as a plural marker. Pawley's own objection, then, may be irrelevant: PPN may have had **-utolu* as an optional plural suffix, and **-tou* as the trial or paucal suffix.

6. Note, however, PEO **vitolo* 'hungry', which may be a compound of **vi-* 'want to' and **tolo* 'swallow' (Andrew Pawley, personal communication).
7. It has been noted in section 5.3.1 that **-(C)ia* can be reconstructed for Proto Eastern Oceanic as a suffix deriving resultative statives.
8. The development of words for 'four' is problematic throughout Oceania. The reconstructed PEO **vati* is itself an irregular development of PAN **ə(m)pat*; perhaps the suffixation of **-i* was an attempt to preserve the bisyllabicity of the numerals after the accidental loss of **ə-*. Some daughter languages appear to have attempted other forms of compensation, hence ROT *häke*, PMC **fanji* (cf. also MTU *hani*, KAK *pano*).
9. Apparently PPN **kui* became PNP **kivi*, in the same way that PPN **hui* 'bone' became PNP **ivi*.

10. The case for the cognacy of this pair is strengthened by such pairs as SF *qito* 'play', NGG *nggito* 'steal'; EAS *kori* 'play, steal'; GOD *driva* 'play', WF,K,L *driva* 'steal'; and see s.v. **lasu*.
11. Possibly **ñā(q)oñā(q)o*; NW *tauyā* and WVL,CVL, NEVL *taunā* suggest an earlier **tauñā*, which could be derived from **tauña(q)o* by Vowel Cluster Assimilation (no suggestion, however, regarding source of *tau-*).
12. This **a-/o-* distinction may have developed from an earlier **na-/no-* distinction. It has already been seen that LAU *o-* corresponds to *no-* further west (Map 15), and a *na-* eat possessive marker, which could be the source of LAU **a-*, is found in Nabukelevu. Under this hypothesis, of course, the eat possessive marker *ke-* is an innovation of part of the Fijian dialect chain after the settlement of Polynesia.
13. This feature, however, may be a shared retention; many other EO languages also fail to mark drink possession.
14. Note that *-cucu* has not been affected by Apical Prenasalization, due to lack of preceding *na* or *ni*.
15. *yanitu* 'devil' is also absent in contemporary Lauan (though preserved in Western Fijian), having been superceded by Bau *kalou*, which has in turn been superceded by the English loanword *jimoni* ('demon').
16. A notable exception is NUK *madaniiga* 'ingrown callus', which was presumably lexicalized as **mataniika* in PPN. Its source has been traced to PAN by Blust (1974).

17. Many more defunct morphemes are preserved in Fijian place-names (some pointed out by Hocart (1929:231, 1952:3-5)). PEO **qone* 'sand', **motu* 'island', **riki* 'small', and *(*q*)*anuza* 'small island' are commonly reflected, e.g., in *Oneata*, *Uruone*, *Namotu*, *Moturiki*, and *Yanuca*. PPN **faga* 'bay' has cognates in *Vaganai* (Bua), *Vaga* (Sogobiau, Macuata), and *Vagariki* (Moce, Lau); and the nominalizer still active in Vanua Levu, -*yaga* (PPN *-*qaŋa*) is fossilized in Lau and Kadavu in the place name *Naikeleyaga* 'the anchorage' (from *kele* 'to anchor').
18. Nevertheless, the most striking linguistic evidence for an intrusive population is still the pronoun system of Waya (see section 5.1.2).

APPENDIX

p and *f* in Fijian

The following is a list of Fijian words containing *p* or *f*, excluding place names and words loaned directly from English and Hindi. The words are confined geographically to the Lau Islands (LAU, VBL) and Eastern Vanua Levu (DGT, SQN, NVT, TNL, NWN). The orthography is diaphonemic, with the additional convention that *f* is realized as '*f*' only in LAU and VBL, and as '*p*' elsewhere. All forms listed are from my field notes, except those from Cikobia, a small island approximately thirty miles north of Dogotuki, which are taken from Biggs and Biggs (1976).

<i>capacapa</i>	N	k sea creature, like small lobster, eaten. TNL
<i>capiri</i>	V	fight. TNL
<i>capo-rk</i>	vt	work (st) hard, wear (so) out. TNL
<i>capotu</i>	V	explode, bang, thud. NVT, TNL, NWN, LAU
<i>cepa-tk</i>	ve	stagger, swerve. NVT, TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>cepō</i>	V	sound hollow, cf. <i>cipo</i> . TNL
<i>cepu</i>	V	explode, fart. = <i>cepū</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>cepū</i>	V	explode, fart. = <i>cepu</i> . TNL, LAU
<i>cipo</i>	V	resound when tapped. Indicates that nut is ripe. cf. <i>cepō</i> . LAU
<i>cope-</i> ∅	vt	interrupt (conversation). TNL

<i>cōpelu</i>	V	(esp so drunk) slip and fall, (foot) slip. NVT,VBL,LAU
<i>copu-t</i>	vt	(bird, fish) peck at, bite. = <i>topu-k.</i> LAU
<i>cūpelupelu</i>	V	fall backward w legs spread. TNL
<i>efe</i>	a	(mata) eyelid inverted. LAU
<i>efu</i>	N	dust. LAU
<i>ekafonu</i>	V	(cup of kava) full to the brim. LAU
<i>fāfā</i>	a	(body, esp leg) covered w sores. LAU
<i>fāfā-g</i>	vt	bear (burden), receive (fine). obs. VBL
<i>fafaga-tk</i>	vt	eat voraciously, finish off (food). VBL
<i>fafagale</i>	N	easygoing manner. LAU
<i>fafatu-tk</i>	ve	k hairdressing. NVT,TNL,VBL,LAU
<i>fagafaga</i>	a	(bear young) at too young an age. LAU
<i>fago</i>	N	k tree w large fruit used to hold water. LAU
<i>fai</i>	V	(so, animal) fight. LAU
<i>faite</i>	V	(i) sit like a woman, sit where one is not supposed to. VBL; (ii) sit cross-legged, like a man. LAU
<i>faito</i>	N	native medicine. VBL,LAU
<i>faiwa</i>	V	skillful, cunning, trick, specialty. NVT,VBL,LAU
<i>fakailo putu</i>	V	carry message of death. LAU
<i>fakali</i>	a	(head) k hairdressing. LAU
<i>fakaola-tk</i>	vt	jerk up (line) when fish bites. LAU
<i>fakatau</i>	id	instruction to pour kava in Tongan kava ceremony. VBL,LAU
<i>fakawaka</i>	N	k food, papaya baked in coconut cream. VBL
<i>fakawela-tk</i>	vt	present (st) to dancer. VBL,LAU

<i>falani</i>	N	casual shirt, T-shirt. obs. VBL, LAU
<i>falo</i>	V	successful in fishing. LAU
<i>faqa-tk</i>	vt	push (marble), like a girl, rather than flicking it, like a boy. NVT, VBL, LAU
<i>fasi</i>	V	soprano. = <i>fati</i> . VBL
<i>fata</i>	N	(<i>kupeti</i>) cord, of coconut or hibiscus fiber, forming a design. LAU
<i>fatafata</i>	N	(i) (so, animal) chest. obs. VBL; (ii) (animal) chest. LAU
<i>fati</i>	V	soprano. = <i>fasi</i> . LAU
<i>fau-c</i>	ve	wrap cloth around (head). VBL, LAU
<i>i faufau</i>	N	turban. VBL, LAU
<i>feiwaki</i>	N	lover, darling. = <i>feuaki</i> . VBL
<i>fekelai</i>	a	(eat) thrashing, beating. LAU
<i>feleago</i>	N	(house) rounded roof timbers across gables. VBL, LAU
<i>feleano</i>	N	= <i>feleago</i> . LAU
<i>feno-k</i>	vt	tickle, usu in ribs. VBL, LAU
<i>fenu</i>	V	blow nose. TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>ferea</i>	V	twisted, tangled, complicated, tricky. LAU
<i>feuaki</i>	N	= <i>feiwaki</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>fialai</i>	V	(child) cheeky. LAU
<i>fifi-g</i>	ve	roll (fishing line, tobacco, wool +). VBL
<i>figo</i>	a	(mouth, anus) small, narrow. = <i>piso</i> . LAU
<i>filo</i>	N	cotton thread. LAU
<i>filo-</i> ø	ve	wind threat around. LAU
<i>finagalo</i>	N	(chief) will, desire. LAU
<i>fiogo</i>	N	k shell, chambered nautilus. = <i>fiono</i> . LAU

<i>fiono</i>	N	= <i>fiogo</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>fisi</i>	V	tangled, mixed up, complicated. obs. = <i>fiti</i> , <i>fitia</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>fiti</i>	V	= <i>fisi</i> . LAU
<i>fiti</i>	N	k hairy yam. LAU
<i>fitia</i>	V	= <i>fisi</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>fiu</i>	V	fed up, weary, lazy. VBL, LAU
<i>foega</i>	N	k giant arum. NVT, TNL, VBL
<i>fofonu</i>	V	(so) sturdy, well built, solid, stout. cf. <i>funefuneke</i> , <i>fonifoniki</i> , <i>pocipociki</i> , <i>pokipokici</i> . LAU
<i>fokotū</i>	N	(trolling line) lead sinker. = <i>fotu</i> . LAU
<i>folaozi</i>	N	(bark cloth) k measure. LAU
<i>folau</i>	N	(bark cloth) k measure, one-fourth of <i>lalaga</i> . LAU
<i>fololevu</i>	V	greedy. VBL, LAU
<i>fonifoniki</i>	V	chubby, fat. cf. <i>funefuneke+</i> . LAU
<i>fotu</i>	N	= <i>fokotū</i> . VBL
<i>fū</i>	V	(cat) hiss in anger. LAU
<i>fua</i>	V	(limb) swollen w elephantiasis. SQN, NVT, TNL, NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>fuafua</i>	V	(eye) k infection, like sty. VBL
<i>fue</i>	N	fly whisk. VBL, LAU
<i>fue-rk</i>	vt	beat up, thrash, assault. cf. <i>napu-rk</i> +. LAU
<i>fufulu</i>	N	k perfumed oil. VBL, LAU
<i>fugaloto</i>	N	k grave. obs. LAU
<i>fula</i>	V	k disease, swelling caused by violating prohibition. VBL, LAU
<i>fulafula</i>	V	k skin disease. VBL
<i>fulu</i>	V	(dog) shaggy. = <i>fulufulua</i> . LAU
<i>fulufulua</i>	V	= <i>fulu</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>fulumini</i>	N	k boil on penis. VBL

<i>fune fune ke</i>	V	(so, baby) chubby, (pig) fat. =fonifoniki +. TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>fuo</i>	id	instruction to pull down edge of bark cloth during manufacture. LAU
<i>furu furua</i>	V	(hair, tree) bushy, tangled, thick. =purupurua. LAU
<i>fute-φ</i>	vt	work hard - at. LAU
<i>fute fute a</i>	V	soft and springy. VBL
<i>gaf i gaf i</i>	N	ceremonial mat worn around waist. VBL, LAU
<i>gef a gef a</i>	id	exclamation of amazement. LAU
<i>gef o gef o</i>	id	exclamation of amazement. LAU
<i>kacapū</i>	V	explode. =pū, cf. cepū. LAU
<i>kafa</i> , see <i>vākafa</i>		
<i>kaikaiga fua</i> , see <i>vākaikaigafua</i>		
<i>kai pipi</i>	N	k shellfish, heart cockle (?), eaten raw. TNL, LAU
<i>kapakapa</i>	N	(house) piece of thatch in middle of roof. LAU
<i>kapakapa</i> , see <i>veikapakapa</i>		
<i>kapo</i>	a	(eye) steady, unflinching. =poto. LAU
<i>kapunu</i>	V	(spear) fail to stick, bounce off, (fingers) stubbed. cf. <i>kapuru</i> , pocī. TNL
<i>kapuru</i>	V	(spear) blunted. cf. <i>kapunu</i> . NVT
<i>katapū</i>	V	blow raspberry, Bronx cheer. NVT, TNL, NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>kerepūpū</i> , see <i>vākerepūpū</i>		
<i>kipo</i>	N	what (so) deserves, serves (so) right. Takes <i>ke-</i> possessive marker, e.g., <i>kemu kipo</i> 'serves you right'. cf. <i>kopi-t</i> . LAU
<i>kofi</i>	V	k skin disease, ringworm (?). LAU

<i>kopi-t</i>	vt	well suited to (so). cf. <i>veikapakapa, kipo.</i> LAU
<i>kupa-φ</i>	vt	take a bit of. TNL
<i>kupeti</i>	N	k stencil used in decorating Tongan-style bark cloth. VBL,LAU
<i>lafa</i>	V	k skin disease, ringworm. VBL,LAU
<i>i lafo</i>	N	disc thrown in <i>veilafo</i> game. VBL,LAU
<i>lalafo</i>	V	k game, w discs thrown along mat. = <i>veilafo</i> . VBL,LAU
<i>lapulapu</i>	V	lie, flatter. VBL,LAU
<i>laupisi</i>	V	interrupt, chime in. VBL
<i>lautefui</i>	N	(bark cloth) k measure. VBL,LAU
<i>lefetona</i>	N	wart. VBL (only Sawana village)
<i>lepa</i>	a	(eyes) crossed. NVT,TNL,NWN,VBL,LAU
<i>lepe-k</i>	vt	(st) fly into (esp eye). LAU
<i>lepo</i>	N	earth oven covered with sacks, not soil. VBL,LAU
<i>lipo-g</i>	vt	assault violently. TNL,LAU
<i>lope</i>	N	mud. = <i>solope, sope, pela.</i> Taveuni
<i>lopu</i>	V	urinate in sleep. TNL
<i>lupetu</i>	V	soaking wet. NVT,TNL,NWN,VBL,LAU
<i>makapapa</i>	N	k broad stone found on beach. VBL
<i>manafau</i>	N	k Tongan girdle of hibiscus fiber. VBL
<i>maopo</i>	V	hardworking and intelligent. TNL, VBL,LAU
<i>mapu-c</i>	vt	whistle w fingers in mouth - for. VBL,LAU
<i>matafala</i>	N	raised end of mat in <i>lalafo</i> game. VBL
<i>matalafi</i>	N	wooden wedge in axehead. LAU
<i>matāpule</i>	N	(i) old man, fellow. VBL; (ii) clan chief. LAU

<i>maukupu</i>	N	(Tongan bark cloth) k measure. LAU
<i>nafa</i>	N	k drum of animal skin used to accompany Tongan dances. VBL,LAU
<i>nāfala</i> , see <i>vakanāfala</i>		
<i>nafo-rk</i>	vt	(esp animal) fight violently, (birds) mob. = <i>nofo-rk</i> . LAU
<i>napā-tk</i>	vt	hit, slap. VBL
<i>napu-rk</i>	vt	assault, punch repeatedly. = <i>ponu-rk</i> . LAU
<i>niupāpua</i>	N	rope used as rein of horse. = <i>niupuapua</i> . VBL
<i>niupuapua</i>	N	= <i>niupāpua</i> . VBL
<i>nofo</i>	id	instruction to dog to lie or stay. VBL,LAU
<i>nofo-rk</i>	vt	= <i>nafo-rk</i> . LAU
<i>ofu</i>	V	(i) masturbate. VBL; (ii) sexual intercourse. LAU
<i>olifa</i>	N	k small brown millipede. VBL,LAU
<i>ope-ɸ</i>	vt	pull faces at, put out tongue at. SQN,NVT,TNL,LAU
<i>opo-t</i>	ve	lay (two pieces of beaten bark cloth) on top of one another and join by beating. LAU
<i>pā</i>	V	take a step. NVT,TNL
<i>pā</i>	N	hook and lure used in trolling. VBL,LAU
<i>pā</i>	id	exclamation of surprise or admiration. VBL,LAU
<i>pā</i> , see <i>vakapā-n</i> , <i>vakapāpā</i>		
<i>paci-lk</i>	vt	tell lie - to. Cikobia
<i>pae</i>	id	shout to scare birds of prey away from chickens. NVT,NWN,VBL,LAU
<i>pāeke</i>	V	walk gingerly, w legs apart, e.g., after circumcision, or because of boil. VBL,LAU

<i>pago</i>	a	(stomach) large. term of abuse, cf. <i>fago</i> . NVT
<i>pago-</i>	N	(sugarcane, bamboo) node. LAU
<i>pago-c</i>	vt	assault violently. NVT, TNL
<i>pai</i>	a	(leg, forehead, head) angular, pointed. term of abuse. VBL, LAU
<i>paka</i>	N	k plantain tree. = <i>pata</i> . ' <i>paka</i> ', not ' <i>pa'a</i> '. NVT
<i>pakara</i>	V	k skin disease, common among children. NVT
<i>paki</i>	V	k men's dance w paddles. VBL
<i>paki-</i> ø	vt	tread - on. TNL
<i>pākia</i>	N	cooked taro leaves. VBL, LAU
<i>pako</i>	N	k grass, grows near shore, root used to perfume oil. NVT, TNL, NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>pakō</i>	a	(ear) deaf, (deaf) very. VBL
<i>paku-c</i>	vt	(food, e.g., unripe bananas) make (<i>loma</i> - 'inside') feel uncomfortable. NVT, TNL, NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>pakū</i>	V	thud. LAU
<i>pala</i>	V	(fruit, vegetable) rotten, (head) covered w sores, (tongue) infected w thrush. VBL, LAU
<i>pala</i>	id	exclamation of admiration or surprise. NVT, TNL
<i>palakipoe</i>	N	blackboard. LAU
<i>palapala</i>	id	exclamation of admiration or surprise. NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>pale</i>	N	k headband used by women in dancing. LAU
<i>palepale</i>	N	raised platform outside house for drying dishes. LAU
<i>palipali</i>	V	(child) cheeky. = <i>fialai</i> . TNL

<i>palu-c</i>	v?	knead (kava). VBL, LAU
<i>palusami</i>	N	k food, meat or fish wrapped in taro leaves. NVT, NWN, VBL
<i>panana</i>	a	(ear) emitting pus. NWN
<i>panapana</i>	V	sniff spirits. = <i>panopano</i> . LAU
<i>pani</i>	V	k game, batsman defends tower of tin cans. = <i>topolilo</i> . NVT, NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>pani-</i> ø	ve	rub oil on (hair). VBL, LAU
<i>panopano</i>	V	= <i>panapana</i> . VBL
<i>paopao</i>	N	(coconut) sheath of calyx. LAU
<i>paopao</i>	N	k trigger fish. TNL
<i>papa</i>	N	board, plank, timber. SQN, NVT, TNL, NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>papa-</i> ø	ve	ride piggyback. children's word. cf. <i>veipapai</i> . TNL, LAU
<i>pāpā</i>	a	(full) completely. LAU
<i>i pāpā</i>	N	steps cut into earth or coconut tree. cf. <i>pā</i> . NVT, TNL
<i>pāpā</i> , see <i>vakapāpā</i>		
<i>papaga</i>	a	(nose) without a ridge, like a duck's. VBL
<i>papai</i>	N	devil, ghost. children's word. VBL
<i>pāpaku</i>	V	thick. = <i>pāpaku</i> , cf. <i>paku-c</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>pāpākua</i>	V	= <i>pāpaku</i> . LAU
<i>pāpālagi</i>	LN	place where white people come from. TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>pāpāsaka</i>	V	legs apart. LAU
<i>pāpāsia</i>	N	k long wooden bowl for washing dishes or mixing food. cf. <i>vakaonofau</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>pāpate</i>	N	(shellfish) operculum. LAU
<i>papi-</i> ø	ve	alter (clothes) to fit. SQN

<i>paraga cā</i>	V	incontinent. NVT, TNL
<i>paraga cā</i>	V	(st) going badly, (so) at loggerheads, enemies. VBL
<i>pārakaraka</i> , see <i>vakapārakaraka</i>		
<i>parara</i>	V	(runny feces) spread all over. LAU
<i>pāre-</i> ø	vt	startle, make (so) jump. VBL, LAU
<i>pari-c</i>	vt	glance off, just strike. = <i>tipa-k</i> , <i>tipi-k</i> . NVT, TNL
<i>pāru-</i> ø	vt	protect, shelter. cf. <i>pāruru-g</i> . VBL
<i>paruparu</i>	V	covered w a rash from mosquito bites. cf. <i>ruparupā</i> . VBL
<i>pāruru-g</i>	V	shelter from wind. cf. <i>pāru-</i> ø. VBL
<i>pāruru-</i> ø	V	= <i>pāruru-g</i> . LAU
<i>i pasa</i>	N	k digging stick for planting taro. =saupā. VBL, LAU
<i>pasa-k</i>	vt	stab at w spear or knife. SQN, TNL
<i>pasa-k</i>	vt	dig, using <i>i pasa</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>pasa-t</i>	vt	= <i>pasa-k</i> . VBL
<i>pāsakasaka</i> , see <i>vakapāsakasaka</i>		
<i>paseu</i>	V	(water, mud, fish) splash. TNL, LAU
<i>pasi</i>	V	shoot at line to establish order of play in marbles. VBL
<i>pata</i>	N	= <i>paka</i> . NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>pata</i>	N	k large-grained sand, strewn on house floors and graves, strung in garlands. VBL, LAU
<i>pātali</i>	V	stupid, ignorant, (esp child) wandering aimlessly. VBL, LAU
<i>patapata</i>	V	(body, skin) rough w skin infection. VBL
<i>patepate</i>	N	(so) specialty, skill, what (so) is expert at. LAU

<i>patiole</i>	N	k creeper, leaves used in <i>fufulu</i> . NVT, LAU
<i>pato</i>	N	duck. VBL, LAU
<i>pato-k</i>	vt	punch, jab w fist or spear. =peto-k. NVT, TNL, NWN, LAU
<i>pau</i>	V	(child) cheeky. Ono-i-Lau
<i>paua</i>	V	hit one's own <i>i lafo</i> in <i>veilafo</i> game. VBL
<i>pē</i>	N	vagina. LAU
<i>peasi</i>	V	bad. =piaci. NVT, TNL
<i>peasi</i>	a	(eye) bloodshot and emitting pus, from excessive kava drinking or <i>cika</i> (an eye infection). LAU
<i>pece</i>	N	(yam) small yams attached to main root. NVT, TNL
<i>pega</i>	a	(foot) w sole pitted. Taveuni
<i>pekapeka</i>	N	k small bat. VBL
<i>peke-c</i>	v?	dunk, dip st into (liquid, dye). SQN, TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>peke</i> , see <i>veipekeyaki</i>		
<i>pekepeke</i>	N	k sweet food. LAU
<i>i pekepeke</i>	N	k sweet food, <i>pikilau</i> baked and dipped in coconut cream. VBL
<i>pela</i>	N	mud. =sope, <i>lope</i> , <i>solope</i> . TNL, LAU
<i>pele</i> , see <i>wapelapele</i> , <i>vakapelepele</i>		
<i>pelu-k</i>	vt	bend, twist (st hard). NVT, TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>pelulu</i>	V	wrinkled, (clothes) loose fitting. cf. <i>peruperu</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>peno-k</i>	vt	poke w finger. =peso-k. LAU
<i>pēpē</i>	V	(so, body) weak, weary. LAU
<i>pepeku</i>	a	(face) screwed up as if about to cry. =vakapepeku. NVT, TNL, LAU

<i>pēpēneu</i>	V	soft, weak, cowardly. VBL
<i>pero-c</i>	vt	defecate - on. TNL
<i>peruperu</i>	V	(clothes) loose fitting. cf. <i>pelulu</i> . NWN
<i>pesau</i>	V	jabber, speak fast and unintelli- gibly, chatter in foreign language. Cikobia, SQN, NVT, TNL, NWN
<i>pesi</i>	V	secular singing. VBL, LAU
<i>peso-k</i>	vt	= <i>peno-k</i> . SQN, NVT, TNL, NWN, LAU
<i>pesu-k</i>	ve	turn inside out (clothes, head of cuttlefish (to kill)). NVT, TNL, VBL
<i>petapetā</i>	V	(banana bunch) w fruit close together, (paint, butter) thickly spread. cf. <i>sokopipita</i> . TNL
<i>petelei</i>	N	multitude, vast number. LAU
<i>petepete</i>	V	(fowl) w floppy crest. Taveuni, LAU
<i>petepete</i>	V	k skin disease, esp children, rough skin. VBL, LAU
<i>peto-k</i>	vt	= <i>pato-k</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>petu-n</i>	vt	roll and fold (<i>pākia</i>) to cook. = <i>pitu-n</i> , <i>putu-n</i> . SQN, NVT, TNL, LAU
<i>peu-c</i>	v?	scrape (pandanus) w shell to straighten. TNL.
<i>pī</i> , see <i>pipī</i> , <i>i pīpī</i>		
<i>pia</i>	N	penis. VBL, LAU
<i>piaci</i>	V	very bad, spoiled. = <i>peasi</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>pici-k</i>	vt	trip up w foot, put leg round, (child, snake) cling to (mother's leg, creeper). = <i>piki-c</i> . TNL
<i>pikeu</i>	V	crooked, bent. cf. <i>piki</i> : VBL, LAU
<i>piki</i>	N	vagina, SQN
<i>piki</i>	a	(arm) crooked. LAU
<i>piki-c</i>	vt	= <i>pici-k</i> . TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>piki</i> , see <i>vakapikipiki</i>		

<i>pikilau</i>	N	(sweet potato) small tuber growing from shoot, or second growth.
		NVT, TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>piko-c</i>	v?	seize, catch. = <i>pono-k</i> , <i>topo-k</i> .
		Cikobia
<i>pila</i>	id	exclamation. TNL
<i>pila-c</i>	vt	smash w stone or heavy object. LAU
<i>pilipili</i>	id	exclamation of admiration or surprise.
		NVT
<i>pilipilita</i>	V	(soil) sticky, gummy, hard to break up. VBL, LAU
<i>pilo</i>	V	(i) uncircumcised. NVT, VBL, LAU; (ii) circumcised badly. NVT
<i>pilou-n</i>	vt	cover (head) usu w cloth. = <i>pulou-n</i> .
		NVT, TNL, NWN
<i>pipi</i>	N	k tree, garlands made of fruit and many-colored flowers. VBL, LAU
<i>pipi</i> , see <i>kai pipi</i>		
<i>pipi</i>	N	penis. children's word. LAU
<i>i pipi</i>	N	= <i>piipi</i> . VBL
<i>pipikai</i>	V	layered. = <i>veipapai</i> . LAU
<i>pipini</i> , see <i>vakapipini</i>		
<i>piponu</i>	V	(esp firewood) damp. LAU
<i>piripiria</i>	V	muscular. = <i>wapipiri</i> , <i>watapiri</i> .
		TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>pisi</i>	V	= <i>laupisi</i> . LAU
<i>pisi-k</i>	vt	(liquid) squirt out - on. cf. <i>pisi</i> , <i>puna</i> , <i>pusi</i> , <i>upu</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>pisi</i>	V	(liquid) squirt out. cf. <i>pisi-k</i> , <i>puna</i> , <i>pusu</i> , <i>upu</i> . NVT, TNL
<i>pisi</i>	N	k sea fish, long and thin. NVT, TNL
<i>piso</i>	a	(orifice) narrow. = <i>figo</i> . NVT, TNL
<i>pita-t</i>	vt	spread st thickly on. cf. <i>sokopipita</i> . TNL

<i>piti</i>	V	move along(?). Cikobia
<i>pito</i>	N	navel, umbilical cord. TNL,VBL
<i>pito</i>	V	(navel) swollen. LAU
<i>pitu-n</i>	vt	= <i>petu-n</i> , <i>putu-n</i> . VBL,LAU
<i>poa</i>	V	scatter bait to attract fish. VBL,LAU
<i>poa</i>	N	k yam. NVT,TNL,LAU
<i>poci</i>	V	blunt, (spear) bounce off. cf. <i>kapunu</i> , <i>pucu</i> , <i>pupucu</i> . LAU
<i>pocipociki</i>	V	(so) short and fat. cf. <i>fune</i> <i>funeke</i> . VBL
<i>poga</i>	a	(mouth, nose) scabby, misshapen. NVT,NWN,TNL,VBL,LAU
<i>pogapoga</i>	V	(yam, plantain +) riddled w insects' holes. NVT,NWN,VBL
<i>pogipogi</i>	V	drink kava in the morning. obs. TNL,VBL,LAU
<i>poi</i>	V	children's Sunday picnic. VBL,LAU
<i>poi-n</i>	v?	flatter, bribe, give to and take back. VBL,LAU
<i>poka</i>	V	(pig) barren. TNL,LAU
<i>pōkata</i>	V	(yam) rotten, because stored while still damp. VBL,LAU
<i>poke</i>	V	(female animal) past giving birth, good to eat. cf. <i>poka</i> . NWN
<i>poke-</i>	N	(so, turtle) groin. TNL
<i>poke</i>	V	swollen groin, hernia. LAU
<i>poki-n</i>	ve	= <i>petu-n</i> . SQN,NVT,TNL
<i>pokipokici</i>	V	= <i>pocipociki</i> . LAU
<i>pōkita</i>	V	(so, breadfruit) badly bruised from falling. VBL
<i>poko</i>	a	(head) large. LAU
<i>poko-</i>	N	trunk, body, hull, numeral class- ifier for longish objects. cf. <i>poroka-</i> . VBL,LAU

<i>pōlāsawa</i>		see <i>vakapōlāsawa</i>
<i>pōlea</i>	a	(disappeared) completely. VBL
<i>poli-</i>	N	(breadfruit, boil) core. VBL, LAU
<i>polipoli</i>	a	(leg, nose +) misshapen because badly healed. VBL, LAU
<i>polopolo</i>	id	exclamation of surprise or admira- tion. VBL
<i>polopoloa</i>	V	black, dark, evil. TNL, NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>pōlotu</i>	V	long Lauan Methodist church service. NVT, TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>pono-k</i>	ve	grab, seize, catch up with. <i>=piko-c, topo-k.</i> TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>ponu-rk</i>	vt	assault violently. <i>=napu-rk.</i> LAU
<i>ponuponu</i>	V	(breadfruit) peeled, washed in seawater, left in sun, baked next day, tastes sweet. VBL
<i>popo</i>	V	(wood) rotten. VBL, LAU
<i>popose-tk</i>	vt	suspect, think - about. Cikobia, TNL
<i>popoto</i>	V	(hair) evenly cut, (mats) springy and even. LAU
<i>popotu</i>	V	(stomach) full of food and wind. NVT, LAU
<i>pori-φ</i>	ve	cut (hair) close, (wind) strip leaves off. SQN, NVT, TNL, NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>poro-φ</i>	v?	sprinkle (sand, flour, talcum powder +), esp over dancers. VBL, LAU
<i>poro-φ</i>	v?	paint (bark cloth). TNL
<i>poroka-</i>	N	<i>=poko-.</i> VBL, LAU
<i>poroporoua</i>	V	(plant, esp sugarcane) rough to touch. TNL
<i>porosi</i>	a	(woman's hair) long and straight. VBL, LAU

<i>pota-n</i>	vt	patch (clothes +), join together (pieces of bark cloth) before stenciling. SWN,NVT,TNL,VBL,LAU
<i>i potani</i>	N	(clothes, pot, boat +) patch. SQN,NVT,TNL,VBL,LAU
<i>poti</i>	N	recess in kitchen for cooking. LAU
<i>poto</i>	id	exclamation of admiration. VBL,LAU
<i>poto</i>	a	well-developed, keen, (eye) unflinching, consistently good. NVT,VBL,LAU
<i>potu</i>	N	(esp turtle net) bulge, (reef) projecting part. = <i>potuna</i> . TNL
<i>potu</i> , see <i>vakapotu</i>		
<i>potu-k</i>	v?	thump, hit w inside of fist. VBL,LAU
<i>potuisau</i>	N	(large piece of bark cloth) border. LAU
<i>potuna</i>	N	= <i>potu</i> . TNL
<i>pū</i>	V	explode. cf. <i>katapū</i> , <i>vākerēpūpū</i> . LAU
<i>pū</i>	N	xx'y' grandmother. vocative, sometimes referential. = <i>pūpū</i> . LAU
<i>pū</i>	id	exclamation of admiration or surprise. SQN, TNL, NWN
<i>pū-rk</i>	vt	choke up, spit out. NVT, TNL, LAU
<i>pua</i>	N	large wooden chest. VBL, LAU
<i>puaka</i>	N	pig. TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>pualiki</i>	N	k tree, garlands made of flowers. LAU
<i>pucu</i>	V	blunt. = <i>poci</i> , <i>pupucu</i> . TNL, NWN, VBL
<i>puga</i>	N	k large coral formation. SQN, NVT, TNL, NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>puipui</i> , see <i>vakapuipui</i>		
<i>puka</i>	N	k shore tree, longish leaves. maybe = <i>puko</i> . TNL
<i>puke</i>	N	(canoe) cover of ends of hull. LAU

<i>puke</i>	V	(so) poorly, unwell, take a turn. VBL, LAU
<i>puke-</i>	N	(yam, sweet potato, manioc +) mound. Taveuni, VBL, LAU
<i>puko</i>	N	k tree, hard, tall, white bark, used in house construction. maybe =puka. LAU
<i>puku</i>	V	protrude, (penis) erect, (body) pimpled, marked. VBL, LAU
<i>puku</i> , see <i>vakapukupuku</i>		
<i>puku-</i>	N	(wood) knot, protuberance where branch has been lost. VBL, LAU
<i>puku-</i> ø	ve	angry, teased, annoyed. VBL
<i>pula</i>	a	(drink kava) to excess, showing off. NVT
<i>pula</i>	a	(eyes) wide open. NVT, TNL, NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>pule</i>	N	k shellfish, tiger cowry. Udu, VBL, LAU
<i>pule-</i> ø	vt	criticize. VBL, LAU
<i>pulekoro</i>	N	head of village. VBL
<i>puletā</i>	V	dressed in clothes of one color. LAU
<i>puli-</i> ø	ve	form into balls, knead and shape into loaf, dream up. NVT, VBL, LAU
<i>i puli</i>	N	(bread) loaf, numeral classifier for blows, kicks, punches +. TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>i pulipuli</i>	N	shape, build. LAU
<i>pulotu</i>	N	musicians accompanying Tongan dance. LAU
<i>pulou-n</i>	vt	= <i>pilou-n</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>pulu</i>	V	(cow) horns removed. cf. <i>pulumakau</i> . SQN, NVT, TNL, LAU

<i>pulu-t</i>	ve	cover (wound) w healing leaves. VBL
<i>pulumakau</i>	N	cow, beef. cf. <i>pulu</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>puna</i>	V	(pus, excrement) squirt out. cf. <i>pisi</i> , <i>pisi</i> , <i>pusu</i> , <i>upu</i> . TNL
<i>puni-c</i>	ve	block, stop (opening, hole, door, pipe, nose +). TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>punu</i> , see <i>kapunu</i>		
<i>pupu</i> , see <i>vakapupu</i>		
<i>pūpū</i>	N	= <i>pū</i> . NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>pupucu</i>	V	blunt. = <i>poci</i> , <i>pucu</i> . LAU
<i>pupusi</i>	V	k game, tig, tag. LAU
<i>pupute</i>	V	(football) inflated, (udder) full of milk, (cake) risen, (can) swollen. VBL, LAU
<i>pura</i>	V	ooze out, (pig) squeeze out of pen and escape. LAU
<i>puru</i> , see <i>kapuru</i>		
<i>puru-φ</i>	v?	put more firewood on (earth oven). LAU
<i>puru-φ</i>	v?	cover, shelter from elements. cf. <i>paru-φ</i> . LAU
<i>puru-k</i>	v?	cut (weeds, grass) close to ground. NVT
<i>purupurua</i>	V	= <i>furufurua</i> . VBL
<i>pusi</i>	N	k small prawn, not eaten. VBL
<i>pusi</i>	N	k starfish, common, cream, small, rough. Maybe children's word. VBL
<i>pusi-φ</i>	vt	blow. NVT
<i>pusou</i>	V	(water) splash w fish +, gush out of blowhole, (fire) crackle, blaze. TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>pusu</i>	V	(pus) discharged, ooze out, (food) crammed into mouth and overflowing. cf. <i>pisi-k</i> , <i>pisi</i> , <i>puna</i> , <i>supu-t</i> , <i>upu</i> . SQN, VBL, LAU

<i>puta</i>	V	manage, match up to, cope with. Only used in negative. VBL, LAU
<i>putei</i>	N	pressed leaf of native tobacco. NVT, TNL, LAU
<i>putu</i>	V	gathering for dead, funeral feast. NVT, VBL, LAU
<i>putu-n</i>	vt	(so) gather together in group, (st) heap up. VBL, LAU
<i>putu-n</i>	vt	= <i>petu-n</i> , <i>pitu-n</i> . LAU
<i>qanipāpua</i>	N	= <i>niupāpua</i> . VBL
<i>rapa</i>	V	flat. = <i>raparapā</i> , <i>rārapa</i> . LAU
<i>raparapā</i>	V	flat. = <i>rapa</i> , <i>rārapa</i> . LAU, TNL
<i>rape</i>	V	(dress) worn down to heels. LAU
<i>rapu-lk</i>	vt	thrash w stick. LAU
<i>rārapa</i>	V	= <i>rapa</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>repa</i> , see <i>veirerepayaki</i>		
<i>repū</i>	V	(flag, sail) flap about. TNL, LAU
<i>ripi</i>	N	shin, shinbone. LAU
<i>ruparupā</i>	V	(skin) covered w small spots. cf. <i>paruparu</i> . TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>sapa-k</i>	vt	pelt w soft things, slap. VBL, LAU
<i>sapala</i>	V	= <i>pala</i> . LAU
<i>sapapa</i>	V	compressed, flattened. TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>sape-t</i>	vt	trip up (so, foot), help (so lame) to walk by kicking lame leg along. TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>sapela</i>	a	(mouth) twisted. VBL
<i>i sapi</i>	N	(wool, fishing line) roll, ball. VBL, LAU
<i>sapi-n</i>	vt	roll up (wool, fishing line +). LAU
<i>sapila</i>	V	fall hard from a height. VBL, LAU
<i>sapiloki-n</i>	ve	crumple up (clothes), curl (os) up. VBL, LAU
<i>sapo-k</i>	vt	eat in one mouthful. TNL

<i>sapo-t</i>	vt	catch (ball +). VBL, LAU
<i>saupā</i>	N	k digging stick. = <i>i pasa</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>sepā</i>	a	(full) to overflowing, (tide) very high. = <i>sopā</i> , cf. <i>pāpā</i> . LAU
<i>sepo</i>	V	(food) overboiled. VBL
<i>sepo</i>	N	k food, pumpkin or papaya w taro or manioc in coconut cream. VBL, LAU
<i>sipa</i>	V	(water) deflected by boat, car, so +. VBL
<i>sipa</i>	V	loads of, abundant, (fruit) rotting because of glut. VBL, LAU
<i>sipuni</i>	V	embarrassed, coldly received. = <i>tipeka</i> , <i>tipeto</i> . LAU
<i>sisipi</i>	V	k game, hide and seek. VBL, LAU
<i>sokopipita</i>	V	thickly spread w butter, sauce, paint +. cf. <i>pita-t</i> . NVT
<i>solofanua</i>	N	horse. VBL (only Sawana village)
<i>solofua</i>	N	k large piece of bark cloth. VBL, LAU
<i>solope</i>	N	mud. = <i>lope</i> , <i>pela</i> , <i>sope</i> . NWN
<i>sopā</i>	V	= <i>sepā</i> . LAU
<i>sope</i>	N	mud. = <i>lope</i> , <i>pela</i> , <i>solope</i> . TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>sopesopea</i>	V	muddy. cf. <i>sope</i> . TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>sopiki</i>	V	curly, like pig's tail. VBL, LAU
<i>sopo</i>	V	(wound) covered w dirt or sand. TNL
<i>sopu</i>	V	k infection of anus. TNL
<i>sōputu</i>	V	gather for dead. cf. <i>putu</i> . VBL, LAU
<i>sosopu</i>	V	nod off to sleep. LAU
<i>supē</i>	N	snot. TNL, VBL
<i>supu-t</i>	vt	(fish) bite at; hold in mouth. TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>tabaisupu</i>	V	eat voraciously, stuffing mouth full. cf. <i>supu-t</i> . TNL, VBL

<i>tafi</i>	V	k Tongan dance, ladies, sitting. VBL, LAU
<i>tafi-ø</i>	vt	wash (face and hands), sweep away (rubbish). NVT, TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>tafifi</i>	V	entangled, caught up. VBL
<i>tafifi-g</i>	ve	(string, st) wrapped round. cf. <i>wāfifi-g.</i> LAU
<i>tafue</i>	V	k game, skipping. VBL, LAU
<i>tapale-ø</i>	v?	knock away (arm, leg). TNL, VBL, LAU
<i>tapatapaipusu</i>	V	= <i>tabaisupu.</i> LAU
<i>tapeke</i>	V	accidentally dipped. cf. <i>peke-c.</i> TNL
<i>tapele</i>	N	door post. LAU
<i>tapete</i>	N	coconut husk. LAU
<i>tapuni</i>	V	(wound) healed over, (cloth) patched. cf. <i>puni-c.</i> VBL
<i>tasipori</i>	V	close shorn. VBL, LAU
<i>tatepa</i>	V	swerve, swing. cf. <i>cepa</i> , <i>tepa-rk.</i> LAU
<i>taufale</i>	N	broom w handle. NVT, VBL, LAU
<i>tēfō</i>	N	k fish, mullet when near full-grown. LAU
<i>tefua</i>	a	(thread on a string) k garland. LAU
<i>telefua</i>	V	naked. TNL, Taveuni, VBL, LAU
<i>tenofo</i>	V	sit cross-legged. cf. <i>faite</i> , <i>yalofi.</i> LAU
<i>tepa-rk</i>	ve	(so) spun round by arm. LAU
<i>tēpale</i>	N	pulpit. LAU
<i>tepa-tk</i>	ve	swerve, skim. cf. <i>cepa</i> , <i>tepe-tk.</i> LAU
<i>tepe-tk</i>	ve	(disc, tin-lid) sent skimming. NVT, TNL, NWN, VBL, LAU
<i>tepeka</i>	N	(oil) dregs. VBL
<i>tepu</i>	a	(mouth) protruding lips

<i>tepū</i> , see <i>vakatepū</i>			
<i>tipa-k</i>	vt	(missile) glance off at angle. = <i>tipi-k.</i> LAU	
<i>tipeka</i>	v	= <i>sipuni.</i> LAU	
<i>tipeto</i>	v	= <i>sipuni.</i> VBL	
<i>tipi-k</i>	vt	= <i>tipa-k.</i> VBL, LAU	
<i>tofe</i>	N	k shellfish, pearl oyster (?). LAU, VBL	
<i>tōpai</i>	N	k food, balls of flour and coconut cream in boiling water. cf. <i>tōpoi</i> . NVT, VBL, LAU	
<i>tope-∅</i>	v?	pinch piece off (food). NVT, TNL, VBL, LAU	
<i>topo-k</i>	ve	= <i>pono-k.</i> children's word. TNL	
<i>tōpoi</i>	N	k food, bigger balls than <i>tōpai</i> , w yeast. NWN, VBL, LAU	
<i>topolilo</i>	V	k game. = <i>pani.</i> LAU	
<i>topu-k</i>	v?	(bird, fish) bite, peck. = <i>copu-t.</i> TNL, VBL, LAU	
<i>tufa-n</i>	ve	shuffle (cards). LAU	
<i>tukitukipū</i>	V	(pig) spotted, many-colored. NVT, TNL, LAU	
<i>tupe-rk</i>	vt	shake (so) violently by collar, shake (copra sack) to settle contents. LAU	
<i>tupenu</i>	N	store-bought cloth. obs. VBL, LAU	
<i>tupu-rk</i>	vt	throw down violently. LAU	
<i>tutucepucepū</i>	V	chug. cf. <i>cepu</i> , = <i>vakacecepū</i> . VBL	
<i>uapāpā-g</i>	vt	strike hard sideways. VBL, LAU	
<i>upō</i>	id	exclamation of admiration or surprise. TNL	
<i>upu</i>	V	(pus, excrement) just emerging. TNL	
<i>utu-fk</i>	vt	shake water in (bottle) to clean. VBL, LAU	

<i>utupotu</i>	N	(house) longitudinal beam, one from each end of house to nearest crossbeam. LAU
<i>vakacecepūpū</i>	V	chug. = <i>tutucepucepū</i> , cf. <i>cepū</i> . TNL
<i>vākafa</i>	a	(tethered) by rope around body. LAU
<i>vākaikaigafua</i>	V	(so) smart-looking, well-mannered, (st) look just right. VBL
<i>vakanāfala-tk</i>	v?	hit (ball) crosswise in cricket, slap. VBL
<i>vakaonofau</i>	N	k wooden bowl, like <i>pāpāsia</i> , oval, short legs. LAU
<i>vakapā-n</i>	ve	first beating in manufacture of bark cloth. LAU
<i>vakapā-tk</i>	ve	= <i>vakapā-n</i> . VBL
<i>vakapāpā</i>	V	(greens) boiled in water, without coconut cream, (paint) diluted. VBL
<i>vakapārakaraka</i>	a	(run, sit, lie) sprawling all over the place, taking up room. VBL
<i>vakapelepele</i>	V	arrogant, show off. = <i>wāpelepele</i> . TNL
<i>vakapepeku</i>	a	<i>pepeku</i> . VBL
<i>vakapikipiki</i>	V	(child) always clinging to mother. cf. <i>piki-c</i> . VBL
<i>vakapipini-tk</i>	vt	rub sandalwood shavings into (hair). VBL, LAU
<i>vakapōlāsawa</i>	N	small coconut-leaf basket, for tobacco, fish, shellfish. LAU
<i>vakapotu</i>	N	k large piece of bark cloth. VBL, LAU
<i>vakapuipui</i>	N	bark-cloth screen in newlyweds' house. VBL
<i>vakapukupuku</i>	V	pout lips. cf. <i>puku-c</i> , <i>puku-∅</i> . LAU
<i>vakapupu</i>	a	(sad, happy +) very. LAU

<i>vakatepū</i>	V	blow a raspberry, Bronx cheer. =katapū, cf. pū. LAU
<i>vākerepūpū</i>	V	(water, bottle +) make gurgling noise. LAU
<i>veilafo</i>	V	k game. =lalafo. VBL,LAU
<i>veikapakapa</i>	V	well-suited. =kopi-t. LAU
<i>veipapai</i>	V	stacked, layered. cf. <i>papa-</i> ∅. VBL,LAU
<i>veipekeyaki</i>	N	k bark-cloth design. VBL
<i>veirepayaki</i>	V	wandering about. LAU, only Komo.
<i>wāfifi-g</i>	ve	wind bandage + round (st). cf. <i>tāfifi-g</i> . VBL
<i>wanipāpua</i>	N	=niupāpua. VBL
<i>wāpelepele</i>	V	show off. cf. <i>vakapelepele</i> . TNL,LAU
<i>wāpiripiri</i>	V	muscular, strain muscles. cf. <i>piripiria</i> . VBL
<i>watapiri</i>	V	=wāpipiri. VBL,LAU
<i>yafe</i>	V	(horse) swerve suddenly. VBL,LAU
<i>yāfune</i>	a	(hair) frizzy, done Fijian style. VBL
<i>yāfuni</i>	a	=yāfune. LAU
<i>yalofi</i>	V	(i) sit in circle around kava bowl. VBL,LAU; (ii) sit cross-legged. =faite, <i>tenofo</i> . LAU
<i>yapa-c</i>	vt	fling, throw st at. LAU
<i>yapa-tk</i>	vt	throw (st) to skim. TNL,Taveuni, VBL,LAU
<i>yapa-c</i>	vt	scare (fish) by beating water w hands. LAU
<i>yapa-c</i>	vt	glide - over. TNL,LAU
<i>yāpai</i>	N	(house) thin horizontal pieces in roof. VBL,LAU
<i>yapo-c</i>	ve	reheat (food) over cinders. LAU

<i>yapo-g</i>	ve	= <i>yapo-c.</i> TNL
<i>yapo-n</i>	ve	place above other food in earth oven to cook in steam. VBL
<i>yapuni-c</i>	ve	= <i>puni-c.</i> LAU

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INDEX OF PROTO EASTERN OCEANIC
RECONSTRUCTIONS

The following is a list of all PEO reconstructions occurring in the text, whether stated or implied, firm or tentative. The alphabetical order is: *a b bw e i j k ŋk l m mw n ɳ o p pw q r nr R s t nt u v w y z*. For contemporary Fijian reflexes, see pp. 183-185. Some glosses have been abbreviated, and reconstructions not glossed in the text have been given an approximate gloss to facilitate identification. Numbers refer to pages.

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INDEX OF PROTO CENTRAL PACIFIC AND
PROTO TOKALAU POLYNESIAN
RECONSTRUCTIONS

It is assumed here that Fijian, Polynesian, and Rotuman are coordinate members of a distinct Central Pacific subgroup of Eastern Oceanic.

Most of the Proto Eastern Oceanic reconstructions (see preceding index) are based on Central Pacific evidence, so may also be reconstructed for Proto Central Pacific, after the application of regular sound changes ($*R > \emptyset$, $*bw > *b$, $*pw > *p$) and orthographical changes (PEO $*\eta k = \text{PCP } *q$, $nt = d$, $nr = dr$, $nr = dr$, $\eta = g$, $z = c$, $q = '$, $aa = \bar{a}$ (etc.)). Only the following PEO reconstructions are missing, or altered, in PCP: $*asi$, $*bwaRu(sz)u$, $*bwatu-$, $*kaz(ie)$, $*kola$, $*V-\eta ki$, $*p(eo)ke-$, $*puka$, $*V-qana$, $*(q)anuza$, $*saR(ei)$, $*soli$, $*tobwa-$, $*tul(ae)$.

The following is a list of all other PCP and Proto Tokalau Polynesian reconstructions, whether stated or implied, firm or tentative. The orthography (p. 367) is as for Fijian, with the addition of $*j$ (pp. 149-153), $*\eta$ (p. 155), and $*'$ (glottal stop). Some glosses have been abbreviated, and reconstructions not glossed in the text have been given an approximate gloss. Numbers refer to pages.

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INDEX OF PROTO POLYNESIAN RECONSTRUCTIONS

The following is a list of all PPN reconstructions occurring in the text, whether stated or implied, firm or tentative. Some glosses have been abbreviated, and reconstructions not glossed in the text have been given an approximate gloss. Numbers refer to pages.

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