A Sketch of the Syntactic Structures of Nadrau Fijian*

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This paper provides a sketch of the syntactic structures of Nadrau Fijian, an Eastern Fijian language with various "Western-Fijian" morphosyntactic characteristics. An outline of clause structures is presented, followed by a summary of verb-derivation and casemarking systems.

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Keywords: Nadrau Fijian, morphosyntactic description, clause structure, transitivity, casemarking system

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0. Introduction

0.1. An Overview

The Nadrau language of Fijian (hereafter NDR) is spoken in Nadrau Province\(^1\), which is located in the mountain area in the northwest of Viti Levu island in Fiji.\(^2\) As

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1) Nadrau Province consists of the following four villages: Nadrau, Nabawaqa (referred to as Nabouwaqa in Geraghty 1983), Qalinasavu and Vaualevu.

2) Nadrau is recognized by people in the surrounding area as a place where a language is spoken which "contains every aspect found in all the communalects of Fijian". People believe that the place was named "Nadrau", as 'determiner, non-proper' and drau 'hundred', due to the fact that "there are hundreds of languages spoken there".
far as I am aware, there is no description that specifically focuses on the morphosyntactic structures of this particular dialect. In this paper, a sketch of the morphosyntactic aspects of Ndr, based on the research I conducted in Nadrau village from June 3 to 14, 1999, is presented in the following order. In the rest of this section, the definitions of the basic notions and the terms that appear in this paper are described. Section 1 provides an outline of the phrase and sentence structures of Ndr. Transitivity and verb forms, and the casemarking system are described in Section 2 and 3 respectively.

Ndr has various morphosyntactic aspects that are different from those observed in some relatively well-documented Fijian languages, such as Standard Fijian (cf. Schütz 1985 and its bibliography), Boumaa Fijian (cf. Dixon 1988), Kadavu Fijian (cf. Pawley and Sayaba 1982) and Wayan (cf. Pawley and Sayaba n.d.). Some of these differences are discussed in Kikusawa 2000a, 2001, In press.

0.2. Terms and Definitions Applied in This Study

The original analysis was conducted applying a version of the Word and Paradigm model, or “whole word morphology”4, and Lexicase Dependency Grammar5. Some (but not all) of the terms and notions used in this paper follow those in Lexicase.

1) Word Categories

Words are treated as the basic unit of the syntactic structure, and each word is described as belonging to a Word Category according to its syntactic distribution. There are eight Word Categories, namely, Noun, Verb, Pre-/post-position, Determiner, Adverb, Adjective, Conjunction, and Sentence Particle.

2) Transitivity

The judgement of the transitivity of a verb in this study is based on the number of noun phrases that agree with the verb(s). For details, see 2.1.

3) Caseforms

Caseforms are labels that describe the morphological forms and/or marking on nouns and prepositions by the relative position with the verb. Nouns or prepositions with the same marking are always labelled with the same term. The total number of caseforms in each language differs depending on the language. Table 1 shows those that appear in this description.

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3) The sound system and some lexical forms, in comparison with those in other dialects of Fijian, are described in Geraghty (1983, especially pp.28, 43–46, 49–50, 53, 96, 170, 174–176, 198, 202, 210, 228, 250, 262) and Schütz 1963, and lists of pronouns along with those of other dialects are given in Capell (1991: Appendix).

4) For a recent summary and interpretation of this model, see Bender 2000.

5) For details of the parts of this theory that are relevant to this study, see Chapter 2 of Kikusawa In press. For a general introduction, see Starosta 1988.

6) The traditional transitive and intransitive classifications of Fijian verbs are often based on verb morphology, and do not always match the judgement of syntactic transitivity in this study. See Section 2, and also Kikusawa 2000b for a discussion of transitivity in Standard Fijian.
Table 1: NDR Caseforms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caseform</th>
<th>Marking in NDR</th>
<th>Sections discussed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>(unmarked)</td>
<td>1.2, 2.1, 3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>(unmarked)</td>
<td>1.2, 2.1, 3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>Dative pronoun set</td>
<td>1.1.1.2, 3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>Genitive preposition \textit{ni}</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>Locative preposition \textit{i} and \textit{mai}</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>Ablative preposition \textit{mai}</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4) Semantic Relations

Semantic Relations indicate the semantic relationship between the predicate and the noun/prepositional phrases in the sentence. Each Semantic Relation is expressed by a fixed (set of) Caseform(s), and thus reflect how the actual event perceived by the speaker is linguistically encoded. The Semantic Relations that are relevant in this study are as follows. The “actor” of transitive verbs is labelled as Agent ([AGT]), while the “undergoer” that is the single core noun phrase in intransitive sentences and the patient of transitive verbs is labelled as Patient ([PAT]). The “undergoer” that is expressed as a non-core complement phrase in intransitive sentences is labelled as Referent ([REF]). Nouns indicating possession are labelled as Correspondent ([COR]), and those expressing place and time are labelled as Locus ([LOC]), while instruments or accompanying elements of an activity are labelled as Means ([MNS]). Table 2 shows a list of Semantic Relations and their abbreviations, and the Caseform(s) that express each Semantic Relation in NDR. The Semantic Relation is a phrase-level feature and is assigned to either a prepositional phrase or a noun phrase.

Table 2: Semantic Relations and Caseform(s) Expressing each Semantic Relation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Relation</th>
<th>Realization in NDR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patient ([PAT])</td>
<td>Unmarked noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent ([AGT])</td>
<td>Unmarked noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent ([REF])</td>
<td>Unmarked noun phrase (Referent of ditransitive), Dative (pronouns only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means ([MNS])</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locus ([LOC])</td>
<td>Locative, Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondent ([COR])</td>
<td>Genitive, unmarked noun phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7) Some of the terms used to describe Semantic Relations follow those used to describe Case Relations in Lexicase. However, the two differ in that the former are defined by both their semantic properties as well as by how they are encoded (Caseform), while Lexicase tries to define them based on purely formal criteria.

8) Which Semantic Relation is expressed by which Caseform(s) is language specific.

9) A list of abbreviations and symbols is given at the end of this paper.
5) The actor ([actr])

The term "actor" is used to refer to the Patient of intransitive sentences and the Agent of transitive sentences. It roughly corresponds to what is often referred to as "subject". Cross-linguistically, in an accusative language, the actor is expressed by Nominative, while in an ergative language, the actor corresponds to the occurrence of Nominative (in intransitive) and Ergative/Genitive/Instrumental (in transitive).

6) Agreement marking on the verb

Agreement marking on the verb is considered to be a separate morphosyntactic feature from casemarking on the noun. A form is analyzed as an agreement-marking entity when it meets the following conditions: i) it is obligatory and has a fixed position in relation to the verb, and ii) it co-occurs with a full noun phrase. Pronouns cannot co-occur with a coreferential full pronoun phrase, while agreement-marking forms may. Agreement-marking forms imply a fixed set of feature(s) of the referring element, such as the person and number. However, the form that appears to be third person singular is neutral as to number.

1. An Outline of Sentence and Phrase Structures

NDR is a right branching (or "left-headed") language with an [actr] (or "accusative pattern") agreement system. There are two basic sentence structures, namely, equational sentences and verbal sentences. In this section, each sentence structure and its constituents are described.

1.1. The Equational Sentence and Its Constituents

An equational sentence consists of two noun phrases. The first noun phrase is a predicate and the second noun phrase is a Patient, and thus an equational sentence indicates the meaning 'B (second noun phrase) is A (first noun phrase)'. In example (1), o Malekesi 'M. (personal name)' is the Patient and na genvuli is the predicate, and thus the sentence means 'Makelesi is a student'. Likewise in example (2), na genvuli 'student' is the Patient and ixwaya 's/he' is the predicate, and thus the sentence means '(Pointing at someone passing,) the student is s/he'.
(1) Na **goneuli** o Makelesi.\textsuperscript{10) } 
na ḏonebuli o makelesi  
- prpr student + prpr M. 
Det N Det N  
prdc PAT 
'Makelesi is a student.'

(2) (Pointing at someone passing by) 
*Ixaway* na **goneuli**. 
ixaya na ḏonebuli  
3Sg - prpr student 
N Det N  
prdc PAT 
'The student is s/he.'

Nouns are subcategorized into pronominal nouns and non-pronominal nouns. Both pronominal and non-pronominal nouns are further subcategorized depending on either their forms and/or syntactic environment. Figure 1 shows the Ndr noun subcategorization based on their morphosyntactic characteristics. Details are described in the following subsections.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{nouns_subcategorization}
\caption{Ndr Noun Subcategorization}
\end{figure}

1.1.1. Pronominal Nouns

Pronouns are classified into two sets, which are referred to as independent pronouns and Dative pronouns.\textsuperscript{11) } An independent pronoun and its corresponding Dative pronoun differ in both form and syntactic distribution, as shown below. Each pronominal set distinguishes three persons (plus inclusive and exclusive for the first person non-singualars) and four numbers, that is, singular, dual, paucal and plural. The paucal number indicates a group of people that consists of more than two. The

\textsuperscript{10) } In example sentences in Section 1, the first line indicates language data using the local orthography, while the second line indicates the same sentence showing my analysis using phonemic transcription. Phonemes in Ndr are as follows: a, e, i, o, u, b [\~{b}@], v [\~{v}], m, n, d [\~{d}], c [\~{c}], dr [\~{r}], r, l, n, q [\~{q}], k [k], x [k], y, /i/ = [j] before /i/, elsewhere [i]. /d/ = [\~{d}] before /i/, elsewhere /\~{d}/. /x/ = corresponds to /k/ in Standard Fijian, and thus personal names with this sound are spelled with the letter "k". /a/, /x/ = often realized as labial velars, namely [\~{g}w] and [xw] respectively, before /a/ and often also before /\~{a}/.

\textsuperscript{11) } Forms that correspond to what are often described as "subject pronouns" and "object pronouns" in Standard Fijian are analyzed as agreement marking forms in this study. See 1.2.1.
plural indicates a group of people with a bigger number, but the boundary between paucal and plural is not always clear.

1.1.1.1. Independent pronouns

An independent pronoun may occur either in a predicative noun phrase, as *ixwaya* in sentence (2), or in a non-predicative noun phrase as *ixwaya* in sentence (3). The forms of independent pronouns are given in Table 3.

(3) \[ \begin{array}{llll}
V\ddot{a} & mai & iyagudatou & ixwaya. \\
\beta\ddot{a} & mai & iy\ddot{a}mu\ddash datou & ixaya \\
3SG. go & hither & Dtv.1inPc & 3SG \\
V & Adv & N & N \\
\text{trns} & REF & PAT & actr
\end{array} \]

‘He came to us/our place.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>lin</th>
<th>1ex</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>oiau</td>
<td>oexa</td>
<td>iix(w)aya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dl</td>
<td>ixilaruqa</td>
<td>xairu</td>
<td>odru</td>
<td>ixirau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pc</td>
<td>ixiatou</td>
<td>xaitou</td>
<td>(x)odou</td>
<td>ixiratou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>ixia</td>
<td>xaimamu</td>
<td>oniu</td>
<td>ixira</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Independent Pronouns

1.1.1.2. Dative pronouns

A Dative pronoun indicates the meaning ‘for..., to..., at...’ as *iyagudatou* in (3) and *yaguma* in (4). It may also be preceded by a preposition *mai* to indicate ‘from...’ as in (5). When a Dative pronoun appears in a sentence, it usually occurs immediately after the Verb (or Adverbs if any) and thus, in a position closer to the verb than any other arguments in the sentence. The forms of Dative pronouns are given in Table 4a. Some variant forms of the Dative pronouns either lack the initial *[ya]* of the forms in Table 4a, and/or have an additional *[i]* in the initial position. These are shown in Table 4b.

(4) \[ \begin{array}{llllll}
Me & soli & *yaguma* & na & ivola & qoi. \\
me & soli & ya\ddot{a}mu & na & i\ddot{b}ola & *qoi* \\
3SG. should be. given & Dtv.2SG & prpr & book & this \\
V & V & N & Det & N & N \\
Aux & trns & REF & PAT & actr
\end{array} \]

‘This book should be given to you./This book is for you.’

12) Note that the ending of each Dative form is identical to the one which is found in the corresponding directly possessed nouns. See Table 6 and Table 7 in 1.1.2.2.1 and 1.1.2.2.2.
(5) **Drau sā** somu yaqona jixo mai yaguna o **Turaga ni Xoro?**

|rau,sā| somu.yaŋona| tixo mai yaŋuna o turaŋanixoro
| 3Dl.already | kava.drinking | PROG | Lcv | Dtv.3Sg | -prpr | village-chief |
| V | V | Adv | P | N | Det | N |
| Aux | -trns | LOC | COR |

Are they two drinking kava at the village-chief’s place?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4a: Dative Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4b: Dative Pronouns (variants)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Dative pronoun may have a noun phrase following it specifying the goal. Examples are given in (6) and (7). In example (6), the third person singular Dative pronoun *yaguna* is followed by a dependent noun phrase, *o vuniwai* ‘Doctor’, specifying the goal of the action. Likewise, in example (7), the Dative pronoun *(ya)guna* is followed by a dependent noun phrase *o cei* ‘who’, and the phrase as a whole means ‘to whom’.

(6) **Xaitou xadataxe** yaguna o **vuniwai.**

|xaitouxa*dataxe* | yanguna | o | βuniwai |
| 1exPc.run.with.3Gn | Dtv.3Sg | +prpr | doctor |
| V | N | Det | N |
| +trns | REF | COR |

We ran (with him) to the doctor.

(Lit. We ran (with him) to him who is the doctor.)

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13) Another reading is possible with this sentence as shown below.

| Xaitou xadataxe | yanguna | o | vuniwai. |
| 1exPc.run.with.3Gn | Dtv.3Sg | +prpr | doctor |
| V | REF | PAT |

‘We ran with the doctor to him.’

This is due to the fact that the Patient of the transitive verb and the Correspondent that modifies the preceding noun are not formally marked. See 3.1 and 3.2 for relevant descriptions.
(7) \begin{align*}
Me \quad yazi \quad (ya)guna \quad o \quad cei \quad na \quad i\text{bola} \\
me \quad ya^\text{ndi} \quad ya\text{juna} \quad o \quad \delta \text{ci} \quad na \quad i\text{bola} \\
3\text{Sg.should} \quad \text{be.brought} \quad \text{Dtv.3Sg} \quad +\text{prpr} \quad \text{who} \quad -\text{prpr} \quad \text{book} \\
V \quad V \quad N \quad \text{Det} \quad N \quad \text{Det} \quad N \\
\text{Aux} \quad -\text{trns} \quad \text{REF} \quad \text{COR} \quad \text{PAT} \quad \text{actr}
\end{align*}

‘To whom should the letter be brought?’

1.1.2. Non-pronominal Nouns and Determiners

1.1.2.1. Proper and non-proper nouns and determiners

Non-pronominal nouns are subcategorized into proper nouns that carry the feature [+prpr] (plus proper) and non-proper nouns that carry the feature [−prpr] (minus proper). The syntactic difference between proper and non-proper nouns is that they are preceded by different Determiners, that is, a proper noun is preceded by the Determiner \( o \), while a non-proper noun may be preceded by the Determiner \( na \) or a numeric Determiner indicating numbers. A proper noun preceded by the Determiner \( o \) (\textit{o Makelesi} in example (8)), a non-proper noun preceded by the determiner \( na \) (\textit{na gonevuli ‘student’} in example (9)) and by a numeric Determiner (example (10)) are shown below. Semantically, proper nouns include personal names, place names, and titles such as \textit{Ratu ‘Chief’}, \textit{Qasenivuli ‘Teacher’} and \textit{Vuniwai ‘Doctor’}, while non-proper nouns include the names of general objects.

(8) \begin{align*}
\text{Na} \quad \text{gonevuli} \quad o \quad \text{Makelesi.} \quad (=1)) \\
\text{na} \quad \text{\textit{\textit{$\eta$}one\textbf{b}uli} o} \quad \text{makelesi} \\
-\text{prpr} \quad \text{student} \quad +\text{prpr} \quad \text{M.} \\
\text{Det} \quad N \quad \text{Det} \quad N \\
\text{prdc} \quad \text{PAT}
\end{align*}

‘Makelesi is a student.’

(9) (Pointing at someone passing by)

\begin{align*}
\text{Ixwaya} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{gonevuli.} \quad (=2)) \\
\text{ixaya} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{\textit{\textit{$\eta$}one\textbf{b}uli}} \\
\text{3Sg} \quad -\text{prpr} \quad \text{student} \\
\text{N} \quad \text{Det} \quad N \\
\text{prdc} \quad \text{PAT}
\end{align*}

‘The student is s/he.’

---

14) Non-pronominal non-proper nouns correspond to what are often referred to as “common nouns” in the description of Fijian languages.
(10) i rua na xā vou
iruana xā bōu
Det.two thing new
‘two new ones’

A numeric determiner has the form \([i...\sim[e...\]) in the initial position and ends with ...\textit{na}]. The form that occurs in between is the same as the form of cardinal numbers, e.g., \textit{dua} ‘one’, \textit{rua} ‘two’, \textit{tolu} ‘three’, etc., and expresses the number of the object indicated by the following noun. Forms that indicate quantity, such as \textit{levu} ‘many’, \textit{sō} ‘some’, may also occur as a part of a numeric Determiner. Some of the forms of numeric Determiners, along with the corresponding forms for the cardinal number, are given in Table 5. The subcategorization of determiners is summarized in Figure 2.

Table 5: Forms of Some Numeric Determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeric Determiners</th>
<th>Corresponding Cardinal Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{i dua na}</td>
<td>\textit{dua}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{i rua na}</td>
<td>\textit{rua}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{i tolu na}</td>
<td>\textit{tolu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{i tīni na}</td>
<td>\textit{tīni}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{i tīni xā dua na}</td>
<td>\textit{tīni xā dua}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{i levu na}</td>
<td>\textit{levu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{i sō na}</td>
<td>\textit{sō}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Determiners [Det] \textless\text{proper [+prpr] \textit{a}}
\text{non-proper [−prpr]} \textless\text{numeric \textit{i...na}}
\text{non-numeric \textit{na}}

Figure 2: NDR Determiner Subcategorization

1.1.2.2. Possessed and non-possessed nouns

Non-proper nouns are further subcategorized into two classes, namely, possessed nouns and non-possessed nouns. Which of these two classes a noun belongs to is lexically determined.

A possessed noun carries information about the possessed entity and the person and number of the possessor. In examples (11) and (12), the nouns have the ending ...\textit{gu/}, implying a first person singular possessor.

\footnote{15) The use of the form \([e...\ may be the result of influence from Standard Fijian.}
Possessed nouns are further subcategorized into possessed general nouns (those shown in (11) above) and possessed non-general nouns (shown in (12)).

Unlike possessed nouns, non-possessed nouns do not carry information about the possessor in their form. Examples are given in (13).

\[
\begin{align*}
(13) & \quad r\text{\textbar}a & \quad \text{‘village’} \\
 & \quad r\text{\textbar}a & \\
 & \quad g\text{\textbar}a & \quad \text{‘taro’} \\
 & \quad g\text{\textbar}a &
\end{align*}
\]

In the rest of this subsection, morphosyntactic features of non-proper nouns along with the structure of possessive expressions are described.

1.1.2.2.1. **Possessed general nouns**

A possessed general noun semantically indicates ‘(someone)’s thing’, and when what is possessed is overtly expressed, a noun which indicates the specific possessece immediately follows it. This is shown in (14).
(14)
a. mequ                ji          ‘my tea (lit. my drink which is tea)’
    meʔgu              tī
    my.drink tea
b. xequ                qau          ‘my taro (lit. my food which is taro)’
    xeʔgu              ɣgau
    my.food taro
c. noqu                rārā          ‘my village (lit. my thing which is a village)’
    noʔgu              rārā
    my.thing village

A possessor may be specified by a following noun phrase such as o Ratu in (15a) and o Manu in (15b).

(15)
a. na mena moli o Ratu ‘the chief’s orange (for eating)’
    na mena moli o ratu
    −prpr his.drink orange +prpr Chief
b. nodratou vale o Manu ‘the house of Manu (and his family)’
    noʔratou βale o manu
    their.thing house +prpr M.

There are three sets of possessed general nouns, each of which indicates the nature of the relationship between the possessor and the possessee along with the person and the number of the possessor. The three sets are as follows:
i) Forms that start with [me... These indicate that the thing possessed is something to drink (cf. some ‘drink (it)’). Examples are given in (16). Note that things for “drinking” do not always correspond to those which are “drunk” in English.

(16)
a. mena                ji           ‘his tea for drinking (lit. his drink which is tea)”
    mena              tī
    his.drink tea
b. medra               liбу          ‘their leaf vegetables for eating
    meʔra              liə⁰bu          (lit. their drink which is leaf vegetable)’
    their(two).drink leaf.vegetable

ii) Forms that start with [xe. When the possessor is animate, they indicate that the thing possessed is something to eat (cf. xane ‘eat (it)’), as in (17). When the possessor is non-animate, they indicate that the thing which is possessed is the nature of or a part of something, as in (18).
(17)
a. xena  gau  'his taro for eating (lit. his food which is taro)'
xena  gau
his.food  taro
b. xena  madrai  'his bread for eating (lit. his food which is bread)'
xena  ma*rai
his.food  bread

(18)
a. (Responding to the noise of a car outside.)
Tamane  na  xena  tatama?  Au  sā  tamane.
tamane  na  xena  tatama  ausā  tamane
hear.3Gn  −prpr  its.thing  speed  1Sg.already  hear.3Gn
V  Det  N  N  V  V
+trns  PAT  Aux  +trns
'(Did you) hear how fast it is?'  '(Yes,) I did.'

b. Na  loxā  vaxaNadrau,  na  xena  isema  tauquito  na  loxā  vaxaVijji.
na  loxā  βaxana*rau  na  xena  isema  tauquito  na  loxā  βaxasi
−prpr language  Nadrau.style  −prpr its.thing  to.be.met all  −prpr language Fijian
Det  N  Adv  Det  N  N  Adv  Det  N  N
topic.PAT  prdc  COR
'As for the Nadrau language, (it is) where all the Fijian languages meet.'

c. Au  na  vaxayade  mai  na  itaha.  Me  tolu  na  xena  xopi.
auna  βaxaya*de mai  na  ita*ha me  tolu  na  xena  xopi
1Sg.future send.3Gn  hither −prpr photo  3Sg.should be.three −prpr its.thing copy
V  V  Adv  Det  N  V  V  Det  N  N
Aux  +trns  PAT  Aux  −trns  PAT
'I will send (you) the photos. Should be three copies.'

iii) Forms that start with [no or [ne]. These indicate that the thing possessed is general, and not for eating or drinking. Examples are given in (19). These forms are also used to express nominalized events where the “possessor” is the actor.16) Sentence examples are given in (20).

(19) nona  vale  'his house'
    nona  βale

---
16) According to Geraghty, the actor and the undergoer of an event can be contrasted by the use of the [ke... form and the [no... form, for example, SF kena ivacu ‘the punch he was given’ and nona ivacu ‘the punch he gave’ (1983). To answer the question if this applies to Nor and if so, to what extent, further research is necessary.
The forms of possessed general nouns are given in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[me... forms</th>
<th>1in</th>
<th>1ex</th>
<th>2</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>mequ</td>
<td>menu</td>
<td>mena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di</td>
<td>medaru</td>
<td>meirau</td>
<td>memudrau</td>
<td>medrau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pc</td>
<td>medatou</td>
<td>meitou</td>
<td>memudou</td>
<td>medratou</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>meda</td>
<td>meiamu</td>
<td>memuniu</td>
<td>medra</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[xe... forms</th>
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<th>2</th>
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<td>—</td>
<td>xequ</td>
<td>xemu</td>
<td>xena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di</td>
<td>xedaru</td>
<td>xetrau</td>
<td>xemudrau</td>
<td>xedrau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pc</td>
<td>xedatou</td>
<td>xetou</td>
<td>xemudou</td>
<td>xedratou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>xeda</td>
<td>xetimamu</td>
<td>xemuniu</td>
<td>xedra</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[no/ne... forms</th>
<th>1in</th>
<th>1ex</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>nogu</td>
<td>nomu</td>
<td>nona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di</td>
<td>nodaru</td>
<td>neiirau</td>
<td>nomudrau</td>
<td>noddrau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>nodatou</td>
<td>neiitou</td>
<td>nomudou</td>
<td>noddatou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>noda</td>
<td>neiiamamu</td>
<td>nomuniu</td>
<td>noddra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.2.2.2. Possessed non-general nouns

Possessed non-general nouns correspond to so-called “inalienably possessed” nouns, that is, a part of something including some body parts and kinship terms. Examples are given in (21). Like possessed general nouns, the possessor of a possessed noun may be expressed by a following noun phrase (a Noun preceded by a Determiner), as shown

---
17) It should be noted, however, that not all nouns that indicate a part of something nor all nouns that indicate a kinship relation occur as directly possessed nouns.
The endings of the possessed non-general nouns are shown in Table 7.

(21)

a. *suxuna*  
   ‘his hand(s)’

b. *duadra*  
   ‘their foot/feet, their leg(s)’

\(^{\text{a}dua^{\text{ra}}\text{ra}}\)

(22)

a. *na* *suxuna*  
   ‘Manu’s hand(s)’

   *na* *suxuna*  
   Det his.hand

   *manu*  
   Det M.

b. *na* *duadra*  
   ‘children’s foot/feet, children’s leg(s)’

   *na*  
   Det their.foot

   \(^{\text{a}dua^{\text{ra}}}\text{ra}\)  
   Det child

\(^{\text{a}dome}\text{one}\)

c. *na* *damana*  
   ‘the skin of an orange’

   *na*  
   Det its.skin

   \(^{\text{a}damana}\text{na moli}\)  
   Det orange

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7: Possessed Non-general Noun Endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18) There are two examples in the data that appear not to follow this pattern. The form *rautana* is a possessed noun with a third person singular possessor ending, meaning ‘its leaves’. In (i), the noun phrases *na vusi* ‘plantain’, *na niu* ‘coconut’ and *na jaina* ‘banana’ follow the form *drautana* indicating the possessor, following the structure described in this section.

(i) *Na livo na caxa e na drautana na vusi, na niu, na jaina.*

   -prpr 3Sg.be.made with -prpr its.leaf -prpr plantain -prpr coconut -prpr banana

   ‘As for the entrance screen (of a Fijian transitional house), it is made of the leaves of plantain, coconut and banana.’

However, the following are also observed.

(ii.a) *na drautana ulumu*  
   ‘your hair’

   -prpr its.leaf your.head

(ii.b) *drautana jaina madua*  
   ‘brown banana leaves’

   its.leaf banana mature

In these sentences, it is possible to analyze the ending of the form *drautana* as simply a part of the word rather than a possessor ending, and consider the following words as (general) modifying elements. Thus,

(iii.a) *na drautana ulumu*  
   ‘your hair’

   Det leaves your.head

(iii.b) *drautana jaina madua*  
   ‘brown banana leaves’

   leaves banana mature
1.1.2.2.3. Non-possessed nouns and the expression of possession

Unlike possessed nouns, non-possessed nouns do not carry features which indicate the possessor. This is shown in (23). Their possession may be expressed by a preceding general possessed noun (optionally with the following noun phrase specifying the possessor) as has been described in 1.1.2.2.1, (see especially ji ‘tea’, gau ‘taro’, and rărā ‘village’ in examples (14)). The possession of a non-possessed noun may also be expressed by the Genitive preposition ni ‘of’, as shown in (24).

(23)
a. rărā
   *rărāqu
   ‘village’
   ‘I.M. my village’
b. gau
   *gauqu
   ‘taro’
   ‘I.M. my taro’
c. libu
   *libuqu
   ‘leafy vegetables’
   ‘I.M. my leafy vegetables’

(24)
a. na loma ni vae
   na loma ni bale
   −prpr inside of house
   ‘the inside of the house’
b. i na quaqua ni cagi
   i na gaŋga ni őgaqi
   Loc −prpr strength of wind
   ‘with the strong wind
   (lit. in the strength of the wind)’
c. Na ibalebale ni Taxō, oxira na Tama.
   na iŋbalebale ni taxō oxira na tama
   −prpr meaning of Taxō they.Pl −prpr T.
   ‘As for the meaning of taxō, (it is) those who are (/belong to the group of) Tama.’

There are a few examples of possessive expressions that follow neither of the structures described above. They are shown in (25). In (25a), the word lawa maxawa ‘old law’ is preceded by a possessed general noun xena ‘its thing’. However, insteaded of na vanua ‘the land’, which is the expected form, ni vanua ‘of land’, with the preposition ni ‘of’ occurs. In (25b), the words na moli ‘lemon’ follow and appear to express the possessor of na vuto ‘thorn’, the phrase as a whole meaning ‘a thorn of a lemon’. Similarily, na niu ‘coconut’ occurs following na vu ‘trunk’, the whole phrase meaning ‘the tree of coconut, a coconut tree’ in (25c). A remnant of the same structure is observed in (25d), the word for ‘door’, matanadarava, appears to be a sequence of two noun phrases, na darava modifying the preceding phrase na mata.19) A similar example is bajinawai ‘beach
(lit. the edge of water, SF bāravi)\textsuperscript{20} in (25e).

\textbf{(25)}
\begin{itemize}
\item[a.] Na xena lawa maxawa ni vanua.
\begin{itemize}
\item[na] xena lawa maxawa ni ʻbanua
\item[prpr] its law old of place
\end{itemize}
'It (It used to be) the custom of the place.
(Lit. Its old law of the place.)'
\item[b.] E late na vuto na moli.
\begin{itemize}
\item[elate] na ʻbuto na moli
\item[3Sg.sting.3Gn prpr] thorn
\item[prpr] lemon
\item[V. + trns AGT COR]
\end{itemize}
'The thorn of a lemon stung (it).'
\item[c.] na vu na niu
\begin{itemize}
\item[na] ʻbu na niu
\item[prpr] trunk
\item[prpr] coconut
\end{itemize}
'the tree of coconut, coconut tree'
\item[d.] Sogote na matanadarava!
\begin{itemize}
\item[sogote] na mata.na.ʻdaraða
\item[2Im.close.3Gn prpr] door
\item[V. + trns PAT]
\end{itemize}
'Close the door!'
\item[e.] Xira sā lai vaxataxāxana i bajina vai mai Deuba.
\begin{itemize}
\item[xirasā] lai vaxataxāxana i mābatinawai mai ʻdeuʻba
\item[3Pl.already go.to go.for.picnic LOC beach LOC D.]
\item[V.Aux V.Aux prpr trns LOC]
\end{itemize}
'They went for a picnic on the beach in Deuba.'
\end{itemize}

\textbf{1.1.3. Noun Modifiers}

In addition to Genitive phrases described above, a non-pronominal noun may be followed by one or more adjectives and/or a relative clause to modify it. Adjectives and relative clauses follow the modifying noun as in (26) and (27).

\textbf{(26)} na isulu lūlū
\begin{itemize}
\item[na] isulu lūlū
\item[prpr] clothes
\item[wet]
\end{itemize}
'wet clothes'

\textsuperscript{19} The corresponding word in Standard Fijian is na mata ni kātuba 'door'.

\textsuperscript{20} Cf. SF bati ni wai 'river bank, on a pond'.

\textsuperscript{20}
When a possessed noun is followed by a noun phrase that indicates the possessor, adjectives occur between the modified noun and the noun phrase that indicates the possessor. In (28), the noun damana ‘its pith (white fiber strips on the segments of an orange)’ is followed by an adjective vāvaxu ‘thick’, and the noun phrase na moli ‘orange’ that indicates the specific possessor of damana follows the adjective vāvaxu.

(28) na damana vāvaxu na moli ‘the thick skin of an orange’
     na ñdamana ñbābaxu na moli
     —prpr its.skin thick —prpr orange

Finally, the preposition balete—baleji ‘concerning, about’\(^{22}\) introduces a phrase modifying the preceding noun as well. Examples are given in (29).

(29)

a. na ituxutuxu \((me)\)balete na veizi\(\text{gi}\)\(\text{gi}\)
   na ituxutuxu me\(^m\)balete na ñbe\(\text{i}\)ñ\(\text{d}iñi\)ñ\(\text{d}iñi\)
   —prpr news about —prpr election
   ‘news about the election’

b. na italanoa baleji Sakiusa
   na italanoa \(m\)baleti sakiusa
   —prpr story about S.
   ‘a story about Sakiusa’

1.2. Verbal Clauses and Their Constituents

A verbal clause must consist of one and only one non-auxiliary verb, which determines the transitivity of the clause. This verb, which hereafter will be referred to as the main verb\(^{23}\), is the minimum requirement of a verbal clause. A sentence example with only one main verb is given in (30a). A main verb may be preceded by an auxiliary verb(s) and followed by an Adverb(s). A sentence example with an auxiliary verb and an Adverb is shown in (30b). Verb subcategorization is summarized

---

21) It should be noted that the form dua ‘be one’ in this clause is analyzed as a predicate, with the sequence e dua meaning ‘there is one...’. It is different from the Determiner e dua na.

22) The form balete occurs before non-pronominal non-proper nouns, while baleji occurs before pronominal and proper nouns.

23) The morphology of non-auxiliary verbs and how it corresponds to transitivity is described in Section 2.
in Figure 3.

(30)

a. Zive!
   ^diβe
   2Im.look.at.3Gn
   V
   +trns
   'Look at it!/Listen!'

b. Lai zive rā!
   lai ^diβe rā
   2Im.go.to look.at.3Gn please
   V V Adv
   Aux +trns
   'Go to look at it!'

\[
\text{verbs [V]}
\quad \begin{align*}
& \quad \text{auxiliary [+xtns}^{24}, -\text{trns]} \\
& \quad \text{non-auxiliary} \\
& \quad ("\text{main verb}")
\end{align*}
\quad \begin{align*}
& \quad \text{transitive [+trns]} \\
& \quad \text{intransitive [-trns]}
\end{align*}
\quad \begin{align*}
& \quad \text{extension [+xtns]} \\
& \quad \text{non-extension [-xtns]}
\end{align*}
\quad \begin{align*}
& \quad \text{extension [+xtns]} \\
& \quad \text{non-extension [-xtns]}
\end{align*}

\textbf{Figure 3: NDR Verb Subcategorization}

Noun phrases and other constituents of a verbal clause follow the Adverb(s) unless topicalized,\textsuperscript{25} as \textit{o Makersi} in (31). A transitive clause may have two core noun phrases, while an intransitive verb may have only one core noun phrase. This is schematically illustrated in (32). Between the Agent and the Patient of a transitive clause, there is no strictly fixed word order, although typically the former is observed to follow the latter.

(31) Lai zive rā o Makersi!
   lai ^diβe rā o makersi
   2Im.go.to look.at.3Gn please +prpr M.
   Aux +trns Adv
   'Go to see Makersi!'

\textsuperscript{24} The feature [+xtns] (extension) indicates that the verb requires another verb as its dependent. As can be seen in the figure, all the auxiliary verbs in NDR are such extension verbs, while a non-auxiliary verb may or may not be an extension verb.

\textsuperscript{25} A topicalized noun phrase occurs in the clause initial position. For details, see Section 1.3.
Further examples are given from (33) through (35). In Sentence (33), the noun phrases
na moli ‘citrus fruit(s)’ and na gone ‘child(ren)’ are complement noun phrases, and follow
the predicate ratou some ‘they (few) drank’. In Sentence (34), yaguna ‘to him’ is a Dative
(adjunct) phrase and o Vuniwai ‘Doctor’ is a complement phrase, and follow the
predicate tou xadataxe ‘they (few) ran with’. A Dative phrase, although it is an adjunct,
usually precedes other (both complement and adjunct) phrases and occurs in a position
closest to the verb. An example of a prepositional (adjunct) Locative phrase i na were
‘to the field’ is also given in (35).  

(33) Ratou some    na    moli    na    gone.
ratousome    na    moli    na    ñone
3Pc.drink.3Gn    −prp    orange    −prp    child
V    Det    N    Det    N
+trns    PAT    AGT

‘Children ate oranges.’

(34) Tou xadataxe    yaguna    o    Vuniwai.27)
touxa-dataxe    yañuna    o    ñuniwai
1inPc.run.with.3Gn    Dtv.3Sg    +prp    Doctor
V    N    Det    N
+trns    REF    PAT

‘We ran with the doctor to him.’

(35) Xua    ni    vā    i    na    were.
xua    ni    ñā    i    na    were
2Im.don’t    3Sg.that    go    Lcv    −prp    farm
V    V    V    P    Det    N
+trns    Aux    −trns    Lcv

‘Don’t go to the farm!’

26) See 2.1 and Section 3 for details of the occurrence of core noun phrases and the casemarking system.
27) See example (6) for a different reading of this sentence.
Agreement features of the core noun phrase(s) are carried by the clause-initial verb (for actor) and by the transitive verb (for the Patient of transitive sentences). Details of the agreement systems are described in 1.2.1. Auxiliary verbs and Adverbs are described in 1.2.2 and 1.2.3 respectively.

1.2.1. Agreement Markings

1.2.1.1. Actor agreement on the clause initial verb

A clause initial verb carries an agreement feature implying the person and (usually) number of the actor ([actr]). As has been shown in (30), a clause initial verb may be either an auxiliary verb or a non-auxiliary verb. In example (36), the clause initial verb is the auxiliary verb sā, which implies that the actor is third person singular. In example (37), the form au sā is the clause initial verb and implies that the actor is first person singular. The auxiliary verb mata and the non-auxiliary verb moce are not clause initial, and cannot carry any actor agreement feature.

(36) Sā zive.
    sā "diβe
    3Sg.already look.at.3Gn
    Aux +trns
    ‘He has already seen it.’

(37) Au sā mata moce.
    ausā mata mōe
    1Sg.already want.to sleep
    V V V
    Aux Aux −trns
    ‘I want to sleep./I am sleepy.’

Sentence (38) is another example where the clause initial verb is non-auxiliary, but is the main verb of the sentence. The actor agreement forms are given in Table 8. It should be noted that a third person singular form ([e... or [...] implies a third person general (non-specified number) actor.

(38) Ratou some na moli na gone.
ratousome na moli na ŋone
3Pc.drink.3Gn −prpr orange −prpr child
V Det N Det N
+trns PAT AGT
actr

‘The children have already eaten the oranges.’
Table 8: Actor ([actr]) Agreement Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 in</th>
<th>1 ex</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[au..]</td>
<td>[a(o)n..]</td>
<td>[e.., [..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di</td>
<td>[sa(au..)</td>
<td>[sa(au..]</td>
<td>[hau..]</td>
<td>[erau..]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pc</td>
<td>[sou..]</td>
<td>[xa(ou..]</td>
<td>[dou..]</td>
<td>[eraou..]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>[xi..]</td>
<td>[(xi)mam..]</td>
<td>[niu..]</td>
<td>[era..]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the forms for first person exclusive dual and paucal (and the longer form for plural) are identical with the corresponding independent pronouns shown in Table 3.

When the actor is third person singular, an overt agreement form may or may not occur as in (36) and (39). An imperative verb that is addressed to a second person addressee also may not have an overt actor agreement form. One such example is given in (40).

(39)  *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>lolomataxi</th>
<th>yaguna</th>
<th>e dua na</th>
<th>senacodo.</th>
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</thead>
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<td>lolomataxi</td>
<td>yajuna</td>
<td>e^duana</td>
<td>sena^do^do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg.past</td>
<td>be.presented</td>
<td>Dtv.3Sg</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>necklace</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Det</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aux</td>
<td>-trns</td>
<td>REF</td>
<td>PAT</td>
<td>actr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'A necklace was given to her as a gift.'

(40)  *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>zive</th>
<th>ra'!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lai</td>
<td>*di^be</td>
<td>ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Im.go.to</td>
<td>look.at.3Gn</td>
<td>polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Adv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aux</td>
<td>+trns</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Go to look at it (check it) please.'

1.2.1.2. Patient agreement on the transitive verb

A main verb is either transitive ([+trns]) or intransitive ([−trns]), and determines the transitivity of the clause. A transitive verb carries agreement features that imply the person and number of the Patient. For example, the transitive verb zive 'look at, see' implies a third person general (or, non-specified number) Patient, while zivixexo 'look at you, see you' implies a second person singular Patient. The Patient agreement endings of the transitive verb are given in Table 9, followed by sentence examples in (41) and (42).
Table 9: Ndr [PAT] Agreement Marking Endings of Transitive Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1in</th>
<th>1ex</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>...iau</td>
<td>...ixexo</td>
<td>...ix(w)aya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dl</td>
<td>...ixitarua</td>
<td>...ixairau</td>
<td>...ixodrau</td>
<td>...ixirau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pc</td>
<td>...ixitatou</td>
<td>...ixaiou</td>
<td>...ixodou</td>
<td>...ixiratou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>...ixita</td>
<td>...ixaimamu</td>
<td>...ixoniu</td>
<td>...ixiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gn</td>
<td>...i</td>
<td>...[a]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(41) Au zivi xexo.
    auaŋdiβixexo
1Sg.see.2Sg +trns
'I look at you.'

(42) Au zivi xiratou na gone.
    auaŋdiβixiratou na ñone
1Sg.see.3Pc Det child +trns PAT
'I looked at the children.'

1.2.2. Auxiliary Verbs
1.2.2.1. General features

One or more auxiliary verbs may occur in a clause, preceding the main verb. An auxiliary verb always requires another verb as its dependent to follow it. Sentence examples are shown in (43) where auxiliary verbs are underlined. Some auxiliary verbs are listed in Table 10.

(43)
a. Xunā mo sā mata xana, qoi xaya mai.
    xunā mo sā mata xana ędai xaya mai
if 2Sg.should already want.to eat then say hither
P V V V V Adv
    Aux Aux Aux −trns Aux Aux −trns
'If you are hungry, then let me know.'

b. Au sā dau numinumilevaji.
    ausa ędau numinumilebatı
1Sg.already habitual forget.many.things
Aux Aux −trns
'I’m very forgetful these days.'
Table 10: Some NDR Auxiliary Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complementizers</td>
<td>[me…]</td>
<td>'So that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ni…]</td>
<td>'That'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of the event</td>
<td>sã</td>
<td>'Event started taking place. Already, yet.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>se</td>
<td>'Event stayed in the same condition. Already, yet, still.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>'Future, statement based on an assumed situation, irrealis.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ä</td>
<td>'Past, also realis.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequencing</td>
<td>qoi</td>
<td>'Then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negation</td>
<td>labu</td>
<td>'Not'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental and/or physical direction</td>
<td>lai</td>
<td>'Go to do, going to take place, after this.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mai</td>
<td>'Come to do, coming to take place, since then.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The attitude of the [actr]</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>'Want to do, be about to.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dau</td>
<td>'Habitually do, has the nature of.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bara</td>
<td>'Finally, actually'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the forms shown in Table 10, those which belong to the same category do not cooccur. For example, the forms sã and se never cooccur. When more than one auxiliary verb occurs, their relative order is approximately that given in the list above. For example, when the forms sã and na cooccur, sã precedes na.

1.2.2.2. Auxiliary verbs that always occur as clause initial verbs

There are three auxiliary verbs that always occur as clause initial verbs. The forms are referred to here as [me forms ‘so that, should’, [ni₁ form ‘when, as’, and [ni₂ form ‘that’. These differ from other auxiliary verbs also in that they have actor agreement marking forms as their endings instead of as their initial forms.

A list of the [me forms is given in Table 11, and example sentences are given in (44) through (46). A [me form may occur as the clause-initial verb of an independent sentence as in (44), or as the clause-initial verb of a complement clause as in (45) and (46), where the complement clauses are indicated between brackets.

Table 11: The Forms of Auxiliary Verb [me…]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1in</th>
<th>1ex</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>meu</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>mataru</td>
<td>meqairau</td>
<td>modrau</td>
<td>merau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pc</td>
<td>metou</td>
<td>meqaitou</td>
<td>modou</td>
<td>meratou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>meta</td>
<td>meqaimamu</td>
<td>moniu</td>
<td>meru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(44) \[\text{Mo vā mai vaxariqariq.} \]
\[\text{mo bā mai baxariqariq} \]
2Sg.should go hither quickly
V V Adv Adv
Aux -trns
'(You should) come here quickly!'

(45) \[\text{Xaimamu, wara [meqaimamu dau lai lotu i valenilotu].} \]
\[\text{xaimamu wara meqaimamu ndau lai lotu i balenilotu} \]
1exPl not 1exPl.that habit go.to worship at church
N V V V V P N
topic -trns Aux Aux Aux -trns
+xtns
'As for us, we do not go to worship in church.'

(46) \[\text{Au sā numele vate [meu yade mai na noqu isulu].} \]
\[\text{ausā numelebate meu yade mai na noqu isulu} \]
1Sg.already forget 1Sg.that bring hither -prpr my.thing clothes
V V V Adv Det N N
Aux +trns Aux +trns PAT
+xtns
'I forgot to bring my clothes.
(Lit. I forgot that I should bring my clothes.)'

Further examples (47) and (48) follow.

(47) \[\text{Au sā xaya yagudrau [me rau vā mai].} \]
\[\text{ausā xaya yaguφrau merau bā mai} \]
1Sg.already say Dtv.3Dl 3Dl.should go hither
V V N V V Adv
+trns REF Aux -trns
+xtns
'I told them (two) to come here.
(Lit. I told them (two) that they (two) should come here.)'
(48) \( \text{Au sà vinaxwace ligo [meu loxà vaxaNadrau].} \)

\( \begin{align*}
\text{ausà} & \quad \text{binaxađe lijo meu loxà baxana\textsuperscript{r}au} \\
1\text{Sg.already} & \quad \text{like only 1Sg.should speak Nadrauan} \\
V & \quad V \quad \text{Adv} \quad V \quad V \quad \text{Adv} \\
\text{Aux} & \quad +\text{trns} \quad \text{Aux} \quad −\text{trns} \\
& \quad +\text{txns}
\end{align*} \)

‘I would like to speak the Nadrau language only.
(Lit. I would like only that I speak the Nadrau language.)’

The inflection of the two \( [ni] \) forms basically follows that of the \( [me] \) forms shown in Table 11. The distinction between \( [ni]_1 \) form ‘when, as’ and \( [ni]_2 \) form ‘that’ is based on the fact that the former introduces a conditional clause, while the latter introduces a complement clause of extention verbs. Examples of the two \( [ni] \) forms are given in (49) through (52).

(49) \( \text{Nì sà matua na maqo, qai vute.} \)

\( \text{nì}_1 \quad \text{sà matua na maqo} \quad \text{qai vute} \)

\( \begin{align*}
3\text{Gn.when already ripe} & \quad −\text{prpr mango then 2Sg.pick.3Gn} \\
V & \quad V \quad V \quad \text{Det} \quad N \quad V \quad V \\
\text{Aux} & \quad \text{Aux} \quad −\text{trns} \quad \text{PAT} \quad \text{Aux} \quad +\text{trns}
\end{align*} \)

‘When/if mangoes are ripe, pick them.’

(50) \( \text{Nì sà tali qaca, sà na qoi lauxani [nì sà ibesåšà.]} \)

\( \text{nì}_1 \quad \text{sà tali ṭuђa sà na qoi lauxani nì}_2 \quad \text{sà i}^{\text{m}}\text{besåšà} \)

\( \begin{align*}
3\text{Gn.when already be.woven finish already future then be.said 3Gn.that already be.} & \text{ibesåšà} \\
V & \quad V \quad V \quad \text{Adv} \quad V \quad V \quad −\text{trns} \quad V \quad V \quad V \\
\text{Aux} & \quad \text{Aux} \quad −\text{trns} \quad \text{Aux} \quad \text{Aux} \quad +\text{txns} \quad \text{Aux} \quad \text{Aux} \quad −\text{trns}
\end{align*} \)

‘When it is completely woven, then it is now called ibesåšà.
(Lit. When it has been totally woven, then it will be said that it is an ibesåšà.’

(51) \( \text{Xaitou vaxabate [ni xo se nume vinaxwua jixo na loxà vaxaNadrau].} \)

\( \text{xaitou.vaxa}^{\text{b}a}\text{bate nixo}_2 \quad \text{se nume}^{\text{b}inaxa} \quad \text{tixo na loxà baxana\textsuperscript{r}au} \)

\( \begin{align*}
\text{1expC. expect} & \quad 2\text{Sg.that still remember.well PRG −prpr language Nadrauan} \\
V & \quad V \quad V \quad \text{Adv} \quad \text{Det} \quad N \quad \text{Adj} \\
+\text{trns} & \quad \text{Aux} \quad \text{Aux} \quad +\text{trns} \quad \text{PAT} \\
+\text{txns}
\end{align*} \)

‘We expect that you still remember the Nadrau language well.’
(52) Na $suxu da$ me $vui$ $vaxavinaxwa$, na $suxud a$ me $\betaui$ $\betaaxabinaxa$

prpr our.hands 3Gn.should be.washed well

Det PAT V V Adv

topic Aux −trns

$ni$ sā bere [ni $ta$ lai xana].

$ni_1$ sā "bere nita_2 lai xana

3Gn.when already before 1inPl.that going.to eat

V V V V V

Aux Aux −trns Aux Aux −trns +xtns

'We should wash our hands well before eating.
(Lit. Our hands should be washed well, when it is already before we are going to eat.)'

1.2.3. Adverbs

The main verb may be followed by one or more Adverbs. In Sentence (53), the form rā 'polite' is an adverb which is a dependent of the predicate $vua$ 'wash (it)' and in Sentence (54), the form $qa ca$ 'finish' is an adverb which is a dependent of the predicate $volai$ 'be written'. Some NdR Adverbs are shown in Table 12.

(53) Lai $vua$ rā na $suxumu.$

lai $\betaua$ rā na $suxumu$

2Im.go.to wash.hands please −prpr your.hand

V V Adv Det N

Aux +trns PAT

'Go to wash your hands please.'

(54) Sā na $volai$ $qa ca$ na $loxa$ $vaxaNdrau.$

sā na $\betaolai$ ᵃ$ga\betaa$ na $loxa$ $\betaaxana\betau$

3Gn.already future be.written finish −prpr language Nadrauan

V V V Adv Det N Adj

Aux Aux −trns PAT

'All the Nadrau words will have been written.'


**Table 12: Some NDR Adverbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State of the event</td>
<td><em>qaca</em></td>
<td>‘Finished, done’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>jixo</em></td>
<td>‘Event in progress’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tū</em></td>
<td>‘Stay doing/being…’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
<td><em>mai</em></td>
<td>‘Toward the speaker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>yani</em></td>
<td>‘Toward the addressee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>rā</em></td>
<td>‘Add politeness, please, may I, shall I?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition</td>
<td><em>cuxa</em></td>
<td>‘Again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>muni</em></td>
<td>‘Also’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphatic</td>
<td><em>līgo</em></td>
<td>‘Emphatic, only’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(derived Adverbs)</td>
<td><em>vaxa</em></td>
<td>examples:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>vaxariqariqaga</em> ‘Quickly, fast’, cf. <em>riqariqaga</em> ‘fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>vaxanadrau</em> ‘Nadrau style’, cf. <em>Nadrau</em> ‘Nadrau’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When more than one adverb occurs in a clause, they occur in a fixed order relative to one another. For example, in (55), a derived adverb *vaxariqariqaga* ‘quickly’ must follow the form *mai*.

(55)  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Mo} & \text{vā} & \text{mai} & \text{vaxariqariqaga}. \\
\text{mo} & \text{ba} & \text{mai} & \text{baxariqariqaga} \\
\text{2Sg.should} & \text{go} & \text{hither} & \text{quickly} \\
\text{V} & \text{V} & \text{Adv} & \text{Adv} \\
\text{Aux} & -\text{trns} & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(You should) come here quickly!’

In addition to those given in the list, there is an adverb, *xine*, that requires an anaphoric locational/temporal noun somewhere preceding it (but not necessarily in the same clause) and indicates the meaning “there, then”. It follows all other Adverbs. The form *xine* refers to either a place or time which has been previously mentioned as in (56), or something which is indicated by a topicalized locative noun phrase as in (57).

28) When the Adverb *mai* is followed by a Preposition *mai*, usually only one form occurs.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Me} & \text{yazi} & \text{mai} & \text{(mai) Japani na noqu isulu.} \\
\text{3Sg.should be.brought} & \text{hither} & \text{from Japan – prpr mine clothes} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Please bring my clothes from Japan. (Lit. My clothes should be brought from Japan.)’

29) For the usage of *xine* with a topicalized locative noun phrase, see 1.3.
1.3. **Topicalization**

Both in an equational sentence and a verbal clause, a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase may be topicalized by being placed in the sentence initial position. When the topicalized noun phrase is either the Patient or the Agent of a sentence, it simply occurs in the clause initial position (instead of following the verb) and the rest in the sentence remains the same. Examples are given in (58) through (60). In (58a-c), it is the Patient of intransitive verbs that is topicalized, while in (59a-b), it is the Patient of transitive sentences. Examples (60a-b) are instances of topicalization of the Agent of transitive sentences.

(58)

a. "**Bexa**, me vaxayagataxi yagudra na tūraña.
   "bexa" 3Gn.should be.used Lcv.3Pl −prpr chief

N V V N Det N
topic.PAT Aux −trns

'As for the word *bexa*, it is to be used toward those who are chiefs.'
b. **Na isulu lūlū, e lili jixo.**  
na isulu lūlū elili tixo  
−prpr clothes wet 3Gn.hang PROG  
Det N Adj V Adv  
topic.PAT −trns  
‘As for wet clothes, they are on the line.’

cf. *E lili jixo na isulu lūlū.*

c. **Xaimamu, wara meqaimamu dau lai lotu i valenilotu. (=45)**  
xaimamu wara meqaimamu dau lai lotu i βalenilotu  
1exPl not 1exPl.that habit go.to worship at church  
N V V V V P N  
topic.PAT −trns Aux Aux Aux −trns LOC  
+ xtns  
‘As for us, we do not go to worship in church.’

cf. *Wara meqaimamu dau lai lotu i valenilotu (xaimamu).*

(59)

a. **Na yacu, mamu dau vaxayagataxe i na gauna ni xana.**  
na yādu mamu dau ßaxayaŋataxe i na ŋauna ni xana  
−prpr spoon 1exPl.habit use.3Gn Lev −prpr time of eating  
Det N V V P Det N P N  
topic.PAT Aux −trns LOC  
‘As for yacu (spoon), we use (it) when we eat.’

cf. *Mamu dau vaxayagataxe na yacu in na gauna ni xana.*

b. **I levu na xā o sā vulice?**  
ileβuna xā osā βuliđe  
many thing 2Sg.already learn.3Gn  
Det N V V  
topic.PAT +trns  
‘Have you learned a lot? (Lit. Many things, have you learned (them)?)’

cf. *O sā vulice i levu na xā?*

(60)

a. **O cei e zigitaxi xexo?**  
o ðei eðiŋiŋitaxiŋiŋexeso  
+prpr who 3Sg.select.2Sg  
Det N V  
topic +trns  
‘Who selected you?’

cf. *E zigitaxi xexo o cei?*
b. *Na luvena ni gāneigu, dau xacivi au o tuxai.*
   na luβena ni ɳāneiŋgu, a*dau xaɖिबiau o tuxai
   −prpr her.child of my.gāne habit call.1Sg +prpr tuxai
   Det N     P N     V V    Det N
   topic.AGT Aux +trns
   ‘As for the child of my gānei, s/he would call me tuxai.’
   cf. *Dau xacivi au o tuxai na luvena ni gāneigu.*

The Patient of equational sentences can also be topicalized, as shown in (61).

(61)
a. *O Makelesi, na gonevuli.*
   o makelesi na ɳonebuli
   +prpr M. −prpr student
   Det N     Det N
   ‘As for Makelesi/talking about Makelesi, (she is) a student.’
   cf. *Na gonevuli o Makelesi.*

b. *Na umane [au sā zive jīxo], ixwaya, na noŋu tacita.*
   na umane ausā ədiβe tixo ixaya, na noŋgu taŋita
   −prpr man 1Sg.already look.at.3Gn proc 3Sg −prpr mine father’s.sibling
   Det N     V V     Adv N    Det N     N
   topic +trns topic prdc
   ‘As for the man I’m looking at now, he is the one who is my father’s sibling.’

c. *Xiratou, na noŋu mata vūvale.*
   xiratou na noŋgu mataβũβale
   3Pc −prpr mine family
   N Det N     N     N
   ‘They, (they are the ones who are) my family.’
   cf. *Na noŋu matavūvale xiratou.*

A non-core phrase indicating either Locus or Means can also be topicalized. In such case, the adverb *xine* usually occurs. When topicalized, the preposition usually does not occur. Example (62) is repeated here along with a sentence where the prepositional phrase is not topicalized.
(62) Na xuro ni Viji, e dau dei xine na magijji.
na xuro ni biti e^dau ^dei xine na ma^jiti
−prpr pot of Fiji 3Sg.habit be.cooked there −prpr food
Det N P N V V Adv Det N
topic.MNS Aux −trns PAT actor

‘As for a Fijian pot, food is cooked in it./In a Fijian pot, food is cooked there.’

cf. E dau dei na magijji i na xuro ni Viji.
e^dau ^dei na ma^jiti i na xuro ni biti
3Sg.habit be.cooked −prpr food Lcv −prpr pot of Fiji
V V Det N P Det N P N
Aux −trns PAT MNS

‘Food is cooked in a Fijian pot.’

Na gauna ... xine ‘As for the time when ...’ is a fixed expression corresponding to English phrase “When (one did something...)”. An example sentence is given in (63).

(63) Na gauna au volivoli xine, e volivolitaxi jixo na tūqawaqua.
na t^auna auβoliβoli xine eβoliβolitaxi tixo na tū^gaga
−prpr time 1Sg.do.shopping then do.selling PROG −prpr old.man

‘When I did shopping, an old man was attending the store.
(Lit. As for the time I did shopping, an old man was selling.)’

A Locus phrase that is expressed with a Dative pronoun preceded by a preposition mai, may also be topicalized. Sentence (64) is an example of a sentence with a topicalized Dative pronoun.

(64)

a. Mai yaguna o Turaq ni xoro, drau sā somu yaqona jixo xine?
mai ya^juna o tura^janixoro ^rau.sā somu.ya^gona jixo xine
at Dtv.3Sg +prpr village.chief 3DL.already kava.drinking PROG there
P N Det N V V Adv Adv
topic.LOC Aux −trns

‘Is it at the village-chief’s place where they two are drinking kava?
(Lit. At the village-chief’s place, are they drinking kava there?)’
b. *Drau sā somu yaqona jixo mai yaguna o Turaga ni Xoro?
   nrau.sā somu.yaqona jixo mai yaquna o turaŋanikoro
   3DL.already kava.drinking PROG at Dtv.3Sg +prpr village-chief
   V V Adv P N Det N
   Aux −trns LOC
   ‘Are they two drinking kava at village-chief’s place?’

It should be noted, however, that a Referent phrase, which is also expressed by a Dative pronoun, cannot be topocalized. Examples (65) through (67) show such cases along with the corresponding non-topocalized sentence each. In examples (65) and (66), the sentence shown as (a) were both uttered in a conversation, while (b) was created for the purpose of examining the possibility of topocalizing the Dative pronouns. As for (67), I happened to say sentence (67a) and it was corrected as shown in (67b). This shows that the topocalization applies to core and non-core phrases but not to a Dative Referent.

(65)

a. Vā mai (i)yagudatou ixwaya.
   βā mai iyāŋu-datou ixaya
   go hither Dtv.1inPc 3Sg
   V Adv N N
   −trns REF PAT acted
   ‘He came to our place.’

b. *(I)yagudatou sā vā mai ixwaya.
   iyāŋu-datou sā βā mai ixaya
   Dtv.1inPc 3Sg.already go hither 3Sg
   N V V Adv N
   topic.REF Aux −trns PAT acted
   ‘I.M. To our place, he came.’

(66)

a. E bibi yaguqu na xwā goi.
   e mbi=mbi yaŋuŋu na xā əgoi
   3Gn.heavy Dtv.1Sg −prpr thing this
   V N Det N N
   −trns REF PAT COR acted
   ‘This is heavy for me.’
b. *Yaguqu e bī bī xīn e nā xwa qoi.
yajuŋgu e mobi mobi xīn e nā xā ŋgoi
dtv.1sg 3gn.heavy there −prpr thing this
N V Adv Det N N
topic.REF −trns PAT

‘I.M. To me, this is heavy.’

(67)
a. *(D)yagumu me soli xīn e nā ivola qoi.
iyaŋumu me soli xīn e nā išola ŋgoi
dtv.2sg 3gn.should be.given there −prpr book this
N V V Adv Det N N
REF Aux −trns PAT

‘I.M. To you, this book is to be given.’

b. Me soli yagumu nā ivola qoi.
me soli iyaŋumu nā išola ŋgoi
3gn.should be.given dtv.2sg −prpr book this
V V N Det N N
REF Aux −trns REF PAT

‘This book should be given to you.’

There is one case where a Locative phrase indicating the Means cannot be topicalized as shown in (68). Further research is necessary to determine whether this is a result of a syntactic restriction that applies generally to a certain syntactic structure, or of some pragmatic or lexical restriction associated with this particular verb.

(68) *Na moli au dau vaxasomi xira xīn e nā gone.
nā moli au̱̱dau βaxasomi xira xīn e nā njone
−prpr orange 1sg.habit make.drink.3pl with.it −prpr child
det n V V Adv Det N

topic.MNS Aux +trns PAT

‘I.M. The oranges, I make children eat them.’

cf. Au vaxasomi xira nā gone i nā moli.
aubaxasomi xira nā njone i nā moli
1sg.make.drink.3pl det child lecv det orange
V.+trns PAT MNS

‘I make children eat oranges.
(Lit. I make children drink with oranges.)’
Finally, there is an example observed where Adverb *xine* does not appear when it is expected. It is shown in (69) where the position where the occurrence of the form *xine* is expected is indicated as \(<xine>\). The optionality of this form remains as a future research topic.

(69)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
E & na & gauna & ni & sā & kilikiliwa & dau & qoi & yagi & <xine> \\
\text{Lcv} & -prpr & \text{time} & 3\text{Gn}.\text{that} & \text{already} & \text{cold} & 3\text{Gn}.\text{habit} & \text{then} & \text{be}.\text{lit} \\
P & \text{Det} & N & V & V & V & V & V & V & V \\
& \text{Aux} & \text{Aux} & \text{–trns} & \text{Aux} & \text{Aux} & \text{–trns} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{me} & \text{ xataxata} & \text{ na} & \text{loma} & \text{ni} & \text{vale}. \\
\text{me} & \text{xataxata} & \text{ na} & \text{loma} & \text{ni} & \text{ba} \text{ale} \\
3\text{Gn}.\text{should} & \text{ warm} & -prpr & \text{ inside} & \text{ of} & \text{ house} \\
V & V & \text{Det} & N & P & N \\
& \text{Aux} & \text{–trns} & \text{PAT} \\
\end{array}
\]

'When it is cold, it (the fire place) is lit to make the inside of the house warm.
(Lit. When it is cold, it is lit so that the inside of the house should be warm.)'

1.4. Other Clause Structures

There are some syntactic phenomena that are of interest but yet to be examined in detail. Example sentences are given below with a brief explanation of relevant matters.

1.4.1. Relative Clauses

A clause may be simply placed after a noun to modify it. Examples are given in (70) through (72), where the modified nouns are underlined and the following relative clauses are indicated between brackets. In example (70), the relative clause is transitive while in (71), it is intransitive. In sentence (72), the relative clause is introduced by the initial form [x...], the only such instance in my data. It is possible that this is an influence of Standard Fijian where a relative clause is introduced by the form *ka...*

(70) \( E\,\text{dua} & \text{ na} & \text{vanua} & [\text{au samaxe}], \text{ me} & \text{tei} & \text{xine} & \text{na} & \text{tavioxa}. \) \((=\text{(27)})\)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
ed\text{dua} & \text{ na} & \text{banua ausamaxe} & \text{ me} & \text{tei} & \text{xine} & \text{na} & \text{ta} \text{vioxa} \\
\text{be}.\text{one} & -prpr & \text{land} & 1\text{Sg}.\text{clear}\text{.}\text{Gn} & \text{should be}.\text{planted there} & -prpr \text{ cassava} \\
\end{array}
\]

'There is a piece of land [from which I cleared (the grass)], so that cassava will be planted there.'

cf. *Au samaxe e dua na vanua*. 'I cleared a piece of land.'
(71) Xita na saume na veitaro [e lautaroğ nuclei mai guda].
    xitanana saume na betarao elautaroğ nuclei mai ñu a da
    1inPl.futu answer -prpr questions be.asked hither Dtv.1inPl
    V V Det N V Adv N
    Aux +trns PAT -trns REF
    ‘We will/let’s answer each question [that is asked us].’
    cf. Elautaroğ nuclei guda na veitaro. ‘Questions are asked to us.’

(72) Na qele [xau vole], e tei tū xine na dovul.
    na qele xau bole etei tū xine na ño sbu
    -prpr land 1Sg buy be.planted state there -prpr sugarcane
    Det N V V Adv Adv Det N
    ‘The land [that I bought] is cultivated with sugarcane.’
    cf. Au vole na qele. ‘I buy land.’

1.4.2. Clauses Introduced by Prepositions

The Prepositions xunā ‘like …, if …’ and balete (ni) ‘concerning, because (of) …’ also introduce a clause. Examples are shown in (73) and (74).

(73) Xunā mo sā mata xana, qoi xaya mai.
    xunā mo sā mata xana ñgoi xaya mai
    like 2Sg.should already want.to eat then 2Im.say hither
    P V V V V V Adv
    Aux Aux Aux -trns Aux +trns Adv
    ‘If you are hungry, tell (me) so.’
    cf. E nā xunā qwoi.
    e nā xunā ñgoi
    at here like this
    P N P N
    ‘Here, (it is done) like that.’

(74) …balete niu sā oca vaxalevu.
    m balete niu sā o da ñ bale se lvụ
    concerning 1Sg.that already be.tired a.lot
    P V V V Adv
    Aux Aux -trns
    ‘(I forgot to bring my clothes,) because I was very tired.’

1.4.3. Nominalization

The nominalization of clauses is another topic for further research in relevance to the possessive expressions. Examples are repeated in (75) from 1.1.2.2.1.
(75) (=20))
\[ a. \quad E \textit{loxāwaxi} \quad xexo \quad na \quad nona \quad yazi \quad ni \quad matailoiolo \quad o \quad Manu. \]
e.loxābəxəni xexo na nona yədi ni matailoiolo o manu
talk.about.3Sg 2Sg −prpr his carrying of glass +prpr M.
V Det N N P N Det N
‘Manu told you that he carries glasses (at his work).
(Lit. Manu told you about his carrying-glasses.)’
\[ b. \quad Rigariqə \quad na \quad nomu \quad xilə \quad na \quad loxə \quad vəxəNdrəu. \]
riŋariŋa na nomu xilə na loxə βaxanərau
fast −prpr your.thing learning −prpr language Nadrauan
V Det N N Det N N
‘Your learning (how to speak) the Nadrau language is fast.’

2. Transitivity and Verb Forms in NDR

In this section, an outline of sentence structures is described focusing on their transitivity, followed by a discussion about the correlation between verb morphology and transitivity, and other verb derivations.

2.1. Transitivity

In a NDR sentence, some nouns agree with agreement features implied in the verb(s), while some do not. Those that agree with the verb are referred to here as “core nouns”. A core noun occurs without being preceded by any casemarking preposition. As has been described in 1.2.1.1, the clause initial verb always carries agreement features implying the person and number of the actor (or, the so-called “subject”) of the sentence, that is, any verbal sentence may have one core noun agreeing with those features. It has also been shown that a transitive verb carries agreement features implying the person and number of the Patient (or, the so-called “object”). That means, in a transitive sentence, a core noun that agrees with the Patient agreement features may occur, in addition to the one that agrees with the clause initial verb.

Examples (76) through (78) are given to illustrate this, where the optional core noun phrases are shown in parentheses. Agreement features are indicated under the verb in brackets, for example, [actr, 1Sg] in (76) indicates that the verb implies an actor which is first person singular. Examples (76) and (77) are transitive sentences. In (76), a core noun oiau ‘I’ may occur agreeing with the actor features (first person singular) implied in the verb, and another core noun phrase na moli ‘orange’ may occur agreeing the Patient features (third person General). The occurrence or non-occurrence of each core noun is independent from that of the other, in other words, it is not conditioned by whether the other core noun occurs in the sentence or not. Sentence (78) is an example of an intransitive sentence. Note that in (78), it cannot have another core noun phrase as shown in (b).
(76)  *Au some (na moli) (oiau).
    auxome na moli oiau
    drink (Det orange) (1Sg)
    [actr]  
    [1Sg]
    [PAT]
    [3Gn]
    +trns
    ‘I ate an orange (myself).’

(77)  *Ratou some (na moli) (na gone).
    ratousome na moli na ηone
    drink (Det orange) (Det child)
    [actr]  
    [3Pc]
    [PAT]
    [3Sg]
    +trns
    ‘The children ate the oranges.’

(78)
    a.  *Au somu (oiau).
        ausomu oiau
        drink (I)
        [actr]
        [1Sg]
        +trns
        ‘I drink (myself).’
    b.  *Au somu na moli (oiau).
        1Sg.drink Det orange (I)

Another morphosyntactic characteristic of core nouns that is different from that of other (non-core) arguments is that they are topicalized without requiring additional Adverb *xine*. See 1.2.3 and 1.3 for details.

Some transitive verbs may take a (non-Dative) noun phrase without being preceded by a preposition in addition to the two core noun phrases. These are referred to here as ditransitive verbs and the third noun phrase is referred to as the Referent of a ditransitive verb. Examples of sentences with ditransitive verbs are given in (79) and (80). The Referents of the ditransitive verbs are underlined.
In example (79), the verb *e.loxāvaxi.xexo* carries actor agreement feautres, namely, third person General, and Patient agreement features, namely, second person singular, meaning ‘(it) told (you) about...’. The noun phrase *na nona yazi ni matailoilo* ‘his carrying-glasses’ agrees with neither of these features, but still occurs in the sentence without being preceded by a preposition, which is one of the characteristics of core noun phrases that are different from those of non-core nouns. Similary, in example (80), it is the topicalized noun phrase *na luvena ni gāneiqu* ‘the child of my gānei’ that agrees with the actor agreement features (third person singular), and there is no noun phrase in the sentence that agrees with the Patient agreement features (first person singular). However, again, another noun phrase *o tuxai* occurs in the sentence without being preceded by a preposition.

Other phrases, namely, Referents that are expressed by Dative pronouns, and Locus’s, which are expressed by Locative prepositional phrases, may occur in a sentence regardless of the transitivity. Transitive and intransitive sentences with Dative pronouns are shown in (81), and those with Locative prepositional phrases are shown in (82).
(81)

a. *Au talaxi xexo* rā *yaguna* o *Naitalatala.*
   au.talaxi.xexo  rā  yəguna  o  naitalatala
   1Sg.send.for.errand.2Sg polite  Dtv.3Sg  +prpr  priest
   V  Adv  N  Det  N
   +trns  REF  COR
   ‘I will send you to the priest. (Lit. I will send you to his place of the priest.)’

b. *Sā lauxani yagumu mo lai tasi tavioxo.*
   sā  lauxani  yəgumu  mo  lai  tasi tavioxo
   3Sg.already  be.told  Dtv.2Sg  2Sg.should  go.to  skin.cassava
   V  V  N  V  V  V
   Aux  −trns  REF  Aux  Aux  −trns
   ‘You have been told to go to skin cassava.
   (Lit. It has been said to you that you should go to do cassava-skinning.)’

(82)

a. *Xua ni vā i na were.*
   xua  ni  βā  i  na  were
   don’t  2Sg.that  go  Lcv  −prpr  field
   V  V  V  P  Det  N
   Aux  Aux  −trns  LOC
   ‘Don’t go to the field.’

b. *Xaitou dau vaxatatama raijō i na veimataxwa.*
   xaitou'dau  βaxatatama.raijō  i  na  βeimataxaxa
   1exPc.habit  listen.to.radio  Lcv  −prpr  every.morning
   V  V  P  Det  N
   Aux  −trns  LOC
   ‘We listen to the radio every morning.’

c. *Au donumaxi xirau i na māxete.*
   au'donumaxixirau  i  na  māxete
   1Sg.run.into.3Di  Lcv  −prpr  market
   V  P  Det  N
   +trns  LOC
   ‘I ran into them at the market.’

2.2. Syntactic Derivation

2.2.1. Transitive Endings and Forms Commonly Found on Intransitive Verbs

The transitivity of a verb is often reflected in the verb morphology. In this section, commonly found derivational forms of verbs that correlate with their transitivity are described.

As has been described earlier (1.2.1.2), transitive verbs carry Patient-agreement
features. These are indicated by endings that alternate depending on the person and number of the Patient. In other words, the transitive feature \([+\text{trns}]\) is indicated either by the existence of a Patient agreement-ending form, which follows the segment .i. in a verb, or by the e] or a] ending of the verb. The forms of the endings are repeated in Table 13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1in</th>
<th>1ex</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>.iau</td>
<td>.ixexo</td>
<td>.ix(ua)aya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di</td>
<td>.ixitarusa</td>
<td>.ixaira</td>
<td>.ixodrau</td>
<td>.ixirau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pc</td>
<td>.ixiatou</td>
<td>.ixaitou</td>
<td>.ixodou</td>
<td>.ixiratou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>.ixi</td>
<td>.ixaimamu</td>
<td>.ixoni</td>
<td>.ixirá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Sentence (83), a transitive verb yazixexo ‘see’ has a Patient agreement-ending ixexo. The content of the [PAT] may be overtly expressed by a noun phrase. In example (84), the same verb appears with the ending ixiratou that implies a third person paucal [PAT]. Its content may be overtly expressed by the following noun phrase, as by na gone in (84).

(83)  

`Au.zivi.xexo. (=41)`

1Sg.see.2Sg
+ trns
‘I look at you.’

(84)  

`Au.zivi.xiratou na gone. (=42)`

1Sg.see.3Pc Det child
+ trns PAT
‘I looked at the children.’

The endings e]~a] imply a third person general Patient, that is, a third person Patient with no-specified number. In sentence (85), the form zive, which ends with e], is transitive and implies a Patient that is not specified in the sentence. In sentences (86) through (88), the verbs also imply third person General Patients, but the Patients are expressed by noun phrases na qau ‘taro’ and o Vaolo ‘Vaolo (personal name)’. Example (89) shows that, when the number of the Patient needs to be specified, a third person plural form may occur, followed by a noun phrase specifying the Patient, in this case, na moli ‘orange’.

---

30) Historically, this form is considered to have developed from the sequence i followed by a third person general ending a]. See Geraghty 1983 for a discussion.
(85) *Xo. sá* zive?
2sg.already see.3gn
V V
Aux +trns
‘Have you seen it?’

(86) ...au na zive sara o Vaulo.
1sg.future see.3gn immediately +prpr V.
V V Adv
Aux +trns
‘(When I go back after this,) I’ll see Vaulo immediately.’

(87) Au lai yade mai na suxa.
1sg.go.to bring hither −prpr sugar
V V Adv Det N
Aux +trns
‘I’ll fetch the sugar.
(Lit. I’ll go to bring sugar here.)’

(88) Au na vaxadea na qa.u.
1sg.future cook.in.fijian.pot.3gn −prpr taro
V V Det N
Aux +trns
‘I’ll cook taro in a fijian pot.’

(89) Au sá somi.xirā na moli.
1sg.already drink.3pl −prpr orange
V V Det N
Aux +trns PAT
‘I have already eaten those oranges.’

A transitive verb usually has a corresponding passive-meaning intransitive verb. Some of these forms are shown in Table 14. As can be seen in the table, the form [lau in the initial and the ending i] are often (but not always) observed on intransisitive verbs. Sentence examples with passive-meaning intransitive verbs follow in (90) through (92). Compare (90) with (85) and (86), (91) with (87), and (92) with (89). Note that with these verbs the “agent”, or the “doer” of the event cannot be expressed.
### Table 14: Some Transitive and Corresponding Passive-meaning Intransitive Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive (3Gn Patient) form</th>
<th>Corresponding intransitive form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namelevate 'forget (it)'</td>
<td>launameleva 'be forgotten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sogote 'close (it)'</td>
<td>sogo 'be close/d'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some 'drink (it)'</td>
<td>lausomu 'be drunk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamane 'hear (it), listen to (it)'</td>
<td>lautama 'be heard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetea 'ask (it), question (it)'</td>
<td>tetei 'be asked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaxayade 'send (it)'</td>
<td>vaxayazi 'be sent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaxayagataxe 'use (it)'</td>
<td>vaxayagataxi 'be used'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vola 'write (it)'</td>
<td>volai 'be written'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vua 'wash (for hands only) (it)'</td>
<td>vui 'hands be washed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xadataxe 'run with (it)'</td>
<td>xadataxi 'be run with, be carried'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xana 'eat (it)'</td>
<td>lauxana 'be eaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaya 'say (it)'</td>
<td>lauxani 'be said'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yade 'bring (it)'</td>
<td>lauyazi, yazi 'be brought'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zive 'see (it), look at (it)'</td>
<td>lauxi 'be seen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zigitaxe 'select (it)'</td>
<td>zigitaxi 'be selected'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(90)  
I dua na delana sā lauzi.
one its.top 3Sg.already be.seen
Det N V V
PAT/topic Aux -trns

‘Now we can see the top of a mountain.
(Lit. The top of a mountain, it is now seen.)’

cf. zive ‘transitive, look at, see’

(91)  
I dua na gone sā lauyazi.
one child 3Sg.already be.brought
Det N V V
PAT/topic Aux -trns

‘There is a child who has already been brought (somewhere).’

cf. yade ‘transitive, bring something’

(92)  
E dau lausomu na moli.
3Sg.habit be.drunk -prp orange
V V Det N
-trns

‘The orange is something for drinking.’

Some transitive verbs with corresponding active-meaning intransitive verbs are shown in Table 15. The active meaning verbs sometimes have a reduplicated form.
Table 15: Some Transitive and Corresponding Active Meaning Intransitive Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive (3Gn Patient) form</th>
<th>Corresponding intransitive form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>some</em></td>
<td><em>somu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>xana~xane</em></td>
<td><em>xana~xane</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>‘drink (it)’</em></td>
<td><em>‘have a drink’</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>‘eat (it)’</em></td>
<td><em>‘have a meal’</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A summary of the syntactic derivations of verbs is given in Table 16 with some specific examples.

Table 16: Examples of Syntactic Derivation of the Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb form and its transitivity</th>
<th>bring ([+drcnl])</th>
<th>see ([+drcnl])</th>
<th>run with ([+inst])</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...[i] and/or [laus., or neither]</td>
<td><em>layazi, yazi</em></td>
<td><em>laus</em></td>
<td><em>xolaxaxi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...i.PAT]</td>
<td>[+trans], 2Sg</td>
<td><em>yazi.xexo</em></td>
<td><em>ziio.xexo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+trans], 3Gn</td>
<td><em>yade</em></td>
<td><em>ziio</em></td>
<td><em>xolaxaxi</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb form</th>
<th>bring ([+drcnl])</th>
<th>see ([+drcnl])</th>
<th>run with ([+inst])</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>vaxadei</em></td>
<td><em>lausomu</em></td>
<td><em>lauxana</em></td>
<td><em>lausnumelevaji</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“be cooked in a Fijian pot”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vaxadei.xir</em></td>
<td><em>somi.xir</em></td>
<td><em>xani.xir</em></td>
<td><em>numelevaji.xexo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“cook them in a Fijian pot”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vaxadea</em></td>
<td><em>some</em></td>
<td><em>xana~xane</em></td>
<td><em>numelevate</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2. “Noun Incorporation”

An intransitive verb may derive from a sequence of a verb and a noun (so-called “incorporation”). Some examples are shown in (93), and a sentence example follows in (94). The boundary between the original verb and the incorporated noun is indicated by the symbol “＝”.

(93)

a. *vaxadei＝gau* ‘do taro-cooking (in a Fijian pot)’  cf. *vaxadea na gau* ‘cook taro’
b. *somu＝ji* ‘do tea-drinking, have tea’  cf. *some na ji* ‘drink tea’
c. *xana＝madrai* ‘do bread-eating, have bread’  cf. *xana na madrai* ‘eat bread’

---

31) As for explanations for [+drcnl], [+inst], [+caus], see 2.3.
(94)  
\[ Au \ sā \ lai \ yazi=magi \ mai \ na \ were. \]
1Sg.already go.to bring=food hither (from)\(^{32}\) -prpr farm

V V V Adv (P) Det N

Aux Aux -trns LOC

'I'm going to fetch some food from the farm.'

(Lit. I'm going to do food-fetching from the farm.)'

2.3. Semantic Derivations

Verbs undergo various semantic derivations as well as the syntactic derivations described above. In this section, major semantic verb derivation and relevant forms are described.

2.3.1. Verb Forms Implying "Direct" Patient ([−trns] or [+trns])

A verb with the direct ([+drct]) feature typically implies an undergoer of an event and a goal of perceptual activity semantically. This feature of the verb is usually shown by the existence of a lexically determined consonant, which has been traditionally described as "a close transitive suffix" or "a short transitive suffix", although not always. Syntactically, a verb with [+drct] feature undergoes the syntactic derivation described in 2.1.1, and may be either [−trns] or [+trns]. For example, in (95a), the form \( xada \) 'run' has corresponding forms \( xada\) ve 'run for [goal]' ([+trns]) and \( xadavi \) ([−trns]). The consonant \( v \) indicates that the activity expressed by the forms semantically implies a goal, and the goal is syntactically realized as the Patient (that is, the "object" when transitive, and the actor/"subject", when intransitive). Note that the forms \( xada\) ve and \( xadavi \) have the syntactic derivational relation described in 2.2.1.

(95)  
\( xada \) [-trns] 'run'  :  \( laxada\) vi [-trns] '[goal] be run for'  
\( xada\) ve [+trns] 'run for [goal], run to fetch [goal]'  
\( xada\) ve

\( sabe \) [-trns] 'be cleaned'  :  \( sabej\) i [-trns] '[goal] be cleaned'  
\( sabete \) [+trns] 'clean [goal]'  
\( sabete \)

\( sau \) [-trns] 'be charged, cost'  :  \( saumi \) [-trns] '[goal] be charged for'  
\( saume \) [+trns] 'pay for [goal]'  
\( saume \)

2.3.2. Verb Forms Implying "Instrumental" Patient ([−trns] or [+trns])

A verb with the instrumental ([+inst]) feature typically implies an instrument used in the activity, or the cause of the activity semantically. Morphologically, this feature is shown by the form -\( Cax \) (\( C \) stands for a lexically determined consonant) which has been traditionally described as "a remote transitive suffix" or "a long transitive suffix". Syntactically, a verb with [+inst] feature may be either [−trns] or [+trns].

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\(^{32}\) When the preposition \( mai \) follows the adverb \( mai \), it does not formally appear. See footnote 28.
example, in (96a), the form xada ‘run’ and xadataxe ‘run with [inst]’ have a semantic derivational relation. The form tax indicates that the second form implies that the activity is accompanied with some entity, which occurs as the Patient both in the transitive (xadataxe) or intransitive (xadatax) constructions.

(96) Form with the [−inst] feature       Corresponding forms with the [+inst] feature
a. xada [−trns] ‘run’ : xadataxi [−trns] ‘[inst] be run with’
    : xadataxe [+trns] ‘run with [inst]’
b. xada [−trns] ‘run’ : xadaquaji [−trns] ‘[inst] be chased’
    : xadaquate [+trns] ‘chase [inst]’
d. daxe [+trns] ‘throw at [goal]’ : daxetaxi [−trns] ‘[inst] be thrown’
    : daxetaxe [+trns] ‘throw [inst]’
c. loxā [−trns] ‘speak’ : loxāvaxe [+trns] ‘talk (about something) with [inst]’

2.3.3. Verb Forms with “Causative” Meaning ([−trns] or [+trns])

A verb with the causative ([+caus]) feature typically implies ‘something/someone is caused to be/do something’ semantically. It may also mean intensive, or repetitive activation. Morphologically, this feature is shown by the form [vaxa (vā when the following form starts with a velar consonant) in the initial position and/or by either C] or Cax] ending (C stands for a lexically determined consonant). Syntactically, [V, +caus] may be either [−trns] or [+trns]. Examples are given in (97), followed by sentence examples (98) and (99).

(97) Form with the [−caus] feature       Corresponding forms with the [+caus] feature
a. dei [−trns] ‘be cooked in a Fijian pot’ : vaxadea [+trns] ‘cook [goal] in a Fijian pot’
    yaga [−trns] ‘be useful’ : lavoaxayagataxi [−trns] ‘[inst] be used’
    : vaxayagataxe [+trns] ‘make a use of [inst], use [inst]’

33) The corresponding intransitive form is missing in my data. The form for the corresponding intransitive which means “[inst] be spoken to” should be either lavoaxayagataxi or loxāvaxi, or could be the both. Note that this is also a ditransitive verb (see example (79)).
(98) *Au vaxasomi xira i na moli.*
    1Sg.make.drink.3Pl with −prpr orange
V P Det N
+trns
‘I will make them have some oranges.’

cf. *Era some na moli.*
3Pl.drink −prpr orange
V Det N
+trns
‘They have some oranges.’

(99) *Sā vāxataxataxata na raisi bulagi.*
    3Sg.already be.made.warm −prpr rice left.over
V V Det N Adj
Aux −trns
‘The left-over rice has been heated.’

cf. *Sā xataxata na raisi bulagi.*
3Sg.already warm/hot Det rice left.over
V V Det N Adj
Aux −trns
‘The left-over rice is warm.’

The forms [vaxa... and ...Cax...] also derive verbs meaning ‘put something on, equip with something’ from nouns. Examples are shown in (100) followed by an example sentence in (101).

(100)
a. *malo* N ‘underwear, something to put underneath, pith of orange’
   *vaxamalo* V [−trns] ‘be put underwear, wear underwear, have pith (orange)’
   *vaxamalotaxi* V [−trns] ‘to be made to put on underwear’
   *vaxamalotaxe* V [+trns] ‘to make someone to put on underwear’
b. *loxa* N ‘lock (<Eng. lock)’
   *vaxaloxa* V [−trns] ‘be equipped with a lock’
   *vaxaloxatax* V [+trns] ‘equip (something) with a lock’
   *lox* V [−trns] ‘be locked’
   *loxatax* V [+trns] ‘lock (something)’
(101)  *Xo sā loxataxe mai na matanadarava? Me loxa.*
   2Sg.already lock hither −prpr door 3Sg.should be.locked V V Adv Det N V V
   Aux +trns −trns
   ‘Did you lock the door (and came)? It should be locked.’

2.3.4. *vei...i: Reciprocal, or Human-goal Action ([−trns])*

The form *vei* in the initial position with *i* ending on a verb indicates i) a reciprocal activity, or ii) an activity which takes place toward/on people. Verbs with these forms are always intransitive. Examples are shown in (102) and (103). Note that the verb *veixerexerei* in (103) indicates the kind of action that takes place in relation to other people in general. When a specific goal (the person who is asked about, or the things that are asked about) needs to be specified, this form cannot be used.

(102)  *Drau veixadaqwaji na ose.*
   3Dl.chase.each.other −prpr horse V Det N
   −trns PAT
   ‘One horse is chasing another. (Lit. Two horses are chasing each other.)’

(103)  *veixerexerei [−trns] ‘ask people for things’
cf.  *xerea [+trns] ‘ask for [goal]’

2.3.5. *Reduplication: Repeated Activity, Action without Specific Goal ([−trns])*

Reduplication, or partial reduplication indicates repeated activity. Semantically, the only complement noun expresses the person who does the activity. Sentence examples are given in (104) and (105).

(104)  *Xadexade mai!*
   run hither −trns
   ‘Come running!’
cf.  *xade [−trns] ‘run’

(105)  *Au lai savasava rā.*
   1Sg.go.to wash polite V V Adv
   Aux −trns
   ‘I’m going to do laundry.’
cf.  *sava [−trns] ‘be washed’
2.3.6. *vei…axi: Activity of ‘Going Around’ ([−trns])

Verbs with the form [vei…axi] indicates an activity which takes place here and there. Examples are given in (106).

(106) *veivalaxi ‘wonder around, travel around here and there’

cf. *vi [−trns] ‘go’

*veiyaxi ‘bring something here and there, distribute something’

cf. *yazi [−trns] ‘be brought’

2.4. A Summary

Syntactic and semantic derivations discussed above are summarized in Tables 17 and 18 with the verb *xada ‘run’ and its related forms. The meaning of each form is given in (107).

Table 17: A Summary of Verb Derivations Involving both Semantic and Syntactic Derivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>semantic derivation</th>
<th>syntactic derivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[−trns]</td>
<td>[−trns]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[−trns]</td>
<td>[+trns]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+inst]</td>
<td>[+inst]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+inst]</td>
<td>[+inst]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: A Summary of Verb Derivations among Intransitive Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>semantic derivation</th>
<th>semantic derivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*xadaxada</td>
<td>[−trns], repetitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*veixadaxi</td>
<td>[−trns], around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*veixadaqoja</td>
<td>[−trns], reciprocal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(107) *xada [−trns] ‘run’

*xadavi [−trns, +goal] ‘be run for’

*xadave (na ose) [+trns, +goal] ‘run for (a horse), run to fetch (a horse)’

*xadataxi [−trns, +inst] ‘be run with’

*xadataxe (na ivola) [+trns, +inst] ‘run with a book’

*lauvaxadavi [−trns, +caus] ‘be made to run’

*vaxadave (na ose) [+trns, +caus] ‘make (a horse) run’

*xadaxada [−trns] ‘be running’

*veixadaaxi [−trns] ‘run around here and there’
3. Casemarking System

This section provides a brief summary of the casemarking system of Ndř based on the description provided in the previous sections.

3.1. Marking on the Noun Phrases: Patient and Agent

In Ndř, there is no morphological nor word-order casemarking on "core noun phrases"\(^{34}\), namely, the Patient and Agent. Example sentences are given below. Sentences (108) through (110) are transitive, with a pronominal Agent, a non-pronominal non-proper Agent, and a proper Agent respectively. Likewise, examples (111) through (113) show intransitive sentences with different actors.

(108) *Au.some na moli oiau.*

1Sg.drink −prpr orange 1Sg
V Det N N
+trns PAT AGT.actr

'I ate an orange (myself).'

(109) *Ratou.some na moli na gone.*

3Pc.drink.3Gn −prpr orange −prpr child
V Det N Det N
+trns PAT AGT.actor

'The children ate the oranges.'

(110) *E.some na moli o Manu.*

3Sg.drink.3Gn −prpr orange +prpr M.
V Det N Det N
+trns PAT AGT.actor

'Manu ate the oranges.'

(111) *Au.somu oiau.*

1Sg.drink I
V PAT.actr
−trns

'I had a drink (myself).'

\(^{34}\) For the definition of "core nouns" in this study, see 2.1.
(112) *E. somu*  na  *gone.*
   3Sg.drink  −prpr  child
   V  PAT.actr
   −trns
   ‘The child had a drink.’

(113) *E. somu*  o  *Manu.*
   3Sg.drink  −prpr  M.
   V  PAT.actr
   −trns
   ‘Manu had a drink.’

Because there is no marking on the Patient and Agent, when a transitive sentence has two core noun phrases both of which may agree with either of the agreement features, the sentence may be syntactically ambiguous and allow two different readings. This is illustrated in (114) and (115). In (114), the verb implies a third person paucal Agent.actor, and a third person non-specified number Patient. The two noun phrases, *na gone* ‘child’ and *na qasenivuli* ‘teacher’ may agree with either one of these features, and thus could be interpreted as either the Patient or Agent. The two possible readings and their syntactic interpretation are shown in (114a) and (114b). The same is true when a transitive sentence has only one core noun. In (115), the only noun phrase *o Vuniwai* ‘Doctor’ may be interpreted as either the Patient (115a) or the Agent (115b). In actual language use, the linguistic and non-linguistic context usually help to identify who is the Agent and who is the Patient.

(114)
   a. *Ratou zive*  *qaca*  na  *gone*  na  *qasenivuli.*
      3Pc.see.3Gn  finish  −prpr  child  −prpr  teacher
      V  Adv  Det  N  Det  N
      +trns  PAT  AGT.actr
      ‘The (few) teachers have already seen the child.’
   b. *Ratou zive*  *qaca*  na  *gone*  na  *qasenivuli.*
      3Pc.see.3Gn  finish  −prpr  child  −prpr  teacher
      V  Adv  Det  N  Det  N
      +trns  AGT.actr  PAT
      ‘The (few) children have already seen the teacher.’
(115)
a. \textit{E na lai zive qaca o Vuniwai.}
\begin{align*}
3\text{Sg.future} & \text{ go.to see.3Gn finish + prpr} & \text{Doctor} \\
V & V & V & \text{Adv Det} & N \\
\text{Aux} & \text{Aux} & + \text{trns} & & \text{PAT} \\
\end{align*}
'He will have seen the doctor.'
b. \textit{E na lai zive qaca o Vuniwai.}
\begin{align*}
3\text{Sg.future} & \text{ go.to see.3Gn finish + prpr} & \text{Doctor} \\
V & V & V & \text{Adv Det} & N \\
\text{Aux} & \text{Aux} & + \text{trns} & & \text{AGT.actr} \\
\end{align*}
'The doctor will have seen him.'

An independent pronoun may occur in a full noun phrase for emphasis when it is the actor (or "subject"), as \textit{oyau 'I'} in (116). An independent pronoun may not occur as the full Patient noun phrase in a transitive sentence, so [PAT] agreement forms, such as \textit{...xexo} in (116), are the only marking of the "object" of a transitive sentence. Because of the agreement system, when the Patient and Agent (or either one of them) are not third person, there is no ambiguity as to the interpretation of the Patient and Agent.

(116) \textit{Au sā zivi xexo qaca oyau.}
\begin{align*}
1\text{Sg.already} & \text{ see.2Sg finish 1Sg} \\
V & V & \text{Adv} & N \\
\text{Aux} & + \text{trns} & & \text{AGT} \\
\end{align*}
'I, myself, have already seen you.'

3.2. \textbf{No Formal Marking on the Noun Phrase: Referent of Ditransitive Verbs and Correspondent}

A noun phrase that is not morphologically casemarked may also occur to express the Referent of ditransitive verbs. See (79) and (80) for details and examples.

A noun phrase that modifies another noun, which is analyzed as having the Correspondent Semantic Relation, may also occur without any morphological marking. Examples are shown in (117).
(117)

a. na vuto na moli 'the thorn of orange'
   - prpr thorn - prpr orange
   N               N.COR

b. yaguna o Vuniwai 'to the Doctor'
   Dtv.3Sg - prpr Doctor
   N               N.COR

c. nomu telei 'your questions'
   your.thing question
   N               N.COR

3.3. Dative Referents

That Dative pronouns are used to express other Referents has already been described in 1.1.1.2.

3.4. Genitive Preposition ni: Correspondent

The Genitive preposition ni 'of' and the following noun also expresses Correspondent, modifying the preceding noun. Examples are shown in (118).

(118)

a. na loma ni vale 'the inside of the house'
   - prpr inside of house
   COR

b. na quaqwa ni cagi 'the strength of the wind'
   - prpr strength of wind
   COR

c. na isau ni nomu telei 'answers to your questions'
   - prpr answer of your.thing question
   COR

3.5. Locative Preposition i~e and Ablative Preposition mai: Locus and Means

Locative preposition i~e and Ablative preposition mai express Locus, indicating information as to the time or place where an event took place. Examples are given in (119). Proper nouns follow a preposition without a Determiner as in i bajinawai 'on the beach' and mai Deuba 'in Deuba' in (120).
(119)

a. Xua ni vā i na were!
   don't that go Lcv Det farm
   -trns LOC
   'Don’t go to the farm/field!'

b. Au sā lai yazit=magjii mai na were.
   1Sg.already going.to bring=food Abl Det farm
   Agr-Aux Aux -trns LOC
   'I’m going to fetch some food from the farm.
   (Lit. I’m going to do food-fetching from the farm.)'

(120)

Xira sā lai vaxataxāxana i bajinawai mai Deuba. (= (25e))
3Pl.already go.to go.for.picnic Lcv beach Lcv D.
V.Aux V.Aux -trns LOC LOC
'They went for a picnic on the beach in Deuba.'

When a location is expressed by a pronoun, it is the Dative pronoun that occurs after a Locative preposition as in (121).

(121) Drau sā somu yagona jixo mai yaguna o Turaga ni Xoro? (= (5))
3DL.already kava.drinking PROG Lcv Dtv.3Sg - prpr village-chief
V V Adv P N Det N
AUX -trns LOC COR
'Are they two drinking kava at the village-chief’s place?'

The Preposition i∼e also introduces a phrase that indicates the Means, or the instrument or the cause of an activity or event. Examples are given in (122).35)

(122)

a. Sā vari na vu na niu e na qwaqua ni cagi.
   3Sg.already fall -prpr trunk -prpr coconut Lcv - prpr strength of wind
   V.Aux V. -trns LOC
   'The coconut tree fell down because of the strong wind.'

b. Au vaxasomi xira i na moli.
   1Sg.make.drink.3Pl Lcv - prpr orange
   V. + trns LOC
   'I make them have some oranges.'

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35) Note that these elements that are expressed by a prepositional phrase often can also be expressed as the Patient of a transitive verb that carries the feature either [+drtc] or [+inst].
Abbreviations and Symbols

Abl = Ablative (Caseform)  P = Preposition
actr = actor (macrorole)    PAT = Patient (Semantic Relation)
Adj = Adjective           Pca = paucal
Adv = Adverb              Pl = plural
AGT = Agent (Semantic Relation)  prdc = predicative
Aux = auxiliary verb     prnn = pronoun
caus = causative (verbal feature)  proq = progressive
COR = Correspondent    prpr = proper noun
Det = Determiner        pssd = possessed (noun feature)
DI = dual              REF = Referent (Semantic Relation)
drect = direct (verbal feature)  SF = Standard Fijian
Dtv = Dative (Caseform) Sg = singular
ex = exclusive         + trns = transitive
Gn = General (unspecified) number        − trns = intransitive
I.M. = intended meaning (attached to sentences which are grammatically not acceptable)
Iml = imperative      V = Verb
in = inclusive        1ln = first person inclusive
inst = instrumental    1ex = first person exclusive
Lcv = Locative (Caseform)  2 = second person
Lit., lit. = literally  3 = third person
[ indicates word initial
LOC = Locus (Semantic Relation) ] indicates word final
MNS = Means (Semantic Relation) = indicates a boundary between a verb and a cliticized noun.
N = Noun

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