The Fijian Transitive Ending -(C)aki/a in Loan Words

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This paper focuses on verbs that were borrowed from English to Standard Fijian (SF), and examines how they are adapted to the verb system of SF. Applying Lexicase dependency grammar, it shows that these loan verbs show derivational relationships between unergative and unaccusative intransitive verbs and their corresponding transitive verbs, as the SF verbs do. Unlike the SF verbs, however, a loan verb may carry only one ending, namely, -(C)aki/a, while a SF verb may occur, as well, with the so-called "short transitive ending".

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1.0 Introduction

Loanwords in the Fijian languages are not uncommon. There are loanwords from English and some are from Hindi. The contributing factor to English as a source for loan words is the British rule for about 100 years when Fiji was a colony of Britain. From that time until today, English has been the official medium of instruction in schools and has also been the official language of government. Apart from native Fijians, there are also Indians, Chinese and part Europeans living in Fiji and English emerged to be a convenient lingua franca. As a result, English became a widely used language in Fiji's communities thus penetrating into the language system with the result that there are numerous borrowings from the English language in Fijian. The other contributing factor of course is that with western education, ideas and technology comes borrowed terminology.

This paper is an attempt to study loanwords that are classed as verbs in Fijian. First of all, it will be shown that loan verbs function in four principle ways based on the relationship between intransitive and transitive verb in Fijian. Secondly, it will be

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shown that, of the several transitive endings, only one transitive ending is used or is productive in transitive loan verbs. Other types of verbal affixation in loan verbs, for example causative affixation, will not be part of the present study.

The dialect examined in this study is Standard Fijian (SF). Data for this study are mostly from *Na iVolavosa Vakaviti*, (1998) but examples are mine. The grammatical analysis applied in this study follows closely the Lexicase dependency framework used in Kikusawa, (1998). Lexicase dependency grammar is a theory in which syntactic notions are strictly defined according to morpho-syntactic criteria which are believed to be universal (ibid.).

2.0 Verb Classes in Fijian

There are several types of verbs in Fijian. Na iVolavosa Vakaviti, (2003) has seven distinctions. This paper will focus on the derivational relationships between intransitive and transitive verbs and will describe the patterns of loan verbs in the Fijian verb system. Fijian intransitive verbs are considered to be of two types. The first type is that which is described as 'active' in Schütz (1985), and as 'agent oriented' in Arms (1990, p.130). In lexicase, active transitive verbs are considered to have a derivational relationship to intransitive verbs, such that the Agent (actor) of the transitive verb corresponds to the Patient (actor) of an intransitive verb. These verbs are here labelled 'unergative'.

The second type of verb in Fijian is described as 'stative' in Schütz (*ibid.*), and as 'patient oriented' in Arms (*ibid.*). In Lexicase, stative transitive verbs are considered to have a derivational relationship to intransitive verbs, such that the Patient (undergoer) of the transitive verb corresponds to the Patient (undergoer) of an intransitive verb. These verbs are here labelled 'unaccusative'. Transitivity in Fijian is marked by the ending –(C)i or –(C)aki when the PAT is a proper noun or pronoun, for example:

- E tala-i rau
 AGR send-TR 3d
 AGT +trns PAT
 actr
 "S/He sends them (on an errand)."
- 2. E drō-taki Lusi
 AGR flee-TR Lusi
 AGT +trns PAT
 actr
 "S/He ran away from Lusi."/"S/He ran away with Lusi."

or is marked by the ending -(C)a or -(C)aka when the PAT is a common noun preceded

by a Determiner.

3. Au dola-va na kātuba AGR open-TR DET door AGT +trns PAT actr "I opened the door."

4. Era butu-laka voivoi na na gone AGR step-TR DET pandanus leaves DET children PAT **AGT** +trns actr

"The children trampled on the pandanus leaves."

This paper treats a verb as intransitive when it takes only one complement noun phrase (Kikusawa, 1998, p.116), the PAT, which can be either an undergoer (ex. 5), or an actor (ex. 6a), and transitive when it takes two complement noun phrases, the AGT and the PAT, as seen in examples 1–4 above.

5. E moce na gone
AGR sleep DET child
-trns PAT
ndgr

"The child is asleep."

2.1 Unergative verbs

Verbs in the examples below illustrate the usage of unergative intransitive verbs and their corresponding transitive derivations following the definition of unergative verbs described in 2.0, i.e., the PAT of an intransitive verb corresponds with the AGT of a transitive verb:

6a. E kaba o Jo
AGR climb PRP Jo
-trns PAT
actr
"Jo climbed."

6b. E kaba-ta vunimaqo Jo na AGR climb-TR DET PRP Jo mangoe tree +trns PAT AGT ndgr actr

"Jo climbed the mango tree."

"Jo has climbed taking the knife."

7a. Rau sa vodo
AGR AUX board
PAT —trns
actr
"They have boarded (e.g., the bus)."

7b. Rau vodo-ka na. basi ni ciwa **AGR** boarded-TR DET bus of nine **AGT PAT** ndgr actr "They boarded the nine o'clock bus."

The PAT in unergative intransitive sentences is the AGT in the corresponding transitive verb derivation as we see in the above examples and which is summarized below:

8. Unergative verb derivation=intransitive PAT: transitive AGT

2.2 Unaccusative verb

In contrast to the derivational relationship which results in an unergative verb, illustrated in 6–7, when the PAT (undergoer) in an intransitive sentence corresponds with the PAT (undergoer) in a derived transitive sentence, an unaccusative verb results, as the following examples illustrate:

"The 'lovo' is buried."

"Jo buried the 'lovo'."

"The plates have already been washed."

"Lusi washed the plates."

Unaccusativity can thus be summarized as follows:

11. Unaccusative verb derivation=intransitive PAT: transitive PAT

The summaries in 8. and 11. illustrate the main difference between two types of intransitive verbs in Fijian in terms of the derivational relationships that hold between the structures in which they participate. This difference is also implied in the English glosses where examples for the intransitive sentences as in 6a. and 7a. represent English active sentences while examples 9a. and 10a. typify English passive structures.

2.3 Transitive verbs having both unergative and unaccusative derived intransitive forms

There are some transitive verbs that have both unergative and unaccusative derivationally related intransitive verbs. This implies that while in some sentences, the AGT of a given transitive verb corresponds with the PAT of its intransitive derivation, in other sentences, it is the PAT of the same transitive verb that corresponds with the PAT of its intransitive derivation. Below are a few examples:

[&]quot;Seru is water-fetching."

"Water is fetched from the river."

"Seru fetched the water."

Note here that the PAT (actor) in 12a corresponds with the AGT (actor) in 12c, as the result of an unergative verb derivation. In another usage of *taki*, the PAT (undergoer) in 12b corresponds with the PAT (undergoer) in 12c — the result of an unaccusative verb derivation. The following examples illustrate the same derivations:

"The fish is fried then cooked in coconut milk."

13c. Au tavuteke-taka e tolu ika na AGR three DET AGR fry-TR fish **AGT** +trns PAT ndgr actr "I fried three fishes."

"Seru mixed (the kava)."

"Her medicine is already prepared."

14c. E lose-a vakasosoko Ana na wai AGR DET mix-TR strong medicine PRP Ana +trns PAT **AGT** ndgr actr

"Ana made a strong mixture (of herbal medicine)."

15a. Wāwā me-u vakasuka
wait CNJ-1s with sugar
-PAT -trns
actr

"Wait so that I add sugar."

15b. E sa vakasuka na me-na ti
AGR AUX with sugar DET POS-3s tea
-trns PAT
ndgr

"His tea has been sugared."

15c. vakalailai Au vakasuka-taka na ti **AGR** with sugar-TR little DET tea AGT PAT +trns actr ndgr

"I added a little sugar to the tea."

2.4 Transitive verbs having no derived intransitive forms

Another type of transitive verb in SF is the type without a corresponding derivationally related intransitive form. Such verbs require a transitive ending. The verb root cannot be used as an intransitive verb. For example:

16. E lai-vi ratou liu ratou me AGR let-TR lead 3р to 3p AGT +trns **PAT** actr "S/He allowed them to go first."

17. *E lai

18. mata-na Dua na ka mana-ta e na. DET thing AGR inflict-TR DET eye-POS.3s one **AGT PAT** +trns actr

"Something happened to his eye."

- 19. *E mana
- 20. Keimami taba-laka na kana
 AGR proceed-TR DET eating
 AGT +trns PAT
 actr
 "We were earnest in eating."

3.0 Loan Verb Classes

This section will show that loan verbs in SF also occur in the same verb classes as other verbs in SF described in Section 2. They participate in unergative and unaccusative verb derivations. Some verbs participate in both unergative and unaccusative verb derivations, and some occur as transitive verbs without any derivationally related intransitive form.

3.1 Unergative loan verbs

Examples 21 – 25 represent loan verbs which participate in unergative verb derivations, i.e., the PAT (actor) of an intransitive verb corresponds with the AGT (actor) of the verb in its corresponding transitive form:

- 21a. Au a aplae.

 AGR PAST apply
 PAT -trns
 actr
 "I applied."
- 21b. Au aplae-taka na itutu ni vunivola **AGR** apply-TR DET secretary post of AGT +trns **PAT** actr "I applied for the post of secretary."

22a. E jao vakalailai ga o Ana
AGR eat little only PRP Ana
-trns PAT
actr

"Ana ate a little only."

22b. Sa jao-taka ika Ana na AUX eat-TR DET fish PRP Ana +trns **PAT** AGT actr

"Ana has eaten the fish."

- 23a. E qes ia cala **AGR** guess CNJ **AGR** wrong **PAT** -trns **PAT** -trns actr actr "S/He guessed but s/he was wrong."
- 23b. E qes-taka na naba ni motoka
 AGR guess-TR DET number of motor-car
 AGT +trns PAT
 actr
 "S/he guessed the number of the car."
- 24a. Era pati tiko na gonevuli AGR party CNT DET students –trns PAT actr

"The students are 'partying'."

24b. Era pati-taki Lusi na gonevuli AGR part-TR Lusi DET students +trns PAT AGT actr

"The students are having a party for Lusi."

25a. E tos o Seru AGR toss PRP Seru -trns PAT actr

"Seru tossed (a coin)."

"Seru tossed the coin."

3.2 Unaccusative loan verbs

As we have seen earlier in the Fijian examples, when the PAT (undergoer) in an intransitive sentence corresponds with the PAT (undergoer) in a derived transitive sentence, an unaccusative verb results. The following examples show loan verbs that are used unaccusatively:

"Jo is expelled."

"Ana is interviewed."

"The light is switched off."

"Ana switched the light off."

"The chicken will be barbecued."

"Jo then barbecued the chicken."

"S/He has a black eye."

"Jo gave him a black-eye."

3.3 Transitive loan verbs with both unergative and unaccusative forms

There are also some loan verbs that have both unergative as well as unaccusative verb forms. This means that the PAT (actor) of the intransitive verb corresponds with the transitive AGT (actor) in one type of sentence with certain arguments, while in another type of sentence with another set of arguments, the intransitive PAT (undergoer) corresponds with the transitive PAT (undergoer). For example:

"Ana scrubs."

"The wall is scrubbed."

"Ana scrubbed the wall."

"Jo mixes."

"The kava is already mixed."

"Jo mixed the kava."

Other loan verbs that can be used both as unergative and unaccusative are listed below. A common semantic feature with this type of verb is that the action involved is repetitive and therefore takes some time to complete the act. Secondly, the action involves the use of the hand and an instrument.

Intransitive form	Meaning of the unergative verb	Meaning of the unaccusative verb	Transitive form	Meaning of transitive form
barasi	to be brushed	to brush	barasi-taka	to brush s.t.
drili	to be drilled	to drill	drili-taka	to drill a hole
dili	to be dealt	to deal	dili-a, dil-taka	to deal a pack of cards
flash	to be flushed	to flush	flash-taka	to flush the toilet
krousa	to be made by crotchet	to crochet	krousa-taka	to crochet s.t.
mop	to be mopped	to mop	mop-taka	to mop the floor
polisi	to be polished	to polish	polisi-taka	to polish s.t.
rives	to be reversed	to reverse	rives-taka	to reverse s.t.
slek	(kite) to be slack	to slacken	slek-taka	to slacken a kite
spoil	to be spoiled	to spoil	spoil-taka	to disrupt s.t.
sprey	to be sprayed	to spray	sprey-taka	to spray s.t.
vurumu	to be swept with a broom	to sweep using a broom	vurumu-taka	to sweep s.t.
vurusi	to be brushed	to brush	vurusi-taka	to brush s.t.

3.4 Transitive loan verbs without intransitive forms

Some loan verbs take transitive endings but the corresponding bare forms do not occur as intransitive verbs. For example:

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33a. Au bit-taki Lusi e na veitaucici
AGR beat-TR Lusi PRP DET race
AGT +trns PAT
actr ndgr
"I beat Lusi in the race."
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33b. *E bit o Lusi / *Au sa bit

34b. *E fiks na cakacaka / *E fiks o Seru

The intransitive form *fiks* can be used as an active unergative verb but its meaning differs from the meaning used in 34a & b.

35a. Au min-taka nimataka, sega ni nikua **AGR** mean-TR CNI today tomorrow not **AGT PAT** +trns actr ndgr "I meant tomorrow, not today."

35b. *Au min / *E min nimataka

36a. E mis-taki luve-na
AGR miss-TR child-POS.3s
AGT +trns PAT
actr ndgr
"S/He misses her/his child."

36b. *E mis o Ana / *E mis o luvena

37a. Ε ivola sa pous-taka na **AGR** AUX letter post-TR DET AGT **PAT** +trns actr ndgr "S/He has posted the letter."

37b. *E pous na ivola / *E pous o koya

However, verbs such as those in in 33-37 above can also be used as intransitive verbs when joined with the -taki ending in sentences with only one complement noun phrase. In these sentences, the verbs function as unaccusatives, where the Patient (undergoer) of the intransitive verb corresponds with the Patient (undergoer) of the transitive form in the corresponding examples above:

"Lusi is finally beaten."

(corresponds with 33a.)

"The letter was posted today."

(corresponds with 37a.)

This section shows that loan verbs in SF do not all operate in the same way but that they are used in different ways. Some occur as unergative and others as unaccusative. Some loan verbs have both unergative and unaccusative verb forms. Some loan verbs occur as transitive verbs without a corresponding intransitive form.

4.0 The Transitive Ending

As stated earlier, when a verb is transitive in Fijian, its ending is either a short -(C)i/a or a long -(C)aki/a, where C stands for a consonant and where the verb has two complement noun phrases. In Arms (1973), meaning correlations with particular consonants are claimed for the short and long endings. Arms also states that verbs with -(C)i/a ending take "affective objects" while verbs with -(C)aki/a ending take "confective objects" (ibid.: 512). The object in the former is "external" to the action while the object in the latter type is part of or "internal" to the action.

4.1 The -(C)i/a ending

The meanings associated with the consonants of the short endings identified by Arms (1990: 133) are as follows (examples are mine):

- -ci 'pliancy, gentle contact, bodily experience', e.g., boi-ca 'to smell s.t.'
- -gi same as -ni, e.g., taro-gi koya 'to ask s.o.'
- -ki 'hardness, force, opening out', e.g., basu-ka 'to break s.t. open'
- -mi 'insertion, going inside', e.g., curu-ma 'to enter s.t.'
- -ni '-ify, en-, be-, form, support', e.g., kumu-na 'to gather s.t.'; toma-ni koya 'to accompany s.o.'
- -ri 'location, posture, change of state', e.g., cuva-ra 'to be bent over s.t.'
- -ti 'use of limb or instrument, moderate force, performative', e.g., caqe-ta 'to kick s.t.'
- -vi 'motion to, motion for, motion over', e.g., cudru-va 'to be angry at s.o.'
- -øi 'mild force, miscellaneous', e.g., kari-øa 'to grate or scrape s.t.'

4.2 The -(C)aki/a ending

Like the -(C)i/a ending, meaning correlations with the consonant of the long ending have also been proposed by Arms. There are about nine long endings for transitive verbs, each showing a different consonant. The following endings are not as

common and occur with only a few verbs: -caki/a, as in example 40., -naki/a, as in example 41., -maki/a, as in example 42., and -kaki/a, as in example 43.:

- 40. E $m\bar{\imath}$ -caka na drā AGR urine-TR DET blood AGT +trns PAT actr "S/He passed blood in her/his urine."
- 41. E tere-naka nona hō o Jo qai tagi. AGR PRP SEQ. graze-TR his boil Io cry **PAT** AGT +trns actr "Jo had his boil grazed against and he cried."
- 42. E taqo-maki Lusi o Jo
 AGR protect-TR Lusi PRP Jo
 +trns PAT AGT
 actr

"Jo protects Lusi."

43. Rau rū-kaki Ana
AGR curse-TR Ana
AGT +trns PAT
actr
"They really cursed Ana."

The more common -(C)aki/a endings are the following:

- -raki/a 'intensive, repeatedly', as in 44.
- -taki/a 'recipient', as in 45.; 'reason' as in 46.; 'instrumental/accompaniment', as in 47.
- -vaki/a 'means', as in 48.; 'time duration', as in 49.
- -laki/a 'intensive', 'repeatedly', as in 50.
- -yaki/a (with vei-) 'dispersive', as in 51.
- 44. \mathbf{E} butu-raka na iteitei na bulumakau AGR step-TR DET plantation DET cow **PAT AGT** +trns actr

[&]quot;The cow trampled on the plantation."

45. E tatadrataka na nona vale Lusi O AGR dream-TR PRP DET house Lusi his **PAT AGT** +trns actr

"Lusi dreams about her house."

- 46. Au marau-taka na nomu pasi
 AGR happy-TR DET your pass
 AGT PAT
 actr
 "I am happy for your pass."
- 47. E kaba-taka na isele Jo AGR climb-TR DET knife PRP Jo PAT AGT +trns actr "Jo climbed with/taking the knife."
- 48. E cici-vaka kato Jo na o AGR run-TR DET **PRP** suitcase Jo +trns **PAT AGT** actr

"Jo ran with the suitcase."

- 49. Ratou bogi-vaka na talitali
 AGR night-TR DET weaving
 AGT +trns PAT
 actr
 "They weave into the night."
- 50. Era tosi-laka na lālaga na gone AGR write-TR DET wall **DET** child PAT AGT +trns actr

"The children scribbled on the wall."

51. E vei-biu-yaka nona isulu o Lusi
AGR dispersive-put-TR her clothes PRP Lusi
+trns PAT AGT
actr

[&]quot;Lusi puts her clothes everywhere."

4.3 The -taki/a ending

Of the several short and long transitive endings, SF loanwords, in general, use only one transitive ending, -taki/a, to make a loan verb transitive. The -taki/a transitive ending is also found to be most widely used in Fijian verbs; it is a "general transitiviser" (Shütz, 1985, p.141) or a "verb-maker" (Arms, 1973, p.516). Schütz notes that verbs that do not use the short -(C)i/a ending use the -taki/a ending, thus explaining the easy applicability of -taki/a to loanwords which would not have had the short ending (Schütz, ibid.). When this happens, it is usually the 'recipient' meaning of -taki/a that is used, as in 45. above.

A few loan verbs also occur with the short -(C)i/a transitive ending. In most cases, these also use the -(C)aki/a long ending. When the short ending is used as well as -taki/a, their meanings have not been noted as changing. It can probably be assumed that the use of the short endings is a recent innovation and that they occur on loanwords that have become widely used in Fijian. The following Table shows most of these words:

-trns	+trns	Meanings	Source Word
noka	nokara, nokataka	to knock s.o. out	knock-out
sovu	sovuta, sovulaka	to rub soap on s.t., to rub soap on s.t. repeatedly	soap
kisi	kisiva, kisilaka	to kiss s.o., to kiss s.o. repeatedly	kiss
loka	lokata, lokataka	to lock s.t	lock
yani	yaniøa, yāyanitaka	to iron s.t.	iron
dili	diliøa, dilitaka	to deal s.t. (cards)	deal
pamu	pamuta, pamulaka	to pump s.t., to pump s.t. intensively	pump

4.4 Loan verb transitivity

What appears to have happened in the loan verbs is that a simplification process has occurred in the transitive verb system. With the reduction to the use of basically one transitive ending, the richness of transitive endings and their suggested meanings are not available in loan verb vocabulary; the various meanings implied in the Fijian endings, both the -(C)i/a and -(C)aki/a endings, would not be so implied in the transitive loan verb vocabulary. In other words, the various consonant and meaning correlations evident from using the short and long endings, as discussed in 4.1 and 4.2, are obscured in the use of the -taki/a ending.

Secondly, as mentioned earlier, the transitive ending -taki/a implies more than one meaning and include both the affective meaning: 'recipient', as well as the confective interpretations 'reason', 'instrumental', and 'accompaniment' (Arms, 1973, p.516). In SF loan verbs, although the -taki/a ending implying 'recipient' is a common usage, the 'reason' and 'instrumental' meanings are also implied. This can be seen in patitaki/a,

24b., which implies 'reason', and 49 & 50, below which imply 'instrumental'.

49. E pati-taka ilavo nona Jo AGR party-TR his money PRP Jo **PAT** +trns **AGT** actr

"Jo spent his money on parties."

50. sprei-taka na wainimate ni cō cā **AGR** grass spray-TR DET medicine for bad **AGT** +trns PAT actr

"You spray the weed killer" (not sprinkled or otherwise applied).

The following examples illustrate the common usage of the -taki/a ending in transitive loan verbs:

- 50. E pik-taki Ana mai koronivuli AGR pick up-TR Ana from school AGT **PAT** +trns actr "S/He picked Ana up from school."
- 51. E diliva-taka madrai veimataka na na Jo. each morning PRP AGR deliver-TR DET bread PRP DET Ιo +trns PAT AGT actr

"Jo delivers the bread every morning."

52. Au sa lisi-taka iyāyā voli na me AUX **AGR** list-TR DET items buy to **AGT** PAT +trns actr "I have listed the items to be bought."

53. \mathbf{E} solo-taka Lusi na sere AGR sing solo-TR DET PRP Lusi song +trns **PAT AGT** actr

"Lusi sang the song solo."

- 54. Rau sprei-taka na cō cā

 AGR spray-TR DET grass bad

 AGT +trns PAT

 actr

 "They sprayed the weeds."
- 55. E teip ni rakavī plei-taka via AGR AUX play-TR DET video tape of rugby **AGT PAT** +trns actr "S/He wants to play the rugby tape."
- 56. Ratou pul-taka sotasota timi Maris na na **AGR** Marist pull off-TR DET tournament DET team of **PAT AGT** +trns actr

The Marist team won the tournament."

5.0 Conclusion

This study has, to some extent, tried to show that loan words in SF which function as verbs "fit into" or have been nativised in the Fijian verb system. Like other verbs in Fijian, loan verbs can occur as unergative, and as unaccusative intransitives, with corresponding derivationally related transitive verb forms. They can occur as transitive verbs without any corresponding intransitive root form, and there are also transitive verbs that have two corresponding, derivationally related forms, the one unergative and the other unaccusative.

However, although loan verbs fit into the Fijian verb system by forming part of the different verb classes characteristic of SF that have been discussed in this paper, loan verbs do not use all the transitive endings in the Fijian verb system of which there are two types – the short ending and the long ending. One ending, the long –taki/a ending, has extended its role of being a 'general transitiviser' in Fijian to loan verbs and is typically the component that marks loan verbs as transitive.

Abbreviations used:

3p: third person paucal
3pl: third person plural
1s: first person singular
2s: second person singular
3d: third person dual
3s: third person single

actr: actor macrorole

ndgr: undergoer macrorole

AGR: in agreement with actor

AGT: Agent

AUX Auxiliary verb

CNT: Continuous

CNJ: Conjunction

DET: Determiner

FUT: Future tense

HAB: Habitual

PAT: Patient

POS: Possession

PST: Past tense

PRP: Preposition

SEO: Sequential

SF: Standard Fijian

TR: transitive ending

s.o.: some one

s.t.: some thing,

-trns: intransitive verb

+trns: transitive verb

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