

On Complement Clauses of Utterance Verbs in Fijian[†]

Susumu OKAMOTO

(Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, we examine Fijian verbs which express “giving information or instructions about something to someone orally” such as “teach” or “command” (hereafter called “utterance verbs¹”) and analyze them as ditransitive constructions. Second, we claim that a clause with an utterance verb is not an adverbial clause but a complement clause which functions as a T argument.

The organization of the paper is as follows. In section 2, we provide some preliminaries on Fijian. In section 3, we describe utterance verbs in Fijian as ditransitive constructions. In section 4, we will provide several pieces of syntactic evidence that a clause within an utterance construction is a complement clause. Finally, we present conclusions in section 5. Examples without sources were collected through elicitation with a consultant LG (male, born in 1962).

2. Preliminaries

2.1. Typological overview

Fijian is an Oceanic language (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian) with a basic word order of VPA. The phoneme inventory is as follows: /p, b [ᵐb], t, d [ᵐd], k, q [ᵐg], r, dr [ᵐr], v [β], f, c [ð], j [tʃ], z [ᵐdʒ], m, n, g [ŋ], l, w, y, a, e, i, o, u/. Note that a predicate may consist of more than one phonological word.

There are two noun classes in Fijian: common nouns and proper nouns / pronouns. These two noun classes show different morphosyntactic behaviors, especially when they function as a P argument. This is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Morphosyntactic differences between common nouns and proper nouns / pronouns

	Common noun (1a)	Proper nouns / pronouns (1b)
Article	✓	none
Verbal form	√-TRANSITIVIZER ² +3SG object maker	√-TRANSITIVIZER
Position of P	outside predicate	inside predicate

[†] This paper is a revised and expanded version of a presentation made at the 155th Meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan. I would like to thank those who provided me with many helpful and constructive comments.

¹ It is true that “teach” or “command” can also be used for non-oral communication. In this paper, however, we regard “utterance” as the prototypical meaning of these verbs.

² The transitivizer is generalized as *-Ci*, *-Caki*, where *C* indicates a lexical-determined consonant (Milner 1956: 27).

(1) a. Common nouns

[*eratou saa rogo-ca tiko*]_{Predicate} *na no-na vosa*
 3PA ASP hear-TR+3SG CNT ART PC-3SG speech “They hear his speech”

b. Proper nouns / pronouns

[*eratou saa rogo-ci Samu tiko*]_{Predicate}
 3PA ASP hear-TR PN CNT “They hear Samu” (Milner 1956: 54)

2. 2. Prefix *VAKA-*

Fijian *VAKA*³ is a prefix from which a verb (2a), an adjective (2b) and an adverb (2c) are derived. Above all, the following section deals with the function as transitivizer (or causative) like (2a).

<p>(2) a. <i>vaka-mate-a</i> CAUS-die-TR+3SG “to kill”</p>	<p>b. <i>na vosa vaka-Viti</i> ART speech ADJVZ-Fiji “Fijian language”</p>	<p>c. <i>saa taba-ki vaka-vula</i> ASP print-PASS ADVLZ-month “It is printed every month” (Milner 1956: 66, 103)</p>
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3. Analysis as ditransitive

Malchukov et al. (2010: 55), in their cross-linguistic study of ditransitive verbs, regard “give” as the prototypical ditransitive verb and show that ditransitive constructions may cover “teach” or “tell” (Figure 1).

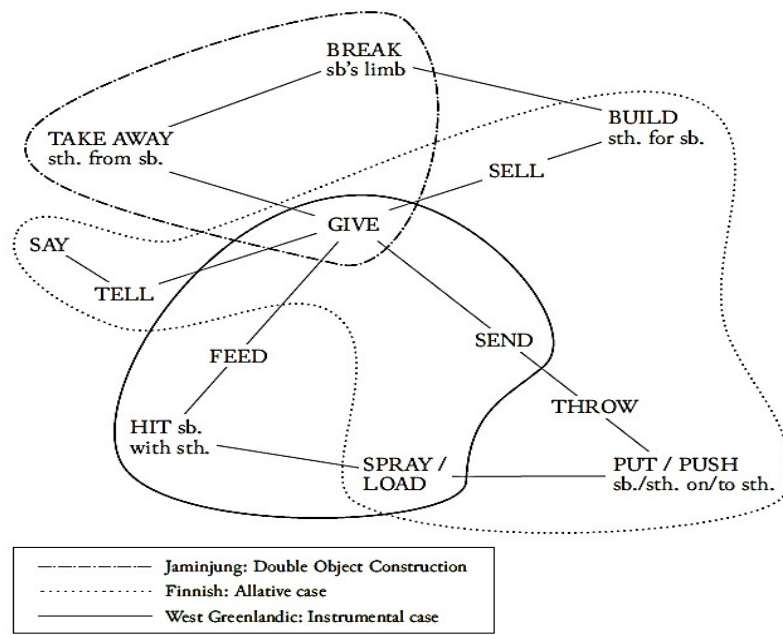


Figure 1: The semantic map of ditransitive construction (Malchukov et al. 2010: 55)

³ This prefix has two allomorphs: *vaka-* and *vaa-*. The latter appears only if the following morpheme is velar. In this paper, we use *VAKA-* as a representative form.

3.1. Alignment of ditransitive verbs in cross-linguistic perspective

According to Malchukov et al. (2010), there are two basic alignment types of ditransitive constructions in terms of the encoding of T (theme) and R (recipient) compared to the mono-transitive P (patient): indirective alignment and secundative alignment (Figure 2).

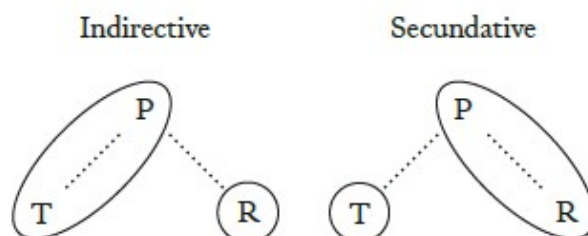


Figure 2: Two major alignments
(Malchukov et al. 2010: 5)

3.2. Alignment of utterance verbs in Fijian

In Fijian, the alignment of the prototypical ditransitive verb *solī-a* “give” is indirective. In (3), the T argument appears without any preposition like a P argument, while the R argument appears with a preposition, *ki*. Henceforth, $\underline{\underline{R}}$ and $\underline{\underline{T}}$ indicate R and T, respectively.

(3) *au aa solī-a ki na gone_R na ivola_T*
1SG PST give-TR+3SG to ART child ART book “I gave a book to the child”

On the other hand, the alignment of *VAKA*-derived verbs is secundative, which has already been pointed out in previous literature, such as Dixon (1988: 50) and Schütz (2014: 61). In (4), the R argument appears in the same position as a P argument (see also (1b)), while the T argument co-occurs with a preposition, *e*.

(4) *e vaa-kani koya_R e na dalo_T*
3SG CAUS-eat.TR 3SG with ART taro “She feed him with taro” (Schütz 2014: 61)

However, in my corpus⁴, not only the secundative alignment (5) but also the indirective alignment (6) is observed for one of the *VAKA*-derived utterance verbs, *vaka-vuli-ca* “teach” and its variations *vaka-vu~vuli-taka*, *vaka-taa-vuli-ca*, *vaka-taa-vu~vuli-taka*⁵. The ratio of the former and the latter is approximately 55:45.

⁴ I have been creating a Fijian corpus by collecting sentences from *Nai Lalakai*, weekly articles written in Fijian. In this work, I used 1,526 articles (from July 4th, 2016 to June 26th, 2017, 864,973 words).

⁵ The alignment alternation was observed in the following verbs: *vaka-vuli-ca* “teach” (and its variation), *vaka-ro-ta* “command”, *vaka-tuku~tuku-taka* “report” and *vaka-sala-taka* “advise”.

(5) Secundative

e *dau* ***vaka-taa-vuli-ci*** *ira* *na* *gonelalai*_R *e* *na* *wilivola*_T
 3SG HAB CAUS-ARTIFICIAL-learn-TR 3PL ART child with ART reading

“He teaches children how to read” (aug_08_2016_19_4)

(6) Indirective

(...) ***vaka-taa-vuli-ca*** *vei* *keda*_R *e* *dua* *na* *lesoni*_T
 CAUS-ARTIFICIAL-learn-TR+3SG to 1PL.INCL 3SG one ART lesson

“(...) taught a lesson to us” (jul_04_2016_16_28)

The markings of these two alignments are shown in Table 2. \emptyset indicates a lack of morphological marking. The difference of *ki* and *vei* reflects noun classes. That is to say, the former is used with common nouns and place names and the latter with pronouns and personal names.

Table 2: Flagging of *VAKA*-derived utterance verbs

	R	P	T
secundative	\emptyset		<i>e</i>
indirective	<i>ki / vei</i>	\emptyset	

This alternation is observed only with *VAKA*-derived verbs with the meaning of utterance. *VAKA*-derived verbs other than utterance verbs such as *vaka-isulu-taka* “dress someone” have only the secundative alignment (7a) and the indirective alignment is unacceptable (7b). Hereafter * indicates that a sentence is ungrammatical.

(7) a. Secundative

e *aa* ***vaka-isulu-taki*** *au*_R *e* *na* *isulu* *lokaloka*_T
 3SG PST CAUS-clothes-TR 1SG with ART clothes purple

“(lit.) They dressed me with purple clothes”

b. Indirective

* *e* *aa* ***vaka-isulu-taka*** *vei* *au*_R *na* *isulu* *lokaloka*_T <indirective>
 3SG PST CAUS-clothes-TR+3SG to 1SG ART clothes purple

In addition, underived utterance verbs such as *tuku-na* “tell” have only the indirective alignment (8a), while the secundative alignment is ungrammatical (8b).

(8) a. Indirective

au aa tuku-na vei iratou_R na ke-mu italanoa_T <indirective>
 1SG PST tell-TR+3SG to 3PA ART PC-2SG story
 “I told your story to them”

b. Secundative

**au aa tuku-ni iratou_R e na ke-mu italanoa_T*
 1SG PST tell-TR 3PA with ART PC-2SG story

On the one hand, *VAKA*-derived utterance verbs are peculiar in that there is no morphological change to the verb when the alignment alternation takes place. On the other hand, verbs which express throwing motion, for instance, must take different transitive suffixes when the alignment alternation takes place (Okamoto 2016: 378-379). (9a) is the secundative alignment of *virika/-taka* “throw” and (9b) is the indirective one, where one can see the morphological difference between the two.

(9)a. *e viri-ka na gone_R e na polo_T* <secundative>
 3SG throw-TR+3SG ART child with ART ball
 “(lit.) He threw-at the ball to the child”

b. *e viri-taka na polo_T ki na gone_R* <indirective>
 3SG throw-TR+3SG ART ball to ART child
 “He threw the ball to the child”

To sum up, only *VAKA*-derived utterance verbs have the alternation of two alignments without a morphological change to the verb. This is shown in Figure 3. Further research is needed to clarify semantic and pragmatic differences between the two alignments.

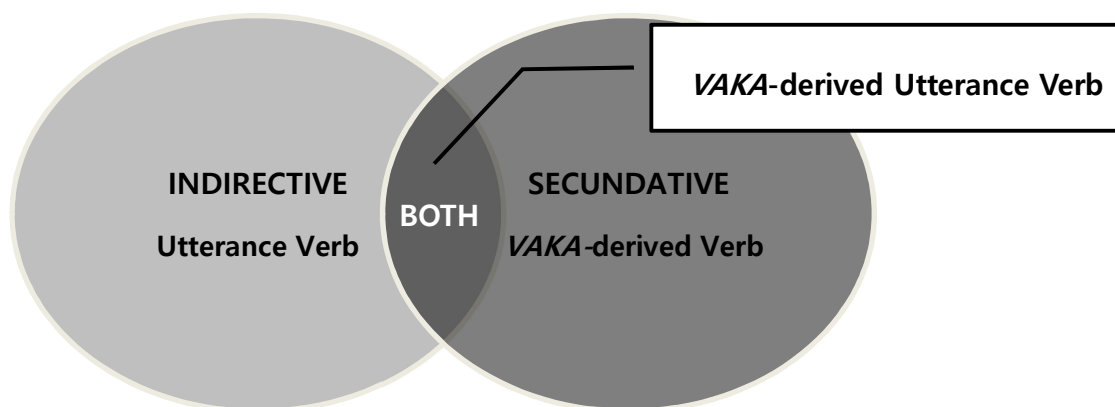


Figure 3: Alignment patterns of *VAKA*-derived verbs and utterance verbs

4. Complement clause as T

Several semantic classes exist for complement-taking predicates (CTPs) (Noonan 2007: 53). An utterance verb is considered to be one of them (Dixon 2006: 28-30, Noonan 2007: 121, Schmidtke-Bode 2014: 42).

In Fijian, *vakarota* “command” often has a complement clause as T argument in both secundative alignment (10a) and indirective alignment (10b).

(10) a. Secundative

aa qai vaka-ro-ti ira_R tale vakarua ko Morgan mera voleni_T
 PST then CAUS-command-TR 3PL again twice PRP PN COMP+3PL fall_in
 “(and) Morgan commanded them twice to fall in” (oct_10_2016_23_13)

b. Indirective

vaka-ro-ta talegaa vei ira_R na cauravou mera yalomatua_T
 CAUS-command-TR+3SG also to 3PL ART young_man COMP+3PL responsible
 “(He) commanded young people to be responsible” (nov_28_2016_14_8)

As can be seen in (10), a complement clause is marked by *me*⁶, which expresses the event should happen (Dixon 1988: 271). This accords with a cross-linguistic tendency for CTPs like “command” to take a potential clause (Dixon 2006: 29).

4.1. Complement clause and complement strategy

A complement clause is often defined as a clause which functions as an argument of a higher clause (Dixon 2006: 15, Noonan 2007: 52). In addition to complement clauses, Dixon (2006: 33) proposes complement strategies, which are constructions other than complement clauses in which a verb of the restricted set is linked to that of the unrestricted one. Complement strategies include serial verb, relative clause, nominalization, apposition, clause linking, and purposive linking⁷.

Among these strategies, Goemai (Afroasiatic, Chadic, West Chadic A, Angas-Goemai, Southern Branch) makes use of purposive linking. In (11), the phrase “that I should come” is expressed not by a complement clause but by a purposive clause marked by *de . . . yi*, which is used for a different subject, TAM, or polarity from that of the first clause (Hellwig 2006: 220).

(11) *ni k'wal ndoe hen de hen wul yi*
 3SG talk CONJ 1SG PURP 1SG arrive SUB
 “He persuaded me that I should come” (Hellwig 2006: 220)

⁶ Whether *me* functions as a complementizer or not is discussed in the following sections.

⁷ Croft (2001: 351-352) states that from the diachronic point of view, complement clauses often arise from purposive clauses.

In Fijian, a complement clause in (12) is marked with the same marker as a purposive clause in (13). Thus, it can be assumed that a clause with *me* is not a complement clause but a purposive clause. As a matter of fact, Dixon (2006: 39) states that purposive linking is often observed with utterance verbs like “command.”

(12) *au vaka-ro-ta vei Jone me lako mai*
 1SG CAUS-command-TR+3SG to PN COMP.3SG go hither
 “I commanded John to come”

(13) *au lako ki Suva meu voli-a na ivola*
 1SG go to Suva SUB+1SG buy-TR+3SG ART book
 “I went to Suva (in order) to buy the book”

Nagaya (2017) claims that in Tagalog a clause marked by linker is not complement clause. He points out several reasons. Linker clauses, for example, lack a morphological marker when they are in focus. In addition, when the content of a linker-clause is asked, not only “what” but also “how” can be used. In the following sections, we make use of his syntactic tests and claim that a *me*-clause in an utterance verb is a complement clause, that is to say embedded, by showing (i) that it can be an S of the passive construction and (ii) that it is replaced by “what” not “how.” Note that in section 4.2 and 4.3 we deal only with the indirective alignment.

4.2. Voice operation

In this section, we show that a *me*-clause in utterance verbs can be an S argument of the passive construction. In Fijian, passivization is marked by attaching a suffix to the verb⁸. (14) is a passivization of (12) (= (14b)). Because only a P argument can be an S of a passive clause (Dixon 1988: 222), a *me*-clause with utterance verbs (of the indirective alignment) is a complement clause.

(14) a. *e vaka-ro-ti vei Jone_R me lako mai_S*
 3SG CAUS-command-PASS to PN COMP.3SG go hither
 “(lit.) To come was commanded to John”

b. *au vaka-ro-ta vei Jone_R me lako mai_T*
 1SG CAUS-command-TR+3SG to PN COMP.3SG go hither
 “I commanded John to come”

⁸ The passive suffix is formally the same as the transitive one (cf. (10a) and (14a)). In this paper, we use glosses based on functions of morphemes.

For the purpose of comparison, we provide an example of the passivization of a common noun P (15a) ((15b) is its transitive alternative).

(15) a. *e vaka-vuli-ci vei Jone_R na vosa vaka-Viti_S*
 3SG CAUS-learn-PASS to PN ART speech ADJVZ-Fiji
 “Fijian language is taught to John”

b. *au vaka-vuli-ca vei Jone_R na vosa vaka-Viti_T*
 1SG CAUS-learn-TR+3SG to PN ART speech ADJVZ-Fiji
 “I taught Fijian language to John”

A *me*-clause in (13), on the other hand, cannot be an S of a passive clause because *lako* “go” is intransitive.

4. 3. Replacement by “what”

In this section, we claim that a clause of utterance verbs is embedded by showing that it is replaceable with “what.” (16a) is the question counterpart of (12) (= (16b)), where the *me*-clause is replaced with *cava* “what”. Unlike Tagalog, *vakacava* “how” is not used with the same meaning with (16a).

(16) a. *na cava_T o vaka-ro-ta vei Jone_R?*
 ART what 2SG CAUS-command-TR+3SG to PN
 “What did you command John?”

b. *au vaka-ro-ta vei Jone_R me lako mai_T*
 1SG CAUS-command-TR+3SG to PN COMP.3SG go hither
 “I commanded John to come”

In the question counterpart of (13), on the other hand, although the *me*-clause is replaced with *cava* “what,” there must be *kina* within the clause (17a). *kina* appears when a prepositional phrase or a subordinate clause is fronted (Milner 1956: 49, glossed KINA). Because a question without *kina* is ungrammatical like (17b), it can be said that the *me*-clause in (13) is not a core argument.

(17) a. *na cava o lako kina ki Suva?* b. * *na cava o lako ki Suva?*
 ART what 2SG go KINA to Suva ART what 2SG go to Suva
 “Why do you go to Suva?”

4.4. Complement clause in secundative alignment

The syntactic tests shown in the above two sections reveal that *me*-clauses are embedded. However, these tests do not apply to the secundative alignment.

First, it is not a T argument but an R argument that becomes an S argument of the passive construction (18a) ((18b) is its transitive alternative).

(18) a. *e vaka-ro-ti o Jone me lako mai*_T
 3SG CAUS-command-PASS PRP PN COMP+3SG go hither
 “John was commanded to come”

b. *au vaka-ro-ti Jone me lako mai*_T
 1SG CAUS-command-TR PN COMP+3SG go hither
 “I commanded John to come”

Second, since a T argument is a prepositional phrase, *kina* appears when its content is asked. That is to say, as shown in (19), its interrogative construction is the same form as that of a purposive clause.

(19) *na cava o vaka-ro-ti Jone kina?*
 ART what 2SG CAUS-command-TR PN KINA
 “What did you command John?” or “Why did you command John?”

Thus, it cannot be accurately concluded from the syntactic tests given in this paper that a *me*-clause is a complement clause.

5. Conclusion

The paper’s claims are summarized as (20):

- (20) a. *VAKA*-derived verbs whose meaning is an utterance such as “teach” or “command” have the alternation of two alignments: secundative and indirective. These verbs are peculiar in that the alternation involves no morphological change to the verb.
- b. The clause of an utterance verb, at least in indirective alignment, functions as a core argument of a higher clause for the following reasons: (i) in the passive construction, a clause can be an S argument, and (ii) in the interrogative construction, a clause is replaced by “what” without *kina*.

Further research is needed. First, in this paper, we do not provide any explanation as to why utterance verbs have the alternation of alignments. Second, we do not explore the internal structure of a complement clause. It is expected that a complement clause has more morphosyntactic constraints than a main clause does (Dixon 2006: 21-22, Malchukov 2006). Finally, we have to explain the distinction between a prepositional phrase and an adverbial clause in order to prove that a T argument in secundative type is an argument of the verb.

Abbreviations

-	morpheme boundary	INCL	inclusive
+	fusion	KINA	<i>kina</i>
1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	PA	paucal
ADJVZ	adjectivizer	PASS	passive
ADVLZ	adverbializer	PC	possessive classifier
ART	article	PL	plural
ARTIFICIAL	artificial	PN	personal name
ASP	aspect	PRP	proper article
CAUS	causative	PST	past
CNT	continuous	PURP	purposive
COMP	complementizer	SG	singular
CONJ	conjunction	SUB	subordinator
HAB	habitual	TR	transitivizer

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Online material

The Fiji Times Online | Nai Lalakai Online: <http://nailalakai.fjitime.com/> (accessed 9/30/2017)

フィジー語の発言動詞の補文節について

岡本 進

(東京外国語大学大学院 博士後期課程)

キーワード：フィジー語，複他動詞，アライメント，補文節

本稿ではフィジー語の「教える」、「命じる」のような動詞(以下発言動詞とする)を複他動詞として分析する。そのうえで発言動詞に現れる節は副詞節ではなく、上位節の項として機能していると主張する。

発言動詞では *indirective* 型(*R(ecipient)*項が目的語)と *secundative* 型(*T(heme)*項が目的語)の両方のアライメントが観察される。ただしすべての発言動詞でこのアライメントの交替が見られるわけではなく、使役化接頭辞 *VAKA-* を伴う発言動詞でのみ許容される。これらの動詞は形態変化なしにアライメントが交替するという点で特異である。

発言動詞はその *T* 項が補文節として現れることが多い。補文節の標示が目的を表す副詞節のそれと同形であるため、発言動詞の節は補文節ではないとも分析できる。しかし本稿は、発言動詞に現れる節は「埋め込まれている」と主張する。その根拠として、補文節が態の操作を被ることが挙げられる。さらに、補文節の内容を尋ねる疑問文において、必須項と同じ “*what*” を用いることから、発言動詞の補文節は項として埋め込まれているといえる。