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GRAMMAR SKETCH OF NASINU FIJI HINDI

by
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A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (Linguistics)

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School of Language Arts and Media
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November, 2016

DECLARATION

Statement by Author

I, Rajendra Prasad, declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published, or substantially overlapping with material submitted for the award of any other degree at any institution, except where due acknowledgment is made in the text.

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Statement by Supervisor

The research in this thesis was performed under my supervision and to my knowledge is the sole work of Mr. Rajendra Prasad.

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ABSTRACT

Fiji Hindi (FH) is spoken by Fiji Indians not only in Fiji but in different parts of the world they have migrated to. FH has been studied by a few scholars but an in-depth study has never been carried out on it. It varies all over Fiji. The differences are minimal, confined to some vocabulary and verb endings. This sketch grammar is of FH as spoken in the Nasinu area only.

It begins with a brief description of its phonology and then moves onto the word classes. The following FH word classes are described: nouns (including noun formation), determiners, quantifiers (including numerals and ordinals), adjectives, pronouns, postpositions, verbs and their morphology, adverbs and particles.

The grammar then turns to discuss the noun phrase and its constituents. Other phrases such as adjective phrase, postpositional phrase, verb phrase and adverbial phrase are described. Then the grammar moves on to discuss the different clause types and the rules governing them. The grammar of direct and indirect speech and relative clause formation is also discussed.

Finally, in the appendix a word list of approximately 317 entries is provided with English glosses. This contains all the words used in the entire work. The last element is a few texts which have been transcribed from field work.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in this work:

1	first person	OBJ	object
2	second person	OBL	oblique
3	third person	PART	particle
ABL	ablative	PERF	perfect
ADJ	adjective	PL	plural
ADV	adverb	PM	post modifier
AGG	aggregative	PN	proper noun
ASS	associative	POL	polite
AP	adjective phrase	PP	prepositional phrase
AUX	auxiliary	PRES	present
COMP	complementiser	PROG	progressive
CONT	continuous	prox	proximal
COP	copular	PST	past
DEF	definite	Q	question
DEM	demonstrative	R	relative clause
DET	determiner	RECP	reciprocal
dist	distance	REFL	reflective
FUT	future	REL	relative
GEN	genitive	SBJ	subject
HAB	habitual	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	SUPR	suppressive
INCL	inclusive	vd	voiced
INES	inessive	vl	voiceless
INF	infinitive	VP	verb phrase
INST	instrument		
LOC	locative		
NEG	negative		
NP	noun phrase		
NOM	nominaliser		

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgment	i
Abstract	ii
Abbreviations	iii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Current Status	3
1.3 Previous Studies of Fiji Hindi	4
1.4 Language Data	5
Chapter 2 Phonology	8
2.1 Vowels	8
2.2 Consonants	9
2.3 Consonant Clusters	10
Chapter 3 Word Classes	11
3.1 Nouns	11
3.1.1 Noun Subclasses	11
3.1.1.1 Count and Non-count Nouns	11
3.1.1.2 Proper Nouns	13
3.1.2 Noun Morphology	13
3.1.2.1 Reduplication	13
3.1.2.2 Special reduplication	13
3.1.2.3 Number	14
3.1.2.4 Gender	14
3.1.2.5 Derivation	15
3.1.3 Noun Formation	16
3.1.3.1 Compounding	16
3.1.3.1.1 Copulative compounds	16
3.1.3.1.2 Superordinate compounds	16
3.1.3.1.3 Hybrid compounds	16
3.1.3.1.4 Adjective noun compounds	16
3.2 Pronouns	17
3.2.1 Personal Pronouns	17
3.2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns	17
3.2.3 Relative Pronouns	18

3.2.4	Possessive Pronouns	18
3.2.5	Reflexive Pronouns	19
3.2.6	Reciprocal Pronoun	19
3.2.7	Interrogative Pronouns	20
3.2.8	Indefinite Pronouns	20
3.2.9	Compound Pronouns	20
3.3	Determiners	21
3.4	Quantifiers	21
3.4.1	Numerals	21
3.4.1.1	Aggregation	22
3.4.1.2	Distributive	23
3.4.1.3	Ordinals	23
3.5	Adjectives	24
3.5.1	Degree of Adjectives	24
3.6	Postpositions	25
3.6.1	The Postposition <i>ke</i>	25
3.6.2	The Postposition <i>se</i>	28
3.6.3	The Postposition <i>me</i>	29
3.6.4	The Postposition <i>pe</i>	30
3.6.5	Compound Postpositions	32
3.7	Verbs	34
3.7.1	Present Tense	34
3.7.2	Past Tense	35
3.7.3	Future Tense	35
3.7.4	Copula Verb	36
3.7.4.1	Present Progressive	37
3.7.4.2	Past Progressive	37
3.7.4.3	Past Perfect	37
3.7.5	Imperative	38
3.7.6	Infinitive	38
3.7.7	Conjunct Verbs	38
3.7.8	Compound Verbs	39
3.8	Adverbs	40

3.8.1	Basic or non-derived Adverbs	40
3.8.1.1	Derived Adverbs	40
3.8.2	Expressions of Time	41
3.8.3	Days of the Week	41
3.8.4	Months of the Year	42
3.9	Particles	42
3.9.1	The Particle <i>bhi</i> ‘also’	42
3.9.2	The Particle <i>to</i>	44
3.9.3	The Particle <i>bhar</i>	44
Chapter 4	Syntax	46
4.1	Structure of Phrases	46
4.1.1	Noun Phrase	46
4.1.2	Adjectival Phrase	49
4.1.3	Postpositional Phrase	49
4.1.4	Verb Phrase	51
4.2	Structure of Clauses	52
4.2.1	Main Clause	52
4.2.2	Subordinate Clause	53
4.2.3	Direct and Indirect Speech	54
4.2.4	Relative Clause	55
	References and Bibliography	57
	Glossary	60
	Appendix	71

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Fiji Hindi (FH) is the first language of most citizens of Fiji who are of Indian origin. According to Lal (2000, p.2), from 1897 to 1916, over 60,945 labourers were brought to Fiji from India under the indenture system (*girmity*) to work on plantations, mainly of sugar cane. The indentured labourers were recruited from different parts of India with different linguistic backgrounds.

Most of the labourers initially came from North India and spoke several varieties of Hindi. Grierson in his linguistic survey of India in 1903 divides Hindi into four different varieties – Bihari, Eastern Hindi, Western Hindi and Rajasthani (Siegel 1987, p.138). The major dialects spoken were from Eastern Hindi namely Bhojpuri, Bihari, and Awadhi (Siegel 1987, p.129). To further add to the diversity labourers from the south of India began arriving from 1903 who spoke Dravidian languages of which Tamil and Telugu were common.

With so many dialects and varieties of language, communicating at times during the voyage and on the plantation would have been difficult so a new lingua franca emerged with features from all. According to Siegel (1987, p.185) the contact between different varieties of Hindi led to the formation of a koine, FH. According to Lynch (2004, p.362) a koine is a new dialect which incorporates features of different original dialects and probably some new creations as well. He further goes on to state that the process of koineisation, requires the following scenario:

1. A language is spoken over a large geographical area, and within that area there are a number of different dialects.
2. Some people from different parts of this area migrate to a new place. These immigrants, of course, speak different dialects of the same language.
3. In this new settlement the people now live and work together: the old geographical “barrier” no longer exists. The old dialects start to blend into one another, with everyone adopting some features from Dialect A, some from Dialect B, some from Dialect C and so on.

Based on the above scenario FH is a ‘koiné’ and it does show the blending of different dialects. This language is now the mother tongue of almost all Fiji Indians and has become a symbol of identity not only for those in Fiji but also for those who have

migrated to other parts of the world such as New Zealand, Australia, America, and Canada. The major difference between Fiji Indians and Indians from India in these countries is linguistic and cultural. FH and Hindi from India may not be mutually intelligible at all times.

FH is the most widely spoken language amongst the Indians and also other races especially the indigenous population of Fiji use it to converse. It is common to hear a *i-taukei* (indigenous Fijian) man selling vegetables and calling out their names in FH. A simplified version of FH, Pidgin FH is used more commonly in such situations (Siegel 1987, p.148). This continues even today.

Although FH is spoken by all it is regarded as a corrupted and substandard form of Hindi by many of its speakers. This is due to the prestige given to Standard Hindi (Moag 1977, p.vi). Many people have expressed their anger at FH being recognised as a language through letters to the editor columns. Two examples of such opinions are: “The people who will speak this kind of language will be regarded as low-class uneducated people” (Prakash 2012, p.6). “Teaching a mixture of Hindi dialects and sub-dialects in the name of Fiji Hindi would mean that we are taking a retrograde step. In other words, we will be using 'reverse gear' in our language journey which will land us hundreds of miles in the wilderness” (Kanwal 2010, p.15)

Nevertheless with so much use of FH it is important that a grammar sketch be written for it. One cannot say that it has the same grammar as standard Hindi or its grammar is wrong. For instance standard Hindi has gender marking on verbs but FH does not, the only gender marking being on a few nouns and adjectives. This does not mean that FH is a deficient form of Hindi.

Due to the complex geography of Fiji, and probably linguistic origins of the earliest settlers, FH shows considerable geographical variations. For instance the verb endings in some places in Vanualevu are different from Vitilevu. In addition there are lexical differences within Vitilevu and Vanualevu.

Based on the above circumstances, I chose to write a grammar sketch of FH for the Nasinu area. One of the main reasons for choosing this locality is because this is where

I have grown up and FH of Nasinu is my mother tongue. Nasinu is a suburban area lying between Suva and Nausori with an ever-increasing Indian population. The total population of Nasinu is 87,446, (Bureau of Statistics, 2007, p.33). Almost half of this population is made up of Indians and their population is growing really fast. As stated in the census report:

The Nasinu urban area is also the only major area in Fiji which still experiences rapid growth of the Indian population. Intercensal increase of Indians was about 10,000 persons, which implies an annual rate of growth of close to 2 percent per year (Bureau of Statistics, 2007, p.3).

The other good reason to carry out a grammar analysis of Nasinu FH is therefore because of the increasing Indian population there as stated above. This implies that there is immigration to Nasinu from all over Fiji. This is resulting in Nasinu becoming a melting pot for all varieties of FH. The situation mirrors the indenture system where various languages and dialects of India fused together for the formation of FH. The research therefore will not only put a structure to FH in Nasinu but may become the basis for a more extensive grammar of FH in the future.

1.2 Current Status

While on the one hand the 2013 Constitution treats FH as a vernacular language which needs to be taught at primary level, the various Hindu organisations have strongly condemned such a move. The irony of the situation is that although it is the mother tongue of almost all people of Indian descent in Fiji, its own speakers denigrate it.

Section 31 (3) of the 2013 Constitution states that conversational and contemporary Fijian and FH languages shall be taught as compulsory subjects in all primary schools (Fiji Constitution 2013). Based on this the Ministry of Education has prepared a handbook on 'conversational Hindi'. The drawback of the book is that too much of Standard Hindi has been used, which is not the same as FH. For instance sentences with gender marking on the verb are being taught to non-Fiji Hindi speaking students, whereas on the ground no one speaks like that. The whole purpose of teaching conversational language is defeated. The use of FH today is seen everywhere ranging from the media to the academia. For instance in the last few years the University of The South Pacific has organised a symposium *kaise baat* to promote the use of FH.

This study hopes to produce a basic grammar of FH. For various reasons, primarily because the devnagri alphabet is not familiar to most speakers, I have chosen to use the Roman alphabet to write FH.

1.3 Previous Studies of FH

The following is an annotated list of previous studies of FH:

Arms, D. 1998, Tendencies in Fiji Hindi

Arms presented this paper at the Second International Conference on Oceanic Linguistics. It is a brief summary of FH, covering the phonetics and some aspects of the grammar. The paper is short but a very good introduction to the grammar of FH.

Siegel, J. 1987, Language Contact in a Plantation Environment: A sociolinguistic history of Fiji.

This book analyses the various plantation languages that emerged in the Pacific. The chapter on FH is by far the best analysis of the origins of FH so far. The chapter explains the various dialects of the indentured labourers and how each contributed towards the formation of FH. It takes a sociolinguistic perspective in discussing how the various languages and dialects used by indentured labourers contributed to the formation of FH.

Hobbs, S. 1985, Fiji Hindi – English, English – Fiji Hindi Dictionary

This bilingual dictionary has made a great attempt at including a great deal of FH vocabulary with English glosses. Apart from the normal dictionary entries, the book provides a very good guide on how to use the dictionary and on pronunciation. It also contains notes on conjugation and use of verbs in FH from pages 16 to 19.

Siegel, J. 1977, Say it in Fiji Hindi

The sub-title of the book is ‘a helpful introduction to the everyday language of more than half the population of Fiji’. This statement explains what the book is all about. The book, though very short, is a good guide for anyone who wishes to interact in FH. It gives guidelines on basic conversation and also has a good description of phonetics and parts of speech.

Moag, F.R, 1977, Fiji Hindi, A Basic Course and Reference Grammar

This is a very detailed grammar of FH and useful instrument for anyone who has no knowledge of FH. Moag spends a considerable time analyzing FH in various situations. The book is more of a teaching guide for anyone wishing to use FH in everyday conversation. For instance a market situation is illustrated with the relevant conversation one may employ to buy and sell.

Pillai, R. 1975, Fiji Hindi as a creole language

This is a thesis that Raymond Pillai submitted for his MA. In it he describes the origins of FH and examines FH in comparison to Standard Hindi. He describes FH phonology and phonetics which is quite helpful.

1.4 Language Data

Language data for this study come from various sources. One of the main sources is my own knowledge of the language, since it is my mother tongue and I am surrounded by it all the time. The other major way of gathering data has been recording and direct observation. In order to collect data I took a participatory role in most conversations. by interacting with people using the language I was able to gather authentic data. While a linguist would love to collect when people are at their natural state, the ethics of observation does not allow that. The observants had to be informed of the data collection.

The drawback of such a situation is that the participants become aware of the monitoring and may alter their speech. Such a situation is known as the ‘observer’s paradox’, which is:

“The vernacular is the focus of the linguist’s interest and large volumes of high-quality recordings of speech are needed to describe it. However, since speakers will tend to shift away from their vernaculars in situations where they are being tape recorded by a stranger, the very act of recording is likely to distort the object from such observation”. (Milroy 1987, p.59)

To overcome this problem more than one recording was used to analyze data gathered. Several recordings took place before the data was analysed. This created a close relation with the participants where they felt comfortable. As Burton (1978, p.269)

remarks, “respondents who are aware of the researcher’s interest do not constantly hold that awareness in mind”. This is due to the participant becoming more relaxed with the recording and at the same time forgetting that he is being recorded.

The other method which has been used to complement recording is participant observation. Once again, as soon as the participants become aware of being observed, he may not exhibit the true picture. The observer’s paradox is quite common in bilingual communities where the linguistic choice can be altered at any time. To overcome this problem a number of researchers have adopted the strategy of studying groups rather than individuals. As stated by Labov (1994, p.25), by emphasising deeper studies of groups and social networks, we gain the possibility of explaining linguistic behaviour, in other words, we might derive insights on why a speaker’s language occupies a particular position in a wider social structure.

The target group for my data collection included speakers who ranged from fifteen years old to sixty years old. One group which I relied a lot on was a group of men between the ages of fifteen to forty who I play soccer with. Their behavior on and off the field always provided me with a rich linguistic data. Also joining their *kava* sessions gave me great access to their linguistic repertoire. In addition the market was a very good place to interact and observe the use of language. These two groups of people especially the second group, became my main source of data.

The practice of group observation is helpful while recording various language situations where people are interacting with each other. So the process of recording and observation will be taking place at the same time. Despite the usual debate on this particular method it is worth noting that it has worked in many cases as cited by Milroy (1987, p.79) “In Belfast no problem was experienced in obtaining plenty of recording of sufficient technical quality to be analyzed.” The only tool used to collect the data for this current study was my phone. It is simple to use and portable.

The data was then transcribed and the linguistic analysis was carried out. (Samples of the transcribed data are included in the appendix).the Modern Hindi Grammar written by Koul in 2008 was used as a reference in instances where there was absence of a

generic grammar term or phrase. This grammar sketch of Nasinu FH is not conclusive but attempts to capture the major linguistic features of the language.

Chapter 2 Phonology

The phonological system of FH is as follows:

2.1 Vowels

FH has five vowels. While Arms (1998, p.3) and Hobbs (1985, p.8) state that all five vowels have a long form, I disagree. The main reason for lengthening all the vowels could be due to the influence of Standard Hindi on their research. The idea of all five vowels being long is based on Standard Hindi. On the other hand, Siegel (personal communication) agrees that only two vowels *a* and *i* can be long in FH. Moag (1977, p.43) also in his examples on vowel length only gives these two long vowels. The vowel inventory of FH is:

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i, ī</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a, ā</i>	

Table 1 Vowel inventory

Apart from this two vowels *a* and *i* can be nasalised and will be discussed below.

The length is marked by placing a macron on top of the vowel as *ā* and *ī*. Some minimal pairs are:

<i>dam</i>	‘bravery’
<i>dām</i>	‘price’
<i>rat</i>	‘procession’
<i>rāt</i>	‘night’
<i>khali</i>	‘only’
<i>khāli</i>	‘empty’

To show nasalization a ‘tilde’ is placed over the vowel. For example:

<i>nāk</i>	‘nose’
<i>hīa</i>	‘here’
<i>hūa</i>	‘there’
<i>āngna</i>	‘compound’
<i>māng-</i>	‘want’

2.2 Consonants

FH has 29 consonants.

	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
velar. unasp stop	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>		<i>t'</i>		<i>k</i>	
velar. asp stop			<i>th</i>		<i>th'</i>		<i>kh</i>	
voiced.unasp stop	<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>		<i>d'</i>		<i>g</i>	
voiced.asp stop	<i>bh</i>		<i>dh</i>		<i>dh'</i>		<i>gh</i>	
velar. unasp affricate						<i>c</i>		
velar. asp affricate						<i>ch</i>		
voiced.unasp affricate						<i>j</i>		
voiced. asp affricate						<i>jh</i>		
nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>				<i>ng</i>	
trill				<i>r</i>				
lateral			<i>l</i>					
fricative		<i>f</i>		<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
semivowel	<i>w</i>					<i>y</i>		

Table 2 Consonant inventory

The consonant inventory above contains all the consonant sounds of FH. The sounds *bh*, *th*, *dh*, *kh* *gh* *th'* and *dh'* are aspirated. FH makes a distinction between aspirated and unaspirated consonants as shown in the following minimal pairs:

bāt 'talk' *bhāt* 'rice'
kana 'cross-eyed' *khana* 'food'
dān 'gift' *dhān* 'paddy'

In previous works on FH the writers used various ways to represent retroflex sounds but each had problems. For instance Hobbs (1985, p.11) uses capital letters. The problem with that is if complete sentences are written using the Roman alphabet then it would be difficult to differentiate between a retroflex at the beginning of a sentence and as the first letter of a proper noun. Similarly placing a dot below the letters is not very workable since it is not highly visible and will be lost during underlining a word. The most workable solution is to place an apostrophe after the letter to indicate retroflex, since an apostrophe does not have any other use in FH spelling and is easy to type.

Distinction between the dental and retroflex sounds is clearly phonemic as seen below:

<i>āta</i> ‘coming’	<i>āt’a</i> ‘flour’
<i>dar</i> ‘fear’	<i>d’ar</i> ‘branch’

While it may not be possible to cite minimal pairs between unaspirated and aspirated retroflex sounds some examples of aspirated retroflex are:

<i>th’ān</i>	‘a prayer place in compound’
<i>dh’olak</i>	‘musical instrument’

Some more examples of words with retroflex are:

<i>kud’si</i>	‘chair’
<i>tukd’a</i>	‘piece’
<i>jhagd’a</i>	‘fight’.

The diagraph *ng* represents a velar nasal. For example:

<i>jangli</i>	‘uncivilized’
<i>unggri</i>	‘finger’

2.3 Consonant clusters

There are very few consonant clusters in FH occurring in medial position, such as:

<i>jāldi</i>	‘quick’
<i>dusman</i>	‘enemy’
<i>ulta</i>	‘wrong’
<i>dubra</i>	‘slim’
<i>kutta</i>	‘dog’
<i>gaddh’a</i>	‘donkey’
<i>murgi</i>	‘chicken’

Chapter 3 Word Classes

3.1 Nouns

Nouns in FH are lexical terms which are used to denote things, concepts, places, people, and events. Functionally, a noun is any word that occurs as the head of a noun phrase (NP). In the NP it can be preceded by an adjective, for example (1a) quantifiers including numerals, e.g. (1b) demonstratives and can be followed by postpositional modifiers for example (1c). The structure of the NP (see section 4.1.1) is:

NP → (DEM) (Quantifier) (AdjP) N (PP) (PM)

(1)

a) *ek buk*
one book
'a book'

b) *i buk*
this book
'this book'

c) *u buk*
that book
'that book'

NPs made up of a single noun usually function as the subject or object of a sentence.

(2)

a) *lad'ka kutta ke mar-is*
boy (SBJ) dog (OBJ) OBL hit-3SG.PST
'The boy hit the dog.'

b) *kutta lad'ka ke kat-is*
dog (SBJ) boy (OBJ) OBL bite-3SG.PST
'The dog bit the boy.'

c) *sundar-la bad'a kutta bhauk-is*
beautiful-NOM big dog bark-3SG.PST
'The beautiful big dog barked..'

3.1.1 Noun Subclasses

The three main classes of noun are count-nouns, non-count nouns and proper nouns.

3.1.1.1 Count and non-count nouns

While number can be shown through inflection (see 3.1.2.3) numerals are also used which precedes the noun. Most speakers will use FH numbers up to twenty and use borrowings from Fiji English after that. (See numerals 3.4.1). Collective terms e.g. (3c) and fractions (3d) are also used to quantify count nouns. To quantify non-count nouns a quantifying noun is used as a complement to form a nominal as illustrated in Table 3. The other quantifying nouns used are units of quantity and measure nouns.

(3)

a) *dui* *admi*
two man
'Two men.'

b) *foṭ'i* *murgi*
forty chicken
'Forty chickens.'

c) *dui darjan* *murgi*
two dozen chicken
'Two dozen chickens.'

d) *adha* *rot'i* *de-na*
half roti give-POL
'Give me half a *roti* please.'

subtype	FH	Gloss
container	<i>beg</i>	bag
	<i>basta</i>	sack
	<i>balt'i</i>	bucket
	<i>hand'i</i>	pot
	<i>kap</i>	cup
	<i>kont'eina</i>	container
	<i>piala</i>	big bowl
	<i>piali</i>	small bowl
measure	<i>kilo/keji</i>	kilogram
	<i>lit'a</i>	litre
	<i>mit'a</i>	metre
	<i>gelan</i>	gallon
unit	<i>kot'apaun</i>	a small piece/ small quantity
collective	<i>jod'a</i>	pair
	<i>panja</i>	bunch
	<i>jhappa</i>	bunch of fruits still on tree
	<i>jutt'i</i>	bundle
	<i>kud'a</i>	heap

Table 3 Quantifying Nouns

(4)

a) *ek balt'i pāni*
one bucket water
'A bucket of water.'

b) *dui kilo cāur*
two kilogram rice
'Two kilograms of rice.'

c) *kot'apaun nagona de-na*
a bag yaqona give-POL
'Give me a bag of *yaqona* (kava) please.'

In example (4c) ‘quarter pound’ is not an exact measure but is used to mean a small paper bag of *yaqona* or elsewhere a slice of butter sold in shops.

d) *dui* *jhappa* *narial* *tud’-o*
 two bunch coconut break-IMP
 ‘Break two bunch of coconuts from the tree.’

e) *cār* *kud’a* *bhindi* *de-na*
 four heap okra give-POL
 ‘Give me four heaps of okra please.’

3.1.1.2 Proper Nouns

FH proper nouns can be modified by the postposition *ke* or compound postposition *ke khatin* which marks the oblique function or the genitive case (see section 3.6.1 and 3.6.5 for more details).

(5)

a) *Ram* *Rahul* *ke* *bola-is*
 PN Rahul OBL call-3SG.PST
 ‘Ram called Rahul.’

b) *Ram* *ke* *bhaia* *ā-is*
 PN GEN brother come-3SG.PST
 ‘Ram’s brother came.’

3.1.2 Noun Morphology

3.1.2.1 Reduplication

Reduplication is confined to a small group of nouns and verbs (see 3.7.8) and is used to indicate ‘every one of’. Some very common ones are (5a) *ghar-ghar*, b) *gao-gao*, c) *bacha-baccha* and d) *kaud’i-kaud’i*.

(6)

a) *Shalesh* *gao* *ke* *ghar-ghar* *pe* *nagona* *pi-e* *he*
 PN village OBL house-house LOC yaqona drink-3SG.PRES COP
 ‘Shalesh drinks *yaqona* at every house in the village.’

b) *gao-gao* *me* *nauta* *de-na*
 village-village LOC invite give-POL
 ‘Give invitations to all the villages please.’

c) *bacha-baccha* *ke* *lag-e* *faisbuk* *akaunt* *he*
 child-child OBL have-3SG.PRES facebook account COP
 ‘Every child has a facebook account.’

d) *kaud’i-kaud’i* *se* *i* *ghar* *ban-a* *he*
 penny-penny INST DEM house make-1SG.PST COP
 ‘Every penny has been used to make this house.’

3.1.2.2 Special reduplication

Partial reduplication is used to show ‘and the like’. In partial duplication, the same noun is repeated but the initial consonant of the second member is replaced with /w/ or

/w/ is prefixed for vowel-initial word. This morphological process is still very productive.

(7)

<i>kām-wām</i>	‘work and the like’
<i>ām-wām</i>	‘mangoes and the like’
<i>khāna-wāna</i>	‘food and the like’
<i>bāt-wāt</i>	‘talk and the like’
<i>padh’āi-wadh’āi</i>	‘study and the like’
<i>filam-wilam</i>	‘films and the like’
<i>ṭibi-wibi</i>	‘television and the like’
<i>sid’i-wid’i</i>	‘compact disc and the like’

3.1.2.3 Number

Another morphological process is inflection for plural. The suffix *-long* may be added to animate nouns to indicate plural.

(8)

<i>admi</i> ‘man’	<i>admi-long</i> ‘men’
<i>lad’ka</i> ‘boy’	<i>lad’ka-long</i> ‘boys’
<i>aurat</i> ‘woman’	<i>aurat-long</i> ‘women’
<i>kutta</i> ‘dog’	<i>kutta-long</i> ‘dogs’

In three cases the suffix *-(a)n* is added to the base.

(9)

- a) *ghar* *pe* ***lad’ka-n*** *he ?*
house LOC boy-PL COP
‘Are the boys home?’
- b) ***pagla-n*** *bhag* *ga-in*
mad-PL run AUX-3PL.PST
‘All the mad ones ran away.’
- c) ***lad’ki-an*** *kahā* *he?*
girl-PL where LOC
‘Where are the girls?’

3.1.2.4 Gender

Although FH does not usually mark gender, there are cases where gender marking is compulsory. The two genders are masculine and feminine. Few animate nouns are assigned a gender whereas some kin terms are.

Most /a/ ending masculine noun have their feminine forms ending in /i/. This tendency has been observed by Moag (1977, p.224) and Pillai (1975, p.8). Both of them use the

term *lad'ka* and *lad'ki* showing inflection for gender. Some common examples of this marking are:

	Masculine	Feminine
Boy/girl	<i>lad'ka</i>	<i>lad'ki</i>
Paternal uncle/aunt	<i>kaka</i>	<i>kaki</i>
Paternal grandfather/grandmother	<i>aja</i>	<i>aji</i>
Father's elder brother/ brother's wife	<i>dada</i>	<i>dadi</i>
Maternal uncle/aunt	<i>mama</i>	<i>mami</i>
Maternal grandfather/grandmother	<i>nana</i>	<i>nani</i>
Wife's brother/younger sister	<i>sala</i>	<i>sali</i>
Cat male/female	<i>pusa</i>	<i>pusi</i>
Chicken	<i>murga</i>	<i>murgi</i>
Mad person	<i>pagla</i>	<i>pagli</i>

Table 4 Gender Marking

While gender marking may be considered not productive anymore and is historic, a borrowing from Fijian shows that gender marking has been used productively. While a male cat is *pusa* female cat is *pusi*.

3.1.2.5 Derivation

A very common derivational process creating nouns is the use of the suffix *-wala*. This process is still productive. Mostly this is used to refer to a person associated with the noun denoted by the base.

- (10) *tarkari-wala* 'vegetable seller'
kām-wala 'employer'
kompiuṭa-wala 'computer technician'
kapd'a-wala 'clothes seller'

In the speech of the younger generation now this derivation has seen a change. The suffix is losing the first part *-wa* and now it is common to hear FH speakers using *-la*

only. The terms in the example above can also be : *tarkari-la*, *kām-la*, *kompiut'a-la* and *kapd'a-la*.

3.1.3 Noun Formation

The most common noun formation process is compounding.

3.1.3.1 Compounding

3.1.3.1.1 Copulative compounds

Copulative compounds, also known as co-compounds (Koul 2008, p.73) are juxtaposed semantically related nouns. This process is productive and speakers may come up with such compounds as long as the two nouns are semantically related.

(11)

<i>mai bāp</i>	mother father	‘parents’
<i>maia bāppa</i>	mother father	‘parents’
<i>bhaia bhaini</i>	brother sister	‘siblings’
<i>suk duk</i>	happiness sorrow	‘good and bad times’
<i>gham pāni</i>	sunshine water	‘sun shower’
<i>maia beta</i>	mother son	‘mother and son’

3.1.3.1.2 Superordinate compounds

In this type of compound, the meaning projected by the individual members is narrower than the meaning of the compound. There is only such compound in use in FH, *hāt god*, literally ‘hand’ and ‘legs’, used to denote the whole body.

3.1.3.1.3 Hybrid compounds

While one member of the compound is FH the other is borrowed from another language. There is only one such compound frequently in use in FH, *bundi kera* referring to a particular variety of banana. *vudi* refers to cooking banana in Fijian. The first word is borrowed from Fijian *vudi*. In FH the Fijian term for ‘banana’ is borrowed and the FH term for ‘banana’ is added to it.

3.1.3.1.4 Adjective Noun compounds

A large number of compounds are composed of an adjective followed by a noun. Some common examples of these compounds are:

(12) <i>karia mirca</i>	black chilli	‘black pepper’
<i>bad'a chimmac</i>	big spoon	‘ladle’
<i>piarka dalo</i>	yellow taro	‘a variety of yellow taro’
<i>jangli murgi</i>	wild chicken	‘free-range chicken’

3.2 Pronouns

3.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Pronouns are inflected for number. There are seven classes of pronouns in FH: personal, demonstrative, relative, possessive, reflexive, reciprocal, interrogative, and indefinite. The table below shows the personal pronoun system:

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>ham</i>	<i>ham-long</i>
2 nd	<i>tum</i>	<i>tum-long</i>
2 nd formal	<i>āp</i>	<i>āp-long</i>
3 rd - prox (near)	<i>i</i>	<i>i-long</i>
distal (far)	<i>u</i>	<i>u-long</i>

Table 5 Pronouns

The oblique form of first person singular is *hame* ‘me’ and second person is *tume* ‘you’. All the other forms use the postposition *ke* to mark oblique. (See section 3.6.1)

3.2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

The third person singular pronouns also function as demonstratives.

(13)

(a) *i buk*
this book
‘This book.’

(b) *u buk*
that book
‘That book.’

These demonstratives can also be followed by the suffixes *-wala* or *-la*. (See section 3.1.2.5)

(c) *i-wala buk*
this- NOM book
‘This book.’

(d) *u-la buk*
that- NOM book
‘That book.’

3.2.3 Relative Pronouns

The relative pronouns are *jon* ‘who’, ‘which’, ‘that’, ‘what’ in singular and *ji-long* in plural. When referring to a specific group of individuals the form *jon-jon* is used. The oblique form of the relative pronoun is *jis ke*. The relative marker precedes the relative clause. (See section 4.2.4 on relative clauses.)

(14)

(a) *jon* *lad'ka ā-is* *raha* *u* *hamar* *bhaia* *he*
REL boy come-3SG. PST COP 3SG 1S GEN brother EXT
‘The boy who came is my brother.’

b) *pulis* *ji-long ke* *pakad'-is* *raha* *ulong* *cor* *he*
Police REL- PL OBL catch-3SG. PST COP 3PL thief EXT
‘These people who police caught are thieves.’

(c) *jon-jon* *halla* *kar-at* *raha* *bahar* *ā-o*
REL- PL noise do- PST PROG outside come-IMP
‘All those who were making noise, come outside.’

(d) *jis* *ke* *bula-is* *raha* *u* *nai* *ā-is*
REL OBL invite-3SG.PST COP 3S NEG come-3G.PST
‘The one who was invited did not come.’

3.2.4 Possessive Pronouns

The table below shows the possessive pronouns:

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>hamar</i>	<i>hamlong ke</i>
2 nd	<i>tumar</i>	<i>tumlong ke</i>
2 nd formal	<i>āp ke</i>	<i>āplong ke</i>
3 rd - prox (near)	<i>iske</i>	<i>ilong ke</i>
dist (far)	<i>uske</i>	<i>ulong ke</i>

Table 6 Possessive Pronouns

Apart from the first and second person singular all other possessive pronouns use the genitive *ke* to form phrases (see section 3.6.1 for detailed discussion). The third person singular forms *is-* and *us-* do not occur independently so *iske* and *uske* are treated as a single word.

3.2.5 Reflexive Pronouns

The two reflexive pronouns *apne*, and a compound form of this *apneāp*, are used to refer to the subject which is also the object of the sentence. *apne* and *apneāp* are interchangeable. They can also be used as adverbs in the meaning ‘of one’s own accord, spontaneously’.

(15)

(a) *u* *apne* *ghare* *ga-is*
3SG REFL home go-3SG. PST
‘He went home by himself.’

(b) *apneāp* *sab* *kām* *kar-o*
REFL all work do-IMP do-IMP
‘Do all the work yourself.’

(c) *u apneāp ke bad'a samjh-e he*
 3SG REFL. OBL big think-INF EXT
 'He thinks highly of himself.'

(d) *apneāp pe sab nai le-o*
 REFL OBL all NEG take-IMP
 'Don't take everything on yourself.'

3.2.6 Reciprocal Pronoun

When a reflexive pronoun *apne* is preceded by a plural pronoun and followed by the postposition *me* it becomes a reciprocal pronoun, indicating that all participants are undergoers of the action (see 3.6.3).

(16)
 (a) *ulong apne me bāt kar-e he*
 3PL RECP INCL talk do- 3PL.PRES CONT
 'They are talking amongst themselves.'

(b) *tumlong apne me khel-o*
 2PL RECP INCL play-IMP
 'Play amongst yourselves.'

3.2.7 Interrogative Pronouns

In both singular and plural, there are three interrogative pronouns: *kon* 'who' (referring to a person) and *konci* 'what' (referring to things) and *kiske* (whose, to whom.). It should be noted that the question statement is based on intonation.

(17)
 (a) *kon i glas fod'-is*
 who DEM glass break-3SG.PST
 'Who broke this glass?'

(b) *kal konci bol-e raha tum*
 yesterday what say-INF PST 2SG
 'What did you say yesterday?'

(c) *tum kiske paisa di-a raha*
 2SG who money give-PST COP
 'Who did you give the money to?'

Interrogative adverbial forms related to these pronouns are: *kab* 'when,' *kaise* 'how', *kon-la* 'which one', and *kitna* 'how much'. (See 3.8.1.3)

3.2.8 Indefinite Pronouns

There are two indefinite pronouns *koi* 'any', 'someone' or 'anything' and *kuc* 'something'. While *koi* indicates non-specific, *kuc* denotes specific. *kuc* is also used as an adjective (numeral and quantitative) and as an adverb meaning 'some, a few, a little, partly'.

(18)

(a) *koi* *ā-is*
anyone come-PST
‘Did anyone come?’

(b) *kuc* *bol-o*
something say-IMP
‘Say something!’

(c) *kuc* *lad’ka-n* *ā-in*
some boy-PL come-3PL.PST
‘Some boys came.’

(d) *kuc* *aur* *de-o*
Some *more* *give-IMP*
‘Give some more.’

3.2.9 Compound Pronouns

Pronouns may be compounded to convey additional meaning. The following are some important compound pronouns:

<i>aur-koi</i>	‘someone else’
<i>aur-kon</i>	‘who else’
<i>aur-kuc</i>	‘something else’
<i>bahut-kuc</i>	‘a great deal’
<i>jon-koi</i>	‘whoever’
<i>jon-kuc</i>	‘whatever’
<i>koi-dusra</i>	‘someone else’
<i>koi-na-koi</i>	‘someone or other’
<i>kon-la</i>	‘which one’
<i>kuc-na-kuc</i>	‘something or other’
<i>sab-koi</i>	‘everybody’
<i>sab-kuc</i>	‘everything’

(19)

(a) *ja-o* *aur-koi* *ke* *bula-o*
go-IMP someone else OBL call-IMP
‘Go and call someone else!’

(b) *tumar* *sange aur-kon* *raha*
2SG.GEN with and who COP
‘Who else was with you?’

(c) *sab-kuc* *la-o*
everything bring-IMP
‘Bring everything!’

3.3 Determiners

The function of determiners in FH is carried out by the demonstratives *i* and *u*. These two not only function as third person pronouns but also are preposed to nouns as demonstratives. Quite often the suffix *-la* is combined with these demonstratives to indicate definiteness of a particular noun as seen in (20 c) and d).

(20)

(a) *i* *buk*
this book
'This/the book.'

(b) *u* *buk*
that book
'That/the book.'

(c) *i-la* *lad'ka*
This-NOM boy
'This/the boy.'

(d) *u-la* *lad'ka*
That-NOM boy
'That/the boy.'

3.4 Quantifiers

A very small group of words are utilized to indicate quantity of a head noun. The most common quantifiers are *kamti* 'less', *thora* 'less', *jada* 'more', *bahut* 'a lot', and *dh'er* 'a lot'.

(21)

(a) *hame* *kamti* *bhāt* *de-na*
1SG.OBL less rice give-POL
'Give me less rice please.'

(b) *hame* *thora* *bhāt* *de-na*
1SG. OBL little rice give-POL
'Give me a little rice please.'

(c) *uske* *jada* *bhāt* *de-na*
3SG.OBL more rice give-POL
'Give him more rice please.'

(d) *tum* *bahut* *khana* *kha-ta* *he*
2SG a lot food eat- 2.PRES COP
'You eat a lot of food.'

(e) *uske* *dh'er* *khana* *de-na*
3SG.OBL a lot food give-POL
'Give him a lot of food please.'

3.4.1 Numerals

Numerals in FH precede the noun. Most speakers would use FH numbers up to twenty and borrow from English after that. In cases such as stating age or amount of money

multiples of ten retain their FH form. The FH numerals up to 20 and some multiples of ten are:

<i>ek</i>	1	<i>gyāra</i>	11	<i>tīs</i>	30
<i>dui</i>	2	<i>bāra</i>	12	<i>calīs</i>	40
<i>tīn</i>	3	<i>tera</i>	13	<i>pacās</i>	50
<i>cār</i>	4	<i>cauda</i>	14	<i>sao</i>	100
<i>pāc</i>	5	<i>pandra</i>	15	<i>hajār</i>	1000
<i>che</i>	6	<i>sora</i>	16		
<i>sāt</i>	7	<i>satra</i>	17		
<i>āt</i>	8	<i>ath'āra</i>	18		
<i>nao</i>	9	<i>onais</i>	19		
<i>das</i>	10	<i>bīs</i>	20		

(22)

(a) *ek ghar*
 one house
 'A house.'

(b) *ek sundar ghar*
 one beautiful house
 'A beautiful house.'

(c) *pacās sāl ke admi*
 fifty year OBL man
 'Fifty-year-old man.'

(d) *dui hajār d'ola*
 Two thousand dollar
 'Two thousand dollars.'

3.4.1.1 Aggregation

Aggregation is expressed by adding the suffix *-o* to a numeral. When added to *ek* it particularly means 'any one'. But when added to other numerals it means all those referred to.

(23)

(a) *ek-o admi uske dekh-is raha*
 One-AGG man 3SG.OBL see-3SG.PST COP
 'Did any man see him?'

(b) *tīn-o lad'ka-n bahar ā-o*
 Three-AGG boy-PL outside come-IMP
 'All you three boys come out.'

(c) *das-o murgi mar ga-in*
 Ten-AGG chickens die AUX-3PL.PST
 'All ten chickens died.'

3.4.1.2 Distributive

Repetition or reduplication of the numeral *ek* ‘one’ denotes the meaning of ‘each’. At other times when numerals are reduplicated it refers to ‘at a time’ or ‘per piece’.

(24)

(a) *ek ek* *lad'ka-n* *age* *ā-o*
 each one boy-PL front come-IMP
 ‘Each of you boys come out one after the other.’

(b) *cār cār* *bia* *gad'dha* *me* *chod'-o*
 four four seeds hole in put-IMP
 ‘Put four seeds in each hole.’

The idea of expressing ‘each’ varies. Apart from *ek ek*, the plural pronouns *hamlong* ‘we’, *tumlong* ‘you’, *ilong* and *ulong* ‘they’ combined with the compound pronoun *sabkoi* ‘everyone’ can be also be used. In some instances the expression *har-ek* ‘everyone’ can also be heard. These expressions can be interpreted as ‘all of you’ or ‘each one of you.’

(c) *hamlong* *sabkoi* *khel-a* *raha*
 1PL everyone play-PST COP
 ‘We had all played.’

(d) *tumlong* *sabkoi* *ā-o*
 2PL everyone come-IMP
 ‘All of you come.’/ ‘Each one of you come.’

(e) *ilong* *sabkoi* *ā-in* *raha*
 3PL everyone come-3PL.PST COP
 ‘All of them had come.’

(f) *har-ek* *ke* *bula-o*
 everyone OBL call-IMP
 ‘Call everyone!’

3.4.1.3 Ordinals

The common ordinals are *pahila* ‘first’, *dusra* ‘second’, *tisra* ‘third’ and *cautha* ‘fourth.’

(25)

(a) *i* *Rakes* *ke* *pahila* *lad'ka* *he*
 3SG Rakesh GEN first boy COP
 ‘This is Rakesh’s first son.’

(b) *u* *dusra* *lad'ka* *he*
 3SG second boy COP
 ‘He is the second son.’

(c) *tum* *cautha* *admi* *i* *bāt* *bol-a* *he*
 2SG fourth man DEM talk say-2SG. PST COP
 ‘You are the fourth man to say this.’

3.5 Adjectives

Adjectives in FH precede the noun. Some examples of the use of adjectives are:

(26)

(a) *sundar* *lad'ki*
 beautiful girl
 'Beautiful girl.'

(b) *hamar* *bad'a* *bhaia*
 1SG.GEN elder brother
 'My elder brother.'

(c) *tum* *jut'tha* *lad'ka* *he*
 2SG lying boy COP
 'You are a lying boy.'

(d) *i* *sundar* *ghar* *hamar* *he*
 DEM beautiful house 1SG.GEN COP
 'This beautiful house is mine.'

(e) *tum* *accha* *lad'ka* *he*
 2SG good boy COP
 'You are a good boy.'

3.5.1 Degree of Adjectives

Some adjectives are gradable. Comparative degrees of qualities are denoted with the postposition *se* following the noun or pronoun with which the comparison is made and superlatives are denoted by *sab-se* 'out of all' as illustrated in 27 a) and b).

(27)

(a) *FNU* *yunibesit'i of Fiji* *se* *bad'a* *he*
 PN University of Fiji ABL big COP
 'FNU is bigger than University of Fiji.'

(b) *USP* *Fiji* *me* *sab-se* *bad'a* *yunibesit'i* *he*
 PN Fiji INES out of all big university COP
 'USP is the biggest university in Fiji.'

Adjectives can be repeated with the postposition *se* inserted between them to form superlatives.

(28)

acha se acha 'best of all'
kharāb se kharāb 'worst of all'
dher se dher 'most'
kamti se kamti 'least'
sundar se sundar 'most beautiful of all'

(29) *kamti se kamti* *dui* *admilong* *ā-in* *raha*
 Least two man.PL come-3PL.PST COP
 'At the least two men came.'

3.6 Postpositions

Postpositions, like English prepositions, express the case of a noun such as benefactive, manner, location etc. The postpositions are: *ke*, *pe*, *me*, and *se*. As the name suggests postpositions follow the noun they are marking and form postpositional phrases.

3.6.1 The Postposition *ke*

The postposition *ke* has two major functions. One is to mark the grammatical function of a noun or pronoun as direct or indirect object. This will be labelled as the oblique case. The other function is to indicate that the noun is modified by another noun and is part of a postpositional phrase. (See postpositional phrase in section 4.1.3.) This function will be labeled as the genitive case. This commonly marks possession, but can also mark composition, association, description and so on. An allomorph of *ke* which is *ki* is used when discussing sequence of action as shown in example 51. The following are examples of the use of the postposition *ke* with direct objects:

(30)

- (a) *taibal* *ke* *safa* *kar-o*
table OBL clean do-IMP
'Clean the table.'
- (b) *boks* *ke* *idhar* *rakh-o*
box OBL here put-IMP
'Put the box here.'
- (c) *ham* *let'a* *ke* *pad'-a*
1SG letter OBL read- PST
'I read the letter.'
- (d) *u* *murgi* *ke* *mar-is*
3SG chicken OBL kill-3SG.PST
'He killed the chicken.'

The postposition *ke* is used to mark an indirect object also:

(31)

- (a) *Vijen* *ke* *Amerka* *accha* *lag-e*
PN OBL America good feel-3SG.PRES
'Vijen likes America (literally, America is good for Vijen).'
- (b) *ham* *apan* *bhaia* *ke* *let'a* *likh-ta* *he*
1SG own brother OBL letter write-1SG PRES COP
'I am writing a letter to my brother.'

The oblique postposition *ke* can also be used with temporal nouns like *kal* 'tomorrow', *rāt* 'night', *sanjha* 'evening', *din* 'day' and *sabere* 'morning' where the postpositional phrase expresses time.

(32)

(a) *kon jān-e kal ke konci ho-i*
who know-3SG.PRES tomorrow OBL what happen-FUT
'Who knows what will happen tomorrow.'

(b) *agar kal ke uske kuc ho-i to*
if tomorrow OBL 3SG.GEN something happen-FUT then
'If something happens to him tomorrow then what?'

(c) *rāt ke puja he*
night OBL prayer COP
'The prayer is at night.'

(d) *sanjha ke nagona pi-o*
evening OBL yaqona drink-IMP
'Drink *yaqona* in the evening.'

(e) *tufān sanjha ke ā-i*
Hurricane evening OBL come-3S FUT
'The hurricane will come in the evening.'

The postposition *ke* acts as a genitive marker also. It should be noted that the postposition *ke* is not used to mark possession for first and second singular because of the possessive pronouns which occur for that purpose. The third person singular possessive has the special forms *iske* and *uske* while the plurals use *ke*.

(33)

(a) *hamar buk*
1SG.GEN book
'My book.'

(b) *hamlong ke buk*
1.PL GEN book
'Our book.'

(c) *tumar buk*
2SG.GEN book
'Your book.'

(d) *tumlong ke buk*
2.PL GEN book
'Your book.'

(e) *iske buk*
3SG.GEN book
'His/her book.'

(f) *uske buk*
3SG.GEN book
'His/her book.'

(g) *ilong ke buk*
3.PL GEN book
'Their book.'

(h) *ulong ke buk*
3.PL GEN book
'Their book.'

The genitive postposition *ke* is also used to denote possession and relationship, material or composition, measure or worth, source, origin or cause, product of an activity, part of a whole, and characteristic.

Possession and relationship

(34)

(a) *Arti ke mot'ar*
 PN GEN car
 'Arti's car.'

(b) *Arti ke bhaia āj a-i*
 PN GEN brother today come-3SG.FUT
 'Arti's brother will come today.'

Material or composition

(35) *matt'i ke bartan accha he*
 clay GEN utensils good COP
 'Clay utensils are good.'

Measure or worth

(36)

(a) *ek kilo cāur ke dām kitna he*
 one kilogram rice GEN price how much COP
 'What is the price of a kilogram of rice?'

(b) *i pāc d'ola ke kera he*
 DEM five dollars GEN banana COP
 'This is a five dollar banana.'

Source, origin, or cause

(37)

(a) *J K Rowling ke buk hīa nai he*
 PN GEN book here NEG LOC
 'J.K.Rowling's book is not here.'

(b) *i ped' ke ām bahut mitt'ha he*
 DEM tree GEN mango very sweet COP
 'This tree's mangoes are very sweet.'

(c) *u Ronaldo ke kāran goul pila-is*
 3SG PN GEN cause goal score-3SG.PST
 'He scored the goal because of Ronaldo.'

The example c) uses a compound postposition which will be discussed in section 3.6.5.

Product (of an activity)

(38) *Rewa tīm ke geim bahut accha he*
 PN team GEN game very good CONT
 'Rewa team's game is very good.'

Part of a whole

(39) *glas ke tukd'a pad'-a raha*
 glass GEN piece lie-PST COP
 'A piece of glass was lying.'

Characteristics

(40) *mitt'hāi* *ke* *mahak* *julum* *he*
sweets GEN smell nice COP
'The smell of the sweets is nice.'

3.6.2 The Postposition *se*

The postposition *se* has a variety of functions. In order to gloss clearly two categories will be distinguished. The first is associative (ASS). This indicates 'to be with' or 'with it', including means, instrument, agency and manner as in 41-42. The second is ablative (ABL). This includes prototypical uses to indicate source, cause and comparison as shown in examples 43-45.

(41)

(a) *u* *apan* *aurat* *se* *roj* *lad'-e* *he*
3SG own wife ASS daily fight-INF COP
'He fights with his wife daily.'

(b) *ham* *se* *jhut'* *nai* *bol-na*
1SG ASS lie NEG say-POL
'Do not lie to me please.'

(c) *chud'i* *se* *bhaji* *kat-o*
knife INST vegetable cut-IMP
'Cut the vegetables with a knife.'

(d) *pensal* *se* *skec* *bana-na*
pencil ASS sketch make-POL
'Make the sketch with a pencil please.'

(e) *ham* *chimmac* *se* *sabtaem* *khāna* *kha-ta* *he*
1SG spoon ASS always food eat-HAB COP
'I always eat with a spoon.'

It indicates manner.

(42)

(a) *hamar* *bāt* *dheyan* *se* *sun-na*
1SG.GEN talk attention ASS listen-POL
'Listen to my talk attentively please.'

(b) *pāni* *bahut* *jor* *se* *bars-is* *raha*
rain very heavy ASS rain-3SG.PST PERF
'It rained very heavily.'

It indicates the starting point, place, time, and direction.

(43)

(a) *hame* *ofis* *se* *mesaj* *mil-a*
1SG.OBL office ABL message get-1SG PST
'I got the message from the office.'

(b) *hāa* *se* *taun* *bahut* *dur* *he*
here ASS town DEG far COP
'The town is very far from here.'

(c) *jaldi* *se* *kha-o*
 quick ASS eat-IMP
 ‘Eat quickly.’

(d) *age* *se* *ghum-na*
 front ASS turn-POL
 ‘Turn from the front please.’

It also represents cause, reason and origin.

(44)

(a) *u* *bukhār* *se* *kamjor* *bha-is*
 3SG sick ASS weak happen-3SG.PST
 ‘He became weak due to sickness.’

(b) *dengi* *fiba* *macchar* *se* *fail-e* *he*
 dengue fever mosquitoes ASS spread-3SG.PRES COP
 ‘Dengue fever is spread by mosquitoes.’

(c) *i* *murat* *patthar* *se* *ban-is* *he*
 DEM statue stone ASS make-3SG.PST COP
 ‘This statue is made from stone.’

It is used to indicate the difference or comparison in quality and quantity. (See 3.5.1)

(45)

(a) *Ba me* *Nausori* *se* *garam* *he*
 PN INES PN ABL hot COP
 ‘Ba is hotter than Nausori.’

(b) *i* *rest’uren* *ke* *khana u* *jagha se* *sawad* *he*
 DEM restaurant GEN food DEM place ABL tasty COP
 ‘This restaurant’s food is tastier than there.’

(c) *kal* *se* *garam* *āj* *he*
 Yesterday ABL hot today COP
 ‘Today is hotter than yesterday.’

3.6.3 The Postposition *me*

The function of *me* is inessive (INES). It can be used to mean ‘within’, ‘within a group’, ‘within a period of time’, ‘within a certain price’ and ‘within a group of people’. It also indicates location.

Location

(46)

(a) *hamar* *ofis* *Suba* *me* *he*
 1SG.GEN office PN INES LOC
 ‘My office is in Suva.’

(b) *uske* *lad’ka* *USP* *me* *pad’-e* *he*
 3SG.GEN son PN INES study-INF LOC
 ‘His son studies at USP.’

Duration

(47)

(a) *i* *buk* *ham* *pāc* *din* *me* *pad'-a*
DEM book 1SG five day INES read-PST
'I read this book in five days.'

(b) *i* *ghar* *che* *sāl* *me* *ban-a*
DEM house six year INES build-PST
'This house was made in six years.'

Price

(48) *ham* *i* *sat'* *das* *d'ola* *me* *kharid-a*
1SG DEM shirt ten dollars INES buy-PST
'I bought this shirt for ten dollars.'

3.6.4 The Postposition *pe*

The postposition *pe* has a suppressive (SUPR) function. It has two meanings, 'on' and 'at a particular point'. It can also be used idiomatically as illustrated in the examples 49 a) and b).

Location

(49)

(a) *paipa* *taibal* *pe* *he*
Paper table SUPR COP
'The paper is on the table.'

(b) *kapd'a* *tār* *pe* *jhura-e* *he*
Clothes clothes line SUPR dry-3SG.PRES CONT
'Clothes are drying on the clothes line.'

(c) *nagona-la* *dukān* *thod'a* *dur* *pe* *he*
yaqona-NOM shop little far SUPR LOC
'The yaqona shop is a little further away.'

Point in time

(50)

(a) *u* *taem* *pe* *nai* *ā-is*
3SG time SUPR NEG come-3SG.PST
'He did not come on time.'

(b) *bas* *cār* *baj* *ke* *das* *minat'* *pe* *ā-i*
bus four o'clock OBL ten minute SUPR come-3SG.FUT
'The bus will come at ten past four.'

Sequence of actions

This construction only occurs with the infinitive and the second verb will be either *pata cala* or *pata laga* 'find out'. Furthermore in this construction the postposition *ke* has an allomorph *ki*. This is the only place where this allomorph marking the oblique is used.

(51) *hīa* *pahuc-e* *pe* *pata* *lag-a* *ki* *u* *nai* *he*
here reach-INF SUPR find feel-PST OBL 3SG NEG COP
'On reaching here, it was found that he was not present.'

Idioms (Object of verbs)

(52)

(a) *garib* *pe* *daya* *kar-na*
poor SUPR mercy do-POL
'Have mercy on the poor please.'

(b) *bhagwān* *pe* *biswas* *rakh-na*
God SUPR faith keep-POL
'Have faith in God please.'

3.6.5 Compound Postpositions

Compound postpositions are employed to express various meanings. They are formed by combining the postposition *ke* with certain nouns in set phrases as follows:

<i>ke āge</i>	in front of
<i>ke bād</i>	afterwards
<i>ke badle</i>	in place of
<i>ke bahar</i>	outside of
<i>ke barābar</i>	equal
<i>ke bhittar</i>	inside
<i>ke bina</i>	without
<i>ke jagha</i>	in place of
<i>ke karan</i>	because of
<i>ke khatin</i>	for
<i>ke lagbhag</i>	about
<i>ke pahile</i>	before
<i>ke pār</i>	across
<i>ke pas</i>	near
<i>ke rakam</i>	like
<i>ke sāmne</i>	in front of
<i>ke sathe</i>	along with
<i>ke taraf</i>	towards
<i>ke uppar</i>	above

Some common examples of compound postposition usage are:

(53)

a) *Rakesh* *ke* *karan* *hame* *chot'* *lag-is*
PN GEN reason 1SG.OBL hurt occur-PST
'I got hurt because of Rakesh.'

The constituents of the above sentence are interchangeable.

(b) *hame* *chot'* *Rakesh* *ke* *karan* *lag-is*
 1SG.OBL hurt PN GEN reason occur-PST
 'I got hurt because of Rakesh.'

Purpose is expressed by the use of the infinitive verb followed by the postposition *ke khatin* 'for.'

(54) *ham* *soka* *dekh-e* *ke* *khatin* *Suba* *ga-e* *raha*
 1SG soccer see-INF GEN purpose PN go-INF PST
 'I went to Suva to watch soccer.'

Similarity is expressed by the genitive postpositional phrase *ke rakam* 'like.'

(55) *u* *patthar* *hāma* *ke* *rakam* *yus* *kar-e* *he*
 3SG stone hammer GEN like use do-INF COP
 'He is using the stone like a hammer.'

There are instances where more complex examples of compound postpositions can be heard. For instance reference is denoted by the postpositional expression *ke bare me* 'about.'

(56)

(a) *ham* *apan* *kām* *ke* *bare* *me* *uske* *bata-ya*
 1SG self work GEN about INES 3SG.GEN tell-1SG.PST
 'I told him about my work.'

(b) *tume* *apan* *pad'hai* *ke* *bare* *me* *soc-e* *ke* *cahi*
 2SG.OBL own study GEN about INES think-INF OBL should
 'You should think about your studies.'

The compound postposition *ke bhes me* expresses the meaning 'in the guise of.'

(57) *chor* *pulis* *ke* *bhes* *me* *ghum-e* *he*
 thief police GEN form INES roam-INF COP
 'The thief is roaming around in the guise of a policeman.'

Accompaniment is expressed by the compound postposition *ke sāthe* 'including.'

(58)

(a) *ham* *Ana* *ke* *sāthe* *ja-ta* *filam* *dekh-e*
 1SG PN GEN with go-1SG.PST film see-INF
 'I am going to see the movie with Ana.'

(b) *tumlong* *skul* *bhaia* *ke* *sath'e* *ja-na*
 2PL school brother GEN with go-POL
 'Go to school with brother please.'

Exclusion is expressed by the dative compound postposition *ke bina* 'without.'

(59) *accha* *golkipa* *ke* *bina* *Rewa* *hār-is*
 good goalkeeper GEN without PN loss-3SG.PST
 'Rewa lost without their good goalkeeper.'

Direction is marked by the postposition *ke taraf* 'motion to.'

(60) *u* *kent'in* *ke* *taraf* *ga-is* *raha*
 3SG small shop GEN to go-3SG.PST COP
 'He went towards the small shop.'

The approximate location is expressed by *ke nazdik* 'near.'

(61)

(a) *hamar* *ghar* *dukān* *ke* *nazdik* *he*
1SG.GEN house shop GEN near COP
'My house is near the shop.'

(b) *chot'a* *lad'ka* *pāni* *ke* *nazdik* *ga-is* *raha*
small boy water GEN near go-3SG.PST COP
'The small boy had gone close to the water.'

Interior location is expressed by *ke bhittar* 'inside of.'

(62)

(a) *biskit'* *botal* *ke* *bhittar* *he*
biscuit bottle GEN inside COP
'The biscuit is inside the bottle.'

(b) *halla* *ghar* *ke* *bhittar* *se* *ā-e* *he*
noise house GEN inside ABL come-3SG.PRES COP
'The noise is coming from inside the house.'

Exterior location is denoted by the postposition *ke bahār* 'outside of.'

(63)

(a) *tamaku* *ghar* *ke* *bahār* *pi-o*
cigarette house GEN outside drink-IMP
'Smoke outside the house.' as in 62b) where there is an ablative meaning.

(b) *u* *hot'el* *ke* *bahār* *nikl-is*
3SG hotel GEN outside come out-3SG.PST
'He came out of the hotel.'

Anterior location is expressed by the postposition *ke sāmne* 'in front of.' It may also be followed by the postposition *se* 'from'.

(64)

(a) *uske* *ghar* *ke* *sāmne* *sundar sundar* *ful* *he*
3SG.GEN house GEN front beautiful beautiful flower COP
'There are beautiful flowers in front of his house.'

(b) *bas* *hamar* *ghar* *ke* *sāmne* *se* *jā-e* *he*
bus 1SG.GEN house GEN front ASS go-INF COP
'The bus goes from the front of my house.'

(c) *i* *rāsta* *khali* *mandir* *ke* *sāmne* *tak* *he*
DEM road only temple GEN front until COP
'This road is only till the front of the temple.'

Posterior location is denoted by *ke pīce* 'behind'.

(65) *uske* *ghar* *ke* *pīce* *murgi* *ke* *darba* *he*
3SG.GEN house GEN behind chicken GEN shed COP
'The chicken shed is behind his house.'

Interior locations are indicated by the postposition *nice* 'under, below', *nice se* 'from under' and *niche tak* 'up to under' preceded by the case suffixes added to nouns.

(66)

(a) *u Fiji Times taibal ke nice rakh-is he*
 3SG PN table GEN under keep-3SG.PST LOC
 ‘He has kept the Fiji Times under the table.’

(b) *pāni ghar ke nice se bah-e he*
 water house GEN under ASS flow-INF COP
 ‘Water flows from underneath the house.’

Medial location is expressed by the terms *ke bic me* ‘in the middle.’

(67) *rasta ke bic me nai khel-o*
 road GEN middle INES NEG play-IMP
 ‘Don’t play in the middle of the road.’

Circumferential location is denoted by *ke cāro taraf* ‘on all sides’.

(68) *ghar ke cāro taraf bad’ ke pāni raha*
 house GEN all sides flood OBL water COP
 ‘The house was surrounded by flood waters.’

3.7 Verbs

Verbs have suffixes which are portmanteau morphemes indicating tense, aspect and the person and number of the subject. The verb paradigm is shown in the table below.

	present	past	Future	imperative	infinitive
1	-ta	-(y)a (t)	-ega	IMP -o POL -na	-e
2	-ta	-(y)a (t)	-ega		
3	-e	Sing -is Plural -in	-i		

Table 7 Verb Paradigm

3.7.1 Present Tense

The present tense morphemes *-ta* and *-e* without an auxiliary indicate present tense as well as habitual. By adding an auxiliary these suffixes can be used to indicate present progressive. The following examples illustrate simple present tense marking:

(69)

(a) *ham khana kha-ta*
 1SG food eat-PRES
 ‘I eat.’

(b) *hamlong khana kha-ta*
 1PL food eat-PRES
 ‘We eat.’

(c) *tum konci kha-ta*
 2SG what eat-PRES
 ‘What do you eat?’

(d) *tumlong konci bol-ta*
 2PL what say-PRES
 ‘What do you say?’

(e) *u* *ja-e*
 3SG go-3PRES
 ‘He goes.’

(f) *ulong* *ja-e*
 3PL go-3PRES
 ‘They go.’

3.7.2 Past Tense

The suffixes *-a/-is/-in* indicate simple past. The suffix *-a* has an allomorph *-ya* when the verb stem ends with the vowel *a*.

(70)

(a) *ham* *uske* *nai* *mār-a*
 1SG 3SG.OBL NEG hit-1.2.PST
 ‘I did not hit him.’

(b) *hamlong* *khub* *has-a*
 1PL lot laugh-1.2.PST
 ‘We laughed a lot.’

(c) *ham* *khana* *kha-ya*
 1SG food eat-1.2.PST
 ‘I ate the food.’

(d) *tum* *let’a* *likh-a*
 2SG letter write-1.2.PST
 ‘Did you write the letter?’

(e) *tumlong* *kab* *ga-ya*
 2.PL when go-1.2.PST
 ‘When did you go?’

(e) *u* *hame* *bala-is*
 3SG 1SG.DAT call-3SG.PST
 ‘He called me.’

(f) *ulong* *ghar* *kharid-in*
 3.PL house buy-3PL.PST
 ‘They bought the house.’

3.7.3 Future Tense

The suffixes *-ega* and *-i* indicate future tense and the person of the subject.

(71)

(a) *ham* *kal* *ja-ega*
 1SG tomorrow go-1.FUT
 ‘I will go tomorrow.’

(b) *hamlong* *khana* *bec-ega*
 1PL food sell-1.FUT
 ‘We will sell food.’

(c) *tum* *kapd’a* *kharid-ega*
 2SG clothes buy-2.FUT
 ‘Will you buy clothes?’

(d) *tumlong kitna baje ja-ega*
 2PL what time go-2.FUT
 ‘What time will you go?’

(e) *u kab ja-i*
 3SG when go-3.FUT
 ‘When will he go?’

(f) *ulong mot'ar dho-i*
 3PL car wash-3.FUT
 ‘Will they wash the car?’

3.7.4 Copula Verb

The copula verbs are *he* (present), *raha* (past) and *rah-* (future)..The present and past forms combine as auxiliaries to show present progressive, past progressive and past perfect.

(72)

(a) *ham dokt'a he*
 1SG doctor COP.PRES
 ‘I am a doctor.’

(b) *u tica raha*
 3SG teacher COP.PST
 ‘He/She was a teacher.’

(c) *tum tica rah-ega*
 2SG teacher COP.FUT
 ‘You will be a teacher.’

(d) *u soka plea rahi*
 3SG soccer player COP.FUT
 ‘He will be a soccer player.’

3.7.4.1 Present Progressive

This is formed by the present form of the verb followed by the copula *he*.

(73)

(a) *ham ja-ta he*
 1SG go-PRES COP.PROG
 ‘I am going.’

(b) *hamlong ja-ta he*
 1PL go-PRES COP.PROG
 ‘We are going.’

(c) *tum konci kar-ta he*
 2SG what do-PRES PROG
 ‘What are you doing?’

(d) *u bata-e he*
 3SG tell-3.PRES COP.PROG
 ‘He is telling.’

(e) *ulong sun-e he*
 3PL listen-PRES COP.PROG
 ‘They are listening.’

3.7.4.2 Past progressive

The suffix *-at* (an allomorph of *-(y) a*) and *raha* are used to indicate past progressive.

(74)

- (a) *ham* *ja-at* *raha*
1SG go-PST PROG
'I was going.'
- (b) *hamlong* *ja-at* *raha*
1PL go-PST PROG
'We were going.'
- (c) *tum* *konci* *bol-at* *raha*
2SG what say-PST PROG
'What were you saying?'
- (d) *tumlong* *angna* *kat'-at* *raha*
2PL compound cut-PST PROG
'Were you mowing the compound?'
- (e) *u* *khana* *kha-at* *raha*
3SG food eat-PST PROG
'He was eating.'
- (f) *ulong* *bol-at* *raha*
3PL say-PST PROG
'They were saying.'

3.7.4.3 Past perfect

The suffixes used to mark simple past tense are accompanied by the auxiliary *raha* to form past perfect aspect.

(75)

- (a) *ham* *padd'h-a* *raha*
1SG read-PST COP.PST
'I had read.'
- (b) *hamlong* *ghar* *khol-a* *raha*
1PL house open-PST COP.PST
'We had opened the house.'
- (c) *tum mitt'hai* *kha-ya* *raha*
2SG sweets eat-PST COP.PST
'Had you eaten the sweets?'
- (d) *tumlong* *dukan* *ga-ya* *raha*
2PL shop go-PST COP.PST
'Had you gone to the shop?'
- (e) *u* *bol-is* *raha*
3SG say-3SG.PST COP.PST
'He had said it.'
- (f) *ulong* *gir-in* *raha*
3PL fall-3PL.PST COP.PST
'They had fallen.'

3.7.5 Imperative

There are two suffixes which are used to mark imperative aspect. *-na* is used to express a polite request whereas *-o* is a command.

(76)

(a) *hame* *thod'a* *bhāt* *de-na*
1SG.OBL little rice give-POL
'Please give me a little bit of rice.'

(b) *tum* *kal* *ja-na*
2SG tomorrow go- POL
'Please go tomorrow.'

(c) *khana* *kha-o*
food eat-IMP
'Eat food!'

(d) *hame* *abhi* *bata-o*
1SG.OBL now tell-IMP
'Tell me now!'

3.7.6 Infinitive

The suffix *-e* is used to form infinitives. The verb with the infinitive suffix is not marked for tense and subject. The infinitive is dependent as it occurs with a following postposition.

(77)

(a) *hame* *jit-e* *ke* *pad'i*
1SG.DAT win-INF OBL have to
'I have to win.'

(b) *Hindi* *me* *likh-e* *ke* *bahut* *kad'a*
Hindi INES write-INF OBL very hard
'To write in Hindi is very hard.'

3.7.7 Conjunct Verbs

A conjunct verb may consist of a noun or an adjective and a verb taking the usual verbal inflections. The common verbs used to form conjunct constructions are *kar-* 'do', *lag-* 'feel' and *ā-* 'come'.

(78)

(a) *apan* *fren* *ke* *kol* *kar-o*
self friend GEN call do-IMP
'Make a call to your friend.'

(b) *Shalesh* *ke* *gussa* *lag-e*
PN GEN angry feel-3SG.PRES
'Shalesh is feeling angry.'

(c) *hame* *tumar* *upar* *taras* *ā-e* *he*
1SG.DAT 2SG.GEN on pity come-3.PRES COP
'I feel pity on you.'

3.7.8 Compound Verbs

A compound verb is when two verbs combine to express a meaning. Normally the first verb expresses the general meaning and the second one, which is similar to an auxiliary verb, takes the grammatical inflections. The first verb is either bare or in infinitive form. The second verb loses its original meaning but adds certain aspectual meaning to the compound. The most common second verbs are *lia*, *dis/din* and *ga-*. The following examples show some common verbs which form compounds with these auxiliaries:

(79)

- (a) *ham* *khana* *kha-e* *li-a*
 1SG food eat-INF AUX-PST
 ‘I have eaten.’
- (b) *u* *kām* *khalas* *kar* *di-s*
 3SG work finish do AUX-.3SG.PST
 ‘He/she has finished the work.’
- (c) *ulong* *lik* *di-n*
 3PL write AUX- 3PL.PST
 ‘They have written.’
- (d) *u mar ga-is*
 3SG die AUX-3SG.PST
 ‘He/she died.’
- (e) *ulong mar ga-in*
 3PL die AUX-3PL.PST
 ‘They died.’

3.8 Adverbs

An adverb usually precedes a verb directly. Adverbs can be classified by form or function. The forms will be discussed here while the functions will be discussed in detail under postpositional phrases (section 4.1.3). By form, adverbs can be classified into the following groups: basic or non-derived adverbs, derived adverbs in various forms and reduplicated adverbs.

(80)

- (a) *pāni* *kal* *band* *raha*
 water yesterday close PST
 ‘The water was shut off yesterday.’
- (b) *ham* *tume* *roj* *dek-ta*
 1SG 2SG.OBL daily see- PRES
 ‘I see you every day.’
- (c) *i* *dh'er* *sundar* *ful* *he*
 DEM very (ADV) beautiful (ADJ) flower COP
 ‘This is a very beautiful flower.’
- (d) *batti* *bahut* *dhire* *bar-e*
 lantern very (ADV) slow (ADV) light-3PRES
 ‘The lantern is very dim.’

Some adverbs can be followed by postpositions also. (See section 4.1.3 for detailed discussion.)

(81)

(a) *dhire se khol-na*
 slow ABL open-POL
 ‘Open slowly please.’

(b) *jor se daud’-o*
 fast ABL run-IMP
 ‘Run fast.’

3.8.1. Basic or non-derived Adverbs

The basic or non-derived adverbs may be pure adverbs or may be formed by adding the postposition *se* to nouns, adjectives or adverbs.

(82)

(a) *u ghare saptaim ā-e he*
 3SG house always come-INF COP
 ‘He always comes home.’

(b) *ghar ke nice se uppar accha lag-e he*
 house GEN below ASS top good (ADV) feel-INF COP
 ‘The top floor of the house looks better than downstairs.’

(c) *u jaldi se bol pās kar di-s*
 3SG quickly(ADV) ABL ball pass do AUX-3SG.PST
 ‘He passed the ball quickly.’

3.8.1.1 Derived Adverbs

Derived adverbs are formed by adding postpositions to the base form of demonstrative, relative and interrogative pronouns. Locative adverbs are formed by adding the postposition *pe* to demonstratives while directionals are formed by using *se*.

(83)

(a) *hīa pe rakh-o*
 here LOC put-IMP
 ‘Put it here.’

(b) *hūa pe nai ja-o*
 there LOC NEG go-IMP
 ‘Do not go there.’

(c) *idhar se ja-o*
 here LOC go-IMP
 ‘Go from here.’

Manner adverbs are formed by adding *rakam* ‘like’ after the postposition *ke*.

(84)

(a) *bandar ke rakam nai kar-o*
 monkey OBL like(ADV) NEG do-IMP
 ‘Don’t behave like a monkey.’

(b) *i kutta ke rakam khas-e he*
 3SG dog OBL like (ADV) cough-3PRES COP.PROG
 ‘He is coughing like a dog.’

Adverbs can be reduplicated to show intensity and distribution.

(85)

(a) *u dhire dhire kām kar-e he*
 3SG slowly slowly work do-3PRES CONT
 ‘He is working very slowly.’

(b) *jaldi jaldi kapd’a utha-o pani bars-i*
 quickly quickly clothes pick-IMP rain rain-3FUT
 ‘Pick up the clothes very quickly, it will rain.’

(c) *kaha kaha ga-ya raha*
 where where go-PST COP
 ‘Which places did you go to?’

(d) *kabhi kabhi kām pe jaldi ā-o*
 sometimes sometimes work loc early come-IMP
 ‘Occasionally come to work early.’

3.8.2 Expressions of time

Expressions of time employ adverbs with nouns in direct and oblique cases. These includes times and periods of the day. A detailed discussion on this will be presented in section 4.1.5. A few examples are:

(86)

(a) *u dui baje ga-is*
 3SG 2 o’clock go-3SG.PST
 ‘He went at 2 o’clock.’

(b) *sanjha ke pat’i he*
 evening (ADV) OBL party COP
 ‘The party is in the evening.’

3.8.3 Days of the Week

The days of the week are:

<i>sammar</i>	‘Monday’
<i>mangar</i>	‘Tuesday’
<i>bud</i>	‘Wednesday’
<i>bif</i>	‘Thursday’
<i>suk</i>	‘Friday’
<i>sanicār</i>	‘Saturday’
<i>atwār</i>	‘Sunday’

The postposition *ke* is used with days, which indicates they are nouns though used with adverbial function.

(87)

(a) *sammar ke ā-na*
 Monday OBL come-POL
 ‘Please come on Monday.’

(b) *suk* *ke* *geim* *he*
 Friday OBL game COP
 ‘The game is on Friday.’

3.8.4. Months of the Year

Months are borrowed from English.

jenuari ‘January’
febuari/febri ‘February’
māc ‘March’
aipral ‘April’
mae ‘May’
jun ‘June’
julāe ‘July’
augest ‘August’
septemba ‘September’
oktauba ‘October’
nabemba ‘November’
disemba ‘December’

The postposition *me* is used with months, again indicating that they are nouns.

(88)

(a) *ham* *jenuari* *me* *paida* *bha-ya*
 1SG January INES born happen-PST
 ‘I was born in January.’

(b) *tes* *nabemba* *me* *he*
 Test November INES COP
 ‘The test is in November.’

3.9 Particles

The main particles used in FH are *bhi*, *to* and *bhar*. The use of these particles with different word classes covers a wide range of meanings and semantic interpretations.

3.9.1. The Particle *bhi* ‘also’

The particle *bhi* ‘also’ is used with nouns and pronouns. It immediately follows a noun and the postposition if any.

(89)

(a) *Shalen* *bhi* *ga-is* *raha*
 PN also go-3SG.PST COP
 ‘Shalen had also gone.’

(b) *u* *bhi* *gussa* *me* *he*
 3SG. also angry INES COP
 ‘He is also angry.’

(c) *ham* *bhi* *aur* *man-ta*
 1SG. also more want-1SG.PRES
 ‘I also want more.’

(d) *Nagin ke bhi ja-e ke raha*
 PN OBL also go-INF OBL COP
 ‘Nagin also had to go.’

(e) *tum se bhi misteik bha-e raha*
 2SG ASS also mistake happen-INF COP
 ‘You have also made mistakes.’

(f) *ghar me bhi garam he*
 house INES also hot COP
 ‘It is also hot in the house.’

The particle *bhi* can be used with all types of direct and oblique personal, demonstrative, indefinite, relative, and reflexive pronouns.

(90)

(a) *ham bhi a-ya raha*
 1SG. also come-PST COP
 ‘I had come also.’

(b) *jon bhi mang-e a-o*
 who also want-INF come-IMP
 ‘Whoever wants, come!’

(c) *koi ke bhi bata-o*
 any OBL also tell-IMP
 ‘Tell anyone.’

The use of the particle *bhi* with relative pronouns represents different meanings: *jon bhi* ‘whosoever’ or ‘whatsoever,’ *jab bhi* ‘whenever,’ *jitna bhi, kitna bhi* ‘how many times,’ *kuc bhi* ‘whatever.’

(91)

(a) *jon bhi khana kha-e mang-e a-o*
 who PART food eat-INF want-INF come-IMP
 ‘Whoever wants to eat, come!’

(b) *jab bhi ham kuc bol-ta he tum nai sun-ta*
 when PART 1SG. any say-PRES COP 2SG NEG listen-PRES
 ‘Whenever I say anything you don’t listen.’

(c) *tume kitna bhi bata-ta tum nai sudhar-ta*
 2SG.OBL how.many PART tell-PRES 2SG. NEG improve-PRES
 ‘No matter how many times I tell you, you don’t improve.’

(d) *tum kuch bhi bol-ta u nai sun-e*
 2SG. whatever PART say-IMP 3SG NEG listen-3SG.PRES
 ‘Whatever you say, he doesn’t listen.’

The particle, *bhi* is also used with different types of verbs to express ‘even’.

(92)

(a) *tume pata bhi he*
 2SG.OBL know even COP
 ‘Do you even know?’

(b) *dukan me ek kilo bhi cini nai he*
 shop INES one kilogram even sugar NEG COP
 ‘There is not even one kilogram of sugar in the shop.’

3.9.2 The Particle *to*

The particle *to* serves a pragmatic function, indicating contrast.

(93)

(a) *i uske ā-e to do*
 3SG.GEN come-INF PART let
 ‘Just let him come.’

ii) *uske ā-e do*
 3SG.GEN come-INF let
 ‘Let him come.’

(b) *bred’ to he lekin bat’a nai he*
 Bread PART COP but butter NEG COP
 ‘Bread is here but there is no butter.’

(d) *ham ga-e to raha lekin bāt nai kar-a*
 1SG go-INF PART COP but talk NEG do-1SG.PST
 ‘I had gone but did not talk.’

The particle *to* is also added to the negative marker *nai* to show an emphatic negative reply denoting surprise or disapproval.

(94) *tum Bilāj Siks ga-e raha?*
 2SG. village six go-INF PST
 ‘Did you go to village six?’

nai to
 NEG PART
 ‘Not really / No.’

to occurs in correlation with *jab* ‘when’ or *agar* ‘if’ and signifies ‘then.’

(95)

(a) *jab uske pata lag-i to u bahut gussa-i*
 when 3SG.GEN know happen-FUT PART 3SG very angry-FUT
 ‘He will be very angry when he finds out.’

(b) *agar tum jhut’ bol-a to pakd’a -e ja-ega*
 if 2SG lie say-2SG.PRES PART catch-INF go-FUT
 ‘If you lie you will be caught.’

3.9.3 The Particle *bhar*

The particle *bhar* denotes ‘the entire’, ‘the whole’, ‘only’, ‘just’, ‘measuring a ...’, ‘weighing a...’, ‘a...full,’ etc. Normally its use forms adjectives from nouns.

(96)

(a) *ghar me mutt’hi bhar cāur nai he*
 house INES handful PART rice NEG COP
 ‘There is not even an ounce of rice in the house.’

(b) *dunia bhar me duk fail-is he*
 world whole INES sorrow spread-3SG.PRES COP
 ‘Sorrow is spread all over the world.’

(c) *u din bhar soka khel-is*
 3SG day whole soccer play-3SG.PST
 ‘He played soccer whole day.’

(d) *tum* *bas* *i* *kām* *bhar* *ke* *accha* *he*
2SG. Only DEM work only OBL good COP
'You are only good for this work.'

(e) *tum* *khali* *bāt* *bhar* *ke* *he*
2SG only talk PART OBL COP
'You are good at talking.'

Chapter 4 Syntax

4.1 Structure of Phrases

4.1.1. Noun Phrase

Noun phrases function primarily as arguments that is, as subjects in clauses, objects and obliques in verb phrases and adverbial or postpositional phrases. A noun or a pronoun is the minimum constituent of a noun phrase. The head noun in some cases can be marked for number and gender. A noun may be modified by a variety of modifiers such as adjectives, quantifiers, numerals, emphatic markers, limiters, comparative and superlative markers. The simple form of the NP may be diagrammed in the following phrase structure rule:

$$NP \rightarrow (DEM) (Quantifier) (AdjP) N (PP) (P)$$

The obligatory component is the noun. The dependents are optional and occur in a fixed order namely as demonstratives (DEM), then a quantifier and then the adjective phrase (AdjP). The head can be followed by a postpositional phrase (PP) and at times by particles (P).

(97)

(a) [*lad'ka*]^{NP} *ja-e* *he*
 boy go-3.PRES CONT
'A boy is going.'

In the example above the proper noun 'boy' is the only element of the noun phrase.

(b) [*u lad'ka*]^{NP} *ja-e* *he*
 DET boy go-3.PRES COP
'That boy is going.'

(c) [*u dui lad'ka-n*]^{NP} *ja-e* *he*
 DET Q boy-PL go-3PRES COP
'Those two boys are going.'

(d) [*u dui sundar lad'ka-n*]^{NP} *ja-e* *he*
 DET two ADJ boy go-3SG.PRES COP
'Those two good-looking boys are going.'

The basic structure of a NP has been illustrated above. Now other details which play a role in the formation of a NP are noted. There is no distinct category of articles in FH but the demonstratives *i* and *u* can also be employed to indicate definite. The numeral *ek* 'one' and the indefinite pronoun *koi* 'someone' have similar functions to the indefinite article (see 3.1, 3.2.2, 3.3).

(98)

(a) *i lad'ka*
 this boy
'This boy.'

(b) *u lad'ka*
 that boy
 'That boy.'

(c) *ek lad'ka*
 one boy
 'A boy.'

(d) *koi lad'ka*
 any boy
 'Any boy.'

A noun may be preceded by quantifiers and numerals in the form of (i) approximate/ordinal (e.g. *lagbhag* 'about', *eke* 'only one', *pahila* 'first', *dusra* 'second') (ii) cardinal, fraction (e.g. *ek* 'one', *dui* 'two', *adha* 'half', *kot'a* 'quarter') and (iii) collective/measure (e.g. *joda* 'pair', *darjan* 'dozen', *kilo* 'kilogram').

Definite + Cardinal + Noun.

(99) [*i tīn lad'ka-n*]^{NP} *accha he*
 this three boy-PL good COP
 'These three boys are good.'

Definite + Ordinal + Noun

(100) [*i pahila buk*]^{NP} *ham pad'-a*
 this first book 1SG read-1SG.PST
 'This is the first book I read.'

Definite + Ordinal + Cardinal + Noun

(101) [*i pahila dui buk*]^{NP} *julum he*
 this first two book good COP
 'These first two books are good.'

Definite + Cardinal + Collective + Noun

(102) [*i dui darjan botal*]^{NP} *utha-o*
 this two dozen bottle pick-IMP
 'Pick up these two dozen bottles.'

Definite + Cardinal + Measure + Noun

(103) [*i pāc piali caur*]^{NP} *paka-o*
 this five bowl rice cook-IMP
 'Cook these five bowls of rice.'

Definite + Fractional + Measure + Noun

(104) [*i adha kilo cini*]^{NP} *puja ke he*
 this half kilogram sugar prayer GEN COP
 'This half kilogram of sugar is for prayers.'

In definite noun phrases, cardinal numbers may be followed by an aggregative inflection *-o* 'all the'.

(105) [*tīn-o lad'ka-n*]^{NP} *nai ā-in*
 three-AGG boy-PL NEG come-3PL.PST
 'All three boys did not come.'

The quantifier *sab* ‘all’ and the limiter *khali* ‘only’ precede the head noun while particles such as *bhi* ‘also’ and *to* ‘contrastive’ follow the head noun.

(106)

(a) [*i sab buk*]^{NP} [*hamar*]^{NP} *he*
 this all book 1SG.GEN COP
 ‘All these books are mine.’

(b) [*hamlong sab ja-ega*] *filam dekh-e*
 1.PL all go-1PL.FUT film see-INF
 ‘We will all go to watch the film.’

(c) [*khali dui lad’ka-n*]^{NP} *skul ā-e rahin*
 Only two boy-PL school come-3PST PST
 ‘Only two boys had come to school.’

(d) [*rakesh bhi*]^{NP} *ja-e he*
 PN also go.1SG.PRES CONT
 ‘Rakesh is also going.’

(e) [*Raju to*]^{NP} *bekar he*
 PN PART hopeless COP
 ‘Raju is hopeless.’

Comparative, superlative and equative structures are formed by adding certain words after the head noun. The comparatives are formed by adding the postposition *se* after the compared noun.

(107)

(a) *Jiten Sunil se smat’ he*
 PN PN COMP smart COP
 ‘Jiten is smarter than Sunil.’

(b) *ham tum se patra he*
 1SG 2SG COMP slim COP
 ‘I am slimmer than you.’

Superlatives are formed by adding *sab se* before the adjective.

(108)

(a) *u sab se lamba lad’ka he*
 3SG all COMP tall boy COP
 ‘He is the tallest boy.’

(b) *Shayal sab se sundar lad’ki he*
 PN all COMP beautiful girl COP
 ‘Shayal is the most beautiful girl.’

Adverbial phrases of similarity are formed by adding the word *rakam* ‘like’.

(109)

(a) *tum [hamar rakam] bāt kar-ta he*
 2SG 1SG.GEN like talk do-2SG.PRES CONT
 ‘You are talking like me.’

(b) *u [Rangita ke rakam] acch-i nai he*
 3SG PN GEN like good-FEM NEG COP
 ‘She is not as good as Rangita.’

The term *eke rakam* ‘as good as/alike’ is also used in similar expressions.

(110) *u* *cār-o* *bhaia* *eke rakam* *kapd’a* *pahin-e* *he*
 3SG four-AGG brothers alike clothes wear-3SG.PRES COP
 ‘Those four brothers wear similar clothes.’

4.1.2 Adjectival Phrase

The adjective phrase is part of the NP and appears with the following order:

quantifier + adjective + noun

(111)

(a) [*sab accha*]^{AP} *buk*
 all good book
 ‘All good books.’

(b) [*dui* *sundar*]^{AP} *ful*
 two beautiful flower
 ‘Two beautiful flowers.’

Adjectives can be divided into basic and derived adjectives. Examples of basic adjectives are *sundar* ‘beautiful’, *accha* ‘good’, *kharab* ‘bad’. Attributive adjectives immediately precede the head, for example *nawa juta* ‘new shoes’, *sundar lad’ki* ‘beautiful girl.’

(112)

(a) *nawa* *juta* *mahanga* *he*
 new(ADJ) shoes expensive COP
 ‘The new shoes are expensive.’

(b) *dekh-o,* *sundar* *lad’ki* *ja-e*
 see-IMP beautiful (ADJ) girl go-3SG.CONT
 ‘See, a beautiful girl is going.’

4.1.3 Postpositional Phrases

A noun or pronoun followed by a postposition is a postpositional phrase. Adverbials are often postpositional phrases.

(113)

(a) *ham* [*kām* *pe*]^{PP} *sabere* *ga-ya*
 1SG work OBL morning go-1SG.PST
 ‘I went to work in the morning.’

(b) *Rakes* [*roj* *sanjha* *ke*]^{PP} *nagona* *pi-e*
 PN daily evening OBL yaqona drink-3SG.PRES
 ‘Rakesh drinks yaqona every evening.’

(c) *u* [*din* *me*]^{PP} *kuc* *kar-is*
 DEM day OBL any do-3SG.PST
 ‘Did he do anything during the day?’

A postposition can be added to a simple or compound noun phrase.

(114)

(a) *Jiten* *ke*
PN GEN
'Jiten's.'

(b) *hamar* *ofis* *se*
1SG.GEN office ABL
'From my office.'

(c) *sabere* *se*
morning ABL
'From morning.'

(d) *mot'ar* *ke* *age-la* *d'oa* *se*
car GEN front-NOM door ABL
'From the front door of the car.'

The postpositions *ke* and *se* are commonly used to include adverbs in postpositional phrase.

(115)

(a) *dui* *sāl* *ke* *bād*
two years OBL after
'After two years.'

(b) *ghar* *ke* *āge* front
house GEN front
'In front of the house.'

(c) *jaldi* *se* *jaldi* *mil-ega*
quick ABL quick meet-1.FUT
'We will meet very soon.'

(d) *hāli* *se* *hāli* *cal-o*
soon ABL soon come-IMP
'Come as soon as possible.'

Adverbials may precede or follow the subject.

(116)

(a) i) *āpul* *chud'i* *se* *kat-o*
apple knife INST cut-IMP
'Cut the apple with a knife.'

ii) *chud'i* *se* *āpul* *kat-o*
knife INST apple cut-IMP
'Use the knife to cut the apple.'

(b) i) *sabere* *se* *ham* *agor-ta* *he*
morning ABL 1SG wait-1SG.PRES CONT
'I have been waiting since morning.'

ii) *ham* *sabere* *se* *agor-ta* *he*
1SG morning ABL wait-1SG.PRES CONT
'I have been waiting since morning.'

Sometimes adverbs combined with *jaise/rakam* 'like' are used to act as modifiers of adverbs.

(117)

(a) *u* *jaise* *Obama* *lag-e*
3SG like PN AUX-3PRES
'He looks like Obama.'

(b) *tum* *to* *hamar* *rakam* *sat'* *pahin-ta* *he*
2SG PART 1SG.GEN like shirt wear-PRES CONT
'You are wearing a shirt like mine.'

4.1.4 Verb Phrase

A verb phrase in FH consists of the verb plus objects, complements and adverbial constituents. The verb morphology which covers all the markers has been discussed in detail in section 3.7. A verb can be categorised as simple, conjunct or compound. A few examples of simple verbs are:

(118)

(a) *kha-o*
eat-IMP
'eat!'

(b) *ja-o*
go-IMP
'go!'

The second category, conjunct verbs, can be formed by combining a noun or adjective with the verb *kar* 'do' or with *he* 'to be'.

(119)

(a) *kām* *kar-ta*
work do-1SG.PRES
'working'

(b) *sundar* *kar-ta*
beautiful do-1SG.PRES
'beautifying'

(c) *accha* *he*
good COP
'is good'

Some common compounds as noted by Siegel (1987, p.21) are:

<i>arām</i>	<i>kar-</i>	'rest'
<i>bāt</i>	<i>kar-</i>	'talk'
<i>kām</i>	<i>kar-</i>	'work'
<i>band</i>	<i>kar-</i>	'close'
<i>madad</i>	<i>kar-</i>	'help'
<i>suru</i>	<i>kar-</i>	'start'

The above construction is productive and can be seen with borrowings from English:

<i>cek</i>	<i>kar-</i>	‘check’
<i>sāin</i>	<i>kar-</i>	‘sign’
<i>kol</i>	<i>kar-</i>	‘call’
<i>weit’</i>	<i>kar-</i>	‘wait’

The third category, compound verb, consists of a sequence of verbs. The second verbs in such compounds are auxiliaries as discussed in section 3.7.8.

(120)

- (a) *pad’* *li-a*
 read AUX.PST
 ‘have read’
- (b) *thak* *ga-is*
 tired AUX-3SG.PST
 ‘become tired’
- (c) *likh* *di-s*
 write AUX-3SG.PST
 ‘wrote’

4.2 Structure of Clauses

4.2.1 Main Clause

The main clause consists of a subject and a VP. The basic order of a simple clause is:

SUBJECT + OBJECT+ VERB

Some examples of a simple clause are:

(121)

- (a) [*ham*] [*mot’ar*] *ke*] [*dho-ega*]
 1SG car OBL wash-FUT
 ‘I will wash the car.’
- (b) *kutta* *lad’ka* *ke* *kat’-is*
 dog boy GEN bite-3SG.PST
 ‘The dog bit the boy.’
- (c) *hamar* *ghar* *tum* *safa* *kar-o*
 1SG.GEN house 2SG clean do-IMP
 ‘You clean my house!’
- (d) *tumar* *sundar* *kutta* *lad’k-an* *ke* *kāt-e* *he*
 2SG.GEN beautiful dog child-PL OBL bite-INF COP
 ‘Your beautiful dog bites children.’

Two main clauses are joined by the coordinator *aur* ‘and’, *ki* ‘or’ and *lekin* ‘but’. These are complex clauses.

(122)

- (a) *ham* *bol-a* *aur* *u* *sun-is*
 1SG say-1SG.PST and 3SG listen-3SG.PST
 ‘I said it and he listened.’

(e) *hame lag-a raha ki tum ā-ega*
 1SG.OBL feel-PST PERF that 2SG come-FUT
 ‘I had felt that you will come.’

Whenever the main clause follows the subordinate clause the complementizer *ki* is dropped and the particle *i* is used.

(125)

(a) *u ā-i i ham soc-ta he*
 3SG come-3SG.FUT PART 1SG think-PRES CONT
 ‘I am thinking that he will come.’

(b) *ham khana kha-ya he i tum jan-ta raha*
 1SG food eat-PST COP PART 2SG know-PST PERF
 ‘You knew that I ate.’

(c) *Rakes accha lad’ka he i ham bol-a raha*
 PN good boy COP PART 1SG say-PST PERF
 ‘I had said that Rakesh is a good boy.’

4.2.3 Direct and Indirect speech

In reported speech the complementizer *ki* is used. Some common main verbs introducing reported speech are *bol* ‘say’, *puc* ‘ask’, *likh* ‘write’, *sun* ‘hear’ and *soc* ‘think’.

(126)

(a) *Raju bol-is ki tum pagl-a he*
 PN say-3SG.PST that 2SG mad-MASC COP
 ‘Raju said that you are mad.’

(b) *tica puc-is ki kon halla kar-at raha*
 teacher ask-3SG.PST that who noise do-3PL.PST COP
 ‘The teacher asked who was making noise.’

(c) *bos likh-is ki sabkoi kaam pe āt’-baje ā-o*
 boss write-3SG.PST that everyone work PP 8’-O clock come-IMP
 ‘The boss wrote that everyone has to come to work at 8 o’clock!’

(d) *ham sun-a ki tum jā-ta he*
 1SG hear-1SG.PST that 2SG go-2SG.PRES CONT
 ‘I heard that you are going.’

(e) *ham soch-a ki Suva goul bana-is*
 1SG think-1SG.PST that PN goal make-3SG.PST
 ‘I thought that Suva had scored a goal.’

It is quite common though for speakers to use direct speech. In such case the complementizer *ki* is omitted. For instance:

(127) *Nagin bol-is hame filam acha lag-a*
 PN say-3SG.PST 1SG.OBL film good feel- PST
 ‘Nagin said, “I found the film good”.’

In reported speech the pronoun *hame* is replaced by third person genitive *uske*. There is an intonational clue in this construction.

(128)

(a) *Nagin bol-is (ki) uske filam acha lag-is*
 PN say-3SG.PST that 3SG.GEN film good feel-3SG.PST
 ‘Nagin said he found the film good.’

(b) *Timoci bol-is u likh la-i*
 PN say-3SG.PST 3SG write AUX-3SG.FUT
 ‘Timoci said he will write it.’

In the above sentences the third person pronoun can be ambiguous because the listener may understand that Timoci or Nagin is referring to someone else and not himself. If the reflexive pronoun *apneap* is used, the subject of the main clause is unambiguous.

(129) *Timoci bol-is u apneap likh la-i*
 PN say-3SG.PST 3SG REF write AUX-3SG.FUT
 ‘Timoci said he will write it himself.’

4.2.4 Relative clause

To form relative clauses, the relative marker *jon* is placed in front of the element being referred to and the third person *u* is placed in front of the head noun. For example:

(130)

(a) *jon admi ā-is raha u hamar bhaia he*
 REL man come-3SG.PST PERF DEM 1SG.GEN brother COP
 ‘The man who had come is my brother.’

(b) *jon masin bigd’a he u bec do*
 REL machine bad COP DEM sell AUX-IMP
 ‘Sell the machine which is not working.’

There is variation in the positioning of a relative clause. It may follow the head noun as:

(131) *u admi [jon ā-is raha] hamar bhaia*
 DEM COP man REL come-3SG.PST PERF 1SG.GEN brother
 ‘That man who had come is my brother.’

It can also be the last element in a sentence:

(132) *u admi hamar bhaiya he [jon ā-is*
raha]
 DEM PERF man 1SG.GEN brother COP REL come-3SG.PST
 ‘The man who came is my brother.’

(133) *Shiu [jon i ghar ke auna raha] mar ga-is*
 PN REL DEM house OBL owner PST die AUX-3SG.PST
 ‘Shiu who was the owner of the house has passed away.’

The above construction does not allow variation in the structure. While the above illustrations have focused on relativization of the subject, it is also possible to relativize other constituents apart from the subject. To relativize objects the relative marker *jis* accompanied by the postposition *ke* is used.

(134) *ham* [*jiske* *bāt* *kar-ta* *he*] *u* *hīā* *nai* *he*
 1SG REL talk do-1SG.PRES CONT 3SG here NEG COP
 ‘The one who I am talking about is not here.’

To relativise adjunct or associative object *jis ke sanghe* is used:

(135) [*jiske* *sanghe* *tum* *ga-ya* *raha*] *u* *kon* *he*
 REL with 2SG go-PST PERF 3SG who COP
 ‘Who is he, the one you had gone with?’

To relativise the possessor noun, *jiske* is used:

(136) *u* [*jiske* *i* *buk* *he*] *mang-e* *he*
 3SG REL DEM book COP want-3SG.PRES COP
 ‘the person who this book belongs to wants it.’

To relativise the object of a locative *jisme* is used:

(137) *u* *kont'eina* *jisme* *mith'ai* *he*
 3SG container REL sweets COP
 ‘That container which contains sweets.’

The relative marker *jon* is reduplicated as *jonjon* when the element being relativised is plural. For example:

(138) *jon-jon* *khana* *kha-e* *mang-e* *ulong* *ā-o*
 REL.PL food eat-INF want-INF 3PL come-IMP
 ‘Those who want to eat come.’

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GLOSSARY

All the words in the list have been used in the work. The verbs are written in their base form with a hyphen. In normal speech verbs always occur with a suffix and the most common one used to cite verbs is the imperative suffix *-o*.

<i>ā-</i>	come
<i>ab</i>	now
<i>accha</i>	good
<i>adha</i>	half
<i>admi</i>	man
<i>admilong</i>	men
<i>agar</i>	if
<i>age</i>	front
<i>aipral</i>	April
<i>aj</i>	today
<i>aja</i>	grandfather (paternal)
<i>aji</i>	grandmother (paternal)
<i>ām</i>	mango
<i>angna</i>	compound
<i>ankhi</i>	eye
<i>apne</i>	self
<i>apul</i>	apple
<i>āt</i>	eight
<i>āt'a</i>	flour
<i>ath'ara</i>	eighteen
<i>atwār</i>	Sunday
<i>augast</i>	August
<i>aur</i>	and
<i>aurat</i>	woman
<i>auratlong</i>	women
<i>baccha</i>	child
<i>bād</i>	after
<i>bad'</i>	flood
<i>bad'a</i>	big
<i>badal</i>	exchange

<i>bagal</i>	side
<i>bahar</i>	outside
<i>bah-</i>	flow
<i>baje</i>	o'clock
<i>balti</i>	bucket
<i>ban-</i>	make
<i>bandar</i>	monkey
<i>bār</i>	hair
<i>bara</i>	twelve
<i>barabar</i>	equal
<i>bare</i>	about
<i>bar-</i>	light
<i>bars-</i>	rain
<i>bas</i>	Enough, only, bus
<i>basta</i>	sack
<i>bāt</i>	talk
<i>bata-</i>	tell
<i>beg</i>	bag
<i>behāl</i>	great
<i>bina</i>	without
<i>bif</i>	Thursday
<i>bis</i>	twenty
<i>biskit</i>	biscuit
<i>biswas</i>	Believe, faith
<i>biya</i>	seed
<i>boks</i>	box
<i>bol-</i>	say
<i>botal</i>	bottle
<i>bud</i>	Wednesday
<i>buk</i>	book
<i>bukhar</i>	sickness, fever
<i>bhag-</i>	run
<i>bhagwān</i>	god

<i>bhaia</i>	brother
<i>bhaini</i>	sister
<i>bhaji</i>	leafy vegetables
<i>bhāt</i>	boiled rice
<i>bhauk-</i>	bark
<i>bhi</i>	also
<i>bhindi</i>	okra
<i>bhittar</i>	inside
<i>cah-</i>	want
<i>calis</i>	forty
<i>cār</i>	four
<i>cauda</i>	fourteen
<i>cāur</i>	rice
<i>cautha</i>	fourth
<i>chot'</i>	hurt/injury
<i>chud'i</i>	knife
<i>cini</i>	sugar
<i>cor</i>	thief
<i>che</i>	six
<i>chimmac</i>	spoon
<i>dada</i>	uncle (father's elder brother)
<i>dam</i>	gut
<i>dām</i>	price
<i>dān</i>	donation
<i>dar-</i>	fear
<i>das</i>	ten
<i>darba</i>	chicken shed
<i>darjan</i>	dozen
<i>daud'-</i>	run
<i>daya</i>	pity
<i>de-</i>	give
<i>dekh-</i>	see
<i>deri</i>	late

<i>disemba</i>	December
<i>dubra</i>	slim
<i>dui</i>	two
<i>dukan</i>	shop
<i>dunia</i>	world
<i>dusman</i>	enemy
<i>dusra</i>	another
<i>dh'er</i>	a lot
<i>dh'olak</i>	musical instrument
<i>dheyana</i>	attention
<i>dhire</i>	slow
<i>d'ar</i>	branch
<i>d'ola</i>	dollar
<i>ek</i>	one
<i>ekdam</i>	definitely
<i>faisbuk</i>	facebook
<i>febri</i>	February
<i>febuari</i>	February
<i>filam</i>	film
<i>fod'-</i>	break (glass)
<i>fort'i</i>	forty
<i>fren</i>	friend
<i>gadd'ha</i>	hole
<i>gadh'a</i>	donkey
<i>gao</i>	village
<i>garam</i>	hot
<i>garib</i>	poor
<i>gaulkipa</i>	gaol keeper
<i>geim</i>	game
<i>gelan</i>	gallon
<i>gir-</i>	fall
<i>glas</i>	glass
<i>gussa</i>	anger

<i>gyara</i>	eleven
<i>gham</i>	sunlight
<i>ghar</i>	house
<i>ghum-</i>	turn, visit, roam
<i>hajar</i>	thousand
<i>hali</i>	quick
<i>halla</i>	noise
<i>ham</i>	I
<i>hāma</i>	hammer
<i>hamar</i>	my
<i>hame</i>	me
<i>hamlong</i>	we
<i>hand'i</i>	pot
<i>hār-</i>	loss
<i>has-</i>	laugh
<i>he</i>	is
<i>hīa</i>	here
<i>hot'el</i>	hotel
<i>hūa</i>	there
<i>i</i>	this
<i>idhar</i>	this side
<i>ilong</i>	they
<i>iske</i>	his/her
<i>ja-</i>	go
<i>jaldi</i>	quick
<i>jangli</i>	uncivilized
<i>jenuari</i>	January
<i>jod'a</i>	pair
<i>julae</i>	July
<i>jun</i>	June
<i>julum</i>	nice
<i>jut'i</i>	bundle
<i>jut'tha</i>	lier

<i>jhagd'a</i>	fight
<i>jhappa</i>	bunch
<i>kab</i>	when
<i>kabij</i>	cabbage
<i>kabhi</i>	sometime
<i>kaha</i>	where
<i>kaka</i>	uncle (father's younger brother)
<i>kaki</i>	wife of kaka
<i>kal</i>	yesterday/tomorrow
<i>kām</i>	work
<i>kamti</i>	less
<i>kana</i>	cross-eyed
<i>kap</i>	cup
<i>kapd'a</i>	clothes
<i>karan</i>	due to
<i>karia</i>	black
<i>kat'-</i>	cut
<i>kaud'i</i>	penny
<i>ke</i>	postposition
<i>kentin</i>	small shop (normally operated from home)
<i>kilo</i>	kilogram
<i>kitna</i>	how much
<i>koi</i>	someone
<i>kompiut'a</i>	computer
<i>kon</i>	who
<i>konci</i>	what
<i>kont'eina</i>	container
<i>kot'apaun</i>	quarter pound
<i>kuc</i>	some
<i>kud'a</i>	heap
<i>kud'si</i>	chair

<i>kutta</i>	dog
<i>khā-</i>	eat
<i>khali</i>	only
<i>khāli</i>	empty
<i>khāna</i>	food
<i>kharāb</i>	bad
<i>khariid-</i>	buy
<i>khatin</i>	for
<i>khel-</i>	play
<i>khol-</i>	open
<i>khod-</i>	dig
<i>khub</i>	a lot
<i>kutta</i>	dog
<i>la-</i>	bring
<i>lad'ka</i>	boy
<i>lad'ki</i>	girl
<i>lagbhag</i>	approximately
<i>lag-</i>	feel
<i>laibrari</i>	library
<i>lamba</i>	Long, tall
<i>lao</i>	law
<i>le-</i>	take
<i>let'a</i>	letter
<i>likh-</i>	write
<i>lit'a</i>	liter
<i>māc</i>	March
<i>macchar</i>	mosquito
<i>mae</i>	May
<i>mahak</i>	smell
<i>mahinna</i>	month
<i>mai</i>	mother
<i>mama</i>	uncle (mother's brother)
<i>mami</i>	<i>mama's</i> wife

<i>mandir</i>	<i>temple</i>
<i>mang-</i>	want
<i>mangar</i>	Tuesday
<i>mar-</i>	die/ hit
<i>matt'i</i>	soil
<i>mesaj</i>	message
<i>minat'</i>	minute
<i>mircha</i>	chilly
<i>misteik</i>	mistake
<i>mit'a</i>	meter
<i>mitt'hai</i>	sweets
<i>mitt'ha</i>	sweet
<i>mot'ar</i>	car
<i>murat</i>	statute
<i>murgi</i>	chicken
<i>na</i>	no
<i>nagona</i>	yaqona
<i>nabemba</i>	November
<i>nahā-</i>	bath
<i>nai</i>	no
<i>nāk</i>	nose
<i>nana</i>	grandfather (maternal)
<i>nani</i>	grandmother (maternal)
<i>nao</i>	nine
<i>nariyal</i>	coconut
<i>nauta</i>	invite
<i>naut's</i>	notes
<i>nazdik</i>	near
<i>nice</i>	below
<i>nikāl-</i>	take out
<i>ofis</i>	office
<i>oktoubā</i>	October
<i>onais</i>	nineteen

<i>pāc</i>	five
<i>pacas</i>	fifty
<i>pad’-</i>	read
<i>padh’ai</i>	study
<i>pagla</i>	mad (male)
<i>pagli</i>	mad (female)
<i>pahila</i>	first
<i>pahin-</i>	wear
<i>pahuc-</i>	reach
<i>paipa</i>	paper
<i>paisa</i>	money
<i>pakad’-</i>	catch
<i>pandra</i>	fifteen
<i>pāni</i>	water
<i>panja</i>	handful/fist
<i>pas</i>	near
<i>pās</i>	pass/ have
<i>pata</i>	know
<i>patthar</i>	stone
<i>ped’</i>	tree
<i>pensal</i>	pencil
<i>piala</i>	big bowl used for drinking tea
<i>piali</i>	small bowl
<i>pice</i>	behind
<i>pi-</i>	drink
<i>piyar</i>	yellow
<i>prin</i>	print
<i>puja</i>	prayer
<i>pulis</i>	police
<i>pura</i>	total
<i>rakam</i>	like
<i>rakh-</i>	keep
<i>rasta</i>	road

<i>rok-</i>	stop
<i>rat</i>	procession
<i>rāt</i>	night
<i>roti</i>	roti
<i>sab</i>	all
<i>sabal</i>	spade
<i>sabere</i>	morning
<i>sabse</i>	out of all
<i>sabtaem</i>	always
<i>safa</i>	clean
<i>sāl</i>	year
<i>samaj-</i>	understand
<i>sammar</i>	Monday
<i>sāmne</i>	front
<i>sanicār</i>	Saturday
<i>sanjha</i>	evening
<i>sao</i>	hundred
<i>saptemba</i>	September
<i>sāt</i>	seven
<i>sat'</i>	shirt
<i>sathe</i>	together
<i>satra</i>	seventeen
<i>sawad</i>	tasty
<i>sekan</i>	second
<i>sidi</i>	CD
<i>skul</i>	school
<i>soc-</i>	think
<i>sora</i>	sixteen
<i>suk</i>	Friday
<i>sundar</i>	beautiful
<i>sun-</i>	listen
<i>taem</i>	time
<i>taibal</i>	table

<i>tamaku</i>	cigarette
<i>tār</i>	wire
<i>taraf</i>	side
<i>taras</i>	pity
<i>tarkāri</i>	vegetable
<i>taun</i>	town
<i>tera</i>	thirteen
<i>tibi</i>	television
<i>tica</i>	teacher
<i>tīm</i>	team
<i>tīn</i>	three
<i>tīs</i>	thirty
<i>tud’-</i>	break
<i>tufān</i>	hurricane
<i>tukd’a</i>	piece
<i>tum</i>	you
<i>tumar</i>	yours
<i>tumlong</i>	you(pl)
<i>thand’a</i>	cold
<i>th’an</i>	prayer place
<i>th’od’a</i>	a little
<i>u</i>	he/she/that
<i>ulong</i>	they
<i>ult’a</i>	wrong
<i>unggri</i>	finger
<i>uppar</i>	up
<i>yār</i>	friend
<i>yunibesit’i</i>	university

APPENDIX

Text 1

This conversation took place between a market vendor and me while I was buying vegetables in Nausori market. It is common to call an unknown mature lady *ant'i* and in return she would call a young man like me *beta* 'son'. Furthermore a female vendor would call another female vendor *bhaini* 'sister'

Me: *i longbīn ke dām kitna ant'i*
DEM long bean GEN price cost aunty
 'How much for these long beans aunty?'

Vendor: *dui d'ola jutt'i*
two dollar bundle
 'Two dollars a bundle.'

Me: *aur ula kabij*
and that.one cabbage
 'And that cabbage?'

Vendor: *u bhi dui d'ola*
that PART two dollars
 'That is also two dollars.'

Me: *accha ek kud'a bhind'i, dui jutt'i bīn, aur ek*
kud'a mirca
Ok one heap okra two bundle bean and one
heap chilly
de-na
give-POL

'Ok please give me one heap of okra, two bundles of long beans and one heap of chillies.'

Vendor: *acha aur kuc mang-ta*
Ok and any want-2SG.PRES
 'Ok, do you want anything else?'

Me: *na bas. le-o tumar paisa*
no enough take-IMP 2SG.GEN money
 'No that's enough. Take your money.'

Vendor: *t'wenti d'ola ceinj nai he*
twenty dollars change NEG COP
 'Twenty dollars, don't you have change?'

Me: *nai he ant'i*
NEG COP aunty
 'No I don't have it, aunty.'

Vendor: *wait' kar-na ek minat'*
Wait do-POL one minute
 'Wait for a minute.'

Vendor: *bhaini dui t'en he*
sister two ten COP
 'Sister do you have two ten dollars?'

Other vendor: *hā le-o*
yes take-IMP

‘Yes, here take it.’

Vendor: *bet'a* *tumar* *cheinj*
 son 2SG.GEN change
 ‘Here son, your change.’

Me: *acha* *ant'i*
 ok aunty
 ‘Ok aunty.’

Text 2

This conversation took place between my brother and his friend after they had watched a soccer game between Manchester City and Manchester United. They are discussing the game and also how the new coach of Manchester City Pep Guardiola has changed the team. My brother is labelled B and the friend F.

B: *boe kal geim dekh-a raha, kaise raha*
boy yesterday game see-PST PST how PST
'Boy, did you see the game yesterday? How was it?'

F: *hā behāl geim raha*
yes great game PST
'Yes, it was a great game.'

B: *menchest'a sit'i to bahut julum geim khel-e he*
Manchester city PART very nice game play-3SG.PRES COP
'Manchester City is playing very well.'

F: *hā sekan goul kaise raha*
yes second goal how PST
'Yes, how was the second goal?'

B: *boe t'umac raha yār*
boy too.much PST friend
'Boy, it was very good.'

F: *accha Auguro ke geim to pura badal ga-is*
ok PN GEN game PART total change happen-3SG.PST
kouch difrans kar-e dekh-a
coach difference do-INF see-PST
'Ok, Auguro's game has totally changed. The coach makes a difference do you see.'

B: *hā Gudiala to t'īm badal d-is*
yes PN PART team change do-3SG.PST
'Yes, Guardiola has changed the team.'

F: *i sizan to sit'i ke he*
this season PART city GEN COP
'This season belongs to City.'

B: *hā boe kon rok-i*
yes boy who stop-3SG.FUT
'Yes boy, who will stop them?'

Text 3

This conversation took place between my neighbour and me. He came to ask for two spades. He refers to me as Master because that is what some call me due to my profession. I am a bit reluctant to give him the spades because whenever he takes anything, he returns it very late. I label myself as ‘M’ and him as ‘N’.

N: *mast'a* *sabal* *mang-ta* *raha* *yaar*
 master spade give-PRES COP friend
 ‘Master, I wanted (to borrow) a spade.’

M: *konci* *kar-ega*
 what do-FUT
 ‘What will you do (with it)?’

N: *ek* *job* *mil-a* *he* *hūa* *yuz* *kar-ega*
 one job find-PST COP there use do-FUT
hamar *pas* *eke* *sabal* *he* *dui* *aur* *mang-ta*
 1SG.GEN have one spade COP two more want-PRES
 COP
 ‘I will use it there for a job I have found. I have one spade but I wanted two more.’

M: *accha* *hamar* *pas* *dui* *he* *lekin* *ham* *wiken* *me*
yuz *kar-ega*
 Ok 1SG.GEN have two COP but ISG weekend INES
 use do-FUT
 ‘Ok I have two but I will use them at the weekend.’

N: *nai* *wari* *mast'a* *ham* *suk* *ke* *laut'ar* *d-ega*
 no worry master 1SG Friday OBL return AUX-FUT
 ‘Don’t worry. I will return them on Friday.’

M: *hā* *suk* *ke* *las* *taem* *bahut* *deri* *me* *laut'ar-a* *raha*
 yes Friday OBL last time very late INES return-PST COP
 ‘yes on Friday, previously you returned it very late.’

N: *nai* *i* *taem* *ekdam* *sua* *mast'a* *ham* *suk* *ke*
laut'ar d-ega
 no this time definitely sure master 1SG Friday GEN
 return AUX-FUT
 ‘Definitely I will return them on Friday.’

M: *accha* *aur* *dekh-na* *ek* *ke* *hend'al* *thod'a* *wīk*
he
 ok and see-POL one GEN handle little weak
 COP
ula *se* *khali* *matt'i* *nikāl-na* *khod-na* *nai*
 DEM.NOM INST only soil take-POL dig-POL NEG
 ‘Ok also please see, one of the spade’s handles is a bit weak. Please don’t dig with it, use it to only take out soil.’

N: *set* *mast'a* *nai* *wari*
 ok master no worry

‘Don’t worry master.’

M: *ok tab suk ke la-na*
ok then Friday OBL bring-FUT.IMP
‘Ok then please bring them back on Friday.’

N: *accha*
Ok
‘Ok.’

Text 4

This conversation is between me and a USP student who is also a friend. She is asking me to print some notes for her urgently. She needs them for her next class. Note that in this conversation there are a lot of borrowings from English due to the nature of the conversation. I label myself as ‘Me’ and my friend as ‘S’.

S: *hamar naut's prin kar de-na pliz*
1SG.GEN notes print do AUX.POL please
‘Please print my notes.’

Me: *kon naut's*
Which notes
‘Which notes?’

S: *mud'al se*
moodle ABL
‘From moodle.’

Me: *kon topik aur kon hapta*
which topic and which week
‘Which topic and which week?’

S: *lao ke wik ten hame abhi kām he pliz abhi prin*
kar d-o
law GEN week ten 1SG.OBL now work COP please now print
do give-IMP
‘Law unit from week ten. I need them so please print now.’

Me: *dui minat' weit' kar-o ham prin kar-ta*
two minute wait do-IMP 1SG print do-PRES
‘Wait for two minutes. I will print them.’

S: *accha pliz hāli kar-na*
ok please quick do-POL
‘Ok, please do it quickly.’

Me: *hā bas dui minat'*
Yes only two minutes
‘Yes just two minutes.’

(after a while)

Me: *ya tumar naut's sab he*
here 2SG.GEN notes all COP
‘Here are your notes. Are they all there?’

S: *hā lekin las peij nai he*
yes but last page NEG COP
‘Yes, but the last page is missing.’

Me: *o! jana-e ham print'a me bhul gaya abhi la-ta*
oh feel-3SG.PRES 1SG printer INES forget AUX..PST now bring-
PRES

‘Oh, I must have forgotten it in the printer. I will get it now.’

S: *accha pliz hali kar-na*
ok please quick do-POL
‘Ok, please be quick.’

Me: *i le-o las peij*
DEM take-IMP last page
'Here, take the last page.'

S: *thenkyu*
Thank.you
'Thank you'