

THE *I*VOLAVOSA AND THE CODIFICATION OF FIJIAN

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Linguistic history

The *iVolavosa Vakaviti* (Monolingual Fijian Dictionary) is focussed mainly on Standard Fijian (sometimes called ‘Bauan’), a variety that has emerged over the past 150 years or so. I will outline first the origin and development of Standard Fijian, and its sociolinguistic environment.

There is considerable linguistic diversity within Fiji, with a continuum of some 300 communalects in two major groups. Western and eastern languages are not mutually comprehensible, sharing only about 60% cognates on the 100-word Swadesh list, and there are important phonemic differences. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of bilingualism and multilingualism, especially among people living close to major linguistic boundaries.

In prehistoric times, there were at least two languages of wider communication. One was used primarily for diplomatic purposes in parts of Eastern Fiji, based on the Fijian of the Bau-Rewa area of south-eastern Vitilevu, the political hub of Eastern Fiji. Little is known about this language, but it appears to have been the precursor of contemporary Standard and Colloquial Fijian. The second was a simplified version of this lingua franca, a ‘foreigner talk’ used to communicate primarily with Tongans, but later with other visitors, notably Europeans, Indians, and Chinese (Geraghty 1978).

The enrichment of the Fijian vocabulary by borrowing has probably been fairly continuous since the earliest occupation, around 3,000 years ago. It is certainly possible to discern prehistoric loanwords from both west and east, for example *tavola* ‘Terminalia catappa (a large tree with edible nuts)’ from the eastern Solomons or northern Vanuatu (Geraghty 1990:74,90) and *tanoa* ‘kind of wooden kava bowl’ from Tongan or Samoan (Geraghty

1994:65). A number of loanwords—some now obsolete—arrived in the early nineteenth century from an unexpected source: the Spanish-based creole of Manila men, who came to Fiji as crew on trading vessels, and frequently jumped ship or mutinied. Examples are *qisi* ‘to fry lightly, sauté’ (Philippine Creole Spanish *gisa*), *karavau* ‘cattle’ (PCS *karabaw* ‘carabao’), and *bonita* ‘beautiful, of a female’ (PCS *bonita*) (PCS data from Riego de Dios 1976). During the early to mid nineteenth century, most borrowings were from Tongan, including some of English origin. Since the late nineteenth century, most borrowings have been directly from English, with some from Fiji Hindi, French and other languages (for details, see Geraghty 2004:174-175, 177-179).

British missionaries arrived in Fiji from Tonga in 1835. Unlike their predecessors, the beachcombers and traders, they were not content with foreigner talk, but were under instructions from the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to learn the language well, devise an orthography, and publish religious and linguistic works. They had begun learning Fijian in Tonga, and had already devised an economical and reasonably accurate spelling system, based partly on that of Tonga. For example, they decided to use the letter ‘g’ to represent the velar nasal (as in English *singer*), as was the practice in Tonga. For more on the development of the orthography, see Schütz 1985:18-26 and Geraghty 2004:176-177.

They originally worked with the language of Lau, the part of Fiji closest to Tonga, and as their mission field spread, so did the number of languages they had to translate into. The economics of printing required a single standard language, and in 1843 Bauan was chosen. Given the political pre-eminence of Bau, and the fact that something similar to Bauan already had currency as a lingua franca, the decision was reasonable, but it had unforeseen consequences. Cargill, the language specialist, had left, and his successors were not so gifted. Being under pressure to produce translations hurriedly, they relied heavily on Cargill's manuscript grammar and dictionary of Lauan, which was all that was available, so that their Fijian had a strong Lauan flavour, besides being influenced by the foreigner talk Fijians would use with them, and their own anglocentric notions of grammatical correctness. It was this substandard Fijian, which I have called

'Old High Fijian', that became the language of the first translation of the Bible, and hence the original literary standard.

In 1874, Fiji became a British colony, and a new generation of speakers of Old High Fijian arrived in the form of colonial administrators. The policy was to create an administration based on traditional leadership, using Fijian as far as possible. The Old High Fijian which the missionaries had forged was ideal, being easy for English-speakers to learn, and acceptable to Fijians as the talk of their masters. While the devising of the alphabet was undoubtedly a boon, the creation of this exonym was not. Indeed, it probably hindered the development of real literacy for Fijians.

By the 1920s, Fijian was the major means of communication between government and people, and the major medium of education. There were Fijian-language text-books for every subject that was then on the curriculum, including English, mathematics, history, geography, hygiene, and even Latin. Fijian was also used in higher education, as the medium of instruction in the Fiji Medical School, which produced 138 graduates from 1888 to 1928 (Guthrie 1979:15-19). But in the 1930s there was a sudden reversal, mainly because education, hitherto in the benign but impecunious hands of the missions, was entrusted to New Zealand educators, whose practice had been to promote English rather than Maori (Geraghty 1984:41-2). These new teachers were unable or unwilling to learn Fijian, and introduced punishment for the use of Fijian in schools, evidently believing that speaking Fijian prevented the students from learning English. They also believed Fijian to be impoverished, longwinded, and unsuited to the modern world—a prejudice transplanted from New Zealand, and reinforced by the presence of the truly impoverished and longwinded Old High Fijian.

The nadir was reached towards the end of the colonial era. In the 1950s and 1960s there were virtually no publications in Fijian. When a government-subsidised broadcasting service was introduced in 1954, Fijian, the first language of about 45% of the population, was allotted less than 15% of the broadcasting time. In education, the prevailing doctrine was summed up in the following statement by the Director of the Educational Research Institute for Fiji and the Western Pacific:

The whole community must understand that any improvement in living standards depends on improved technology, and that this requires English. The government should give a lead by using English on all possible occasions. Its instructions, advice and news bulletins should be published in simple English instead of Fijian and Hindi. English should be programmed in early stages for firm foundations. Time for teaching vernacular in schools should be transferred to English. ...The aim of education is the spread of English. (Adam 1959)

Along with this decline in the use and prestige of Fijian, the colonial period saw a rise in languages of wider communication. As Fijians from different areas increasingly came to live together, in towns such as Suva, Levuka, and Lautoka and in workplaces such as the gold-mining town of Vatukoula, which was founded in the 1930s, a Colloquial Fijian emerged, based probably on the lingua franca that had been the language of diplomacy since pre-contact times. Thus there are essentially three varieties of Fijian used in wider communication, all known in Fijian as *vosa vakabau* (Bauan): Colloquial, Standard, and Old High Fijian.

Fiji became an independent member of the Commonwealth in 1970. Unlike some newly-independent nations, Fiji did not immediately throw out the colonial and usher in the indigenous. Fiji had never been a reluctant colony, and the people still retain affection for the Royal Family and admiration for Britain, even though Fiji was declared a republic in 1987. Furthermore, Fijians themselves had come to believe in the inadequacy of Fijian, and were accustomed to using one of the local pidgins in communicating with other communities, at least in urban areas. So there were no significant official moves to extend the use of Fijian beyond the domains of community and church.

Nevertheless, Fijian expanded naturally. With localisation, spoken Fijian came to be used increasingly in new domains—offices, classrooms, government departments. The fact that Fijians still insisted on speaking and valuing their language meant that it could not be ignored by commercial media: books, newspapers, audio cassettes, and broadcasting in Fijian all increased dramatically in the seventies and eighties (Geraghty 1984:60-61). At the same time, the prestige of English dipped a little as Fijians began to peer beyond the confines of Empire, and observed that such neighbours as

Japan and Malaysia had become commercially successful without abandoning their language and culture. Fijians had been assured by their teachers that speaking only English to their children would bring educational and financial success, yet by the seventies it was becoming apparent that the few Fijian children who had been brought up in this way were in no way educationally advantaged, and often psychologically and socially disadvantaged.

It was in this atmosphere of uncertainty, but not total despair, that the Fijian Dictionary Project was conceived.

Beginnings of the Project

The American actor Raymond Burr had had long-standing interests in Fiji, including owning an island in Lau and part-owning a daily newspaper. In 1971 he sponsored a meeting of linguists and interested Fijians at the University of the South Pacific to discuss ways of promoting the Fijian language. After much discussion, it was agreed that a monolingual dictionary be compiled. This idea, mooted by Professor Bruce Biggs of Auckland University, was a radical departure, since all previous dictionaries of Pacific languages had been bilingual, but it was felt that a monolingual dictionary would be more effective in instilling pride in the language and culture. There was also the consideration that "because of the great diversity of Fijian languages, most schoolchildren must learn Standard Fijian as a second language, yet there are no reference materials that can be used to help in this difficult but necessary task" (Schütz 1982:18).

The first Director of the Project was Dr Albert J Schütz of the University of Hawai'i. He arranged for two schoolteachers to undergo training in linguistics for eighteen months at the University of Hawai'i in 1973-74. One of them returned to the Ministry of Education, while the other, Tevita Nawadra, became the first editor of the dictionary. It had been suggested that the Project be set up within the University of the South Pacific, but the then Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, offered to make it part of his own department, the Office of the Prime Minister. Government provided

the office and facilities, but funds had to be sought elsewhere, and contributions by Raymond Burr, the Australian government's Fund for South Pacific Cultures, and other agencies kept it functioning until it was taken on by government in 1983.

The editor, Nawadra, succeeded Schütz as director, and in 1985 the Project was transferred to the Ministry of Fijian Affairs. In the following year Nawadra retired, and the present writer, previously consultant to the Project, was appointed acting director. Later in 1986, at the instigation of the Great Council of Chiefs, the Project was renamed the Institute of Fijian Language and Culture, since it had become, through its research and broadcasting, the de facto resource centre for all things Fijian. Although the Institute was charged with the enormous task of encouraging, facilitating, and undertaking research and development of the indigenous languages and cultures of Fiji and Rotuma, the monolingual dictionary remained its major project.

Problems

While finance was a problem, the greatest obstacle to progress was the lack of skilled personnel, or rather persuading government that skilled personnel were necessary. For many years, government would second teachers as research staff and I would give them on-the-job training but, even with the best of intentions, they rarely acquired the requisite lexicographic skills. Ministry of Fijian Affairs officials then allowed me for a time to advertise and conduct interviews, and significant progress was made. One of the staff gained an MA in linguistics at the University of Hawa'i (though her services were soon lost to the University of the South Pacific), and two others obtained BAs from the University of the South Pacific. However, the Ministry soon reverted to its usual practice of appointing staff with no consultation, and little or no regard for their professional abilities.

Fijian literacy

The scope and format of the *iVolavosa* is largely influenced by the intended audience. Although it is frequently stated that Fijians are almost 100% literate, and the vast majority of Fijians are indeed able to read Fijian, yet the degree of literacy is far removed from that of, say, the average educated speaker of English (Geraghty 2005). Fijians typically use literacy passively, infrequently, and in a small number of domains. Reading materials available are the Bible (in Old High Fijian), some religious works, two thin weekly newspapers, a number of books of short stories, poems, and studies of Fijian handicrafts. Many urban Fijians read only the Bible and hymn-book, or no Fijian at all. They may write an occasional personal letter in Fijian, but most writings, such as personal diaries, shopping lists and photo albums, are in English. In schools where Fijian speakers predominate, Fijian may be used as the medium of oral instruction for the first three years, but there are no text books in Fijian for any subject other than Fijian itself; and while the teaching of Fijian has been extended to Form 7 (the highest secondary level), there are no texts for the upper secondary level, while the curriculum is unprofessional and uninspiring, and largely restricted to traditional topics. Thus the average educated Fijian uses literacy in Fijian very little, and regards it as practically useless in today's world.

At the same time, there is a widely held belief in the infallibility of the printed word, perhaps not unconnected with the close association of literacy with the scriptures, and not entirely alien to western cultures. An incorrect word printed or broadcast repeatedly could come to be considered more 'correct' than the correct word. At one level, one word is as good as the next; but it would be unfortunate if a work that is intended to restore pride in Fijian language and culture should become an instrument in the tyranny of literacy over oracy. While every attempt is being made to point out that the *iVolavosa* is fallible, and will be revised periodically, it is inevitable that most users will not read the introduction, and will place more faith in it than is always warranted. So it is especially important that definitions be

thoroughly researched, and many entries from previous dictionaries are being held in abeyance for that reason.

Scope and sources

The *iVolavosa* is intended as a practical reference work for all speakers of Fijian, whether they be schoolchildren, villagers, professionals, or whatever. It should also be useful for some non-speakers of Fijian, since it contains a great deal of information not available elsewhere, notably identifications of natural species. Because there is so little non-fiction in Fijian, it is also more encyclopaedic than most dictionaries. The policy has been to include the following categories of words:

1. words of Bauan (the communalect of the island of Bau, chosen by missionaries as the basis for Standard Fijian);
2. words of wider currency, i.e., those used in Standard, Colloquial, and Old High Fijian;
3. words of regional communalects which are widely known or do not have a Standard equivalent;
4. regional communalect equivalents in certain domains, e.g. natural species and diseases (because this information will be particularly useful, and is readily available as a result of the Institute's research programme);
5. proper names (including ships and shops) that have more general reference.

Initially, the major source of data was the existing Fijian-English dictionary (Capell 1941), which was cut up and pasted on filing cards. This work however was soon discovered to be of limited use, being largely a haphazard and uncritical compilation of data from previous dictionaries. In fact, the most useful dictionary has been one that was never published (Neyret 1935). To this base of dictionary entries was added data from other relevant published works, such as Parham's (1972) flora, and for a while Fijian newspapers were searched methodically for neologisms, especially recent loanwords from English and Hindi. These cards were then divided into semantic fields, and allotted to the small team of researchers, according

to their personal preferences. The residue of cards that belong to no particular semantic field were allotted alphabetically.

It soon became clear that there were major shortcomings in the data. Some, such as the fact that Capell's dictionary lists no names for months and only one day of the week, were relatively easy to rectify. But the dearth of reliable information in other fields presented a serious problem to a work that was to lay claim to something approaching completeness and accuracy. There was no such thing, for example, as a complete list of fish or fauna. The standard work on flora (Parham 1972) turned out to be a linguistic hodge-podge, with plant-names culled from various parts of Fiji without sourcing, written down by botanists with little or no linguistic ability, and sometimes mistranscribed. Vowel length, phonemic in Fijian, was seldom if ever marked, and even in Capell's dictionary is very unreliable.

The solution was to initiate a programme of research. The Project began building up an archive of published and unpublished works by western researchers, and of notes and audio recordings made in the field by Dictionary research staff. Again, training in field research techniques was a problem, and the bulk of the field research was undertaken by myself.

Structure of the entries

After many years of experimentation, an entry format was settled on that appeared to satisfy the requirements of rigour and accessibility to an audience with little tradition of reading, and no tradition at all of using a reference book in Fijian. Compared to a typical English dictionary, the *iVolavosa* is more encyclopaedic and user-friendly, with fewer abbreviations, a relatively simple internal structure, copious example sentences and cross-references, and some redundancy, such as causatives (formed by prefixation) being listed both as headwords and under their respective bases, and idioms being listed and defined under each of the component major morphemes. The basic structure (with the head, part of speech abbreviation, and definition or referral obligatory) is as follows:

1. **head** – vowel length (very rarely marked in written or printed Fijian) is marked with a macron, and stress with an acute accent when it is not predictable; variant pronunciations and spellings are listed, and also entered as separate heads.
2. **number** – to distinguish homophones.
3. **part of speech abbreviation** – the classification is adapted from that in the standard Fijian reference grammar (Schütz 1985); Fijian terms for parts of speech did not exist formerly and were coined.
4. **usage indicator** – a series of one to three indicators of (a) semantic field, (b) geographical distribution, (c) social restrictions on use, e.g. chiefly, formal, obscene.
5. **definition** – may be an explanation (e.g. 'causative of **gunu**', 'post-verbal particle marking deference'), but usually a true definition. We attempt complete substitutability, i.e. that the head and its definition be interchangeable in all contexts (to be exemplified below).
6. **example sentence** – if necessary or helpful, or if it occurs in a popular expression, quotation, song, poem etc.
7. **regular derivatives** – with minimal definition, and optional example sentence.
8. **cross-references** – (a) synonyms, (b) antonyms, (c) formally related words, and (d) semantically related words.
9. **scientific name**
10. **derivation** – for loanwords, e.g. from English, Hindi, Tongan, Latin, French.
11. **idioms** – with definition, and optionally example sentence, cross-references and derivation.

In order to achieve substitutability, use is made of the device of enclosing subjects (or, in the case of nouns, possessors) in parentheses before, and objects after the definition, e.g.:

oria sea vakalalai (voivoi)

This definition states that **oria** means 'cut into narrow strips' (*sea vakalalai*), but only when pandanus leaf (*voivoi*) is the object; it is not used when, for example, meat is cut into narrow strips.

pakala (tagane) lialia

This is a loanword from Hindi, meaning stupid (*lialia*), but only when the subject is male (*tagane*); the female equivalent is **pakali**.

qaqa- (meke, sere) vosa

This noun (the hyphen indicates that it is suffix-possessed) means 'word' (*vosa*) but is only used in reference to words of dances and songs (*meke*, *sere*).

Reforms introduced with the *iVolavosa*

Since the missionaries of the early nineteenth century, very little language reform has been done, and what little has been attempted has been largely ad hoc and sometimes aimed at bringing the written language even more in line with the Old High Fijian of the European elite, or even with English itself (Schütz 1985:35-46, Geraghty 2004:184-5, 189-90). A number of reforms are being introduced with the *iVolavosa* with the aim of making the orthography a truer representation of today's spoken language, and therefore simpler to learn and to use.

To accommodate the sounds of all regional communalects and borrowings, all letters of the Roman alphabet have been pressed into service, plus a number of digraphs and one new symbol. The most important is *z* for [ʰZ], which features in many loans, eg *ziza* < *ginger*. The velar fricative *x*, glottal stop *ʔ*, and labiovelars *gw*, *kw*, *qw*, and *xw* are used mainly in regional communalects. A grave accent over an *e* indicates that schwa is a variant pronunciation of *e*, as in certain loans from English, such as *fes* 'first' (used especially in children's games), and *sh* is likewise used for the variant pronunciation of *s*, as in *washa* 'washer'.

Since the dictionary is intended to document all types of Standard Fijian, it also includes many loanwords, mostly from English, which do not conform to the traditional phonotactics of Fijian (open syllables, no consonant clusters), an example being *fes* 'first', mentioned in the preceding

paragraph. Another example is *skram* 'scrum': although a variant *sikaramu* does exist, it is exceedingly rare, and it is the more common pronunciation, *skram*, which is the headword in the *iVolavosa*.

Word division has long been an area of contention, mainly because of arbitrary or unsound decisions made by the early missionaries and rendered sacrosanct by scriptural translations. A case in point is the writing of the nominaliser *i* as a separate word, or even as a suffix to the preceding word, whereas all post-missionary linguists (e.g. Churchward 1941:13, Milner 1956:57, Schütz 1985:36, Arms 1989:15) agree that it is a prefix. There has been some opposition to these reforms, but most of them have gradually gained acceptance.

There is no official body charged with coining or disseminating new vocabulary, but Fijian speakers are quick to assimilate non-Fijian terms. The *iVolavosa* is introducing a small number of neologisms, mostly in the area of language study, such as: *ivolavosa* 'book + language = dictionary', *vosanivanua* 'language of land = dialect, communalect', *nauni* 'noun', *vu* 'source, origin = verb', *matadinau* 'group + credit = credit union', *lawatu* 'law + main = constitution'.

Conclusion

In 1997, I informed the leadership of the Ministry of Fijian Affairs that the first edition of the *iVolavosa Vakaviti* was ready, and repeated my request that a publications officer be recruited to see the dictionary through to publication. This was again ignored and, instead, a committee was appointed to 'vet' the dictionary. Nine years later (2006) the dictionary is still unpublished. In 2001 I left the Institute to take up a post as lecturer in linguistics at the University of the South Pacific.

The *iVolavosa* is not particularly original lexicographically, adhering closely in format and structure to the norms of European lexicography, in line with the expectations of the Fijian public for whom it is intended. Its originality lies in the fact that it is one of the first monolingual dictionaries of a Pacific language, and is intended for use by people who have been

literate for only a hundred and fifty years, have no tradition of using literacy to gain or convey knowledge, other than religious, and generally view their language as appropriate in only a limited set of domains. If it is eventually published, it is hoped that its users will find that it is informative, easy to use, makes them proud to be speakers of Fijian, and encourages them to use the language.

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Appendix: Sample Page

walu 1 *w* Wiliwili e tarava na vitu, iwiliwili ni qalo ni kuita, yava ni viritalawalawa &s; r **bogiwalu**, **eit**, **kawalu**, **sucuwalu**, **tauwalu**, **wakawalu**, **waluwalu**, **yawalu**

walu 2 *n* matanivika ni walu, oya na 8 se VIII: *Vola na walu ena kedaru mata*; imau e volai kina na walu; kai walu; walu na kaloko: *Keitou a sota ena walu*

walu 3 *n* m ika levu ni wai titobu, karakarawa caliva na yagona, sega na varina; balavu via sababa toka, bui basoga loaloa, yawalu, ciwa, se tini na tutu lalai ni dakuna kei na ketena e muri, kania vakalevu na siwa kei na ba, veikati, kana vinaka sara na lewena, rawa ni kodai; tv **silasila**; L *Scomberomorus commersoni*; r **kanailagi**, **wau**

walu 4 *n* [masi, Vatulawa] m mata ni kesakesa, bola veigoleyaki qai kesa veilutui, vaka na bui ni walu na kena irairai; r **da? ai**, **savu** 3, **va? adomoniniu**

walu 5 *n* [Vanuabalavu] m wa, tv **yalu** 2; L *Epipremnum pinnatum*, Araceae

walui vs **waluya** vakamalumutaka (voivoi) me tadodo; *vw* **wawalui**; e tavi mai, toci, lobi, saqa, sigani, veveu qai walui - tauri na voivoi ena maliwa ni iqaqalo, *vb* idusidusinituraga kei na tubusivitiira, tauri na qanikai ena idovidovinikakana qai kari, se daramaki na voivoi ena bitu sei, kau, se duru, tauri na muana ruarua qai yacaraki; *n* **iwalui** kena iyaya, **iwawalui** kena icacacaka; tv **dalui**, **dolui**, **kalui**, **kavaka**, **kavui**; r **cibina**

walusagavulu *w* walu na tini; r **sagavulu**

waluwalu 1 *dm* (e walu) kece: *O Matawalu e rai waluwalu na matana*; r **vurawaluwalu**

waluwalu 2 *n* [vuata, Yasayasaira] tv **laya**

wamalai *v, kn* tv **paralasi**; r **malai**

wamasi *n* [Vuda, Ba, Wainibuka, Macuata] m wa, tv **wakau**; L Malaysia scandens

wame *n m* wasala toloilevu toka ni veikau, drauibabalavu vaka na vadra, se mokimokiti lelevu toka vulavula boivinaka, medra na beka. Na tolona e dau toni qai tuki me wa ni vale vakaviti, se tali me sova; na drauna e qili me isui ni kuita qurumona; tv **me** 3, **mere** 2, **vukavuka** 3, **wamere**, **wavatu** 2, **yabenisa**; vol **wakalou**, **walaki** 1; L Freycinetia, Pandanaceae

Abbreviations

Part of speech: *dm* durumuri (postposed particle), *kn* kilanauni (adjective), *n* nauni (noun), *v* vu (simple verb), *vs* vu saumaki (patient-oriented verb, i.e. one in which the patient is subject when the base is not suffixed), *vw* vuwale (intransitive verb), *w* wiliwili (numeral, quantifier).

Other abbreviations: r raica ('see' - reference to formally related form(s)), L latina (Latin, i.e. scientific, name), m mataqali (kind of), Per Peritania (from (British) English), vol voleka (near to - reference to semantically related forms), tv tautauvata (synonym), vb vakabibi (especially), &s kei na so tale (et cetera).

Translation of headwords, definitions and example sentences

walu 1 number following seven, number of octopus tentacles, spider's legs etc. [eight]

walu 2 [eight] written representation of eight, ie 8 or VIII: **Write an eight on our score-card**; playing-card with a value of eight; score of eight; eight o'clock: **We met at eight** [eight]

walu 3 kind of fish of the ocean, shining blue body, no scales, long and rather compressed, black forked tail, with eight nine or ten finlets on its back and belly towards the tail; often caught by angling and trolling, can bite; fine eating, can be eaten raw.

walu 4 [barkcloth, Vatulawa] kind of barkcloth painting design, [the barkcloth is] folded in a zigzag manner and painted alternately to produce a design resembling the tail of a *walu* fish.

walu 5 [Vanuabalavu] kind of vine

walui waluya [weaving] soften (pandanus leaf) so it will lie flat - it is cut from the tree, the thorny edges removed, folded, boiled, dried in the sun, coiled up, then softened by being held between the fingers, esp index and middle finger, and scraped with a shell held with the thumb, or by being passed between split bamboo, or behind a piece of wood or a house post, and pulled vigorously to and fro; **iwalui** tool for softening pandanus, **iwawalui** way of doing it.

walusagavulu eight tens [eighty]

waluwalu 1 (eight) all: *Matawalu sees with all eight of his eyes* [all eight]

waluwalu 2 [fruit-trees, Western communalects] [breadfruit catkin]

wamalai same as **paralasi** [paralysed]

wamasi kind of vine, same as **wakau**

wame kind of thick creeping vine or the rainforest, with large pandanus-like leaves, round white flowers, rather large and fragrant, eaten by fruit bats. The vine is soaked and hammered for use in traditional house construction, or woven into baskets; its leaves are rubbed and the juice used as drops to cure kuita qurumona (a kind of migraine).

Corresponding section of bilingual dictionary (Capell 1941)

walu 1, eight ; *waluwalu*, all eight ; *i kawalu*, the eighth; *yawalu*, eight each ; *walu-sagavulu*, eighty, with similar cpds.

walu 2, kingfish, *Scomberomorus commerson* (Lacepede).

walu 3, to scrape *voivoi* with a shell, to render it more supple; trans. *walu-ya*. *I walui*, the shell used in the process. *I walui ni voivoi*, the name of a shell, *Arca culcullaea concamorata*.

wamalai, withered, paralysed, of a limb : see *malai*