Insights from transitivity in Fijian
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A well-known feature of Oceanic languages is that verb roots can appear with multiple types of transitive suffixes (e.g. Clark 1973, Lynch et al. 2002, Evans 2003, Nautoro 2019). In particular, many Oceanic languages have a "short" monosyllabic suffix *-Ci* as well a "long" suffix *-Caki/-Cakini*. In Fijian, for instance, the root *viri* 'throw' can appear with one short suffix and at least two types of long suffixes, introducing a goal, a theme, or a reason.

How these suffixes differ syntactically is a difficult question, since both types of suffixes can be associated with applicative and transitivizing functions (e.g. Foley 1976, Schütz 1985, Evans 2003, Nautoro 2019). The short suffix is the most common way of forming transitives, but, with a number of verb classes, it reliably adds a goal/path argument. Similarly, although the long suffix often looks like an applicative, it adds apparent themes to some verbs. Finally, short and long suffixes do not appear to stack and all attach to bare intransitive roots.

On the morphological side, a famous feature of Oceanic verbal suffixes is that they start with a "thematic consonant" C. These consonants vary by verb and derive diachronically from a root-final consonant in Proto-Oceanic (e.g. Arms 1973). Since many modern Oceanic languages require all words to end in vowels, this consonant now appears only with verbal suffixes. A long-standing question is whether to treat these consonants as part of the root or suffix underlyingly (e.g. Hale 1968, 1973; Kiparsky 1971; Sanders 1990, 1991; De Lacy 2004).

This paper sheds light on these issues by presenting a detailed examination of short and long transitive suffixes in Fijian. I first develop a novel account of thematic consonants as separate morphemes, specifically realizations of *v*. This proposal is motivated by the observation that these consonants may vary by suffix as well as patterns of adjectivalization and verbalization. I then provide a way of understanding the functions most commonly associated with the short and long suffix. I capture the idea that the short suffix is a transitivity marker (Evans 2003) by treating the final *-i* as a marker of object agreement on Voice, as in approaches that take *v* and Voice to be distinct functional heads (Pylkkänen 2002, 2008; Harley 2013). At least one of the functions of the long suffix, reason *-taki*, reflects a high applicative, which may combine with any root to introduce a reason object. I show that its apparent restriction to intransitives arises because Fijian maintains a ban on multiple DP objects, as a result of a Distinctness requirement (Richards 2010).

Finally, I examine a number of verb classes with which short suffixes introduce a goal/path argument, while the long suffix is associated with an alternative object, often a theme. Based on so-called "concomitant" readings that arise with motion verbs, I argue that what these verbs have in common is that they combine with a PP small clause, with the preposition incorporating into the verb. This approach provides an understanding of exceptional uses of the short and long suffix, which I argue involve different realizations of an underlying small clause structure. In this way, Oceanic systems like Fijian provide insight into the different ways in which arguments can be introduced into the verb phrase.