# Fijian Reduplication 

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## 1 Introduction

This paper examines reduplication systems in Fijian. Fiji is one of the Oceanian countries as Figure 1 shows. As Figure 1 indicates, Fiji is close to Australia and New Zealand. However, according to a language consultant, not only Fijian and English, but also Hindi and Urdu are spoken as official languages in Fiji since many immigrants moved from regions around India to Fiji. Most people use Standard Fijian also called Bauan, but there are also dialects such as Boumaa Fijian which is spoken in the eastern islands of Fiji.


Figure 1: A map of Fiji (longitude=178.0650, latitude=-17.7134). Made by R (R core team 2018) using "leaflet" package (Cheng, Karambelkar and Xie 2018).

Although previous studies on Fijian grammar have already reported the reduplication patterns in Fijian, phonological accounts to those patterns have not been done. Thus, this paper investigates the phonological patterns of the phenomenon.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews reported Fijian reduplication patterns by previous studies. Section 3 provides the data and section 4 analyzes the reduplication system of Fijian based on the obtained data. Section 5 discusses several points. Section 6 summarizes the main points and concludes the paper.

## 2 Literature Review

This section reviews previous works on Fijian focusing on the reduplication system.

[^0]2.1 Milner (1972) Milner (1972) described the reduplication patterns based on the number of syllables consisting of the base. More precisely, when the base has two syllables and three syllables have been shown.
(1) Full reduplication, partial reduplication, no singular form

| Fijian | English | Fijian | English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| caka | doing, making | cakacaka | working |
| qase | old, elder | qaseqase | cunning, clever |
| liwa | blowing (of the wind) | liliwa | cold (of food, etc.) |
| loma | loving | loloma | love |
| vinaka | good | vīvinaka | good (plural) |
| balavu | long | bababalavu | very long |
| yagona | kava | yagoyagona | a plant related to kava |
| calidi | kind of crackling noise | cacalidilidi lailai | repeated crackling small |
|  |  | manumanu | bird, animal |

First, if the base has two syllables, reduplication can be either full or partial. ( $1 \mathrm{a}, \mathrm{b}$ ) show examples where the base is fully reduplicated, whereas ( $1 \mathrm{c}, \mathrm{d}$ ) indicate when the first syllable is reduplicated. Second, when a base has three syllables, reduplication can be one of the following ways: the first syllable is only reduplicated (=1e), the first syllable may occur three times $(=1 \mathrm{f}$ ), and the first two syllables are reduplicated ( $=1 \mathrm{~g}$ ). Although ( 1 h ) shows another type of full reduplication, Milner explained this might be an exception because "ca" could be a prefix. It was also reported that these methods of reduplication are not mutually exclusive. ( $1 \mathrm{i}, \mathrm{j}$ ) some bases do not have a singular form. However, these words are not reduplicated words based on (2) (Milner 1972).
(2) Bases having both full and partial reduplication

|  | Fijian | English | Fijian | English | Fijian | English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | levu | large | lelevu | large | levulevu | fat |
| b. | leka | dwarf | leleka | short | lekaleka | short |

Table (2) demonstrates the examples showing both full and partial reduplication. According to Milner (1972), however, levu is the common singular form, lelevu is the plural and levulevu corresponds to the English "fat". For (2b), lekaleka is the common singular form and the plural form is leleka. The base leka corresponds to the English "dwarf". Similarly, it was reported that (1i) lailai is the common singular form and plural is lalai.
2.2 Shütz (2014) Schütz (2014) also reported similar patterns reported by Milner (1972).
(3) Examples of full reduplication and having no singular form

## Fijian <br> English

beka
wai
(general name for 'bat')
water

## Fijian

bekabeka waiwai sokisoki galegale

## English

(specific type of beka)
oil
baloonfish teeth (molars)

Although examples of partial reduplication are not provided, Schütz described that reduplication can be divided into full and partial. ( $3 \mathrm{a}, \mathrm{b}$ ) are examples of full reduplication. Both of the bases having two syllables are fully reduplicated. Schütz also showed that many animal names, plant names, and body parts names are reduplicated root without single-root counterpart as shown in (3c, d).

## 3 Data

This section shows the data derived from the elicitation session with one Fijian native speaker FIJ001 done in spring 2019. The recording sessions were done using a head-worn microphone and a recorder TASCAM. The following data related to reduplication are divided into methods of reduplication. (4) demonstrates the examples of the base that are fully repeated.
(4) Full reduplication

| Fijian | IPA | English | Fijian | IPA | English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. drē | ${ }^{\text {nd.e.e: }}$ | pulling | drēdrē | ${ }^{\text {nd.e.e: }}$ "d.e: | hard, difficult |
| b. wai | wai | water | waiwai | waiwai |  |
| c. dua | ${ }^{\text {ndua }}$ | one | duadua | ${ }^{\text {ndua }}$ a ${ }^{\text {n }}$ dua | only one |
| d. sua | sua | stab a person | suasua | suasua | wet |
| e. leka | leka | dwarf | lekaleka | lekaleka | short |
| f. vola | $\beta$ olá | to write | volavola | $\beta$ ßolaßola | writing |
| g. vula | $\beta$ ula | moon | vulavula | $\beta$ ulaßula | white |
| h. tina | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {hina }}$ | mother | tinatina | $t^{\text {hinanat }}$ ina | female animal |
| i. qiri | ni.ti | to stram | qiriqiri | уі.ıini.i | writing |
| j. toro | toro | to shave | torotoro | torotoro | act of shaving |
| k. caka | ðaka | doing, making | cakacaka | ðakaðaka | working |
| 1. qase | yase | old, older | qaseqase | yaseyase | cunning, clever |
| m rawa | £.awa | getting, achieving | rawarawa | .awa.jawa | easy, light |
| n. calidi | ðalindi | kind of crackling noise | cacalidilidi | ðаðаli ${ }^{\text {n }}$ dilin ${ }^{\text {n }}$ i | repeated crackling |

(4) includes data having different numbers of syllables. (4a) has one syllable, (4b-d) have diphthong, (4e-m) consist of two syllables and (4n) has three syllables. Although most of the example are simply repeated twice, the base in (4n) is separately reduplicated. As Milner (1972) described, this might be because the first syllable $\partial a$ in (4n) $\partial a l i^{n} d i$ is a prefix and repeated independently from the base.

Next, (5) illustrates the pattern where the bases are partially repeated.
(5) Partial reduplication

| Fijian | IPA | English | Fijian | IPA | English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. liwa | liwa | blowing | liliwa | liliwa | cold |
| b. loma | loma | loving | loloma | loloma | love |
| c. lili | lili | hanging | līlili | li:1ili | the act of hanging |
| d. dredre | ${ }^{\text {nd.e.end.fe }}$ | laughing | drēdredre | nd.e: ${ }^{\text {nd.e.end.fe }}$ | N/A |
| e. cere | ðе.е | height | cēcere | ðе:ðе..е | high, awesome, great |
| f. maca | maða | empty, dry | māmaca | ma:maða | absence of wetness |
| g. raba | $\ldots{ }^{\text {m }}$ ba | width | rāraba | .a: $\mathrm{a}^{\text {m }}$ ba | wide |
| h. sili | sili | to bath | sīsili | si:sili | bathing |
| i. balavu | ${ }^{\text {mbalaßu }}$ | long | balabalavu | ${ }^{\text {mbala }}{ }^{\text {mbala }}$ u | very long |
| j. (same) |  |  | babalavu | ${ }^{\text {m }} \mathrm{ba}^{\text {mbalaßu }}$ | very long |
| k. yagona | jayona | kava | yagoyagona | jayojayona | a plant related to kava |

(5a-h) consist of two syllables and (5i-k) have three syllables. When the number of syllables is two, there are two methods of reduplicating the base. One way is that only the first syllable is repeated ( $=5 \mathrm{a}, \mathrm{b}$ ) and another one is that not only repeating the first syllable but also lengthening the first syllable of reduplicated words ( $=5 \mathrm{c}-\mathrm{h}$ ). When the base consists of three syllables, there are some ways of repeating the base as Milner (1972) said. Based on the obtained data, these are either reduplicating the first two syllables $(=5 \mathrm{i}, \mathrm{k})$ or reduplicating the first syllable $(=5 \mathrm{j})$. It was confirmed that balavu can be reduplicated using both ways.
(6) indicates the example that can show both partial and full reduplication.
(6) Full and partial reduplication

| Fijian | IPA | English | Fijian | IPA | English | Fijian | IPA | English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| levu | levu | large | lelevu | lelevu | large | levulevu | levulevu | fat |

Although (6) shows both patterns, based on Milner (1972), lelevu is the plural form of levu, but levulevu is not. Examples in (7) do not have single forms but only reduplicated forms.
(7) No single form

|  | Fijian |  | IPA |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| anglish |  |  |  |  |
| a. | lailai |  | fai.ai |  |
| b. | manumanu |  | manumanu |  |
| c. bird, animal |  |  |  |  |
| c. | yamuyamu |  | jamujamu | island |
| d. | kalokalo |  | kalokalo | star |
| e. | loaloa |  | loaloa | black |
| f. | vulavula |  | vulavula | white |
| g. | damudamu | ndamu damu | red |  |

Even though data in (7) look like reduplicated forms, it is possible to hypothesize that these are single forms rather than repeated forms since lailai is reported to be a single form and lalai is the reduplicated form. Indeed, this is not always the case for all of the examples in (7), but it is not clear based on the current data.

## 4 Analysis

This section analyzes the Fijian reduplication system based on the data in the previous section. The following analyses focus on full and partial reduplication shown in (4) and (5) since the patterns of (6) and (7) are ambiguous.
4.1 Prosodic Size This subsection examines whether any restriction exists on the prosodic length of the reduplicated items. Table (8) and (9) indicate how reduplications occur in examples (4) and (5).
(8) Full reduplication

|  | Single form | Reduplicated form |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | $\sigma_{1}$ | $\sigma_{1} \sigma_{1}$ |
| b. | $\sigma_{1} \sigma_{2}$ | $\sigma_{1} \sigma_{2} \sigma_{1} \sigma_{2}$ |

(9) Partial reduplication
a
a.

| Single form |
| :---: |
| $\sigma_{1} \sigma_{2}$ |
| $\sigma_{1} \sigma_{2}$ |
| $\sigma_{1} \sigma_{2} \sigma_{3}$ |
| $\sigma_{1} \sigma_{2} \sigma_{3}$ |

## Reduplicated form

$\sigma_{1} \sigma_{1} \sigma_{2}$
b.
$\sigma_{1} \sigma_{2} \sigma_{3}$
$\sigma_{1}: \sigma_{1} \sigma_{2}$
$\sigma_{1} \sigma_{1} \sigma_{2} \sigma_{3}$
$\sigma_{1} \sigma_{2} \sigma_{1} \sigma_{2} \sigma_{3}$

When full reduplication happens, one or two syllables are repeated twice. At the same time, a case of three syllables being fully repeated was not found in this study. The method of partial reduplication similar to full reduplication in this point of view since it happens by repeating the first syllable ( $9 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{c}$ ) or first two syllables ( 9 d ) though the repeated syllable is lengthened in (9b). From these observations, the items that can be reduplicated must be two syllables at most, in other words, it must be a foot.
4.2 Direction of Reduplication The direction of the reduplication process can also be analyzed from the data above. Although (8) do not clarify this point, (9) implies that the direction of the reduplication should be right to left since only the first one or two syllables are repeated but not the third syllable. If the reduplication happens from left to right, the process is more difficult than another option. For example, if left to right is the case, (9a) has $\sigma_{1} \sigma_{2} \sigma_{1} \sigma_{2}$ structure, and then deletes the second syllable $\sigma_{2}$. This is more complicated than right to left process which is only repeating the first syllable. The same explanation can be applied to ( $9 \mathrm{~b}-\mathrm{d}$ ). As a result, the direction of the reduplication process can be regarded as right to left.

## 5 Discussion

One of the challenges in investigating the Fijian reduplication system is to clarify how types of reduplication are decided, in other words, in what condition do full and partial reduplication happen. Consonants and vowels contained in examples are divided by the position $\left(\mathrm{C}_{1}, \mathrm{~V}_{1}, \mathrm{C}_{2}, \mathrm{~V}_{2}\right)$ to examine the pattern for this phenomenon. Table (10) demonstrates those segments (overlapping segments are bolded).
(10) Segments contained in bases consisting of two syllables

Position in Base ( $\left.\mathbf{C}_{1} \mathbf{V}_{1} \mathbf{C}_{2} \mathbf{V}_{2}\right)$<br>$\mathrm{C}_{1}$<br>$\mathrm{V}_{1}$<br>$\mathrm{C}_{2}$<br>$\mathrm{V}_{2}$

Full reduplication<br>$\beta, \mathbf{t}, \boldsymbol{\chi}, \boldsymbol{\downarrow}, \mathrm{y}$<br>$\mathbf{a}, \mathbf{i}, \mathrm{u}, \mathbf{e}, \mathbf{o}$<br>$\mathrm{n}, \mathrm{s}, \mathrm{l}, \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{r}, \mathrm{w}$<br>$\mathbf{a}, \mathbf{i}, \mathbf{e}, \mathbf{o}$

(10) indicates that at least one segment is overlapping in both types of reduplication based on the obtained data. This means that there is no complementary distribution in a segment level and the pattern cannot be drawn. At the same time, it might also be possible that this reduplication pattern is associated with pitch accents, though this study does not have enough data to discuss that point.

## 6 Conclusion

This paper has investigated the Fijian replication system. Although the reduplication pattern was not found at a segmental level, this paper reported that the maximal prosodic size to be reduplicated is a foot and the direction of the reduplication process is from right to left.

## 7 References

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[^0]:    * I am grateful to the language consultant FIJ001.

